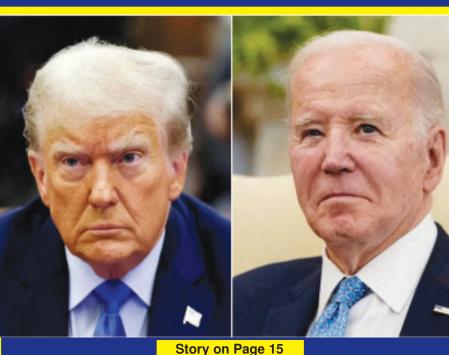


Pakistan: A Nation Held Hostage by its Own Army?

## Democrats to kick Joe Biden off the ticket after the debate?



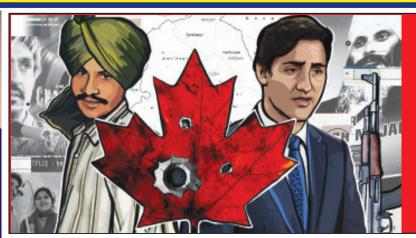


What's REALLY behind Biden's utterly pathetic debate gambit. Democrats are in a full-blown panic and a drowning man will clutch at straws. And here's where this gambit turns from desperate to downright pathetic.

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India signs 10-year deal with Iran to manage Chabahar port

Story on Page 16

What's common between Netflix Chamkila and Trudeau's troubleinfested Canada? They don't get Punjab Story on Page 17



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**Business** 

**COMMUNITY AFFAIRS** 

## Indian-origin engineer in Singapore stole intimate photos of women, jailed

A 26-year-old Indian-origin engineer serving in the Singapore Air Force was sentenced to 11 months in jail for hacking social media login details of women to steal their intimate images. He used trial-and-error methods to access victims' accounts after generating potential login credentials based on their social media details. Upon gaining access, he would search for intimate photos stored in the accounts.

K Eshwaran, 26, pleaded guilty to 10 charges under the Computer Misuse Act, with another 21 charges considered during sentencing, reported Channel News Asia. Prosecutors revealed Eshwaran targeted victims from 2019 to 2023, sending phishing links to 22 victims in an attempt to steal their login credentials for social media, cloud storage, and email accounts. Eshwaran targeted women he knew personally.

A court order protected the identities of all victims due to the sexual nature of the

Amaninder Singh Thind (Max)

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offences

Deputy Public Prosecutor Joshua Phang sexual caption, usually taken from a argued that Eshwaran's crimes were pornographic website, claiming it was a premeditated and sophisticated, often posing as a "helpful netizen" to gain the victims' trust.

Phang said Eshwaran would send phishing links with messages claiming their intimate images were leaked online.

He often added a screenshot with a screenshot of the victim's intimate image posted online.

In some instances, Eshwaran used trialand-error methods to access victims' accounts after generating potential login credentials based on their social media

Upon gaining access, he would search for intimate photos stored on the accounts which he wanted for his own sexual gratification, reported Channel News Asia. Eshwaran reportedly targeted men as well, impersonating them on social media to contact women believed to be romantically involved with the men, requesting intimate photos.

NSIDER

### INDIAN-ORIGIN MAN CONTINUED HIS CRIME EVEN WHILE ON BAIL

The court heard that Eshwaran continued his crimes even while on bail and under investigation for earlier phishing attacks.

In January 2023, he gained unauthorised access to the social media accounts of a woman in her early 20s. After discovering intimate images, he sent her further phishing links to gain access to her other online accounts.Law enforcement traced the internet protocol (IP) address used in the unauthorised access back to Eshwaran's residence.

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### **COMMUNITY EVENTS CALENDAR**

NSIDER 3



### NSIDER

## Laid-off H-1B workers can stay beyond 60 days in US, says USCIS

(Sai Bureau)-Employees on H-1B visas who have been laid off have the option of staying in the US even beyond 60 days, the US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) reveals. Tech companies like Google, Meta, Apple, Dell, Twitter, Amazon and Microsoft, among many others, have fired thousands of non-immigrant employees living in the US, including many Indians. There is a general assumption that the laid-off staffers have to leave the US within 60 days. But the USCIS has clarified on this in its latest statement."When nonimmigrant workers are laid off, they may not be aware of their options and, File an application for a change of non-Additionally, H-1B non-immigrants may processing may be available for some in some cases, may wrongly assume that they have no option but to leave File an application for adjustment of the country within 60 days," stated the USCIS in its latest release.

The tech industry continues to grapple circumstances' with lay-offs, with news of new job cuts authorisation document; or surfacing every month. So far, a total Be the beneficiary of a non-frivolous of 237 tech companies have laid off petition to change employers. If a non- frivolous application to change status their employer (or petitioner for O 58,499 employees in 2024.

### HOLDERS DO TO STAY IN US

a non-immigrant worker's employment non-immigrant status. ends, either voluntarily or involuntarily, But if they don't take any action during it was pending, and the applicant holders can look for US jobs and return they typically may take one of the this time, they and their dependents maintained their status prior to the filing for the remaining H-1B period. They following actions, if eligible, to remain might have to leave the US within 60 of the request for change of status. in a period of authorised stay in the days, or when their authorised period H-1B VISA HOLDERS CAN CHANGE classifications from abroad and return United States:



immigrant status;

status:

immigrant takes any of these actions will "toll," or stop, the accrual of unlawful WHAT SHOULD LAID-OFF H-1B VISA during the 60-day grace period, they can presence until the application is transportation back to their home stay in the United States for more than adjudicated, if the applicant did not country. For O workers, both the According to the press release, when 60 days, even if they lose their previous work without authorisation, either employer and petitioner are

ends, whichever comes sooner.

begin working for a new employer as petitions. More options for STEM soon as the employer properly files a new H-1B petition (Form I-129) File an application for a 'compelling requesting to amend or extend H-1B employment status with the USCIS, without waiting the US despite the option to extend for the petition to be approved.

The timely filing of a nonbefore the application was filed or while responsible. Once abroad, H-1B STATUS DURING GRACE PERIOD

During the 60-day grace period, workers can apply to change their nonimmigrant status. Options may include:

Becoming a dependent of a spouse (eg, H-4, L-2). Some dependents may eligible for be work authorisation. Changing to student (F-1) or visitor (B-1/B-2) status. Note that B-1/B-2 visitors cannot work in the US. Seeking a new employer-sponsored status (eg, TN, E-3, H-1B1). Timely filing of a petition by a prospective employer can pause unlawful presence accrual, but it doesn't grant work authorisation until approved. Premium professionals are detailed on our website

Workers can decide to leave their authorised stay. If H-1B or O workers leave after losing their job, workers) must pay for their can also apply for other eligible to the US after approval.

## US envoy on Chabahar deal: Iran exports terror, businesses should be aware

interview, US Ambassador to India Eric just in India, but maybe anywhere in the Garcetti speaks about his experiences on world," he said. case, and the Chabahar port deal.

said businesses should be aware of the risks of interacting with Iran as it exported terrorism. However, Garcetti said the US mission in New Delhi was awaiting further clarification on the State Department's warning of "potential risk of sanctions" for India over the inking of the Chabahar port deal with Iran. In an exclusive interview with India

Today TV. the US envoy spoke about his years of my life. Me and my family, to see experiences of completing a year in office, the ongoing Lok Sabha elections, the that we can do this in the next 12 months, good in the region and beyond.

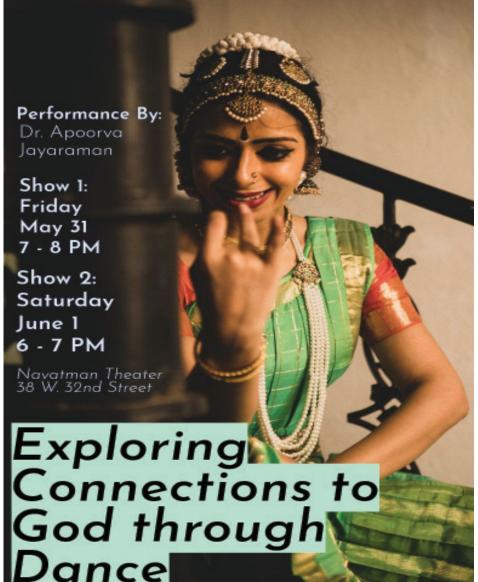
(Sai Bureau)-In an exclusive which would be a record, probably not only

completing a year in office, Lok Sabha Here are the excerpts from the interview: elections, the Gurpatwant Singh Pannun On completing one year as US envoy to India

US Ambassador to India Eric Garcetti It has been one of the most enjoyable



and to feel the changes in India, but also to know the consistency of the spirit of Gurpatwant Singh Pannun murder-for-hire this place and its people. That's why I have case, student protests in US universities always loved this country. I think if you and India-US relations.Garcetti also said have been to India over many years or lived that two more US consulates would be here, you really feel the optimism of this opened over the next 12 months in moment in so many ways. India's Bengaluru and Ahmedabad. "Usually assertion of its place in the world, its kind these things take years. We are hoping of extension of what it can do as a force of



### **INDIA CURRENT AFFAIRS**

### Showing solidarity with Palestinian counterpart, Indian Farmers Union demands end of war against children in Palestine

### **BY JAG MOHAN THAKEN**

Chandigarh(India), May 15: Expressing solidarity with Palestinian Farmers Union, Samyukta Kisan Morcha (SKM), a largest umbrella of Indian farmers' unions, has expressed its grief and fury on the massacre of innocent children in Palestine. A release by SKM leaders states that the leaders of Palestinian Farmers Union in Qalqilya Governorate have appealed to farmers across the world to raise their voice for a ceasefire, ending the war especially on children of 7th October 2023. SKM urged a ceasefire. The Israel attack UK, France and Germany are attacks on over the world.

ceasefire. In a press release peace.



both Palestine and Israel. SKM that people world over must has become 'a war against extending support to the claims that the Union has rally against US Imperialism and children' and one child is being Netanyahu Government of released video clips of brutal the Netanyahu Government of killed or severely injured every Israel to wreak havoc on all the political parties in India children- Israel and appealed to all the ten minutes in Gaza. heartbreaking and stirring the Political Parties to put pressure Sharing the release with our the barbaric face of world of India to play its historical and conscience of the people all on the Government of India to representative, SKM leader and capitalism. SKM appeals to unite all world nations for peace National Vice-President of All the people in India and all over SKM has appealed to end the and tranquillity. The farmers' war against children in umbrella has also appealed to Inderjeet Singh quotes the Imperialism and Zionist appeals to all the mass and Palestine and urged the all sections of the people to join statement that there were never Netanyahu Government of class organisations and government of India to do the solidarity movement world such massacres of children by Israel. everything possible for a overfor Free Palestine and world any army in the history of the The Indian Farmers' union against the Imperialist

issued on Tuesday, SKM The release divulged that as per Minister Benjamin Netanyahu manipulations and Zionist stand with Israel and veto the leaders have shown their the UN Children's Fund and the state army must be dogma based on hate politics resolutions in the UN concern that one child killed or (UNICEF), the number of prosecuted as war criminals for are the root causes of the Security Council that severely injured every ten children killed in the besieged such a height of cruelty. This ongoing genocide. The Jewish demands ceasefire. SKM minutes in Gaza. The farmers' Gaza strip since October 7, war is a crime against people have been subjected to appeals to the people of India organisation has alleged that 2023 has surpassed 14000. humanity. more than 14000 children have UNICEF also has requested the The US Imperialism and other history under the Nazi peace movement world over in been butchered by Israel since entire world to do something for Imperialist countries including Germany led by Adolf Hitler. solidarity with Palestine.

Palestinians thus exposing to exert pressure on the State India Kisan Sabha (AIKS), Dr. the world to rally against US for world peace. SKM also

world. The Israeli Prime alleges that imperialist forces led by the USA that the worst genocide in the to rally and join the massive

The modern state of Israel consisting of the Jewish people is perpetrating the most inhuman, cruel genocide against Palestinians today is a paradox. The successful history of the plural society of India is the answer for the genocide and the threat of Zionism based on racial superiority.

SKM demands the Government of India to come out of the clutches of the USA-Israel nexus and regain its status as the voice of the developing countries never compromising on world peace and tranquillity. SKM further puts its demand to most important role for mobilizing people's opinion trade unions to join hands

## Supreme Court junks ED's plea on Arvind Kejriwal's speech: 'Won't go into that'

The Supreme Court on Thursday refused to entertain the Enforcement Directorate's plea seeking action against Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal over his campaign speeches. The ED said Keiriwal's assertion that he would "not have to go back to jail" if people voted for the INDIA bloc was a "slap on the face of the system". The ED has objected to Kejriwal's remarks that he would be back from Tihar Jail on June 5 if the INDIA bloc came to power after the Lok Sabha election results were announced on June 4."Arvind Kejriwal has said that if people vote for the AAP, then he doesn't have to go to jail on June 2. How can Arvind Kejriwal say this?" Solicitor General Tushar Mehta told the court. To this, Justice Sanjiv Khanna said, "We



welcome criticism of the verdict. is clear when he (Kejriwal) has to court and the rule of law shall be an exception for anybody." Arvind We will not go into that. Our order surrender. It is the order of the apex governed by this. We did not make Kejriwal, who was arrested in a rallies.

money laundering case linked to the alleged Delhi excise policy scam, was granted interim bail by the Supreme Court last week to campaign in the Lok Sabha elections. The AAP chief will have to surrender and go back to jail on June 2. The top court was hearing a plea by the Delhi Chief Minister challenging his arrest in the case by the ED.During his poll rallies in Delhi and Haryana, Kejriwal had played the emotional card, recalling how he was arrested just before the Lok Sabha polls and how he was denied insulin doses for his blood sugar in Tihar Jail.

"I have to go back to jail on June 2. I will be watching the results on June 4 from the jail. If you work hard and make the INDIA bloc win, I will come back on June 5,' Kejriwal has been saying at his

**NSIDER** 5

**INDIA CURRENT AFFAIRS** 

#### NSIDER 6

## Amritpal Singh, lodged in Assam jail, declares assets worth Rs 1,000

The nomination filed by Amritpal Singh's lawyer, Harjot Singh, showed that he has assets worth Rs 1,000. The chief of the 'Waris Punjab De'outfit, Singh, 31, has thrown his hat in the electoral ring by contesting from the Khadoor Sahib seat in Punjab as an Independent.

(News Agency)-Radical Sikh preacher Amritpal Singh, who is currently lodged in Assam's Dibrugarh jail under the National Security Act, has declared assets worth Rs 1,000, according to his poll affidavit.

Chief of the 'Waris Punjab De' outfit, Singh, 31, has thrown his hat in the electoral ring by contesting from the Khadoor Sahib seat in Punjab as an Independent.

Singh's nomination papers were filed by his uncle in Tarn Taran district on Friday. Singh filled in his nomination papers on Thursday in Dibrugarh jail in Assam.According to his poll affidavit, Singh has Rs 1,000 bank balance in the equivalent to Rs 4,17,440, in account at case. He, along with nine of his SBI branch, Rayya, Baba Bakala in Amritsar.

moveable or immovable assets, according to his affidavit.

His wife Kirandip Kaur owns movable assets worth Rs 18.37 lakh. It comprises the affidavit. Singh has declared that 12 Rs 20,000 cash in hand, gold jewellery criminal cases are pending against him worth Rs 14 lakh and 4,000 GBP (pound) though he has not been convicted in any



Revolut Ltd, London, UK.

Other than this, Singh does not have any parents while his spouse is a British citizen. She earlier worked as a language interpreter at National Health Services in the UK, but is now a housewife, as per

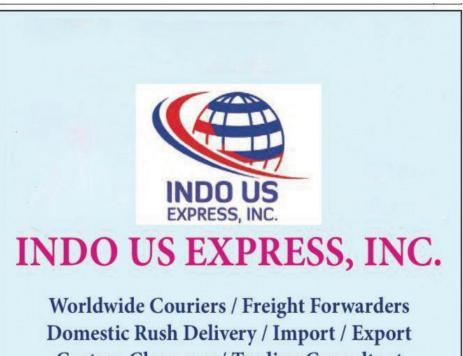
associates, has been lodged in the related to spreading disharmony among Singh has been shown as dependent on Dibrugarh jail since April 23, 2023. Singh's educational qualification is matric police personnel and creating

which he passed from a school in Pheruman in Amritsar in 2008.

Polling for 13 Lok Sabha seats in Punjab will be held on June 1.

The Khalistan sympathizer had escaped the police net in Jalandhar district on March 18 last year, switching vehicles and changing appearances.

The Punjab Police had launched the crackdown after the February 23 Ajnala incident last year in which Amritpal Singh and his supporters, some of them brandishing swords and guns, broke through barricades and barged into the police station on the outskirts of Amritsar city, and clashed with police for the release of Lovepreet Singh Toofan, one of his aides. He and his associates were booked under several criminal cases classes, attempt to murder, attack on obstructions in the lawful discharge of duty by public servants.



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### A Shocking Admission & An Assurance: Will AAP's **Damage-Control Exercise Mollify Swati Maliwal?**

Delhi chief minister's residence.

AAP's Rajya Sabha MP Sanjay Singh the party admitted to the episode even said: "Swati Maliwal had reached the though Maliwal had not got her medical



and was waiting for him in the drawing room. In the meantime, Bibhav Kumar reached there and misbehaved with Maliwal [unhone Swati Maliwal ke saath bahut badtameezi ki, bahut abhadrata ki]. This incident can never be condemned able to establish contact with Maliwal. It enough. Keiriwal has taken cognizance of the issue and has directed that strict action be taken in this regard."

Singh's unequivocal admission of should be punished.

(News Agency)-The Aam Aadmi wrongdoing by Kumar is perhaps the first Party (AAP) is in damage-control mode such admission by the AAP in the midst once again after it acknowledged of countless allegations levelled against unequivocally that Arvind Kejriwal's former the party. Singh's statement did not leave PS Bibhav Kumar had misbehaved with any room for interpretation and did not its Rajya Sabha MP Swati Maliwal at the even carry the characteristic word "allegedly" or "Swati alleged". Shockingly, residence of Arvind Kejriwal to meet him examination done after reaching the Civil

> Lines police station nor had she filed an FIR.After making two calls to the helpline number 100, saying that she was at the chief minister's residence and was assaulted by Kumar - first at the chief minister's behest and then correcting the accusation to drop the chief minister's name -Maliwal had reached the Civil Lines police station. However, she did not file a formal complaint.

While her allegations sent shockwaves across the country, the AAP fielded some of its senior leaders to get in touch with her to understand what had happened. Singh, who happened to be in Mumbai, rushed back to Delhi and was appears that Maliwal wanted a clear signal to be sent that what happened with her was wrong and the one who was guilty

## India's Balancing Act Against China, West Asia and the West

becoming a process of increasing a a much more comprehensive version of nation's options. Faced with Western a 2016 agreement that was amped up economic sanctions, Iran and Russia only sectionally in 2018. But today, we have had to seek alternatives to survive and even thrive in the realm of unintended consequences. Sanctions as a geostrategic tool are facing their own limitations, and overuse by America and its NATO allies is spawning efforts to move away from the US dollar as the exclusive, or at least main currency of international commerce. While Bussia has been encountering sanctions from Western Europe and the US ever since the war with Ukraine, Iran has endured them for far longer. Over the years, both countries have proved ingenious by finding new trading partners and mechanisms of international trade.

China too, despite being the second largest economy in the world, and closely involved in trade with Western Europe and the US, is now facing sustained headwinds. Its economy has become sluggish. For a country that has the established global been manufacturer of myriad things for decades, this is a difficult pill to swallow. It is increasingly facing stiff US trade tariffs and outright bans.

With India, China has recently overtaken the US as the biggest exporter of its goods despite restrictions imposed. This is ironic because there is no let-up in the tense situation on its long Tibetan borders with India.

India is considered to be an important US partner if not a full-fledged ally in QUAD, and a lateral beneficiary of AUKUS, which puts it in the same frame with a number of G7 countries including Japan, Britain and Australia. It is equipping more and more of its ports to repair and refurbish US naval ships operating in its region. It is collaborating in its military manufacturing not only with Russia, France, and Israel but very significantly with the US. Countries like Germany that were not agreeable to letting India have access to its sophisticated military technology before have also changed their posture. India shares vital intelligence inputs with the US and other Western countries. And yet, it faced the finger-wagging threat of Western sanctions for importing Russian oil and gas, and possibly its neutrality. Though the pressure has eased as the Ukraine War drags on. In fact, it has refined some of the Russian crude and re-exported it to Western Europe.

The US, Israel and others in West Asia are aware of India's cordial relationship with Iran. It is based on geostrategic as well as civilisational affinities. These other countries may be coming around to seeing its advantages. Remarks of the Indian foreign minister rather than its shipping minister, Sonowal, who signed the Chabahar contract hint at this. India has a bilateral track of value missile shield system from Russia.

Geostrategy is increasingly with Iran. This partnership follows on as can see a breakthrough.

In one fell swoop, it opens up a route through the countries of Central Asia by road and rail connectivity all the way up to Russia and on to Europe. It negates some of the potential of the Chinesecontrolled Gwadar Port. the vulnerabilities of dealing with Pakistan's Karachi Port, and the fear of a bottleneck at the Straits of Hormuz. Significantly, after Iran's refusal to accept international arbitration, all arbitration on matters arising between Tehran and New Delhi with regard to the operations will now be settled by a threeperson committee sitting in Muscat, Oman. Oman, strategically positioned, and trusted by both the West and India, has served as an effective intermediary between the two and Iran for many years.It is, in the expected flowering of its potential, a second route in addition to the North-South Corridor from India, across the Arabian Sea, via UAE with connectivity to Saudi Arabia, through Israel, and on to Greece in Europe. That it is somewhat mired presently by the ongoing war in Gaza is hopefully a temporary thing. But Chabahar waking up will tend to leverage reasonableness on this parallel course too. The problems with the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, Iranbacked Houthi attacks on the shipping of various nations, the Somali pirates, and the bottlenecks at the Suez Canal have to be addressed. The burgeoning insurance costs on this route, the reluctance of shippers to send vessels or cargos through this way, the hijackings and missile attacks, and conversely, spiralling shipping expenses and delays of routing via the Cape of Good Hope are all unsustainable burdens on international trade. Iran has been selling most of its oil to China of late in bilateral currencies, at highly discounted rates. It is also selling some of it via Pakistan to try and bypass the Western sanctions, no doubt with tacit US approval. Russia's Gazprom announced its first loss despite selling twice as much of the highly discounted gas to China as it was to Western Europe. Both countries badly need balancing options. India's sea and land route via Chabahar in southeastern Iran means easy access to Afghanistan. This has been proved already with wheat shipments to the latter. But energised, Chabahar has enormous potential. India has been pressured by the US to avoid or curtail the purchase of Iranian oil and gas in the past, but with low-cost options how long can this go on? India is forced to import 90 per cent of its ever-growing volume of petroleum. It must request the US to reconsider its position. The same had to be done when it had to import the S-400

### "BJP's Electoral Odyssey: Navigating **Electoral Bonds and Political Turbulence**"

### By Susmita Ghosh

Predicting the outcome of an election involves a complex interplay of various factors, ranging from political strategies and public sentiment to socio-economic conditions and policy decisions. In the context of the Bharativa Janata Party (BJP) winning either 400 seats or less than 270 seats in an election, two recent developments stand out: the controversy surrounding electoral bonds and the release of Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Keiriwal on bail.

Electoral bonds, introduced in 2017, have been a subject of intense debate. These bonds allow individuals and corporations to donate money to political parties in disguise. While proponents argue that they bring transparency to political funding by channeling donations through the banking system, critics contend that they facilitate dullness and potentially enable an eye for an eye arrangements between parties and donors. The Supreme Court of India has been petitioned to reassess the legality of electoral bonds, raising concerns about their impact on the democratic process. The electoral bond controversy could influence the BJP's electoral prospects in several ways. On one hand, the party has been perceived as a major beneficiary of electoral bonds, with reports suggesting that it has received a significant share of these donations. If the public perceives the BJP as unduly benefiting from a system soiled by opacity and potential corruption, it could erode trust in the party and diminish its electoral appeal. On the other hand, the BJP's difficult organizational machinery and financial resources may allow it to weather the controversy and maintain its electoral dominance. The release of Arvind Kejriwal, the Chief Minister of Delhi and the leader

of the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), on bail is another development that could impact the BJP's electoral fortunes. Kejriwal's arrest and subsequent release are emblematic of the political tensions and legal battles that characterize Indian politics. Kejriwal, known for his anti-corruption stance and confrontational style, has emerged as a vocal critic of the BJP-led central government. His release on bail could galvanize support for the AAP and other opposition parties, potentially denting the BJP's electoral prospects in certain regions where anti-incumbency sentiments run high. The BJP's electoral performance hinges not only on these developments but also on a myriad of other factors, including its governance record, coalition dynamics. and the performance of rival parties. The party's track record in delivering on its electoral promises, managing socioeconomic challenges, and navigating geopolitical complexities will be closely scrutinized by voters. Additionally, the BJP's ability to forge strategic alliances with regional parties and mobilize support across diverse demographic groups will play a crucial role in determining its electoral success. Predicting whether the BJP will win 400 seats or less than 270 seats in an election is essentiallyhypothetical and contingent upon numerous variables. While the party's formidable organizational machinery, financial resources, and incumbency advantage may bolster its electoral prospects, it faces challenges stemming from the electoral bond controversy, opposition mobilization, and broader sociopolitical dynamics. Ultimately, the outcome of the election will be determined by the collective voice of the electorate, whose verdict remains uncertain till the ballots are cast and counted.

### **NSIDER**

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**OP-ED** 

### **NSIDER** 8 From roadshows to studio shows, Modi

## 'interviews' are everywhere-what has changed?

PM Modi has opened himself up to questions in the middle of his campaign-he's less formal, more spontaneous. He's on a boat with TV 18 India, strolls in a garden with India Today correspondent, and walks inside a building with India TV.



Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal enjoyed their moments in the sunweek, with triumphant appearances in Varanasi and Delhi.

However, while the PM continues to roadshow his way through the country, giving seemingly impromptu interviews to television news channels along the way — a new addition for him, this election season—the CM's progress has hit a roadblock from an unexpected quarter: his own personal assistant. Vibhav Kumar, PA to Kejriwal, reportedly "misbehaved" with the AAP's Rajya Sabha MP, Swati Maliwal when she visited the CM residence on Monday, leading to husband, Naveen Jaihind, who what India Today called, 'AAP's assault row'.

The puzzle over what precisely happened between Maliwal and Kumar, and why it took AAP over 30 hours to "admit" (Republic TV) that the PA's conduct was unbecoming, has dimmed the lustre of Kejriwal's release from Tihar Jail after the Supreme Court granted him interim bail, last Friday.

English news channels set out to investigate the mystery, Monday. They chose to largely ignore the fourth phase of voting that included Jammu and Kashmir for the first time since the abrogation of Article 370 five years ago-and gave second pegging to the Prime Minister cooking or rolling rotis at a langar in Patna.

newsworthy enough to cover.

Delhi's CM would act decisively. When no action followed, TV news asked 'Big questions' on Wednesday: 'Is AAP shielding Vibhav Kumar?', 'Why no police complaint?', 'Has someone silent?

The biggest lead in "Assaultgate", said Times Now, midday Wednesday. It interviewed her former alleged a threat to her life and a conspiracy to silence her.

Dear oh dear, what have we here? Modi's newfound love for 'interviews' We will return to the media's coverage of the mystery surrounding Maliwal, in a little.

Before that, let's talk about PM Modi's sudden fondness for on-thespot TV interviews. In the last three days, he has stopped to chat with several news channels, including Times Now, India Today/Aaj Tak, India TV, News 18 — and NDTV. This is Modi's first interview to NDTV-at least as far as one can recall-so that's huge for the channel.

And, in addition to these, there was the sit-down interview with Republic TV. We are familiar with the PM's pre-planned, one-on-one formal

Kumar and Maliwal's disappearance. them since 2013 during his For some reason, best known to campaign for the 2014 Lok Sabha themselves, Hindi news channels elections. In the last six weeks, and in the media glare-this last didn't find Maliwal's accusation of we've watched the PM answer "maar peet" at the CM's house questions on leading Hindi and English news channels mentioned Come Tuesday afternoon and AAP's above (barring NDTV)-TV 9 Sanjay Singh announced that Bharatvarsh being one of the first. These are recorded interactionsmost of us believe the questions have been shared with the PM in advance. Now, the PM has opened himself up to guestions in the middle of his campaign—it's a refreshing persuaded Maliwal...' to remain change. He's less formal, more spontaneous—on TV 18 India, he's on a boat, and leans on the railing. In Patna, he's standing next to Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar, probably after a rally on Times Now; he strolls in a garden with the India Today correspondent; and he walks inside a building with India TV. You see how comfortable he is with himself and with being interviewed. And of course, he's a past master at amateur theatrics. Do watch his Q&A with Rubika Livaguat (News 18 India)-listen and see how he appears surprised to learn that he had reportedly referred to Muslims as "infiltrators" during a campaign speech in Banswara, Rajasthan, in April.

His themes remain the same: attack Congress, attack Congress leader Rahul Gandhi-for example, he tells India Today that the Congress will score zero in Uttar Pradesh. He projects himself as a man of the people, the chosen one: On India TV Instead, they went after Kejriwal & Q&As on TV—we've been watching and News 18 India, he says God has

chosen him to work for the people. That is the source of his "energy" ("urja").

This is heady stuff.

The question is, why is the PM suddenly available to the media when he has been reluctant during his 10 years in office? What has changed? These questions are all the more interesting when Union Home Minister Amit Shah is simultaneously giving interviews to news channelssaw him on NDTV, Aaj Tak, and TV 9 Bharatvarsh.

So, what has prompted this "double engine" news media engagement? Are they aiming for '400 paar' or seeking to motivate the faithful and the undecided voter?

The news media doesn't know the sequence of events that led to AAP's RS member Swati Maliwal making two PCR calls from Arvind Kejriwal's residence. However, the very first reports across news channels on Monday morning spoke of her being "beaten up". Channels said she left the CM's residence, went to the Civil Lines police station but did not lodge a complaint and refused to be checked. Then she left and has not been seen or heard from, since.

Delhi Police generously shared its diary notes of the PCR calls with the media and we learnt Maliwal had complained that she was badly beaten up - at the behest of the chief minister.

TV news channels made the most of this by continually referring to "maar peet" whereas the newspapers stuck to a more formal "assault".

Republic TV and Hindi daily Dainik Jagran said Maliwal was crying when she came out of the CM's residence before the police persuaded her to visit the police station. By the way, no media report has mentioned any visible physical injury to Maliwal.

Newspapers like The Indian Express speculated on the reasons for the altercation. "Maliwal was among the Rajya Sabha MPs whose absence from the city was questioned when Kejriwal was arrested by the Enforcement Directorate on March 21. In response, she had said that she was in the US with her sister who was undergoing treatment," the Express said. Television news is all over this story and AAP needs to act fast to stop a public relations disaster.

## Bumble CEO says get ready for AI dating. Are humans just algorithms now?

**By AKANKSHA MISHRA** 

As if navigating the world of online dating wasn't difficult Everyone approaches dating in that makes you toil to find 'the which gods you pray to and how dislikes as you and whose AI enough, Bumble CEO's new assertion that "artificial intelligence is the future of dating" would force even the most die-hard romantic to give up and run away to a life in the hills."In the future, your AI concierge could go and date for you with other Al concierges, and then you don't have to date 600 people," said Whitney Herd, Bumble CEO, at the Bloomberg Technology Summit last week in San Francisco, United States. While the audience took it as an encouraging sign pointing toward the wonders of technology, to me, it sounds a lot more dystopic than eutopic. Imagine if AI took over dating — as if it's just a college term paper you need to submit (not that I recommend AI for that either) and not an entire relationship with a human being. There are already a host of problems with existing dating apps and the way they're designed because they rarely allow you to get to know someone beneath carefully curated pictures and one-word replies. Pigeonholing somebody into a minuscule online profile is a sure-shot way of seeing them not as people who contain multitudes in themselves but rather as just figures on a screen. Adding AI to the mix will only keep humans farther from the equation, and that begets the question - why are you even dating?

If it is such a task for you that you would rather let a machine do it, maybe you shouldn't be dating or looking for a partner at all. If you don't have the time to go out and find the right one, which is why you are using AI, what's the guarantee you won't use their services once the relationship starts?

Very soon, we'll be in a world where your AI device will find you the most suitable partner who would be using their own AI device. The AIs will then marry - or merge or unify - and pick and choose the best qualities in you and your partner and perhaps create AI babies too on your behalf. Not coded in love

This is not a boomer rant against AI and new technology. I don't deny that the technology and large language models like ChatGPT are immensely useful and can help us in fields like medicine, law, and coding. My issue lies in using AI over emotional intelligence.

An AI device dating on your behalf is simply scary. And it's beyond the

or not.

their own way, however, one

shouldn't be an unsavoury task 'hack' dating for you, no matter who has the same likes and perfect one'; it should be a process many versions of He's Just Not matches yours - it is someone common thing should be that that you enjoy in and of itself. And That Into You (2009) and Dating for who understands you despite you enjoy the process of getting how do you even define the perfect Dummies you get through. The your differences.

debate whether it will be efficient to know someone. Dating someone? No formula on earth can elusive 'soulmate' isn't someone

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9

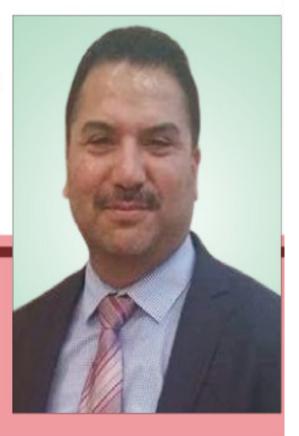


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## Putin's war machine reshuffle reveals his deepest fear – the rise of Kremlin rivals

### By Samantha de Bendern

When the Russian defence minister, Sergei Shoigu, was removed from his post and appointed head of the security council this week, there were two big questions on everyone's mind. What would his successor, Andrei Belousov, bring to the table, and what would happen to the former head of the security council, Nikolai Patrushev - reputed to be the second most powerful man in Russia and seen by many as a potential successor to Vladimir Putin?

The second question has a straightforward answer. Patrushev, neutralising an ally it seems, is being sidelined. become too powerful. The Kremlin But the Russian political scientist Yesterday. the spokesperson Dmitry Peskov said as a much-needed anti-corruption Shoigu's dismissal, and the Patrushev had been appointed to clean-up within Russia's security nomination of Belousov as the new the grand position of presidential apparatus. There was last defence minister, "have nothing to aide for shipbuilding - barring any month's arrest of Shoigu's close do with Shoigu's corruption", further surprise moves, this is a ally, the deputy defence minister considerable downgrade in Timur Ivanov, and the reported role. The question of what Shoigu's detention on unspecified criminal removal will mean is a bit trickier, charges of Yuri Kuznetsov, military spending and removing but it may also be a case of Putin another senior figure in the any threat to Putin's power.



Kremlin reshuffle was initially interpreted Mikhail Savva insists that

ninistry this week. adding that "in those circles everyone steals". This is about two things: taking back control of

Belousov is described as a most importantly does not trustworthy "bureaucrat among threaten to build a parallel power bureaucrats", and "President base to Putin. Vladimir Osechkin, Putin's Albert Speer", who will take an exiled political commentator Russia's military industrial with close ties to the security complex to a new level of apparatus, explains that Putin is efficiency. Russia's myriad of pro- terrified of a repeat of last June's war bloggers have welcomed him events, when Yevgeny Prigozhin as a technocratic manager who led a mutinous rebellion. will undertake a full audit of military So, if it seems strange to dismiss spending and manage the finances the minister of defence while and procurement vital to the army, things are picking up on the front, but leave military issues to the it is precisely because of that general staff.By putting an success that Putin can now economist who strongly believes move Shoigu aside. According to that the state should be the main Ivan Preobrazhensky, a Russian driver of the economy at the head political commentator and of the defence ministry, Putin is member of the Free Russia showing the world that he is Forum, "Putin was afraid of turning the whole of Russia into a changing the top brass in the war machine, and that he is defence ministry while the front digging in for the long haul. For this was unstable". he needs a good technocrat who All of this points to Putin's fear of is above all loyal.Indeed, unlike the power struggles inside the Shoigu, Belousov does not come Kremlin and the awareness that, with a power base or a clan of as he builds his absolutist power, loyal followers. He owes his there are cracks that could widen position to Putin, is an introvert who unless he takes pre-emptive does not seek the limelight and measures.

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10



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### **NSIDER**

## **India-Iran Chabahar Deal Signals Resolve Amid A World In** F

### By Aditi Bhaduri

India's move to sign a 10-year contract for the operation of the Chabahar port is a bold and strategic step for many reasons. First, a recap.

Since at least 2013, India had been mulling over the development of the Chabahar port on Iran's East coast in the Sistan-Baluchistan province, overlooking the Gulf of Oman. For India, this is the nearest Iranian port, much closer than Bander Abbas, which lies on Iran's West coast. However, western sanctions over Iran's nuclear programme had stalled the progress on Chabahar.

### The JCPOA Story

The signing of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in 2015 between which is open storage area - and a the Indian Ocean and to South Asia and Iran on one hand and the US, UK, France, Russia, China, Germany, and the metres. European Union on the other eased the way for India to commit to the development of the Shahid-Beheshti terminal of the Chabahar port. When Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Tehran in 2016. he earmarked \$500 million for the work. A trilateral agreement between Iran, India and Afghanistan on the 'Establishment of International Transport and Transit be overemphasised, especially as Corridors' was also signed with the objective of facilitating the movement of goods between India and Afghanistan. Since 2018, the port's operations have been managed by the New Delhi-backed India Ports Global Limited (IPGL). PlayUnmute

Three years after the US signed the JCPOA, former US President Donald Trump pulled out of the deal. But given that the Chabahar port was considered critical for stabilising Afghanistan, as also the fact that this was the route India used to humanitarian aid to the country, the port an entirely new salience. was exempted from reimposed US sanctions on Iran. Even so, the changed dynamics made things difficult and India dragged its feet in other logistical areas, such as the construction of the railway line from the port to Zahedan. The delay to Gwadar in Pakistan. Ultimately, it took eight more years before India and Iran could finalise the general framework for A Gateway To Many Places cooperation. Monday's agreement is thus, in a way, a culmination of those efforts. The Search For 'Alternatives'

Iran's Port Maritime Organisation (PMO) in the presence of Sarbananda Sonowal, India's ports, shipping and waterways



approximately \$120 million in equipping the port. India has also offered a credit window equivalent to \$250 million for mutually identified projects aimed at improving Chabahar-related infrastructure, officials said

The importance of the port for India cannot in 2023. countries scramble to search for alternatives to the Suez Canal trade route. Chabahar scores high in those calculations. Though the original intent behind the port was to bypass Pakistan in accessing Afghanistan, it was also meant to counter the Chinadeveloped Gwadar, 170 kilometres away. The latter is part of Beijing's China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a flagship project under the ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). With Beijing's rising influence in South Asia and the Indian and Russia. A 2014 study by the India had once ceded space to China in Ocean - most recently highlighted in events Federation of Freight Forwarders' Iran when it halted trade and investments bypass Pakistan and send in the Maldives - the Iranian port takes on Association of India found that it was 30% under the threat of sanctions. Yet, after

Chabahar is equally important for India's trade and connectivity ambitions. It is easily India's closest gateway to landlocked but resource-rich Central Asian states. "Chabahar Port's significance transcends its role as a mere conduit between India irked the Iranians, and now and again and Iran; it serves as a vital trade artery came veiled threats of linking Chabahar connecting India with Afghanistan and Central Asian Countries," Sonowal said after the signing of the agreement.

countries have often told this author how reach Greek Ports - a subject that was coveted the Indian market is for them. discussed during the visit of Greek Prime investments and connectivity linkages. The pact, signed between the IPGL and Access to the Arabian Sea will also open Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis to New Delhi up Southeast Asian markets to them. in February this year. Lastly, Chabahar also from the private sector, Iran is developing That's important given the fact that even becomes important as the India-Middle the area around Chabahar as an though Central Asia is a valuable source of East Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) industrial, free trade and tourism zone minister, will now enable the operation of raw material, energy, and minerals, trade hangs in limbo amidst the Gaza crisis. the Shahid-Beheshti terminal. It has a total remains low due to connectivity troubles. Strategically, all these routes also offer potential is immense, and it seems India

warehouse spread over 30,000 square further afield was through the Af-Pak region, but the ongoing turmoil in the area Under the agreement, the IPGL will invest has come to pose problems for Central Asian states. This is why countries like Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan have been seeking to get involved in the Chabahar port project. In which sees itself not just as a member fact, a Joint Working Group has also been of the Global South but as one of its established, and its first meeting was held leaders, will have to do a careful

> Beyond Central Asia, Chabahar is also deal right now speaks of a great resolve. important for India's access to the Russian Federation in the North as well as to the Soon after the announcement of the South Caucasus, the Balkans and West Europe. In 2020, India's External Affairs spokesperson of the US State Minister, S. Jaishankar, pitched for the inclusion of the Chabahar port complex in the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC), which comprises the Caspian Sea littoral states and culminates inside the Russian Federation. The INSTC risk that they are opening themselves is the shortest trade route between India up to and the potential risk of sanctions." cheaper and 40% shorter than the Suez the reimposition of American sanctions route, reducing transit time for Europe- on Iran in 2018, the Chabahar port was bound shipments to an average of 23 days from the usual 45-60 days.

#### The Route To Europe

The Ukraine conflict has helped put in focus 400 Triumf missile system from Russia. the potential of the INSTC. With Russia New Delhi went ahead with it - just as it under sanctions and European neighbours like Finland blocking the common borders, it becomes imperative for India to find other routes to both East and West Europe. Here the US continue to engage in secret again, a route through Iran, Armenia, negotiations too. Envoys and officials from Central Asian Georgia via the Black Sea can help India area of 254 hectares - 16 hectares of The shortest route to the warm waters of alternatives to the Turkey- and China- is resolved to move ahead.

backed Middle Corridor, connecting Beijing to Europe through Central Asia, the Caspian Sea, and the South Caucasus.

India As A Leader Of The Global South Such foresight, however, is also contingent on firm resolve, and it is in this context that India's Chabahar agreement should be seen as a bold step amidst the current geopolitical flux. It is a time when the usual West-led world order is being seriously challenged by China and Russia, who seek to offer an alternative. Much of the Global South is caught in the middle, but as the expansion of groupings like the BRICS reflects, many of its members are not against the idea of exploring alternatives. Iran, whose relations with the US have nosedived because of the Gaza war, its military support to Russia, as well as the Red Sea crisis caused by its Houthi surrogates, has thrown its lot with Russia and China. In this climate, India,

balancing act. Therefore, to ink such a **Beyond US Threats** agreement, Vedant Patel, deputy

Department, said, "Broadly, you've heard us say this in a number of instances, that any entity, anyone considering business deals with Iran, they need to be aware of the potential granted a waiver. Similarly, India had also been threatened by US sanctions under CAATSA for its procurement of the Scontinued to buy Russian oil in spite of the sanctions against it, even selling it

On Monday, Jaishankar said the Chabahar Port will definitely see more While India will be seeking investments in a bid to garner investment. The

back to the European Union. Iran and

## Israel Vs Hamas: Take A Cue From Sri Lanka's Experience

#### By: Reshmi Dasgupta

It is time Hamas surprises Israel-and the worldagain, this time not in an unpleasant way, of course. It should release all living Israeli hostages and come clean on all the ones that have perished in the past seven months. That would leave Israel with no justification to continue with its new assault on Rafah and little reason to keep up its brutal military pressure on the rest of Gaza too. That is the least Hamas can do for the civilian Palestinians there.

And yet this is something that Hamas has never mooted; nor unlikely to let Hamas off the hook. children killed in the counter-attack does this seem to have been Prime assertively suggested by anyone Netanyahu can only follow through either. In the ceasefire deal brokered by Egyptian and Qatari of its counter-offensive after the mediators last week, Hamas October 7, 2023 attack: to totally negotiators just insisted the truce must mean an end to Israel's war Hamas. And that means even more on its cadres even though it will civilian deaths. not release all the hostages that Even with the Palestinian toll now still remain in its clutches. Why should Israel agree to such a Hamas does not appear to think it skewed deal, seven months into is time to let the rest of the Israeli its counter-offensive?



on Israel's aim stated at the start "defeat, disarm and dismantle"

well above 34,000 and rising, hostages go even though they are Anyone with 'skin in the game' will the reason Israel gives to justify its Israel's image of invincibility. That realise that with Israeli hostages relentless onslaught, turning a blind now ominously being described eye to the death toll and increasing in in mortal danger. Still, Hamas merely as "dozens" by the Qatari international pressure. Does Hamas went ahead with it. news outlet Al-Jazeera, Israel is think the thousands of women and It made no move to evacuate damage wrought on the Israel are obvious.

Minister Benjamin are worth it because now their cause is getting unprecedented international support?The truth about how Hamas pulled off the attack with such bloody precision may cost Netanyahu his job. But Hamas knew Israeli retaliation would be inevitable and unrelenting as the Netanyahu governmentwhether unforgivably negligent or criminally complacent-would seek to redeem its credibility by wiping out the force that dented would put all Palestinians in Gaza

gambling on a high stakes' strategy, it remained embedded message in this 'success' for deep within residential areas. Its similar terrorist and separatist cadres operated amid the outfits plotting the same path devastation, death and despair, still keeping "dozens" of Israeli theircrosshairs—isalarming. hostages out of reach or rescue. Indians above a certain age, may Moreover, the way Israeli hostages recall a seemingly endless circle were greeted with jeers and kicks of violence and ethnic hate in Sri by locals in Gaza indicated Lanka, where the Hamas-like support for their actions too if not Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam tacit acceptance of the consequences of Hamas' gambit. generations, for a separate As pro-Palestinian—a euphemism homeland—Eelam—on the island. for anti-Israel, anti-Jewishsentiment spreads in the west, leader in V Prabhakaran, besides Hamas now has good reason to many eloquent ideologues who believe that its high-risk, shockand-awe gambit to instigate international pressure to help achieve its goal has succeeded. A violent separatist group can say it had raided the area around the has been able to channel naïve fervour for "justice" in its favour, 146 people including monks, nuns overturning the nearly eightdecade-old, post-World War II western consensus against anti-Semitism.Sitting in their hideaways far away from the carnage and suffering in Gaza, the Hamas top leadership must Lankan Army. This set off a twoconsider their October 7 attack and decade cycle of deadly LTTE the resultant 'achievement' well worth the extreme collateral The similarities with Gaza and

people, including kids; instead, Palestinians, the very people they claim to be fighting for. The implicit elsewhere-and the countries in

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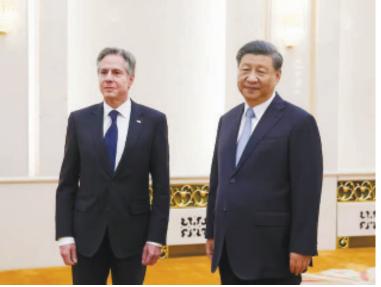
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(LTTE) waged a war that spanned They had a charismatic and brutal fanned out in US and Europe, steering the discourse and putting the Sri Lankan government on the backfoot.Back in 1985, the LTTE revered Maha Bodhi tree, killing and children in an incident now known as the Anuradhapura massacre. There was a predictable bloody backlash against civilian Tamils in the northern provinces by 'civilian' Sinhalas and the Sri attacks and brutal Army retaliation.

## Blinken's Contentious China Visit: Sino-American Impasse Remains

### **By: Kanwal Sibal**

China has taken full advantage of globalisation and the framework of the WTO to become a formidable economic in colossus, and this collaboration with the US and its allies. In 30 years, China developed into a global manufacturing hub with a huge inflow of capital and technology from the G7, and a carefully crafted industrial policy supported by state subsidies. This very rapid industrial expansion resulted in overcapacities in many areas, which China has successfully used to dump products and obtain control of external markets by killing competition. Equally, China, with foresight, and with the huge financial resources at its command, acquired control over many critical raw materials and made advances in many critical technologies vital for a transition change concerns. Solar panels and batteries for electric vehicles



China has developed into a too linked with the Chinese strong military, nuclear and economy to risk a rupture. space power. China is now The US now sees China as its challenging US power. The principal adversary and is forging equations between the two countries have changed. China, as the second largest economy, a huge market and the biggest exporting nation, with its as to slow down China's tentacles now spread all over the technological progress through to green energy amidst climate globe through its Belt and Road Initiative, cannot be either ignored or contained. The US, European pressure on Europe to follow suit.

are examples. At the same time, and Japanese economies are far

policies that would rebuild its own industrial strength in critical areas in order to reduce dependence on China, as well denial of the latest Western technologies. It is also putting

If the US intends to blunt the sanctions issues in the UN or China challenge, its geopolitical outside. China is supporting strategies are not in tune with Russia politically on the Ukraine this objective. It is seeking to issue, including in the UN, and simultaneously contain both obtaining Russian support on the Russia and China, giving both Taiwan issue. The US is now the incentive to support each accusing China of providing dualother, which adds to the use technologies and raw challenge the US faces. While materials to Russia to support the US claims it can handle its defence production and conflicts both in Europe and Asia enabling Russia to prosecute its and that its proxy war against war against Ukraine. Russia does not deplete its US Secretary of State Antony capacity to thwart China's Blinken's visit to China in late expansionism in the western April 2024 was in this general Pacific, the reality is different. background. The goals of the visit The US has already lost ground had to be limited, given the many in West Asia to China as well points of difference between the as Russia. China has played a two countries. The US is looking role in the Iran-Saudi Arabia for some basic stability in ties reconciliation process. Saudi even in an atmosphere of mutual Arabia and the UAE have joined distrust. It wants to avoid getting BRICS which has multipolarity drawn into a military conflict, as a major objective, as well as which is why it has been insisting promoting trade in national on US-China military-to-military currencies to transactions in US dollars.On when the presidential election is Iran and North Korea, the US is due later this year would be no longer in a position to work politically disastrous, although with Russia and China tough political posturing on China cooperatively on nuclear or would bring electoral benefit.

reduce level talks. Any armed conflict

VIEWPOINT

## **PoJK Protests: Violent Crackdown Highlights Pakistan's Colonial Approach**

### **By: Arun Anand**

Pakistan-occupied Jammu and Kashmir (PoJK) is undergoing significant turmoil, with normal life severely disrupted due to the violent suppression of protests by Pakistani security forces. The region is on edge, with mobile and internet communications down and educational institutions indefinitely shut. The situation escalated dramatically in the past week. particularly following the preemptive arrests of local leaders by policies enforced by Pakistan in For over a year, PoJK has the Pakistani police to prevent their long march to the regional capital, Muzaffarabad, on May 11.

have killed over half a dozen civilians and wounded hundreds of others across different districts of the occupied territory.

shape of a non-operation movement and are among the infrastructure like largest and most intense in recent years, are fueled by widespread discontent over the Pakistani long-standing colonial and imperial to the region.



PoJK, which has exacerbated witnessed protests demanding people's frustration and anger. The essential services from the persistent protests underscore the indifferent Pakistani government Eversince, the Pakistani Rangers broader issues of neglect and and its local toothless clientele exploitation by Islamabad towards Muzaffarabad. The region "has long been ignored, exploited, looted and plundered by Pakistani military The protests, which have taken the dictatorships and governments" and "lacks basic and essential mobile connectivity, roads, healthcare and education. This was a lava brewing that may be finding a way to erupt government's policies on basic now." The Pakistani government's amenities, including electricity failure to address the basic needs tariffs, subsidised wheat, and a of the people in PoJK is not just a lack of development. This incident matter of poor governance but also policies of the Pakistani has refocused attention on the a reflection of its colonial approach

administration in Muzaffarabad. The unrest began in May 2023 when residents of Rawlakote in the Poonch division protested against increased electricity charges and the withdrawal of subsidies on wheat and other staples adding to people's misery amidst rising inflation in this severely underdeveloped region. The civil unrest spread to the whole of PoJK, bringing to the fore the decadeslong systematic oppressive have been engaged in a sustained Muzaffarabad to secure its for the region's welfare.

protest against the government, interests. This recurrent meddling seeking not only autonomy over by Pakistan is facilitated by their resources but also access to PoJK's constitutional arrangement basic human rights and life essentials.

The situation has been compounded by recurrent Act provides for the region's interference by the Pakistani nominal self-governance, its government and its military establishment in the governance empowering Islamabad with affairs of PoJK. There is a consensus amongst all the local stakeholders that the PoJK government works under the direction of a two-star military general of the Pakistan Army's Murree-based 12 Infantry Division in Punjab. According to a Human Pakistan," as it establishes the Rights Watch (HRW) report on POJK, "The corps commander in Murree is known to summon the Azad Kashmir prime minister, president and other government officials regularly to outline the military's views on all political and governance issues in the territory." This was demonstrated by the Pakistan military's overnight coup to oust ensure the compliance of the local the elected government of Sardar government. As such, this Tanvir Ilyas in April 2023 and install administration is seen as merely its "puppet" administration under an extension of Islamabad's government.Ever since, people Chaudhry Anwarul Haq in control, lacking genuine concern

with Islamabad under the 'Azad' Kashmir Jammu Interim Constitution Act of 1974. While the Section 56 nullifies everything by unchecked powers to "dismiss any elected government in Azad Kashmir irrespective of the support it may enjoy in the AJK Legislative Assembly." This provision reduces the PoJK government to an entity functioning "by the Pakistanis for 'Azad' Kashmir Council, which operates under Pakistan's prime minister and holds unchallenged authority over 52 subjects. including everything of importance to everyday life of people and the region.Additionally, Pakistan deputes its civil services and police officers to oversee the administration in the region to

NSIDER 13

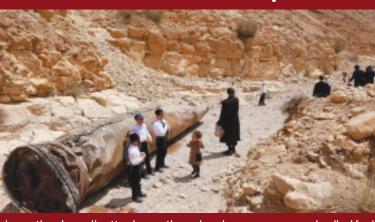
## As war in the Middle East threatens to spread, nuclear disarmament is imperative

### **BY MELISSA PARKE**

Israel is, and has long been, a nuclear-armed state the only one in the Middle East -though this fact has never been officially acknowledged. For decades, the Israeli government has maintained a policy of "nuclear ambiguity," neither confirming nor denying it possesses the bomb.

And the United States and most western governments, at the expense of their credibility as advocates for non-proliferation, have played along. But with the risk that the war in Gaza is morphing into a direct confrontation between Israel and Iran that could draw in more nuclear-armed states on different sides (given U.S. support for Israel and Russia's growing support for Iran), clearly the time has come for urgent action to ensure nuclear weapons are not used in the Middle East.

The tit-for-tat drone and missile



Iranian embassy compound in to return to compliance with the Syria last month seem to be 2015 Iran nuclear deal. calibrated not to provoke an all-out war. But that is an approach fraught with the risk of miscalculation and cannot be relied on to prevent a coalition have already talked about wider conflict.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has raised the alarm that Israel could attack Iranian nuclear facilities, which Israel alleges are a covert nuclear weapons program. For their part, the IAEA and U.S. have expressed concern about Iranian intentions. strikes between Israel and Iran without accusing it of planning to

since the Israeli attack on the develop weapons, and called for it

There is also the threat Israel could use its own nuclear weapons, as politicians from Israel's governing the possibility. It's an idea some U.S. politicians, including most recently, Sen. Lindsay Graham (R-S.C.), have appeared to endorse. When a member of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's cabinet, Amihai Eliyahu, spoke of dropping a nuclear bomb on the people of Gaza, the Israeli leader immediately slapped him down. minister, raise a justifiable concern about Israel's vague and ambiguous nuclear intentions.

For years, Arab states and Iran have vocally objected to Israel's dismantling its nuclear arsenal nuclear arsenal — thought to comprise around 90 warheads. Their calls for Israel to eliminate these weapons have grown louder during the current Gaza war.

The U.S. and the rest of the international community must be clear-eyed about the need for nuclear disarmament in any long-term peace settlement in the Middle East. We need to dispense with the pretense of ambiguity and have an honest and open discussion about Israel's nuclear weapons and why they must be eliminated, particularly given that they clearly have not had any deterrent effect against conventional attacks.

Israel and its key allies have long demanded, as a condition for their future recognition of Palestinian statehood, that Palestine be and verifiable disarmament.

But such threats, even from a junior completely "demilitarized" to ensure Israel's long-term security. But there is an imperative, too, for Israel to move in the same direction — first and foremost, by for the security of Palestinians, Israelis and the entire world.

> Equally, Israel and the international community have been adamant that Iran must not use its nuclear program to develop nuclear weapons. The current impasse in reviving the nuclear deal, following then-President Trump's decision to abandon it in 2018, could be superseded by a grand compromise that sees a nuclearfree Middle East.

To this end, Israel and the other countries in the region, along with all other nuclear-armed states, should join the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) as the only existing international treaty that provides a pathway towards fair

PRESPECTIVE

# 024 Isn't 2004: Here Are 5 Reasons Why Modi Will Be Back Bi



### **By: Rahul Shivshankar**

people till June 4, many "political existence of ground-level antiexperts" mostly from the antipose a challenge. But in the end, election turned? the NDA lost.

than in 2019. This they say was We're at the halfway stage of the also true of the 2004 election 2024 Lok Sabha elections. While when fewer electors voted we won't know the verdict of the compared to 1999. Second, the incumbency despite the BJP Modi tribe have declared that the having denied tickets to a fourth NDA is in trouble. That the 2024 of its sitting MPs. And the Lok Sabha election will be a near absence of any one leader repeat of the 2004 Lok Sabha projected against PM Modi, it has succeeded in avoiding election. In that election, the Atal which prevents the election from turning the election into a South in 2019 it believes it has 2009, and 2014 general elections Bihari Vajpayee-led NDA was assuming the character of a widely tipped to win comfortably. presidential-style face-off.But are The NDA was riding on the "India these "2004-like factors" playing Shining" slogan and a fractured a decisive role as these "political Opposition was not expected to experts" have predicted? Has the

Here are some fact-based The "political experts" say they're arguments that will establish that confident because there are 2024 isn't 2004 and that those "2004-like factors" at play in predicting gloom for the BJP 2024. First, a lower voter turnout might end up with eggs on their

THE BJP'S RAM BAAN

North, where it bagged 210 out voters are looking for security via 2019 was thought to be a Modi of 244 seats is all but ensured. While the BJP is experiencing anti-incumbency pressures it has offset them by mobilising its base through its messaging on Ram and the mandir. The timing varying vision for governance of the Ram mandir inauguration and the carefully curated This antipathy towards instability ceremony aimed at including a is borne out even at the assembly approximately 40% BRS votes panoply of castes was a level where a whopping 78% of the calibrated exercise to shore up the BJP's big caste coalition. The Ram Mandir gambit, if it remaining 22% of the verdicts, could be called that, has helped the BJP neutralise the pre-pollalliance. Opposition's bid to undercut the THE SOUTHERN SWITCH party's rainbow caste coalition The BJP-led NDA has set itself data shows that incumbent by floating the "caste census" balloon.

### THE 'MODI VERSUS KHICHDI' ISN'T AN OPTION

The Opposition is convinced that presidential-style contest by not projecting a leader against Modi. But adopting such a strategy

daily lives. With wars, testy 2019 for instance, the BJP's vote neighbours and a pandemic share in Bengal went up to 40% The NDA's dominance in the having driven home the point, from a mere 17% in 2014. But stability at the national level. wave election. There may not be Especially the narrative setting a Modi wave but there certainly aspirational middle class. The prospect of a fractious coalition with competing interests and a acquiring power may not appeal. mandates in the last few years have been decisive. Of the 80% have been in favour of a tested

an ambitious target in the South. It hopes to capture 40 seats. The more optimistic saffron-istas are dreaming about 50. The BJP may end up short. But because it only won 29 out of 129 seats in the room to grow. In Karnataka, the BJP maxed out in 2019 and may yet concede a few seats but this also hands the BJP a vital will only happen if the Congress advantage. It allows it to market can dramatically swing votes. To stable leadership under a put the challenge for the concluded, was because unlike decisive Modi as its unique Opposition in perspective, the other parties the BJP has a strong selling point. Indian voters are BJP's average victory margin cadre-level organisation of booth today more aware of the chaotic across seats in Karnataka was impact of global strife in an 1.75 lakh votes. Dramatic swings that are experts in getting the interconnected world upon their are rare. But they do happen. In core vote out.

isn't a discernible anti-Modi wave either. Modi remains very popular in 2024.

Losses in Karnataka may be offset in Telangana and Andhra. In Telangana, if even 10% of the were to shift to the BJP, the party would bag 5 seatsLOW VOTER TURNOUT ISN'T A VOTE AGAINST BJP

There is no conclusive correlation between voter turnout and poll outcomes. Over the years, the governments have returned when the turnout has fallen, and incumbents have been ousted when the turnout has risen. Nevertheless, a detailed study on voter participation in the 2004, by Dr Prannoy Roy and Dorab Sopariwala concluded that the BJP consistently won in constituencies where the turnout had dropped. This, the study workers and "panna pramukhs"

## As India Goes Out To Vote, What Is At Stake For Indian Democracy?

### By: Omer Ghazi

An FIR has been lodged against senior Congress leader Salman Khurshid and Samajwadi Party (SP) leader Maria Alam Khan under Sections 188 and 295A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) in the Kayamganj Police Station, Fatehgarh district. The FIR alleges that the leaders made an appeal for "vote jihad", terming it as necessary in the current situation for the minority community to drive away the BJP government. Maria Alam Khan, during an election rally, urged for "vote jihad", stating that it is essential for the minority such rhetoric is particularly priority in the allocation of the community to act in unison against the ruling party.

Prime Minister Modi, in response Muslim family. to the aforementioned incident, condemned the call for "vote jihad" as "an insult to democracy and the Congress, citing a video of constitution". He expressed former Prime Minister Manmohan shock at the remark made by Singh wherein he allegedly stated Maria Alam, emphasising that that minorities should receive



concerning coming from an nation's resources. This further individual from an educated fuelled the ongoing discourse

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) had earlier launched an attack on

surrounding religious favouritism and political polarisation. As India goes out to vote in the ongoing election, similar events have the essence of parliamentary inclusivity, democracy and the principles it accountability.

particular, have brought to light the elections, it is imperative for voters complexities surrounding identity to critically evaluate candidates politics, religious rhetoric, and the based on their qualifications, track role of leadership in a democratic record, and commitment to society.

the principles of equality, voting only serve to perpetuate secularism, and meritocracy, the divisions and hinder the progress reality often strays from these of the nation. ideals. Instead, we see instances Moreover, it is imperative to of identity-based politics, religious recognize the intricate workings appeals, and polarisation, which of parliamentary democracy, threaten the integrity of the wherein the power to govern is democratic process.At the heart of parliamentary democracy lies elected representatives at the the principle of electing leaders based on merit, irrespective of of governance, such as religious or communal affiliations. presidential systems, where The essence of democracy is to voters directly elect the head of empower citizens to make state, parliamentary democracy informed choices, free from divisive operates on a more nuanced rhetoric and partisan agendas. It mechanism. Here, voters elect is about selecting representatives local leaders, who, in turn, play a sparked intense debates about who will uphold the values of pivotal role in the formation of the justice,

embodies. These incidents, in As the nation heads into democratic principles. Blind While democracy is founded on allegiance and identity-based

> decentralised and vested in local level. Unlike in other forms and government and the selection of the Prime Minister.

# **Democrats to kick Joe Biden** off the ticket after the debate?

again, in the latest Democratic on the stage. Party debate in Houston.

to dominate a stage.

seekina.

It does not seem likely that the debates. transformation.

Biden's previous uneven performances didn't dislodge him atop the race, and so caution is justified in predicting bleeding issues like deportation of undocumented immigrants and Afghanistan, an oddly dated reference to a "record player," disrespectful digs and patronizing swipes from rivals, all raise the CNN confirmed that it would host each candidate." question: Can he withstand four the first debate of 2024 on that date On Wednesday morning, Biden more months of this before actual at 9pm ET from the crucial said in a video shared on social Democratic voting begins?

And, if not, a question for his ABC later confirmed they'd host a debates to me in 2020, and rivals: When will those mysterious second debate on 10 September since then he hasn't shown up optics of power kick in for them? A smaller field-ten candidates on A third date, 2 October, has been he wants to debate me again.

U.S. Vice President Joe Biden— when Trump changed in perception intact to the fall. But her to make themselves seem large, in context) implying that Biden who as in previous outings from a loud novelty candidate to performances tend to flicker. there was incessant boasting was suffering from senescence: interspersed some strong someone who clearly was in Crisp and impassioned answers and self-referential answers that "Are you forgetting already what moments with several mushy or command of the GOP race and on expanding access to health invoked the phrase "I'm the only" head-scratching ones-seemed made much more conventionally care or curbing access to guns in ways that often came off as Beto O'Rourke, like Castro emphatically life-sized, once credentialed opponents look small would be followed by long quite tinny.

There is an optical debate and on the trail in October The durability of the Biden stage. dimension to presidential politics 2007 that helped Barack Obama paradox-not so strong to be Bernie Sanders, a remarkably his home city of El Paso, though that is hard to explain in logical overcome a somewhat slow start running away with the race, but consistent debater, whose the praise was in its own way a terms but hard to deny in practical and establish himself as front- strong enough to keep people performances generally are to bit condescending: A clear signal experience: At some point winning runner Hillary Clinton's equal in who could claim his space your taste or not depending on that they no longer view him as candidates seem to grow larger in stature in the Democratic contest. among public projection and their ability. It does not seem likely that the establishment-oriented same as ever except hoarser, nomination. Houston debate will live in Democrats from breaking from what seemed to be a bug Amy Klobuchar, casting her Someone starts the campaign as memory as such a moment of through—was causing some of some kind. Mayor Pete ideological centrism as a natural an ordinary politician, desperate for transformation. For one thing, it irritation among rival campaigns Buttigieg proved himself just as outflow of her Minnesota a few extra seconds on camera, was at times pretty hard work for after the debate. Biden, by these articulate as on multiple previous upbringing in the center of the and somehow becomes a leader the audience: three hours is a lot, lights, benefits from clearing a occasions—a fluency that the country, and Booker, stressing who doesn't have to beg or contrive especially watching people who of bar that should be higher for a numbers suggest has so far his affinity for the challenges cute one-liners to get attention, by necessity are being quite nakedly front-runner. virtue of being very visibly the most calculating in their effort to "He didn't fall over," an adviser average Democrats. consequential person in the field. stand out. One good thing to one of his rivals scoffed, Kamala Harris did not school performances One conclusion of Thursday about the length, however, was calling Biden "the anti- Biden like she did in their first campaign-a reminder of why night's debate, over three hours: a somewhat more dignified expectation candidate.""I think debate encounter, but she did they initially generated such Those mysterious optics have not tone: candidates did not have that we are at a tough point find high notes in continually anticipation earlier in the year. kicked in yet. It was a big stage to shout and filibuster and right now, because there's a lot turning her fire on Trump, who Both need a Biden stumble to of people who still seem smaller interrupt to snare the spotlight as of people concerned about Joe in one caustic line she likened lift themselves up. than the position they are much as they did at the summer's Biden's ability to carry the ball to the man behind the curtain in Lastly, entrepreneur Andrew two previous sets of two-night all the way across the end line The Wizard of Oz, who turned out Yang showed he is the novelty

Houston debate will live in Elizabeth Warren showed the opined on CNN after the debate. Castro did try to school Biden, after author and self-help guru memory as such a moment of traits that helped drive her surge Precisely because the though herisked coming off as rude Marianne Williamson failed to earlier this year have survived candidates are still struggling by not-so-subtly (and inaccurately qualify for the debate.

It was strong performances at a blend into the background.

moderate,

pretty low for all ten people on candidates for his response to

without fumbling," Cory Booker to be "a really small dude." Julian candidate who still seems novel,

you said just two minutes ago?" appearing in his native state, won stretches when she seemed to In truth, however, that bar is still lots of plaudits from fellow the mass shooting last month in your ideology, sounded the a serious threat for the

NSIDER

15

impressed donors more than of urban America, both gave among their stronger of the

## Joe Biden and Donald Trump agree to two US presidential debates

wounds from this one. Even so, Harris re-election campaign debate in June, a debate in July, match-up that 70% say they do election". discursive answers on substantive proposed two TV debates between a debate in August, and a debate not want. They are trying to The commission "has consistently Joe Biden and Donald Trump ahead in September, in addition to the exclude me from their debate demonstrated an inability to of November's presidential vote, Vice Presidential debate. because they are afraid I would enforce their own rules" in the both men have agreed upon two Additional dates will allow voters win. Keeping viable candidates off debates and called for a firm time debate dates: 27 June and 10 to have maximum exposure to the debate stage undermines limit on answers, and alternate September.

battleground state of Georgia.

during prime time.

one night instead of twenty over proposed by Trump in a Truth Well, make my day, pal. I'll even debates and ending them sooner to take place - even if it has to be two-meant that there was no one Social post on Wednesday do it twice." present who didn't pass at least afternoon: "Let this TRUTH serve He then jabbed: "So let's pick some modest threshold of to represent that I hereby accept dates, Donald. I hear you're free the interests of voters". The Debates, which are totally plausibility. And most of the debating Crooked Joe Biden on on Wednesdays," referring to the Democrats' proposal also controlled by Democrats and candidates had at least some FoxNews. The date will be free day in Trump's current noted that debates in previous who, as people remember, got moments when their voices Wednesday, October 2nd. The campaign finance violations trial carried. But there was no one who Hosts will be Bret Baier and Martha in New York. clearly owned the stage and MacCallum. Thank you, DJT!"Chris In a post on Twitter/X, started and the commission's Truth Social: "Crooked Joe Biden loomed obviously larger than rivals. LaCivita and Susie Wiles, with the independent candidate Robert F debates were "structured like an is the worst debater I have ever There's time yet, of course. It was Trump campaign, told ABC News Kennedy Jr accused Biden and entertainment spectacle and not faced - he can't put two around this period four years ago of the upcoming and pending Trump of "colluding to lock a serious exchange of ideas that sentences together."

the records and future visions of

media: "Donald Trump lost two for a debate. Now he's acting like

Shortly after the Biden- debate dates: "We propose a America into a head-to-head reflect the enormous stakes of the democracy."

> Biden's proposal bucked a is evenly divided and we have an tradition of three debates, typically exchange of views, not a held in the fall, that are organized spectacle of mutual interruption". by the bipartisan Commission on Later on Wednesday morning, Presidential Debates. Democratic Trump accepted Biden's offer to party officials said in a release on debate him in June and Wednesday that moving the September, telling Fox News timing up, reducing the number of Digital that "it is time for a debate reflected changes in the held through the offices of the "structure of our elections and Commission on Presidential elections cycles had not caught cheating with me with concluded until after early voting debate sound levels". He added on

turns to speak "so that the time

## Why New York's elites are investing in hidden doors, panic rooms

splurge on yachts, luxury condominiums violence protests were a turning point. doors and bulletproof doors.

immigration anxieties, elite residents of influence, New York are taking extraordinary measures to feel safe in their own homes. This trend is evident in a surge bulletproof doors.

Over three-quarters of Americans believe crime has increased nationwide, according to a Pew Research Center study. These fears relate to a combination of factors, including violent clashes between protestors and police, and the constant stream of shocking incidents captured on video and shared on social media, reported the Daily Mail. In response to these clashes, New York's elite are shelling out thousands of dollars to fortify their homes. Security upgrades include hidden doors, bulletproof doors, electrified doorknobs, ballistic doors, advanced security systems with facial recognition locks, and more.

Wealth is being spent on boosting the sense of security.

### PANIC ROOMS CAN COST OVER \$1 MILLION

The New York Post reports that the price for a custom-built panic room starts at \$50,000. These rooms are reinforced with bulletproof materials and have nightvision gear, medical kits, and even food supplies. They can be cleverly disguised and seamlessly integrated into any building, whether it's an old townhouse or a modern penthouse. For luxury apartments, the price tag for these panic rooms can skyrocket to \$1 million or even higher.

Panic room builders attribute the recent surge in demand to the anti-policeviolence protests that erupted across New York City for months following the death of George Floyd, a black American man who was murdered by a white police officer in 2020, according to the Daily Mail.

David Vranicar, owner of Fortified Ballistic Security - a Florida-based construction and design firm specialising in panic rooms – is one of many industry increase in business in New York City over the past year.

Steve Humble, from Creative Home Engineering in Arizona, is another builder of hidden rooms and secret passages who has seen a similar rise in business in the New York area. He

or private planes. However, the elites of Bill Rigdon, CEO of Building Consensus, applied to the walls of a small, some remaining hostages, the company New York are investing money in things a company specialising in high-end unfinished room. entirely different -- panic rooms, hidden security solutions, has always catered HIDDEN DOORS AND BULLETPROOF to a clientele of wealthy individuals, DOORS IN DEMAND Gripped by fears of rising crime and celebrities, and people of significant Additional features like access Today's trend leans away from dedicated according to Business. However, business has and water storage, communication boomed even further in recent months. systems, and other equipment will closets, bedrooms, and home offices Rigdon attributes this to a combination significantly increase the cost. of homeowners investing in security of growing national anxieties, civil unrest, Bill Rigdon's company offers security rooms to function as normal living upgrades like panic rooms and and the uncertainty surrounding the features beyond ballistic doors that can spaces while also providing a hidden upcoming presidential election.

> "People are scared to death," Rigdon told These include electrified handles, FOX Business. "They're asking me, 'How smoke-screen launchers, hidden secret doors are built into the walls of can I protect myself with the upcoming nozzles for spraying dyed pepper spray election and the civil unrest that I see on at intruders, and even remotethe news every day?' In fact, many controlled robots or drones armed with provide a safe exit for occupants of the projects need to be completed before shotgun shells. Following the January apartment in case of an emergency. November 5th, when the presidential 6 attack on the US Capitol, the With videos of protests and violence election takes place."

Fox controls, advanced technology, food

even stop AK-47 bullets.

from \$100,000 to \$200,000 depending on in their homes. After Hamas terrorists apartments and buy some mental peace.

The uberwealthy are known to also believes the 2020 anti-police- the desired level of protection. This stormed Israel in early October, killing price typically only covers materials over 1,100 Israelis and kidnapping 200, had "a large number" of Jewish homeowners creating panic rooms, reported the Daily Mail.

16

panic rooms and instead focusses on converting existing spaces like master into secure havens. This allows these layer of security.

Then there are the hidden doors. These apartments, and hidden with a window sill or a bookcase. They are meant to

company said politicians from both flooding social media, the elites of New The cost of a basic panic room can range sides reached out to create safe rooms. York are using their wealth to secure their

## India signs 10-year deal with Iran to manage Chabahar port

of Contract for Equipping and Operation of with Republic of India Shahid Beheshtl Port of Chab



India signed a 10-year agreement ports. with Iran on Monday to develop and The progress of the Chabahar port's IPGL assumed port operations at the end manage the Chabahar port, marking a development was initially hindered by US of 2018 and has since managed container pivotal development in bilateral ties sanctions on Iran. between the two nations.

The Chabahar port, situated on Iran's southeastern coast along the Gulf of Oman, has importance beyond facilitating India-Iran been a focal point of India's efforts to bolster trade, serving as a critical trade conduit trade links with Iran, Afghanistan, and for India to connect with Afghanistan and central Asian countries.

'Union Minister of Ports, Shipping and He Waterways and AYUSH, Sarbananda opportunities this link has unlocked for Sonowal visited Chabahar, Iran on 13 May 2024 to witness the signing ceremony of Long-term Main Contract for the The long-term contract was signed in the port. He shared these remarks with leaders who has witnessed a significant development of Shahid Beheshti Port between Indian Ports Global Limited reporters during a briefing in Mumbai on Terminal, Chabahar. The contract was (IPGL) and Iran's Port & Maritime Monday. The intention is to link Chabahar signed between India Port Global Limited Organisation. According to Mehrdad with the International North-South (IPGL) and Ports and Maritime Bazrpash, Iran's Minister of Roads and Transport Corridor (INSTC), creating a Organization (PMO) of Iran," said an official Urban Development, IPGL will inject pathway from India to Russia via Iran. This press releae. This initiative aims to create approximately \$120 million into the port's port offers India an alternative route to alternative trade routes that find a way development, alongside an additional reach Afghanistan and Central Asia, around Pakistan's Karachi and Gwadar \$250 million in financing, making the avoiding Pakistan.

Union Minister Sarbananda Sonowal highlighted the port's strategic Central Asian Countries.

trade and supply chain resilience across the region.

contract's total value reach \$370 million. traffic exceeding 90,000 TEUs (Twentyfoot Equivalent Units) and over 8.4 million tonnes of bulk and general cargo, as per an Indian government official.

Additionally, the official noted that Chabahar Port facilitated the shipment of 2.5 million tonnes of wheat and 2,000 highlighted the newfound tonnes of pulses from India to Afghanistan. Foreign Minister S Jaishankar expressed optimism about the deal, stating that it would pave the way for larger investments

### **FRONT PAGE FEATURE**

### NSIDER 17

### What's common between Netflix Chamkila and Trudeau's trouble-infested Canada? They don't get Punjab

Chamkila's assassination there were a negative also if Indian intelligence sees massacres every other day. To airbrush all the need to go fight the so-called of this is sheer intellectual cowardice if not a crime

In the middle of a raging general election now in the electoral equivalent of its slog over, why should one be talking about a mere OTT movie? Even if it is Imtiaz Ali's critically acclaimed Amar Singh Chamkila (Netflix).

It is set in Punjab in early 1988, when terrorists ruled, and ends on 8 March with the assassination of Amar Singh Chamkila, the phenomenally popular superstar of rural Punjab.

We do not write movie reviews here. This film, however, forces us to connect with a reality we prefer to forget. And those who prefer forgetting inconvenient realities are destined to live through them again. Three things as we go forward:

• The film is deeply and immorally flawed, as are almost all Indian films set in contemporary history, in being totally devoid of context. It has scattered mentions of ongoing terrorism in the Punjab of 1988, but mostly skirts it.

subsequent paragraphs, assassination took place exactly two months before Operation Black Thunder in the Golden Temple complex. Friday — 10 May, 2024 — when this column is being written, is the 36th anniversary of the operation, after which terrorists/militants/ radicals haven't been able to return to this most hallowed of Sikh shrines

• Third, and most important. Canada has just arrested three "Indian citizens" (all Punjabis, likely Sikhs) for the alleged assassination of Hardeep Singh Nijjar. A concerted and somehow well-supported effort has been on, centred in Canada but also with links mostly to other countries in the Anglosphere, to reignite the same fires and burn Punjab again. This was given further legitimacy last week with both the prime minister of Canada and its leader of the Opposition attending a Sikh religious event where separatist and offensive slogans were shouted, and incendiary pictures and posters displayed.

For clarity, between 1981 and 1993, the phase of terror, a few of its leaders did escape to Canada and the UK but found zero political support and mostly gravitated to Pakistan. Today, the separatist leadership exists only - or mostly - in Canada and it has the fullest political support.

The other difference is, unlike in the 1980s, there is no support for such a campaign in Punjab, Sikh shrines enjoy peace and calm. This is a positive. The negative, however, is how strongly this purely offshore campaign has become enmeshed in the domestic vote bank politics of Canada. There is protection for the vilest subversive

Khalistanis in faraway nations when almost none exist at home. All of these things do not end well.

The Canadians believe that the three alleged assassins of Nijjar were working at the behest of Indian 'agencies'. At the same time, what we know is that the three arrived in Canada on student visas and have apparently never done a day of school or college. They are uncluttered hired mafia hitmen. Further, they've also been named for three more murders where no 'Indian

agency connection' is alleged. Assassinations and counter-strikes are now commonplace in Canada. Some of the well-known armed mafias in India are also operating through these groups in Canada while their leaders are lodged in jail. For example, Lawrence Bishnoi in Gujarat's Sabarmati jail. Punjab mafias, popular culture (mostly music), drug- and gunrunning and illegal immigration are a deadly mix and most of its sustenance comes from the lax — I'd rather not say complicit - Canadian system.

• While I will elaborate on the context in It is for Canadians to ask how come they this are importing jobless flotsam like these three, and others running mafias in their country, from Indian Punjab. We know that

Even in the weeks leading up to activity under the garb of free speech. It's kabootarbaazi (literally, pigeon-flying). How are the visas arranged, though? Is the visa/security clearance system of a G7 and Five Eyes member state so porous, callous or corrupt that so many of these "students" keep getting in? Is the need for cheap need for more voters for a particular party? Canada is importing India's mafias. Mostly, they fight amongst themselves. Now this is spilling over into India. The killing of singer Sidhu Moosewala, for example. The Moosewala assassination caught India's imagination because he had become a was the much-loved progressive poet Pash pan-national star. In 1988, Amar Singh Chamkila - a Dalit whose original name assassinated just two weeks after was Dhani Ram, aged just 28 when he was killed — was a very local star.

> He was working class and his lyrics were so rustic that those of us floating in the state keeping the daily count of dead weren't particularly aware of the phenomenon. Unless a taxi driver dropped his cassettes in the player.

immigration racket - popularly called in a critical juncture of our history isn't '47'?

creative freedom. It borders on the criminal. The film doesn't suggest he was killed by militants/terrorists. It doesn't even mention the 't' word.

His lyrics, raw as they were full of double entendre, weren't the worst you'd hear in Punjabi labour so desperate? Or is it the all of rural Punjab then, or now. Chamkila's fame had greatly disconcerted competitors, mostly upper caste. Did somebody put out a contract on him? We still do not know. Nobody was ever caught. The safest crime in that reign of terror was murder.

> However, if he was killed for obscenity, why (original name: Avtar Singh Sandhu) Chamkila. His poetry had words of equality, a little bit of egalitarian revolution. His most famous composition (google it) was sabh ton khatarnak hunda hai sapneyan da mar jana (the most dangerous thing for you is when you let your dreams die). Somebody would kill him for that?

He was a former Naxalite, had spent The film suggests he was killed because time in jail and had just travelled "somebody" thought his lyrics were overseas to rouse the Punjabi obscene, warned him to desist, and when diaspora's conscience against violence he didn't-because his audiences wanted in his state. Overseas, he also joined the "real" stuff - he was killed. As simple a group called Anti-47. That '47' came as that. Or, for the filmmaker, as simplistic from the AK-47 rifle, then freely supplied as that. That's where the context is missed. by the Pakistanis, which killed at least And in my book, context missed so 25,000 in Punjab in that decade-plus. Who in our Punjab, there is an extensive illegal deliberately and conveniently in a film set killed him if not those who ruled with the

## **Biden should have pardoned Trump** on federal charges, Mitt Romney says

announced, the Utah senator and former Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney said

"Had I been President Biden," Romney said, "when the justice department brought out indictments, I would have immediately pardoned him. I'd have pardoned President Trump.""Why? Well, because it makes me, President Biden, the big guy and the person I pardoned the little guy. And, number two, it's not going to get resolved before the election. It's not going to have an impact before the election. And, frankly, the country doesn't want to have to go through prosecuting a former president." Romney was speaking to MSNBC, in an interview to be broadcast on The 11th Hour with Stephanie Ruhle on Wednesday night.Trump is the presumptive Republican presidential nominee despite facing 88 criminal charges. Forty-four are federal: four regarding election subversion and 40 retention of classified information. Neither case has reached trial.

The president could not pardon Trump on his other 44 charges, at the state level. Thirty-four arise from hush-money battleground states.

Joe Biden should have pardoned payments to an adult film star around the In America's pre-Trump past, Romney lost Donald Trump on all federal criminal 2016 election, an election subversion the 2012 election to Barack Obama. In charges the moment they were case now at trial in New York, and 10 concern election subversion in Georgia. Trump has also been hit with multibilliondollar fines in civil suits concerning his Clinton. Romney then flirted with accepting business practices and a defamation a post in Trump's cabinet, as secretary claim arising from a rape allegation a judge of state, but found humiliation instead. called "substantially true".

> When Trump was president, Romney was the only Republican to vote to convict in both Trump's Senate impeachment trials, for seeking political dirt on opponents in Ukraine and for inciting the deadly January 6 attack on Congress.

> American people have recognised that President Trump did have an inappropriate affair with someone who was a porn star. I think they realise that."I think they realise have and didn't handle them properly. I think they understand that as well.

> the election [and supposed voter fraud] in 2020. They know those things. [But] these things are not changing the public attitude.'

> Polling has put Trump ahead in

2016, as Trump stormed to the White House, Romney wrote in the name of his wife, Ann, rather than support Hillary

According to the author Gabriel Debenedetti, Romney urged Biden to run against Trump in 2020. Romney has said he did not vote for Trump that year, reportedly writing in Ann again.

Romney told MSNBC he liked Biden, who he found "capable" despite widespread Romney told MSNBC: "I think the claims that at 81 Biden is too old for his job, claims less prevalent regarding Trump, who is 77.

But when asked who he would vote for, Romney did not say Biden."I'm not he took classified documents he shouldn't announcing that here and now," he said. "I'm not going to be voting for President Trump. I made that clear. I know, for some "I think they realise he's been lying about people, the character is not the number one issue. It is for me. When someone has been, well, determined by a jury to have committed sexual assault, that's not someone who I want my kids and grandkids to see as president of the United States."

### FRONT PAGE FEATURE

# Pakistan: A Nation Held Hostage by its Own Army?

challenges facing Pakistan, the nation through elaborate pre- and post-poll dozens of subsidiaries, such as Fauji unchallenged control of and access to grapples with a worn economy, volatile internal security, a faltering regional policy, and importantly, heightened political uncertainty. At the heart of this tumultuousness lies one institution: the Pakistan Army.

Its persistent interference in the country's political affairs and consequent dominance over all other institutions has largely inhibited the establishment of strong and stable civilian democratic institutions in Pakistan. While traditionally tasked with national defence, the Pakistan Army has, over the years, assumed a dual role as both a military and a political actor, exerting influence through its overt and covert involvement in the politics of the state. Despite occasional civilian efforts, it has proved difficult to undo or limit the influence of this deeply entrenched political role of the Pakistan Army.

Several factors contribute to the complexity of addressing the Pakistan Army's entrenched role. These encompass its extensive economic interests, manifested in numerous commercial enterprises, the fragility of civilian institutions, and deliberate actions to maintain internal security instability. Moreover, it has positioned itself as Pakistan's most reliable institution in the eyes of foreign powers like the United States and China, thereby securing influence over the nation's foreign policy. The Pakistan Army's intervention in politics dates back to the country's formative years when it "was tasked with the responsibility of safeguarding the manufacturing, education, construction, among others. nascent nation and ensuring internal security." However, this constitutional duty has been historically exploited by the Army to acquire a disproportionate share of national resources, a trend that continues to this day. For instance, when Pakistan acquired \$2 billion in financial aid from the United States in 1947, the armed forces received a significant share of \$300 million. Similarly, despite Pakistan's current economic challenges, the military establishment ensured a 13 per cent increase in the annual defence budget from PKR 1.5 trillion in 2022-23 to 1.8 trillion in the 2023-24 federal budget.

Through collusion with other state actors such as civil bureaucracy, judiciary, and various political and religious leaders, the Pakistan Army's political meddling has manifested in various forms. From orchestrating military coups to directly influencing the appointment of political leaders, it has consistently sought to shape Pakistan's political landscape through direct and indirect means in accordance with its interests. This was particularly evident during the recent February 2024 elections when the Pakistan Army not only prevented Imran Khan's party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf

continued influence within the democratic framework.

The foremost reason for the unending political interference in Pakistan's civilian affairs largely stems from the Army's vast network of commercial enterprises it has sectors such as

sidelining of Nawaz Sharif in favour of his Fauji Cement, Fauji Security Company, brother Shehbaz Sharif to safeguard its Fauji Fertilizer, Fauji Sugar Mills, Fauji interests. Such nuanced manipulation Foundation Securities (PVT), Fauji Farm underscores the Pakistan military's Ltd, Fauji Oil, Overseas Employment adeptness in navigating the complexities Services, among others. Likewise, the of Pakistani politics, ensuring its Army Welfare Trust (AWT), as per 2016 Senate filings of Pakistan's Ministry of Defence, owns over 50 housing projects in the country besides dozens of industrial ventures such as Askari Farms, Askari Cement, Askari Pharmaceutical, established over the decades, spanning Magnesite Refineries, Commercial agriculture, Plazas, Askari Guards, Askari Aviation,



and real-estate sectors. In the broader Additionally, the Army also controls Army-led Pakistan Armed Forces are directly involved in commercial or profitmaking ventures or have personal economic interests of its officer class at stake. Pakistani author Ayesha Siddiga calls this nexus 'Milbus', which is the "military capital...used for the personal benefit of the military fraternity, especially the officer cadre, but is neither recorded nor part of the defence budget." This is significant for the armed forces, given the Pakistan Army has continued with the colonial practice of rewarding its officer class with land and effectively formed a new feudal class.

At the apex of the military's economic pyramid stands the Fauji Foundation (FF). Army Welfare Trust (AWT), Shaheen Foundation (SF) and Bahria Foundation (BF), all being run in the name of welfare organisations. Not only do all three services of the Pakistan Armed Forces run their welfare organisations with State and Society in Pakistan. economic subsidiaries, but the military formations and units of the Pakistan Army starting from its Corps till brigades level run their independent commercial ventures.

political economy of the country, the organisations such as the Frontier Works the country to its advantage. From the Organisation (FWO), which is Pakistan's largest construction company, along with the Special Communication Organisation (SCO), which accord it control and the military establishment has long dominance over all other state institutions. patronised such as the various factions Besides, Pakistan's Armed Forces own of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and 11.58 million acres of the 93.67 million several sectarian groups. While the acres of state land, with the exclusive Pakistan Army conveniently blames powers to change its character to private external forces out of convenience, use. Of this military landholding, it has allocated a huge 6.8 million acres, that is beneficiary of this violence in the country's 59 per cent, to the individual members of the armed forces, thereby making them the new feudal class of the country. It is blanche to retain dominance over the this omnipresence across all economic state institutions, as well as to justify its sectors of Pakistan that essentially claims over ever-increasing annual accords it "an important role for the budgetary allocations. Increased military in the state and society even if volatility in Pakistan's security the generals do not directly control the situation allows the military levers of power," as Pakistani Political establishment to pressure the weak Scientist and Military Analyst Hasan- political dispensations to allocate an Askari Rizvi argues in his book Military, increased share of the federal budget

to infiltrate the democratic institutions of of the country.

Amidst the complex web of (PTI), from securing an electoral majority For instance, Fauji Foundation controls the country to ensure it retains manipulation but also ensured the Foundation Gas, Fauji Corn Company, state resources. This explains the appointment of retired and serving senior military officers in important civilian institutions such as NADRA, WAPDA, SUPARCO, and CPEC Authority, among others. Not only do these strategic appointments help it tilt the government policies in its favour, but it also ensures that the military itself designs such policies where its interests are at stake. What is more interesting is how the Army Rice, Askari Sugar, Askari Fish, Askari has ensured that its economic empire functions out of governmental accountability mechanisms even as it exploits national resources at the peril of the state economy. This is significant in the current context wherein the country's economy remains ventilator-ridden, yet the military economy remains unscathed and thriving. For instance, whereas Pakistan's economy risks a potential external debt default in the absence of new sustained financial support from external creditors, its unaccountable military economy remains thriving with the assets of its enterprises growing to over \$20 billion, with entities such as Fauji Foundation worth PKR 9.8 billion and Army Welfare Trust PKR 50 billion.

ISIDER

Given this state of the economy, the Pakistan Army needs a civilian yet feeble façade of government to not only shield its unaccounted assets but also to scapegoat these plaint political leaders country's for the economic mismanagement.

Intricately related to this is how the Pakistan Army has exploited frequent militant violence and internal insecurity in tribal areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to Balochistan, Pakistan has witnessed recurrent violence from many groups that unsurprisingly, it also remains the ultimate hinterland.

This insecurity gives the Army carte to the armed forces. This was seen in Given these economic entanglements, the the 2023-24 annual budget allocation when Pakistan Army has developed vested the Shehbaz Sharif government was forced interests in the government's economic to increase the defence share by 13 per policies and hence has felt the necessity cent despite the near economic collapse

**SOUTH ASIA** 

### NSIDER 19

## India on alert as China-Bangladesh military cooperation raises strategic concerns

Dhaka has gradually leaned towards Beijing and acquired fighter jets, tanks and submarines, marking a shift in the geopolitical landscape

national security advisor Ajit Doval made Dhaka. a quiet visit to Bangladesh, the first high- Chinese military activity in neighbouring level trip from India after prime minister Sheikh Hasina's party, the Awami League, monitored by experts in New Delhi due won a fourth consecutive term in the 12th to their potential impact on the geopolitical parliamentary elections. Doval expressed landscape. The increasing presence and concern over the increasing number of engagements of the Chinese military in Myanmar soldiers, who owe allegiance to the country's junta, seeking refuge in India. It is estimated that over 700 troopers have crossed into India since November last year after being defeated by the Arakan Army and resistance allies. Of them, some 300 entered the country this January.

Now, India's foreign secretary Vinay Kwatra is in Bangladesh to strengthen bilateral ties. In the past three months (since Doval's visit), things have changed fast between the two countries. operations as the scenario, and the two biggest defence customer, after Pakistan. presence of a Chinese-built submarine Bangladesh was born with India's support but gradually leaned towards expansionist mixed groups on subjects including bus hardware from Beijing in recent years, regional balance of power and complicate China. In the recent past, Beijing has anti-hijacking and elimination of terrorist including corvettes, naval guns, anti-ship the tense geopolitical situation in the Bay supplied Dhaka's military fighter jets, tanks and submarines.Of late, the biggest concern in the Indian strategic fraternity is the maiden joint training of the Chinese ever between the Chinese and and Bangladeshi armies. People's Bangladeshi armies, noting that such Liberation Army (PLA) troops are travelling activity was conducive to enhancing to Bangladesh, where they are scheduled understanding and friendship between the Bazar. The Pekua Naval Base, about 200 China has invested over \$25 billion in to carry out drills at the Bangabandhu two militaries and deepening practical Bangladesh-China Friendship Exhibition exchanges and cooperation.

In the first week of February, Center in Rupganj, Narayanganj, near

countries like Bangladesh are closely the region raise concerns about Beijing's intentions and its influence in India's immediate neighbourhood. This dynamic underscores the importance of India remaining vigilant and proactive in managing its strategic interests in the ministry spokesperson, the joint exercise, codenamed 'China-Bangladesh Golden Friendship 2024', takes UN peacekeeping counter-terrorism camps.

The Chinese spokesperson added that the exercise was the first joint training



Experts in New Delhi are watching all of built to increase Bangladesh's naval neighbourhood should raise concerns.

systems.

Hasina inaugurated the China-built \$1.2 electric submarines worth \$203 million. billion six-slot submarine base, named BNS Sheikh Hasina, at Pekua in Cox's miles southeast of Dhaka, houses two various projects in Bangladesh, the refurbished Chinese submarines and was highest after Pakistan in South Asia.

this carefully as it signals a shifting capacity after the demarcation of its geopolitical landscape. Some feel Chinese maritime boundary with India and region. According to the Chinese foreign military activity in India's close Myanmar. This submarine base in the Bay of Bengal is a concern for New Delhi from In recent years, China's footprint in the standpoint of India's economic, Bangladesh has grown significantly. security and foreign policy interests. A Dhaka has become China's second military strategist maintained that the militaries will conduct joint training in Bangladesh has acquired sizeable military base in India's backyard could disrupt the missiles and surface-to-air missile of Bengal. In November 2016, Bangladesh took the delivery of two China-made Last year, Bangladesh prime minister retrofitted Ming-class Type O35B diesel-The same year, the country joined the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

# Gunmen kill 3 foreign tourists, one Afghan citizen in Afghanistan

Four foreign nationals and three Afghans were also injured in the attack when gunmen opened fire, said interior ministry spokesman Abdul Mateen Qaniee.

Three foreign tourists and one Afghan citizen were killed by gunmen in Afghanistan's central Bamyan province on Friday, the Taliban interior ministry said.

Four foreign nationals and three Afghans were also injured in the attack when gunmen opened fire, said interior ministry spokesman Abdul Mateen Qaniee. Four people have been arrested, he said.

The nationality of the tourists and identity of the attackers was not immediately clear.

Mountainous Bamyan is home to a UNESCO world heritage site and the remains of two giant Buddha



statues which were blown up by the Taliban during their previous rule in 2001.

Since taking over Afghanistan in 2021 the Taliban have vowed to restore security and encourage a small but growing number of tourists trickling into the country and sell tickets to access the Buddha statues. Friday's attack was among the most serious targeting foreign citizens since foreign forces left and the Taliban took over in 2021. The Islamic State claimed an attack that injured Chinese citizens at a hotel popular with Chinese businessmen in Kabul in 2022.

**US & THE WORLD** 

## Putin arrives in China, to hold strategic talks with President Xi

<u>Vladimir Putin's visit to Beijing highlights the strengthening strategic partnership</u> between Russia and China, focusing on extensive cooperation across various sectors.

(News Agency)- Russian President Vladimir Putin arrived in Beijing early on Thursday for talks with Xi Jinping that the Kremlin hopes will deepen a strategic partnership between the two most powerful geopolitical rivals of the United States.China and Russia declared a "no limits" partnership in February 2022 when Putin visited Beijing just days before he sent tens of thousands of troops into Ukraine, triggering the deadliest land war in Europe since World War Two.By picking China for his first foreign trip since being sworn in for a six-year term that will keep him in power until at least 2030, Putin is sending a message to the world about his priorities and the depth of his personal partnership between our countries that space and peaceful nuclear energy, artificial relationship with Xi.In an interview with China's Xinhua news agency, Putin praised state that I would visit after officially taking other innovative sectors," Putin said. Xi for helping to build a "strategic partnership" with Russia based on national interests and deep mutual trust."It was the unprecedentedly high level of the strategic in the field of industry and high technology,



Federation," Putin said.

"We will try to establish closer cooperation

## Donald Trump calls Joe Biden 'worst debater' as they agree to face off twice



Joe Biden and Republican rival Donald states. The candidates also accepted Trump on Wednesday agreed to face off in two debates on June 27 and September 10, setting up the highest stakes moments yet in the race for the been proposed for July, after the White House.

place," Biden said on social media. Trump called Biden "the worst debater" he has ever faced. "I am Ready and Willing to Debate Crooked Joe at the two proposed times in June and September," he posted on social large venue "for excitement media.vf55456CNN, a division of purposes."Independent US presidential Warner Bros Discovery, said the first candidate Robert F Kennedy Jr claimed debate would be held in their Atlanta in a new post on X that he would meet studio with no audience, and would be the criteria to participate in the CNN moderated by anchors Jake Tapper and debate before the June 20 deadline. It Dana Bash. Georgia is one of remained unclear if he will qualify.

(News Agency)-US President November's most closely contested an invitation from ABC, which will host a second debate on September 10. A separate vice presidential debate has

Republican National Convention. "As you said: anywhere, any time, any Key differences between the two sides remained on the terms of engagement. Biden said he would participate in those two debates under strict rules to reduce interruptions, while Trump called for more than two -- and a very

determined my choice of China as the first intelligence, renewable energy sources and

### Mao Zedong in 1949.

Reuters reported exclusively in March that Putin would travel to China in May.

**NSIDER** 

20

Xinhua confirmed his arrival for what China's state press has described as a state visit from an "old friend".

The United States casts China as its biggest competitor and Russia as its biggest nation-state threat while US President Joe Biden argues that this century will be defined by an existential contest between democracies and autocracies.

Putin and Xi share a broad worldview, which sees the West as decadent and in decline just as China challenges US supremacy in everything from quantum computing and synthetic biology to espionage and hard military power. Putin will also visit Harbin in office as president of the Russian Putin, 71, and Xi, 70, will take part in a northeastern China, a city with strong ties gala evening celebrating 75 years since the to Russia. It was not immediately clear Soviet Union recognised the People's whether or not Putin would drop in on any Republic of China, which was declared by other capitals in Asia after Beijing.

### Slovak PM 'no longer in life-threatening condition' after being shot: Minister



### leaving a government meeting on Wednesday, a government minister said.

The gunman shot Fico, 59, five times, initially leaving the prime minister in threatening condition while he critical condition and undergoing remained in the operating room. surgery hours later on Wednesday evenina

"I was very shocked ... fortunately as far as I know the operation went well and I guess in the end he will survive situation at this moment," Slovak Pellegrini. Deputy Prime Minister and Environment Minister Tomas Taraba Slovak town of Handlova, which Slovak told the BBC's Newshour. Taraba said one bullet went through Fico's stomach and a second hit a joint. News outlet Aktuality.sk cited an unnamed source

(News Agency)-Slovak Prime saying Fico was out of surgery and in Minister Robert Fico is no longer in a stable condition.Defence Minister life-threatening condition after he was Robert Kalinak told a news briefing shot in an assassination attempt when hours earlier that Fico had suffered "serious polytrauma" after several shot wounds

Interior Minister Matus Sutaj Estok had said earlier that Fico was in a life-

"This assassination (attempt) was politically motivated and the perpetrator's decision was born closely after the presidential election,' Sutaj Estok said, referring to an April . he's not in a life-threatening election won by a Fico ally, Peter

> The shooting in the central media said was carried out by a 71year-old man, stunned the small central European nation and drew international condemnation.

**BUSINESS** 

NSIDER 21

## US President Joe Biden announces 100% tariff on Chinese EV imports

US President Joe Biden will keep tariffs put in place by his Republican predecessor Donald Trump while ratcheting up others, including a quadrupling of EV duties to over 100%.

on Tuesday unveiled a bundle of to the US Census Bureau, a trade exclusions for dozens of industrial steep tariff increases on an array gap that has persisted for decades machinery import categories from of Chinese imports including and become an ever more sensitive electric vehicles, computer chips subject in Washington. and medical products, risking an election-year standoff with Beijing it has before to power its own in a bid to woo voters who give his growth at the expense of others economic policies low marks.

Biden will keep tariffs put in place by his Republican predecessor flooding global markets with Donald Trump while ratcheting up others, including a quadrupling of EV duties to over 100%, the National Economic Adviser Lael White House said in a statement Brainard told reporters on a It cited "unacceptable risks" to conference call. US economic security posed by US Trade Representative what it considers unfair Chinese Katherine Tai said the revised tariffs the-board tariffs on goods from all practices that are flooding global were justified because China was markets with cheap goods. The continuing to steal US intellectual new measures impact \$18 billion in Chinese imported goods become "more aggressive" in including steel and aluminum, cyber intrusions targeting semiconductors, batteries, critical American technology.She said minerals, solar cells and cranes, prior "Section 301" tariffs had measures are "carefully targeted," the White House said. The minimal impact on US economyannouncement confirmed earlier Reuters reporting.

and exported \$148 billion to the countries.

"China's using the same playbook by continuing to invest, despite excess Chinese capacity and exports that are underpriced due to unfair practices," White House

property and in some cases had wide prices and employment, but investment, plotted with close had been effective in reducing US The United States imported \$427 imports of Chinese goods, while billion in goods from China in 2023 increasing imports from other angered US voters and imperiled

US President Joe Biden world's No. 2 economy, according But Tai recommended tariff China, including 19 for solar product manufacturing equipment.

#### Differing tariff stances

Even as Biden's steps fell in line with Trump's premise that tougher trade measures are warranted, the Democrat took aim at his opponent in November's election. The White House said Trump's 2020 trade deal with China did not increase American exports or boost American manufacturing jobs, and it said the 10% acrosspoints of origin that Trump has proposed would frustrate US allies and raise prices.

Trump has floated tariffs of 60% or higher on all Chinese goods. Administration officials said their combined with domestic allies and unlikely to worsen a bout of inflation that has already Biden's re-election bid. They also



downplayed the risk of retaliation Chinese President Xi Jinping. from Beijing.

Biden has struggled to convince voters of the efficacy of his economic policies despite a backdrop of low unemployment and above-trend economic growth. A Reuters/Ipsos poll last month 2001. China has said the tariffs are showed Trump had a 7 percentage-point edge over Biden inflaming tensions. Trump's on the economy. Analysts have warned that a trade tiff could raise costs for EVs overall, hurting Biden's climate goals and his As part of the long-awaited tariff aim to create manufacturing update, Biden will increase tariffs iobs.

this era of competition with 100% on EVs, bringing total China but not to launch a trade duties to 102.5%, from 7.5% to war that could hurt the mutually 25% on lithium-ion EV batteries dependent economies. He has and other battery parts and from worked in recent months to ease 25% to 50% on photovoltaic cells tensions in one-on-one talks with used to make solar panels.

Both 2024 US presidential candidates have sharply departed from the free-trade consensus that once reigned in Washington, a period capped by China's joining the World Trade Organization in counterproductive and risk broader imposition of tariffs during his 2017-2021 presidency kicked off a tariff war with China.

this year under Section 301 of the Biden has said he wants to win Trade Act of 1974 from 25% to

## Elon Musk fired 500 people at Tesla after one bad meeting: The inside story



employees in Tesla's electricvehicle charging division. Two senior-level employees and the entire 500-member Tesla Tesla's operations. Supercharger team were laid off. They were also optimistic about layoffs, Elon Musk had met with expansion. Rebecca Tinucci, the former chief To their dismay, the meeting could workers weeks after they were of the Tesla Supercharging not have gone worse. The laid off.

Tesla Chief Elon Musk fired all told the news agency that they were optimistic about Tinucci's meeting with Elon Musk, given that the division is important for of its electric vehicle (EV)

The circumstances that led to the the meeting since Tinucci had mentioning mass firings have now been already cut between 15-20% of revealed, with detailed accounts staffers – part of a wider strategy from former employees, who - and believed that Elon Musk charging ports. were quoted in a Reuters report. would affirm plans to provide a However, a Bloomberg report Just a day before the mass boost to charging-network suggests that Tesla has rehired

employees quoted in the news agency's report said Musk was not at all pleased with Tinucci's presentation and wanted more people to be laid off.

However, Tinucci argued that more job cuts would undermine charging-business fundamentals and denied Musk's proposal.

Musk responded by firing Tinucci and her entire 500-member team. The Tesla chief's decision came as a shock to the former Just a few weeks ago, division. The former employees employees and the departures from the supercharging division, viewed as a signature Tesla achievement and a key driver sales, have already caused massive disruption. It is worth that Tesla Superchargers account for more than 60% of US high-speed

some Supercharger division

### Top carmaker plans to manufacture EVs in India. It's not Tesla or BYD

postponed its entry into India yet, but I understand the intention despite the new EV policy, but and I understand why you can be Stellantis is considering able to win (investments) for the manufacturing electric vehicles country and from the carmaker (EVs) in India, reported The that will come with EVs," Tavares Economic Times (ET).

The world's third-largest carmaker India announced a new policy on plans to do this by working with March 15



company called Leapmotor at its facility in Thiruvallur, Tamil Nadu. Stellantis owns several brands, lakh) at 15% import duty for a such as Chrysler, Citroën, Fiat, period of five years if companies and Jeep.India's electric vehicle make a minimum investment of policy was something that was \$500 million to start local negotiated by Tesla but it manufacturing.Leapmotor for now "certainly helps," Carlos Tavares, is looking at selling affordable the chief executive of Stellantis told ET.

"This (the EV policy) is an specified in the policy.

Tesla might have opportunity that we did not study told ET on a video call.

high-end electric cars.

The government said it will allow the import of completely built-

a Chinese electric vehicle up electric cars that have a minimum cost, insurance, and freight value of \$35,000 (Rs 29.2 electric cars in India, which will mostly be priced under the cap

to encourage investment in local manufacturing of

HEALTH

### NSIDER

## Should You Brush Before Or After Breakfast? **Dentist Resolves The Morning Dilemma**

Starting the day with a simple routine is everyone's preference. But the age-old question of whether to brush your teeth before or after breakfast can quickly become a daily conundrum. Deciding between enjoying a hearty breakfast or tending to your oral hygiene can feel like a challenging choice, reminding us of the classic 'chicken and egg' dilemma. For many, diving into a plate of scrambled eggs or a Full English breakfast seems like the logical start to the day. On the other hand, some individuals cannot imagine beginning their day without first brushing their teeth. The debate over the ideal time to brush your teeth in the morning is a topic that everyone seems to have an opinion on. Fortunately, a dentist has stepped in to provide her expert opinion on this dental quandary.

Anna Peterson, a dental therapist from Essex known for sharing dental advice on the breakfast brushing debate. While Anna day.""This is good advice but there is a while another one wrote, "Where were you social media, has weighed in on the has already shared the advice back in reason I advise my patients to brush first during my childhood?" debate, offering clarity on whether 2022, her video has resurfaced and has thing in the morning and here's why: breakfast or brushing should come been going viral on social media Minimise wear to your enamel, disturb all opinion, some have expressed discontent, first.Having previously advised against using mouthwash immediately after advisable to brush your teeth before eating overnight setting up camp, eating without starting the day with a 'minty breakfast.' brushing and explaining the concept of breakfast. In her caption, she has also brushing and applying a good fluoride. It appears that in the ongoing debate, 'black triangles' between teeth, Anna's detailed why one should "brush straight toothpaste to your teeth means the teeth finding a satisfying solution is a challenge



platforms. According to Anna, it is the bacteria that have been getting busy expertise adds weight to her stance on before bed and at one other time in the are not as strong as they could be and in itself.

we are feeding the bacteria," she explains.She also adds that if you forget to brush before breakfast, you should ideally wait for 30 minutes before brushing to ensure the mouth is less acidic and to avoid wearing the enamel. In a video, she outlined her reasoning: "There's two reasons for this. When you eat breakfast, your mouth becomes acidic. So what you're doing when you brush your teeth after breakfast is brushing the acid into the tooth and this wears away the enamel. And, brushing before breakfast protects your teeth from anything you're going to eat."It seems that in addition to combating morning breath, brushing your teeth before breakfast can also protect your teeth from potential harm. Most viewers in the comments have also agreed with her. One user said, "I knew I was doing it right since childhood,"

However, despite Anna's reasonable as following her advice would mean

## Not just muscle growth, here's how exercise also boosts brain function

For years, researchers have known that exercise prompts muscles to release molecules that enhance brain function, but the process has always remained unclear. University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign researchers have recently found that nerves stimulating muscles increase the release of brainboosting factors.

"The molecules released from the muscle go into the bloodstream and then to the brain, producing so-called crosstalk between the muscle and the brain. We wondered, what is the effect of the neurons on this activity of the muscle, and further down to the communication between muscle and brain?" said study leader Hyunjoon Kong, whose research was published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences."As we age, or due to disease or injury, we lose these neurons in muscles. Understanding their role is crucial for older adults and patients with neuromuscular issues," he added.Research shows that exercising muscles secrete hormones and tiny extracellular vesicles carrying RNA fragments that improve brain cell connectivity and



communication. However, the role of nerves stimulating muscles is less understood, explained graduate student Kai-Yu Huang, the study's first author. To investigate, researchers used a novel tissue model that compared muscle tissues with and without neurons. They found that muscles with neurons produced more molecules that help the brain and better regulated muscle growth.

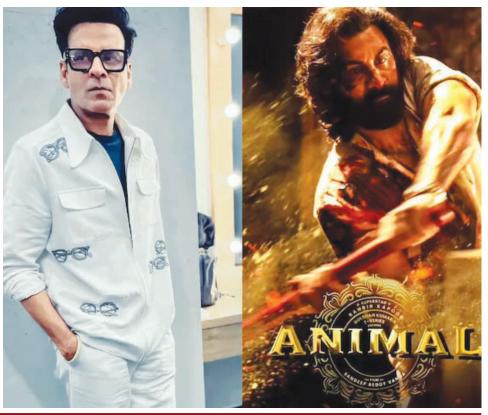
When they stimulated the nerves with glutamate, a neurotransmitter, the muscles with neurons showed higher levels of a gene that controls secretion and released more of the irisin hormone and extracellular vesicles."As we age, losing nerve supply to muscles leads to their breakdown, affecting overall organ function. Understanding how to maintain muscle's secretion is vital," said Huang. Our organs communicate: the brain stimulates muscles via nerves, and muscles release molecules that benefit the brain."Exercise strengthens the neuron-muscle interface, enhancing brain function. This highlights the importance of fostering this connection through exercise, beyond just building muscle strength," Kong added.

**ENTERTAINMENT** 

## Manoj Bajpayee Opens Up on Criticism of Ranbir Kapoor's 'Animal', Says 'Don't Create Trouble for...'

Actor Manoj Bajpayee has shared his thoughts on the controversy surrounding Ranbir Kapoor starrer Animal movie which features numerous scenes that have received a volley of criticism from a section of the internet. Some people have made strong arguments against nearly every element of the movie and labelled it as "problematic" especially with respect to its treatment of women. Now, Manoj Bajpayee has reacted to the criticism of the film in an interaction with Pinkvilla. He said. "I am verv clear if manv people disagree or don't like a film, what's wrong with that? The film is released, does its business, and moves on. The money goes into the producer's pocket; let them take it; they invested in the movie.'

The actor continued, "If you don't want to watch it, then don't. If you disagree with something, it's better not to watch it, but don't create trouble for the movie. You will be only encouraging a bad notion by



Kangana Ranaut's 'Emergency' release postponed amid ongoing political campaigns

II, ADVANI, ASOKA Strengthe PAYEE ARRESTED Parmar hal Security In 676 Arrested nger, Says P.M. Over Countr The release date of Kangana that can be read, "Our hearts are filled Indian and international talent come

Ranaut's upcoming film, 'Emergency', with love pouring in for our queen has been postponed amid her ongoing Kangana Ranaut.' political campaigns. The film, based on the life of former Prime Minister Indira her duty to the nation and her Gandhi, was previously scheduled for release on June 14. Kangana plays the titular character in the film. The makers of the same announced the film's delay on May 15. The new release date is yet release date. Thank you for your to be mentioned.Kangana Ranaut's continued upcoming film, 'Emergency' was to #EmergencyComingSoon (sic)."As per release in theatres on June 14. The PTI, Kangana Ranaut once said in a same has been pushed amid her ongoing statement, "'Emergency' is my most political campaign for BJP. The makers ambitious project and second directorial underlined the need to serve the people However, she is very clear now that she announced the film's delay with a note post-'Manikarnika', we have the best of with dedication.

The note further read, "As she prioritises commitment to serve the country, the release date of our much awaited film 'Emergency' has been postponed. We promise to update you soon with a new support.

together for this big budget, grand period drama." The film was previously set to stating that she will never gain weight for November release on 24. 2023.Meanwhile, Kangana Ranaut is a BJP candidate from Mandi Lok Sabha seat in Himachal Pradesh. In an exclusive conversation with IndiaToday/ Aaj Tak, the actor said she did not see herself as a politician and praised PM Narendra Modi, saying he was her source of inspiration.

She also mentioned that she had a 'natural alignment' with the BJP and

doing so, what if others hinder your work in the same way? There should be open discourse without calls for bans or protests."Earlier talking about the hype around 'Animal' movie and how it had an impact on his own film 'Joram', Manoj Bajpayee told News18 Showsha, "We knew that Animal and Sam Bahadur are two very big films. A lot of money was spent on both the films. There was and still a hype around Animal. But we couldn't afford to spend that much money on our film because Joram was a different kind of a film and we could only allot a certain amount of money to promote and publicise it."

NSIDER 23

"We didn't want to over-burden our film. We were very practical and realistic about it. We knew that we couldn't be idealistic about the situation and our film. And that's why the pressure on us was less in terms of earning profits as quickly as possible," the actor added.

### Shivangi Verma declared that she will 'never put on weight' for a project



Actress Shivangi Verma, who gained 10 kg for a song named 'Nana Buluku' of the movie 'Pichaikkaran 2', has opened up about her weight loss journey, any project again.

The actress, known for her work in 'Choti Sarrdaarni', 'Reporters', and 'TV, Biwi aur Main', shared that she was able to shed 10 kg through dedication and hard work. Shivangi said: "I managed it somehow. It literally took me, like, one year, from 69 to 59. Thanks to my dietitian, I think I was pretty focused. My workout was on point, which is why I was able to achieve this.'

will not agree to gain weight for a role.

#### NSIDER 24

## Amid 'Shikhu' tease, Janhvi Kapoor opens up on what she looks for in a partner

a busy year before her, spoke about the Janhvi had earlier had a Freudian slip as qualities that her partner should have. The she dropped Shikhar's name saying actress attended the song launch of 'Dekhha Tenu' from her upcoming film 'Mr chat show 'Koffee With Karan'. & Mrs Mahi' on Wednesday, at a Looking at the reaction from the media, multiplex in Mumbai's Juhu.

During the event she was asked about helplessly looked at her co-star the qualities of a "perfect partner." Responding to the same, the actress Sharan Sharma, and smiled at the said: "The person should consider my dreams as his own, and be my solid Janhvi will be seen essaying the role of support system through thick and thin." As the actress listed the qualities of her the film which is produced by her mentor partner, the media took her rumoured Karan Johar. 'Mr. & Mrs. Mahi' is set to boyfriend Shikhar Pahariya's name as release on May 31.

Actress Janhvi Kapoor, who has they collectively said: "Shikhu Shikhu." "Shikhu" during the last season of the

> Janhvi couldn't help but blush as she Rajkummar Rao and her film's director media.

> a cricketer opposite Rajkummar Rao in

### Nitanshi Goel's 'Laapataa Ladies' journey began with injured hand on Day 1, ended with hurt foot



Goel, who played the role of Phool, spoke about the challenges she faced while working on the film. She said that she injured herself on the first day and had also twisted her ankle while filming the climax.

Nitanshi, who was honoured with the about to meet Deepak and there's this IMDb 'Breakout Star' STARmeter Award, was seen talking about working on the film. She shared the video on Instagram, which was originally posted on IMDb's handle on the photo-sharing website.

She recalled: "So it was my Day 1 and this scene where I was running and clashing with chotu. So I am running and I remember the doctor telling 'she needs looking behind and Chotu is in front of me and Abdul is behind me and to make that look very natural I was actually looking back and I was wearing glass bangles and I hit him so hard that on the first day, my glass bangles broke on my hands.

"I got injured the first day."

take, we would hit each other so hard that I would fall this way and he would fall the other way... but it was fun."



'Laapataa Ladies' star Nitanshi Nitanshi then spoke about the climax scene.

> "Let me tell you that your Phool ran so much for that scene because the platform was so long and there was so much crowd..."

> "And I would bump into people. So, I am person who mistakenly bumps into me so hard that I twisted my ankle and after that I gave two more takes."

> She then went back to the vanity van and wondered why her ankle was hurting so much.

> "Then I realised I had hurt my right foot. to rest in bed for a week' and we were like sir we have to be in Shirdi, Bhopal and then Bombay in one week. So give us a better solution," Nitanshi said.

> The actress added: "Only the people on the set knew and they had pampered me so much and even more after my injury... nobody knew this happened."

She added: "In fact, whenever we had a Directed by Kiran Rao, 'Laapataa Ladies' tells the story of the misadventures of two young brides who get lost from the same train.



### ENTERTAINMENT

## Deepika Padukone Named Global Disruptor in Entertainment by Deadline

Deepika Padukone has been acknowledged as a disruptor for 2024 by Deadline, an international publication, placing her among a select group of influential figures reshaping the entertainment industry. As the only Indian star on the list, this recognition solidifies her status as a trailblazer on the world stage, alongside Eva Longoria and Uma Thurman.

The recognition underscores Deepika's significant impact on the global entertainment landscape, evidenced by her consecutive years of jumpstarting India's box office with successful films. Her journey from Bollywood to global stardom has been remarkable, marked by appearances at prestigious events like the Oscars and BAFTAs, serving on the Cannes jury, and gracing the cover of TIME magazine. Notably, she was also the first Indian to unveil a FIFA World Cup trophy, showcasing her unparalleled influence.

This acknowledgment is a testament to Deepika's ability to transcend cultural and geographical boundaries, fueled by her passion for cinema and her adeptness as both an actor and producer. Beyond her contributions to entertainment, Deepika is a vocal advocate for mental health awareness through her foundation, Live Love Laugh, earning her immense respect and admiration globally.

## Sanjay Dutt squares off with Ram Pothineni in 'Double iSmart' teaser

The teaser of the upcoming Telugu film 'Double iSmart' was unveiled on Wednesday, showing the lead character essayed by Ram Pothineni engaging in brawl, gun fights, banter, and of course, dance. The teaser opens with a voiceover that uses filthy words to describe the character of the protagonist who is now in a lab in Hyderabad with scientists around him.Ram's character of iSmart Shankar flirts with Kiraak girls, and lends a massy tone to the film. Bollywood actor Sanjay Dutt stars as Big Bull in the film, serving as the antagonistic force to Ram's titular character.

Director Puri Jagannadh reunited with Ram, who celebrated his birthday on Wednesday, for the film after the 2019 hit film 'iSmart Shankar'.

The one-liners in typical Hyderabadi dialect, the background score, the humour and the action all add up to the narrative of the film.

Produced by Puri Jagannadh and Charmme Kaur, the film will be released in Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, and Hindi.



**ENTERTAINMENT** 

## Fans laud Aishwarya's 'professionalism' as she heads to Cannes with arm in a sling

Bollywood was seen entering the airport Can't wait for more." as they headed to attend the recovery, event at the French Riviera. Fans #AishwaryaRai." quickly noticed the injury and A fan showed concern and lauded her professionalism.

This year, the theme of the event, well". Ways To Be An Icon".

Hvdari.

Fans on social media have sweatshirt. expressed their concern over the Despite being asked about her injury sustained by Aishwarya, injury by the shutterbugs, the who was the first Indian female 'Fanney Khan' star remained actor to serve as a Cannes jury quiet but responded with a "thank member.

to work despite the injury, stepping into the airport.

star writing, "And she's on her way to Aishwarya Rai Bachchan, a Cannes with a broken hand. No regular at the Cannes red carpet, one is as professional as her!

with her daughter Aaradhya Another fan wished her a speedy Bachchan, wearing an arm sling, recovery, saying, "Speedy queen. 77th edition of the prestigious #AishwaryaRaiBachchan

questioned if she was "fine and

which began on May 14 and will Other comments included, "OMG conclude on May 25, is "Many she will walk Cannes with injured hands," and, "Can't wait to see Aishwarya will be seen strutting her at Cannes. Love her so much." the red carpet on May 16 and At the airport, Aishwarya chose 17 for the beauty brand L'Oréal a casual look, wearing a blue Paris to celebrate its 27th year, overcoat paired with a black along with actress Aditi Rao ensemble, while Aaradhya sported black joggers and a white

you" when the paparazzi wished One fan praised her commitment her to "take care" as she was

### Sonali Bendre exudes cool chic vibe with all-green look, edgy heels, top-notch bun



major summer fashion cool chic edgy heels. vibes. The actress took to "Wednesday Wisdom: Water string of pictures from her latest captioned the post. photoshoot.

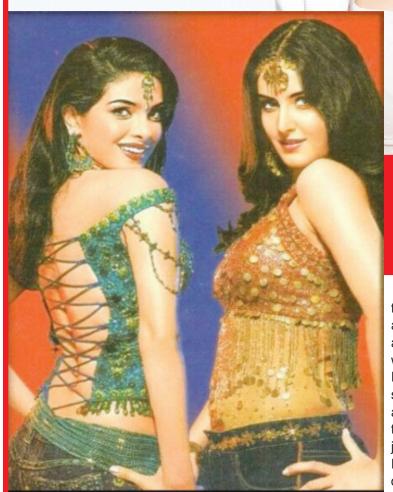
rimmed eyes, and a contoured Pilgaonkar in key roles

Actress Sonali Bendre face. Her hair is tied in a topon Wednesday went all green notch bun. She completed her for her outfit of the day, sending look with gold earrings and black

Instagram where she enjoys 4.5 your own grass, it's already million followers and dropped a greener than you think," she

On the work front, Sonali The snaps show her wearing a recently appeared in the below-knee-length green dress. newsroom drama 'The Broken She went all matte with her News Season 2' also starring makeup — brown lips, kohl- Jaideep Ahlawat and Shriya





## Priyanka shares throwback picture with Katrina when they were 'babies'

Indian actress Priyanka Chopra Jonas taken... but babies Katrina Kaif." took a walk down memory lane as she shared a throwback picture with actress Katrina Kaif and said she cannot recall when the photograph was taken.

Priyanka took to Instagram stories, where she shared the photograph. In the image, the two are wearing corsets with jeans. To complete and John Cena. The film is directed by Ilya the look, they wore a maang teeka and Naishuller.Katrina was last seen in 'Merry For the caption, Priyanka wrote: "Woah... directed by Sriram Raghavan and starring Vijay dunno who took it and when this picture was Sethupathi.

Priyanka and Katrina were supposed to star together in Farhan Khan's film 'Jee Le Zara', which, according to reports, has been shelved. The 'Quantico' star has just wrapped up shooting for her next film 'Head Of State', an action comedy, which also stars Idris Elba jhumkas. It is a picture from their younger days. Christmas', a neo-noir mystery thriller film

## Padma Lakshmi opens up on raising teenage daughter: 'I'm strict about some things'

India-born supermodel, TV host, producer, cookbook author and actor Padma Lakshmi spoke about being a mother to teenage daughter Krishna, and confessed that she is strict about certain thinas.

It's on social media where Padma has been easing her 14-year-old daughter Krisha into the public spotlight.

"I think any parent will be able to identify with what we're doing," Padma told people.com at the Gold Gala.

"It wasn't some conscious thing. We were just sitting on the couch talking like, 'Oh that's funny. This is funny. And so I



just said, 'Let's tape it,' and we just in trouble," she said. chopped it up. It's just an experiment. "I'm strict about some things and I'm not It's fun to watch your children grow and that strict about other things that I become who they're going to be," she said.

She said that she is sometimes surprised admitted. by Krishna's candid answers.

"She has so many opinions... I don't think she ate a very good diet the first four, she's unlike most teenagers; she may five years of her life, and I will not abide be a little more precocious, perhaps." Padma said that while Krishna makes

appearances on her social media where our Asian culture shows itself least that I know of, otherwise she'll be and calling elders uncle and auntie."

probably should be stricter about like bedtime (as) she's 14," Lakshmi

"But I was very strict about making sure by her being disrespectful to adults." "She's not (disrespectful), but that's account, her daughter doesn't have one respecting our traditions like taking your of her own."She's not on social media, at shoes off before you come in the house,

## From the India Today archives (1998) | Mujra: A defiled art

### By Rohit Parihar

Using a water pipe as a banister, the gentleman walks up steps that have been worn through time by the tread of anxious feet. Some things are as they were. The room is well lit, the mattress and masnad (bolster) positioned neatly on the floor, musicians straddled across a harmonium and tabla, and two tawaifs awaiting him. But this is all, the last perfume of the past that lingers. As Tanuja, the elder tawaif, begins to whirl around in her salwar-kurta, he is aghast. "Where is the Rajasthani mujra dress?" he asks.

Surprised, for some girls dance in western skirts, she replies, "Yahan to sab chalta hai. We have to arrange a mujra dress tomorrow if you want it." The tragedy goes on. A third girl, Sabra, arrives and with a coy wink starts dancing. Not to the sensual strains of a thumri but to the metallic sound of Dil to pagal hai, dil diwana hai. Here in Jaipur's Chandpole Bazar, tradition is being mauled, convention brutalised. Once singers, dancers, lyricists romanced an ancient art on these lanes, spinning fantasies in kothas every day between 7 p.m. and 11 p.m. It is all gone, the tradition of the mujra has taken flight, carried away on a hot desert wind. Painted faces loll in corridors, crooking their fingers seductively beckoning at passers-by. Few go, for the present no



past."Gentlemen, the world has changed," with clothes on. To display less was says Banno Begum, 65, a well-known maand important, it demanded more from the singer now faded by time. In her home, where imagination. Which is why in exquisite frame, the elaborate etiquette the harmonium has a "Made in" label and the Pakeezah, Raj Kumar fell in love with telephone instrument appears to have been Meena Kumari's feet. borrowed from Alexalgia reigns. But only that. "This is no longer an exclusive showroom where specialities are offered and courtesies bestowed on elite customers," she says. She controlled prime flesh, is the more should know. In those days when maharajas appetising culture; to lounge for fourwere to be taken seriously, she recalls strictly adhering to a dress code when attending a and in this collision of cultures the monetary compensation. And to watch a majlis organised by Raja Man Singh.

and wearing artificial jewellery an The serious dancer of kathak or between a man's lips is to mourn the unpardonable slur. The mujra was the dance ghoomar-based mujra can still be passing of custom.

longer has the promise of the of suggestion, a sophisticated cabaret

beast, has assisted in changing all this. Baywatch, 60 minutes of remotefound, but as for an endangered species it requires a careful search. The other dancers who can be seen peering through window bars have become less discriminating, dancing and gyrating in imitation of a Kajol film clip.

NSIDER

28

In Corner Wali Bai's kotha, the flaking paint makes the walls look wounded, only smudged lines stand as memory of the enormous mirrors that once hung there. As she summons her best student, Shabana, she says, "Even she is very fond of dancing to filmi numbers." Spirits of tawaifs passed on must cringe at the sound of Bindiya chamkegi echoing from the lanes. Karisma Kapoor has replaced Allah Jila Bai.

Too much has changed. Like a beautiful painting surrounded by an equally of the mujra was as becoming as the performance itself. The rituals of courtesy Television, that omnipotent, insidious like the perfume sprays, the trays of betel nut, the understanding that money was a recognition of grace, never to be demanded, have died.

Now, customers are expected to pay at five hours (at a cost) is less appealing, regular intervals, even to talk requires tawaif has had to compromise, mujra girl bend on her knees and use her teeth Diwali meant a black dress, Dussehra a pink, has had to bastardise itself, to survive. to pull away a currency note from

## Teaching and learning with ICT tools: Issues and challenges

In order to compete in a global competitive environment, a highly skilled and educated workforce with aptitude and skill sets in application of ICT is inevitable for every nation. A detailed analysis by, Pankaj of Elets News Network (ENN).

In the age of innovation and productivity, most Nations are focusing on ways to improve knowledge generation and sharing; and creation and flow of new technologies. In this scenario, it has been duly recognized that implementation and adoption of ICT in a nation at all levels, would certainly contribute and enhance its productivity, efficiency and growth. ICT is inevitable for all sectors and all segments across regions. The COVID crisis has accelerated the usage of technology in education.ICTs offer the potential to share information across traditional barriers, to give a voice to traditionally unheard peoples, to provide valuable information that enhances economic, health and educational activities. The role of ICT cannot be undermined keeping in view its pertinent uses. ICT is useful in education; for digital literacy and developing all kinds of resources; in infrastructure development; in logistics management; in healthcare; for livelihood generation and empowerment of masses; for egovernance; in administration and finance; specialized business and industrial uses; agricultural uses; in research and development and for economic growth and poverty alleviation. ICT has a direct role to play in the education sector. It can bring many benefits to schools, educational institutions as well as to the community.ICT is the convergence of computer, communication and content technologies. It has attracted the attention of academia, business, government and communities to use it for innovative

competitive environment, a highly skilled and educated workforce with aptitude and skill sets in application of ICT is inevitable for every nation. ICTs are a potentially powerful tool for extending educational opportunities, both formal and non formal, to previously underserved scattered and rural populations, groups traditionally excluded from education due to cultural or social reasons such as ethnic minorities, girls and women, persons with disabilities, children with special needs and the elderly, as well as all others who for reasons of cost or because of time constraints are unable to enroll on campus. Use of ICT will catalyse the cause and achieve the goals of inclusive education in schools. There is no conclusive research to prove that student achievement is superior when using ICTs in the education space, either in the developed or in developing countries. However, there is a general consensus among practitioners and academicians that integration of ICTs in education has an overall positive impact on the learning environment.

ICT is important in schools and educational institutions as it assists in carrying out their activities and functions such as record keeping, research work, instructional uses, presentations, financial analysis, examination results management, communication, supervision, MIS, teaching learning activities, and general school management functions. ICT benefits schools in several ways: (i) enhancing learning in classroom; (ii) improving school management and related tasks; (iii) improving accountability, efficiency and effectiveness in school activities; (iv) introducing usage of Power Point presentations and internet. Literature reveals that when well-utilized, ICT in schools has the potential to improve the teaching learning process in many ways. ICT is learner

profitable propositions. In order to compete in a global centric and hence brings about active involvement of students in the learning process. Students get motivated when learning activities are challenging, authentic, multi-sensorial and multi-disciplinary. Schools tend to witness a higher attendance, motivation levels, academic accomplishments and effective communication as an outcome of ICT programs and projects. Teachers too gain as a result of ICT initiatives. They find ICT to be useful for teaching as well as for personal and professional work. Application of ICT in teaching makes teaching more innovative, interesting, interactive, easy and effective. It complements the traditional teaching learning process. While imparting knowledge with the aid of ICT, educators find that students are more receptive and responsive. Also, ICT can help to impart more information and knowledge to students in a shorter time, enabling maximum utilization of resources and time.

Although ICT has the potential to improve education system of a country to a great extent, yet it is not the case in the developing countries. There are multiple issues and challenges confronting the implementation of ICT education in schools and educational institutions in these countries and the problems are much more magnified in case of schools located in remote villages and rural areas. For rural schools in specific, the introduction of ICT faces hindrances in the form of internal and external barriers. Internal barriers to ICT implementation in schools in rural locations include: Lack of trained teachers- A major obstacle in the use of ICT in rural education is the lack of knowledge and skills.

SPECIAL REPORT

### NSIDER 29

# How Iran's covert influence is threatening American democracy

### BY KASRA AARABI AND JASON M. BRODSKY.

Imagine if Russia attempted to infiltrate the U.S. government and prestigious American universities. Imagine that, by developing relationships in such high places, Russian agents facilitated the hostage-taking of U.S. students by the Russian FSB security service.

Were that to happen, there would rightly be an outcry, of course.Unfortunately, this is exactly what is happening and has happened with Iran. Yet Connect all the dots, from IPIS has longstanding ties to the somehow, no one is talking about Princeton to the Pentagon, and IRGC. Mostafa Zahrani, an IRGC it, despite the obvious threat to U.S. national security.

In recent years, where Washington has sought to engage, Tehran has sought to exploit. While all the focus has been on the Islamic Republic's escalation in the Middle East, the Ali Khamenei's regime is much closer to home

Recent media investigations by confirm a significant information apparatus. operation by Iran's regime on U.S. and Western soil spanning years. The reporting reveals that in 2014, Iran's Foreign Ministry and veterans of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) -the Iranian regime's ideological By Pradip R. Sagar paramilitary force — at least The India-US relationship can be network made up of senior strong Initiative.'

others have worked in think tanks, a rough patch as well. After government agencies such as the national of conspiring to murder Pentagon, developing close Sikh separatist Gurpatwant associations with senior U.S. and Singh Pannun in New York, it has European officials on Iran. Some now threatened India with of these experts, flattered by the attention, do so unwittingly. Others Delhi signed a 10-year deal with may be fully aware of what they Tehran's ambassador to Germany around the strategic facility in the during a string of assassinations Gulf of Oman. Vedant Patel, country.



behind this influence operation is veteran, was its president at the one Iranian so-called think-tank time of the Iran Experts Initiative's whose activities and affiliates have been overlooked in the West.

The Tehran-based Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS) is no ordinary think tank. As an official branch of the Iranian threat emanating from Ayatollah Foreign Ministry, it represents a hostage by the Iranian regime, U.S. and Europe, receiving senior lethal and hostile regime. It and its members are in close proposed by Zahrani to a academics from both. This Republic's infiltration campaigns coordination with the regime's Western-based member of the includes hosting conferences in have operated under the radar in Iran International and Semafor repressive security-intelligence Iran Experts Initiative who now Tehran and speaking at the U.S. IPIS should be sanctioned

founding and had direct contact with Iran Experts Initiative University's student exchange works for the Pentagon.

Remarkably, in 2015, IPIS even institutions. brought a Munich Security Iran International has additionally Conference core group into discovered a formal but contact with the late Quds Force undisclosed agreement between Commander Qassem Soleimani IPIS and the International Crisis the blood of thousands of American troops on his hands. IPIS's think-tank status and official affiliation with the Iranian Foreign Ministry — rather than any security-intelligence entity — has enabled it to conduct activities beyond Iran's borders and to host foreign dignitaries without raising suspicion, even though many of its officials are card-carrying members of Iran's Intelligence Ministry and the IRGC. This is precisely why it is the perfect incubator for Iran's infiltration close members. In fact, Princeton activities, such as the Iran Experts Initiative.

in a U.S. student being taken frequently travel to and from the prestigious Western policy as a matter of urgency.

- a U.S.-designated terrorist with Group, whose former CEO Robert Malley later became U.S. special envoy for Iran and whose security clearance has been suspended amid a federal criminal probe.

Upon first glance, the existence of such a forum for dialogue with Islamic Republic officials may seem appropriate on its face. But it is actually a problem, because the Iranian regime does not behave like a normal nation-state. As with all other academic and research centers in Iran, all foreign engagement takes place with the coordination and involvement of the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence, an entity subject program with Iran, which resulted Beyond that, IPIS and its affiliates to sanctions for human rights abuses and terrorism in the U.S., UK, and European Union.

was reportedly an idea initially policymakers, experts, and For too long, the Islamic

## Threat of sanctions: How Chabahar port deal with Iran tests India's ties with US

participated in a coordinated complex at times, with both cooperation and Western-based specialists and occasional disagreements. The academics to influence policy in brewing tensions over the Indiafavor of the hostile clerical regime. Iran Chabahar port deal highlight This network came to be known the intricacies of international as the so-called "Iran Experts relations and the competing interests of nations.

In the years since, these While the US values India, Western-based specialists and bilateral ties have sometimes hit universities and even U.S. Washington accused an Indian reacted to the development, aware of the potential risk that potential sanctions after New Tehran for the Chabahar port. As are doing. There are those even per the agreement signed on directly connected to the regime, May 13, India will offer a credit Iran. I will just say, as it relates sanctions concerning the circumvent Pakistan. The such as Princeton University's window worth \$250 million for the to the United States, US development of Chabahar port and Chabahar port's location in the Hossein Mousavian, who was development of infrastructure sanctions on Iran remain in place its



saying: "We're aware of these they are opening themselves up reports that Iran and India have to and the potential risk of signed a deal concerning the Chabahar port. I will let the government of India speak to its own foreign policy goals vis-a-vis the Chabahar port as well as its own bilateral relationship with and we will continue to enforce them."

sanctions," Patel added. In response to a query if there were any exemptions to this, he responded: "No."However, in 2018, the US Department of State associated Afghanistan.

against Iranian dissidents in that principal deputy spokesperson of "Anyone considering business Chabahar is the first long-term Persian Gulf and the Strait of the US Department of State, deals with Iran, they need to be port deal for India and is with Iran, Hormuz.

a country heavily sanctioned by the West. Going ahead with the deal in the middle of military conflict in West Asia highlights New Delhi's diplomatic skills.

Even in the Pannun case. India has been able to maintain an upward trajectory in its relations with the US. External affairs minister S. Jaishankar recently said in an interview that the fundamentals of India-US ties are very robust and that the allegations over the Pannun case have not impacted relations.

However, the latest salvo by Washington on India's maiden overseas port deal could test New Delhi's ability to tactfully deal with slippery situations. Tehran is strategically important to had given 'exemption' to certain New Delhi as it helps India railway, Arabian Sea means India will considering its significance to be able to skirt any challenges posed by developments in the

#### **NSIDER** 30

## India's Employment Challenge Needs Solutions, Not Hasty Conclusions

### BY Bibek Debroy, Aditya Sinha

**Employment statistics** frequently become a central theme in electoral campaigns as they directly reflect the economic health of a nation and influence voter sentiment. Studies have shown that employment rates and job creation are pivotal issues that can sway electoral outcomes. For instance, one National Bureau of Economic Research working paper highlighted that changes in employment and wages significantly impact voter turnout and preferences in gubernatorial elections, suggesting that economic performance is a critical factor in

campaigns.Moreover, political employment statistics to frame opposition leaders used reports such as the International Labour Organization's (ILO) India Employment Report 2024 predominantly among unpaid family workers, who are mainly women. The report highlights an increase in employment Furthermore, the shift from NSS and notes a concerning due sector's employment share. The report further revealed that decreasing to 12.4% in 2022. The Report

of the primary responsibilities of any government is to creation of the are some methodological India issues with the report. This has Chief Economic Advisor, V TCAAnant.



political Survey (PLFS) from 2018-19 and (6.0%). The unemployment rate (NCS) portal, which soared by 2021-22, leading to potential is lowest in Assam (1.7%). 214% to 10,924,161 positions discourse often leverages discontinuities in the data Tripura, Madhya Pradesh, compared to 3,481,944 the workforce. To ensure these timeline. This gap between Jharkhand, Assam & Gujarathave previous year, there was only narratives or critique opposing datasets obscures significant the lowest unemployment rate in a 53% increase in job-seeker parties, as seen in India's labour market trends and the country. recent elections, where transitions, particularly around One fact misrepresented by the 87,27,900. This discrepancy changes that occurred in the interim years, such as the economic shifts following to raise the issue of demonetisation. The lack of majority of new work has been employment trends are PLFS through self-employment, consistent over time or whether they are simply the result of specific policy impacts or global economic conditions.

to differences possibly coverage and sampling techniques. While the NSS comparisons without adjusting for these methodological establish a favourable differences could lead to Unemployment environment that encourages misleading conclusions about Education: A Paradox job employment trends.

Going beyond this report, one been already highlighted by the should also look at the spatial distribution of unemployment in educated individuals often have skills can be replicated in employment elasticity of Anantha Nageswaram, and India. PLFS 2022-23 data shows specific career expectations and regions that the unemployment in India may not settle for jobs that they employability. Emphasising more than two decades. It's not The report utilises data from is 3.17%. However, there are perceive as underutilising their emerging technologies in a new phenomenon. This various sources, such as the states that are way above the skills, leading to longer periods of educational curricula, such as should change. The enabling National Sample Survey (NSS) national average: Goa (9.7%), job-seeking. In FY24, despite the in from 1999-00 and 2011-12 and Kerala (7%), Haryana (6.1%), significant growth in job vacancies Communication Engineering will help the next government the Periodic Labour Force Punjab (6.1%) and Meghalaya on the National Career Service (ECE) and Information achieve this target.

key economic reforms and policy media is that the ILO report has highlights a surprising trend of suggested that 82.9% of youth are unemployed. However, to be fair the to the ILO report, it has said that opportunities, reflecting a India's labour market and the share of unemployed youth in mismatch in job requirements unemployment. The report continuous data makes it difficult the total unemployed population or awareness. revealed that since 2019, the to assess whether observed was 82.9%. Irrespective of that, Second, the job market may make this a priority in the next 2022-23. unemployment rate in India for individuals aged 15 and older, number of graduates, creating based on their highest education an imbalance between supply level, varies significantly. The rate and demand. This situation is for those who finished middle exacerbated by rapid changes within the agricultural sector to PLFS introduces complexity school is 1.7%, while it increases in technology and global 1.5%. Concurrently, the in to 2.2% for secondary school economic structures, which number of children in the 0 to stagnation in the manufacturing methodology, frequency, and completers. Higher secondary completers face an unemployment rate of 4.6%. The unemployment rose from 5.7% provides guinguennial snapshots rates escalate for those with sometimes be misaligned with since 2019. Past job creation in 2000 to 17.5% in 2019, of employment, the annual PLFS higher qualifications: 12.2% for the labour market's actual aims for more frequent updates diploma holders, 13.4% for needs, leading to a mismatch like the SP Gupta Committee Methodological Issues With but may differ in how it graduates, and 12.1% for where the workforce's orthe Montek Singh Ahluwalia categorises employment or the postgraduates and above. Those qualifications do not meet the committee of the former It goes without saying that one working-age population. Direct with at least a secondary school education experience a 7.3% unemployment rate.

And

This points to the fact that opportunities. However, there Unemployment Varies Across unemployment, sometimes, can like Andhra Pradesh, West economic growth rate. However, paradoxically increase with the level of education primarily due to three factors. First, highly

registrations, fewer job-seekers relative to burgeoning job

the need more high-skill positions term. available to match the growing can make certain specialised skills obsolete more quickly. Third, higher education can requirements of available jobs. planning commission - around To specifically address India's skill gap as revealed by the are now outdated; a more India Skills Report 2024, realistic figure might be closer several targeted strategies can to 8 million jobs per year be implemented. For regions considering the current Bengal, and Delhi, which show the reality seems to be that higher employability rates, we're creating less than this tailored initiatives to boost local number annually. The declining with Electronics

Technology (IT), can help meet the high demand for skills in these areas. Moreover, expanding publicprivate partnerships can ensure that educational programmes align closely with industry needs, particularly in fast-growing fields highlighted by the impact of AI on future work. Furthermore, vocational training needs strengthening to provide practical skills quickly and effectively, addressing immediate skill demands in various trades and technical roles. Policy incentives for lifelong learning, including tax breaks and subsidised training programs, can motivate ongoing skill development among the measures are effective, a robust monitoring framework totalling should be established to evaluate the impact of these policies and adapt them as needed, ensuring they meet the evolving demands of effectively reduce the skill gap. The new government should

With that said, India needs to create more jobs. India's population growth rate has decreased to about 0.8% from the earlier figures of 1.3% or 15 age brackets has not only proportionately declined but also in absolute numbers targets suggested by entities 10 to 12 million jobs annually lower growth has been going on for and reforms over the last decade SPECIAL REPORT

### NSIDER 31

## This November, your data privacy will be on the ballot, too

### **BY NICKY WATSON**

This fall, voters will be contemplating a risky decision ---and I'm not referring to the presidential candidates. I am talking about the real issue this election season: protecting voter data privacy.

With the Cambridge Analytica scandal still in recent memory, voters are concerned about the security of their personal information online. Ahead of this year's election, which is happening in tandem with the rapid rise of artificial intelligence (AI), voters must be aware that there are heightened risks to the security of their personal information. There are also steps action committee could apply for the technology will increase this bad actors are also leveraging AI that businesses can and should take to ensure they are protecting customer data from bad actors During election seasons of years service (phishing, malware, illegal past, inboxes got fuller, campaign content), they were accepted into these tools mean marketers are cold-calls ticked up and mass the program. texts exploded. We all know this to be true. It's an age-old accepted, its emails would no challenge that dates back to longer be affected by forms of before the AI boom.

Federal Election Commission getting pretty darned full. approved a request from Google Now layer AI onto that. that allowed political senders to Data from Invoca found that bypass spam filters on their way nearly 90 percent of respondents to Gmail inboxes. Essentially, a will have a dedicated budget for candidate, party, or political Al tools, and their investment in meaning marketers, hackers and message urged Democratic



the pilot program and, as long as its emails didn't contain content prohibited by Gmail's terms of

Once that political sender was spam detection to which they'd Just think back to the November otherwise be subjected. As a 2022 primary season. The result, all of our inboxes started

tap into increased productivity, outreach. In a perfect world, investing in deeper personalization so voters only receive tailored content that aligns with their political preferences.

But this isn't a perfect world, and such as fake news. there is ample room for human

year. This means marketers will to ramp up their schemes this year. New data from McAfee streamlined processes and more found that 53 percent of consumers say AI has made it harder to spot online scams particularly AI-generated deep fakes. The vast majority (72 percent) of American social media users also find it difficult to spot Al-generated content

Case in point: Ahead of the New error, meaning our inboxes are Hampshire primary in January, a about to be stuffed with unwanted fake robocall of President Joe political ads...probably more Biden made the rounds with than ever before. Along with a voters. Using AI voice-cloning storm of political ads from well- technologies, the falsified

voters to stay home, saying "Your vote makes a difference in November, not this Tuesday."

But for businesses, AI also offers some seemingly positive implications. New channels are now available for marketers to reach customers, including virtual and augmented realities, facial recognition and precise location-ID. With these new means, there is a far greater volume of data that marketers can leverage to personalize customer outreach. This is, in theory, a positive impact of AI, but data privacy implications inevitably increase in parallel. The long-term success of AI-powered marketing is therefore contingent on a company's ability to maintain a technological infrastructure that protects consumer data and brand reputation.As a means to address these fears, legislators recently brought forward the bipartisan American Privacy Rights Act of 2024, which aims to establish the first-ever federal standard for comprehensive data privacy and security regulation. The bill would recognize individual data controls for consumers and related obligations across a wide range of corporations. These include the right to opt out of targeted advertising and certain algorithms - which, during an election year, offers the opportunity to significantly cut down on unwanted political advertising.

## 'Mumbai Has 1,025 Hoardings': BMC's Tall Claim Amid Scores Of Illegal Billboards, Ignored Checks, Renewals

### By: Yesha Kotak

Even as two more bodies were recovered from the debris of the Ghatkopar billboard collapse on Wednesday, the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) claims that there are 1,025 hoardings in the city. The number, which any Mumbaikar may find hard to believe after one look at the hoardings around him, points to the larger problem — scores of illegal billboards that face no action.

The 120×120 sq ft hoarding that collapsed on a petrol pump at Chhedanagar along the Eastern and K-East (Andheri East) and hoarding, according to Deputy Expressway in Ghatkopar after lashed the city on Monday, too, incident, the BMC shared details of the hoardings installed in its 24 wards. While four wards — D (Grant Road), H-West (Bandra)



K-West (Andheri West) - top the Municipal Commissioner Sanjog a duststorm and gusty winds list, all wards have at least more than 100 hoardings each.BMC was illegal. In the wake of the EARNS RS 200 CROREAYEAR FROM HOARDINGS

The civic body earns around Rs through the licensing of these easy. The licence department,

Kabare, in one of his earlier interviews. According to sources, the BMC charges around Rs 1.75 lakh per month for a 40×40 square feet structure.

200 crore in annual revenue The permission doesn't come

which looks into the ads put up on metal structures, seeks noobjection certificates from various departments. The building and factories department issues permits after consulting other departments such as fire brigade, engineering and estate, among others. The garden department, soil testing and tree authority ensure the flora is not damaged. The agreement is for a period of one year, with a fixed deposit and rental fee.According to sources, however, the authorities as well as the applicants ignore the renewal process after erecting the hoarding.

IN CASE OF RAILWAY LAND In the blame game that ensued between the BMC, Railways and (GRP) after the Ghatkopar incident, the civic body was quick to point out that the hoarding was on a railway land.

Regulations on a federal level could raise the stakes on the scale of fines and penalties, as well as the likelihood of enforcement. In this case, proposed enforcement is actually threefold, including the FTC, the states, and individuals through a private right of action. However, the fact that 93 percent of respondents to a recent study worry about the security of their online data indicates a widespread lack of confidence among users regarding the protection of their personal information.Such a high level of concern could be attributed to various factors such as frequent data breaches, lack of transparency in data-handling practices, or increasing awareness of privacy-related issues. Government Railway Police Addressing this concern is paramount to maintain user trust and confidence, as well as to comply with data protection regulations.

SPECIAL REPORT

NSIDER 32

# Can Trump win without supporters?

### **R**Y BERNARD GOLDBERG,

imagine, if you can, that moderate Donald Trump is capable of especially suburban women ---to a political opponent he November. for good measure, doesn't like Donald Trump is a man who him either. Unless you just holds grudges and doesn't like emerged from a coma, you anyone too close to him with know we're talking about the strong, independent views. He Axios reported that Haley was icy relationship between Trump prefers the kind of people who, and Nikki Haley.

Let's imagine that Trump tells or not, will go out on the went public and said she is not competent than voters already her that while they had their campaign differences during the primary enthusiastically tell voters how campaign, it's time, for the wonderful he is - and who, mistake, but when his ego is sake of party unity, to put when asked, will either tap involved, mistakes are never far asked her to be his vice- of character. conciliatory gesture that would vote in last week's Indiana's Haley's supporters?

qo long way in

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winning over her voters

whether they really believe it tried to bury the speculation. He look by comparison even less trail and

she dropped out of the race two on his ticket, someone mature. months ago. In one wealthy someone stable - someone, in Indianapolis suburb, she did other words, like Nikki Haley even better - winning 34 and not like Donald Trump. He doesn't need Nikki Haley percent of the vote.

out of the race, Ms. Haley has Trump and need a reason to already) that reconsidering continued to pull in a vote for him. significant number of voters in Two possibilities: Doug Burgum, ongoing primary contests. This won't be easy, but voters — and a lot of other Across the five swing states too, that have held primaries so far Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, cast ballots for Ms. Haley." difference between winning and losing in a close race.

Despite all that, soon after being considered for VP, Trump a contender.

Trump, I think, is making a

GOP primary — even though Donald Trump needs a grownup needs someone who could win or her supporters. But that's And the New York Times overvoters who don't especially reported in March that, "Even like Biden but are uneasy with to tell Trump (if they haven't

the North Dakota governor and successful entrepreneur — not especially charismatic, but he checks the stable and mature boxes that would help Trump ---and is prepared to be gracious his chances of winning in a total of about 750,000 people and Glenn Youngkin, the Virginia governor, who's smart doesn't like - and one who, But that's not going to happen. Those votes could be the and likable. And if the Trump campaign really is targeting candidate rarely has much Virginia, Youngkin can help him aet it.

> make Biden's vice president think she is.

College poll shows Trump winning in five of six key those differences in the dance around the question of away. And, who knows, she battleground states. It shows rearview mirror. Imagine if he whether the 2020 election was might not even want the job. him running neck and neck with could muster what it takes to rigged, or flat-out agree with Wherever Trump goes, drama young voters and Hispanic paise her for her intelligence Trump that it was. So reaching and chaos are right there with voters — two groups Joe Biden and apologized for calling her out to Nikki Haley would be out him. Haley may figure that she won with 60 percent of their vote a "birdbrain." Now imagine if he of character for him. Way out doesn't need that for the next in 2020. And it has Trump four years. So which VP winning more than 20 percent commentaries and Q&As on his presidential candidate, a But Haley won 22 percent of the candidate could win over of black voters — a much higher percentage than GOP

presidential candidates normally get.

So maybe he figures he's got the election wrapped up and a big gamble.Someone needs Haley would be the smart thing to do. That he's not running against her anymore; he's running against Joe Biden and Kamala Harris and they're already going after Haley voters.

But even if he won't consider Haley, he still needs her supporters. A vice-presidential influence on the outcome of a presidential election, but this Like Haley, either one would year - with so many voters unenthusiastic about both presidential candidates -Trump's VP pick might make a big difference. You'd think A recent New York Times-Siena a "stable genius" like the former president would understand that.

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