



# Does the Model Code of Conduct need legal teeth?



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is former Chief Election Commissioner



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is former Secretary General of the Lok Sabha

**PARLEY**

**O**n May 22, the Election Commission of India (ECI) asked the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Congress to desist from raising divisive issues in the campaign. In recent years, and particularly during the campaign to the ongoing Lok Sabha elections, critics of the ECI have accused the body of being late or ineffective or partial in responding to alleged violations of the Model Code of Conduct (MCC). Does the MCC need legal teeth for better implementation? T.S. Krishnamurthy and P.D.T. Achary discuss the question in a conversation moderated by Sreeparna Chakrabarty. Edited excerpts:

**Mr. Krishnamurthy, a lot of people have said that the ECI has not properly enforced the MCC during this election and that some violations have been overlooked. What is your opinion on these allegations?**

**T.S. Krishnamurthy:** The media and political parties make vague allegations against the ECI, and this is common during every election. As far as political parties go, one set of parties or the other will always have a complaint. This is very common in every election. Parties have their own political reasons for making complaints. What is necessary is to know how genuine these complaints are and what action has been taken. It is for the people to decide whether the action taken has been free and fair.

**Mr. Achary, do you think the MCC needs legal teeth for better implementation?**

**P.D.T. Achary:** I don't look at this from the point of view of political parties but from the point of view of law and the Constitution. Legal enforceability is out of the question because it (the MCC) doesn't have legal teeth. But the point is that the ECI has been given a lot of powers. In fact, Justice Krishna Iyer had said in one of his judgments that it (the ECI) is a reservoir of powers. That means the ECI has a lot of powers to act to ensure that elections are free and fair. So, it is not necessary to give legal teeth to the MCC.

The argument against giving it legal teeth is that once it (the ECI) goes to the courts, it will take a lot of time. The electoral process, once it starts, should be completed expeditiously. So, legal teeth should not be made a part of the Representation of the People Act (RPA), 1951. In the absence of this legal provision, the MCC can be enforced and that is for the ECI to deal with because Article 324 of the Constitution gives it enormous powers wherever there is no legal provision. Whether the ECI is actually using all its powers under Article 324 is the question.



A shop sells banners, flags and other election advertisement materials in Bengaluru. THE HINDU

**People who do not favour statutory measures to implement the MCC also argue that when a strict measure is taken, it disrupts the political process. Mr. Krishnamurthy, what do you think?**

**TSK:** While I agree that the Supreme Court in one of its judgments observed that the ECI has a reservoir of powers under Article 324, it is only in respect of areas where there is a legislative vacuum. This is not an all-comprehensive power. The ECI is entitled to exercise this power without appealing to any other outside body, but even here, the restriction is that it has to be within the framework of the Constitution and the RPA. It is not as if the ECI has got extraordinary powers to go beyond the provisions of law. The ECI is accountable for its decisions in exercise of such power.

The main purpose of the MCC is to ensure a level playing field and ensure that elections take place in a free and fair manner. But the problem is that the MCC is only a code. Once it finds a violation, if the ECI can book them under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) or under the RPA, or file an FIR, that will take months and years to be decided by the courts. Moreover, the police which functions under the State government will be taking action against such complaints depending upon which party comes to power.

And if there are other violations not covered by the IPC or the RPA, all that the ECI can do is, say, ban a candidate from campaigning. But it has no wide-ranging powers as people assume, and that is where the problem lies. That is why I believe that some limited power should be given to the ECI to impose a monetary penalty or a temporary disqualification or something like that. There are some areas where I believe that it (the MCC) should be brought within the framework of law. I know there are differences of opinion among political parties and analysts.



**Judicial proceedings are out of question. An election has to be completed expeditiously within a given time frame.**

**P.D.T. ACHARY**

Some parties may not agree to such a change. But if you want to instill some fear in candidates and the political parties, at least some minimal power of imposing a monetary penalty [should be given]. Or disqualification for a short period would be ideal.

**In recent times, has there been any discussion with parties on widening the ambit of the MCC or making it more efficient?**

**TSK:** As far as I know, I don't think so.

**Mr. Achary, what is the harm in including certain statutory provisions like penalties for violating the MCC within the RPA Act?**

**PDTA:** See, once it becomes a part of the RPA Act, suppose the ECI moves in and uses that particular provision against any person who violates the MCC, that person will certainly go to court and challenge it. If there is a stay, then the matter will end there. So, quick executive action is what is required. Judicial proceedings are out of question. An election has to be completed expeditiously within a given time frame.

I agree with Mr. Krishnamurthy that the reservoir of powers doesn't mean that the ECI is omnipotent and it can operate outside the Constitution and law. The Supreme Court has made it clear that if there is a statutory law, then the ECI will have to go by that. But if there is no statutory law to deal with the particular situation, the ECI can draw this power from Article 324. Let's suppose a very important person violates the MCC. In such cases, the ECI has, even during this election, taken a leader off campaigning for 24 hours or 48 hours. If the ECI can use this power and take a person off the campaign for 24 hours or 48 hours, it can take that person off the campaign for the duration of the election if it is a very serious offence or violation. That call has to be taken by the ECI.

I would also like to draw your attention to Paragraph 16A of the Election Symbols Order, 1968. It says if there is a violation of the MCC, the ECI can even derecognise or temporarily suspend the recognition given to a party. So, it is not that the ECI does not have or cannot exercise its authority.

**TSK:** Yes, the ECI has the power under the Election Symbols Order to withdraw (recognition). But if the ECI starts withdrawing

the symbol for various violations that political parties are indulging in these days, I think most of the parties are likely to lose their symbol at one stroke. It cannot be invoked in all cases; it can only be invoked in very serious cases. Among the candidates and political parties, mere fear of withdrawal of the symbol or filing an FIR doesn't work. Thousands of cases of FIRs are filed and you know how the FIRs are treated.

**Over the past few years, there has been a debate on whether the ECI has been able to ensure a level playing field. What do you think?**

**PDTA:** Here, the point is whether the ECI is using all its powers to deal with situations where senior political leaders while campaigning seem to be violating the MCC. Whether the ECI (in such situations) is acting effectively and applying the MCC and its regulatory aspect uniformly to all the people, whatever position they may hold politically or otherwise, is the question that needs to be debated. It is a serious situation. And all of us know what has been happening during this election.

**Social media has become a huge influence as far as campaigning goes. Do you think it needs regulation?**

**TSK:** This is a complex issue. There is need for regulation. How that can be done needs to be discussed with all stakeholders. I'm not saying everything is hunky dory. We have to bring about some changes. The MCC was started with a good intention. It had a lot of positive effect initially, but parties are now becoming more and more aggressive. I think it is time for us to review the contents of the MCC and also to find out methods to improve the regulation of social media, hate speeches, and fake news. But let us clearly understand that the ECI does not have that kind of a power during the election process to swiftly deal with the violations.

**PDTA:** Social media is unregulated, so some muck also moves through it. But the point is that when there is a some kind of a control over the rest of the media – sections of electronic media and print media – people get a lot of information through social media. Therefore, yes, there should be some healthy regulation, but otherwise social platforms are certainly serving a very important purpose, particularly in a situation like this.



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**NOTEBOOK**

## During election time, expect the unexpected

Covering the Lok Sabha elections for the first time can be equally thrilling and daunting

**Satvika Mahajan**

**F**or a cub reporter who is just finding her feet in the industry, covering any election can be intimidating, and a Lok Sabha one even more so. During election season, there is a constant influx of information and misinformation. There are dozens of speeches to cover, interviews to conduct, and places to be at. Some of these assignments can throw up surprises and involve quick turnarounds. All reporters prepare meticulously before elections, but regardless of the effort, something or the other tends to happen which changes the course of our coverage. In short, we always have to be prepared for the unexpected too.

For instance, just ahead of the polls, Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal was arrested. This was an unprecedented event that none of us foresaw. On the day of the arrest, I was having a slow news day. But as updates of the Enforcement Directorate reaching the Chief Minister's residence came in, I rushed to the site with my colleagues and saw him being taken away. The arrest landed the Aam Aadmi Party in a crisis and changed its campaign, likely made a difference to public opinion, and affected our coverage of the elections in the capital too.

There were also days when I found myself unprepared to deal with the contradictions in narratives or unable to trace the source of a narrative or belief. In northeast Delhi, for instance, where riots broke out in early 2020 over the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019, several people I spoke to recounted a particular narrative against the Congress's candidate, Kanhaiya Kumar. People dismissed him as the leader of the "tukde tukde gang" – a pejorative catchphrase used to refer to groups allegedly supporting secession and secessionism – but when asked where they had heard this, many of them did not have a proper answer.

Similarly, while researching and writing about the candidates in the fray, I

realised that it was difficult to take a call on which aspects about them were important, which ones were unimportant and avoidable, and which ones were perhaps unimportant but still interesting.

Additionally, we reporters must also deal with the fact that there are certain aspects or events in a person's life that cannot be written about due to several factors. For instance, the candidate may have faced a case years ago. But if that case was withdrawn later, do you include it? Similarly, it can be tricky to write about personal details that shaped the candidate's motivations.

One day, despite doing my research and discovering crucial details about the candidates buried in larger stories, I was still caught off guard. During an interview, I asked the candidate many personal questions, including what he does when he takes breaks from campaigning. When I asked him about his children, he paused, unable to speak. I did not realise that he had lost his child. A member of his team answered instead. I quickly changed the subject and we moved back to talking about politics.

Most importantly, I was unaware of the impact of some of these stories on readers. Journalists spend their lives chasing stories, with little time to really look back at the previous day or report. We file so many stories that we even forget about them sometimes. But readers don't forget. Stories, I have come to know, can even change their mind about a particular issue or person. I learned this one day when a reader called me and said, "The profiles you are writing for the candidates in my constituency will decide who I vote for."

To hear that was thrilling, albeit daunting. Since that phone call, while interviewing candidates, I have tried even harder to put myself in the shoes of the people of the constituency and ask questions that the voters may want answered.

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**PICTURE OF THE WEEK**

## Waiting for water



A shepherd pours water for a herd of goats in Malleswaram in Nagarkurnool district of Telangana. India has been in the grip of a severe heatwave. NAGARA GOPAL

**FROM THE ARCHIVES**



**FIFTY YEARS AGO** MAY 31, 1974

## Indians for South African Army

Cape Town, May 30: Representatives of the 700,00 South African Indian community have welcomed the announcement that Indians may become part of the South African defence force. A statement has been issued by the Prime Minister, Mr. B.K. Vorster, saying: "The

Government has decided to establish a social service battalion for Indians on similar lines to that of the coloureds."

The Indian service battalion will provisionally be established on Salisbury island as a unit of the Navy. Training of the first Indians will begin in January next year.

Mr. J.N. Reddy, Chairman of the South African Indian Council, said: "We welcome with high praise the decision taken by the Government. This is a step in the right direction. We (Indians) feel part of South Africa."

**A HUNDRED YEARS AGO** MAY 31, 1924

## Strike at Tinnevely

Trichinopoly, May 31: The South Indian Railway firemen and cleaners have struck work at Trichinopoly on Friday noon. Similar strikes are also reported from Tanjore where it began at 4 p.m. yesterday. The Reserve Police are guarding the junction platform and railway sheds. The ex firemen are being called in of whom about half a dozen have already been registered. The duplicate Trivandrum Express left Trichinopoly with Mr. Vierra, Assistant Traffic Superintendent acting as firemen.












**OUR VIEW**


## Wet-bulb heat: A rising threat we cannot ignore

As temperature readings smash records and leave us agape, humidity is worsening too. It's climate change. Wet-bulb heat could spell a massive crisis in India as the planet warms up

On Wednesday, a weather station in Delhi reported a maximum temperature of 52.9° Celsius. This is the highest ever—not just for the capital, but for all of India. As anything above 50° is rare even during intense heat waves, the reading left observers agape. And since it was an outlier among other mercury readings across Delhi, a central minister said that the weather department has been asked to check if the thermometer was okay. Whether or not it has its notches correct, the scorching heat this year makes anything around the 50° mark seem believable. The oven-like conditions that have gripped large parts of our landmass are all too real, with people groaning that this summer is the hottest they have ever experienced. The tragic irony of such groans is that unlike a 'once in a century' event like the covid pandemic, it's likely that the same attestation of misery will be made year after year as we go along. After all, the blazing sun is only the most visible cause. Air pollution that traps heat on the planet has put us on a path whose perils are only just starting to show.

An analysis of data from India Meteorological Department by the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) reveals that it's not just regular heat, the hot season has gradually become more muggy too. In Delhi, the average relative humidity in summer months was 52.5% in the first decade of the millennium, but recent years have seen it go above 60%, pushing us into a sweltering zone. Perspiration cools our bodies down as sweat evaporates, but if the ambient air is too humid—with high moisture, i.e.—then we take longer to dry and this cooling effect weakens. Exposure for

hours on end to extreme humid heat can thus induce stress and even prove fatal. While heat-stroke deaths are few and far between right now, what we need to recognize is how soon global warming and rising humidity could combine to make the fatality count shoot up. Global human tolerance studies suggest that five hours or more spent outdoors in 'wet-bulb heat' of above 35° Celsius could kill people (with variation on account of other factors, of course). With such a risk staring at millions of workers without air-conditioned work spaces, we need to wrap our heads around wet-bulb heat as a concept. It refers to readings of a thermometer whose bulb is covered with a cloth soaked in water. As it's wet, its reading will be much lower than a dry bulb's, but the gap can start closing rapidly if high humidity does not let the wet bulb cool. In other words, while the usual dry heat readings have begun reaching scary levels, with rising moisture in the air, we may see much worse to come.

Several issues demand attention. For one, we must not fall for the myth of hardy Indian toilers, ready to work under harsh conditions. On current trends, the bulk of our population may be vulnerable to wet-bulb heat by mid-century. For another, the energy needed to keep Indians safe—let alone cool—would be enormous, which could push us into a vicious cycle if we don't plan properly. Even as we adopt clean-tech options for electricity, carbon neutrality by 2070 will not be easy to achieve. As with all climate science, nothing can be said with certainty. But still, the risks we face are too severe to kick this can further down the road. As lives are involved, we must prepare for a worst-case scenario. We shouldn't face a fatality curve someday that's too late to flatten.

REUTERS

## India's employment challenge: Think beyond basic livelihoods

Improve the quality of employment broadly to assure employees better earnings and social security


**HIMANSHU**

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If there is a single issue that has dominated the election discourse over the past two months, it has been India's crisis of jobs. But what exactly is this so-called employment challenge? While one hears anecdotal stories of educated youth not finding employment, jobs mean different things to different people. If it means any engagement in gainful productive activity, then the growth of employment since 2017-18 has been the highest in recent years, with the total number of workers in the economy increasing from 458 million in 2017-18 to 563 million in 2022-23, as reported by Periodic Labour Force Surveys (PLFS).

Last week, the National Statistical Office (NSO) released estimates from quarterly surveys for urban areas for January-March 2024; these confirm the trends reported earlier. Urban males aged above 15 years have seen their workforce participation increase from 67.7% in January-March 2022 to 69.8% in January-March 2024. The increase is greater for urban females, whose workforce participation rate rose from 18.3% to 23.4% over the same period.

But then, why is employment an issue? Primarily because in an economy like ours, with significant economic distress, getting jobs is almost a necessity. Most people in the working age-group need some means of earning a livelihood, with only a few able to survive on

accumulated wealth. For India's vast majority, joblessness is an unaffordable luxury. Which also implies that unemployment statistics are not the only way to understand the challenge. While useful, this data represents only one aspect of the problem. A nuanced look would show that rising employment data may mask increasing distress in the economy. Most employment gains have been in agriculture and among women workers; this suggests distress-induced job seeking over the last five years. Also consider that rising economic growth is usually associated with a declining share of workers in agriculture, but this trend held firm only till 2017-18 and saw a reversal after that, raising questions about non-farm job creation.

Anxiety over jobs extends to those who want superior employment, a significantly large group. Among those who are employed, the last decade has seen a deterioration in job quality and also a decline in earnings from such work. While casual wage labourers in rural areas continue to suffer declining real wages for farm and non-farm work, the decline has been sharper for regular employees. PLFS data suggests a decline in rural regular wages by 1.3% per annum in the last five years, with urban regular wages declining at 2.7% per annum. In fact, regular worker

wages have been declining since 2011-12, with real wages in rural areas declining at 0.6% per annum since 2011-12 while urban wages declined at 1.2% per annum since 2011-12.

Quality of employment has been a bigger challenge. The only thing that distinguishes a regular worker from a casual wage worker is the regularity of employment. But this scenario is bleak. Almost two-thirds of India's regular workers do not have a written contract, while only one-fourth have one that is longer than 3 years. Both these indicators have worsened since 2011-12.

The decline in real earnings from regular employment has led to a situation where the earnings of the bottom quintile of regular workers is no different from the bottom quintile of casual workers. In 2022, both received average monthly earnings of about ₹3,000 per month or ₹100 per day.

Earlier this year, while releasing the *India Employment Report 2024* of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and Institute for Human Development, the chief economic advisor (CEA) was criticised for saying that the government cannot create jobs for everyone. The CEA may be right in a general sense, given the limitations of the government in creating public-sector jobs, but the administration's responsibility is not just to create government jobs, but also to create enabling conditions for the private sector to employ people in good jobs. It is also the duty of the government to provide an enabling framework of regulations for decent work, including provisions of social security to those who are either employed as regular workers or are self-employed. Instead of political promises of creating millions of jobs, a better way to deal with the employment challenge is to initiate structural reforms that can encourage labour-intensive sectors as well as small and medium enterprises. India must improve the quality of employment to assure people social security as well as better earnings.

**QUICK READ**

Economic growth is usually associated with a declining share of workers in agriculture, but this trend saw a reversal after 2017-18, raising questions about non-farm job creation in the country.

People need better jobs but official Indian survey findings suggest that the last decade has seen a broad deterioration in job quality and also a decline in earnings from such work.

**10 YEARS AGO**

**JUST A THOUGHT**

Nothing is sudden in nature: whereas the slightest storms are forecast several days in advance, the destruction of the world must have been announced several years beforehand by heatwaves, by winds, by meteorites, in short, by an infinity of phenomena.

NICOLAS ANTOINE BOULANGER

**GUEST VIEW**

## Commercial leases in the retail sector are evolving fast

**ANIMESH TIWARY**


has worked as an in-house legal counsel at a major manufacturing company.

The retail sector in India has grown hugely. It is now placed at \$1.2 trillion, fuelled by rising consumer spending, swift urbanization and a burgeoning middle class that's youthful by world comparison. In an effort to meet growing demand, home-grown as well as foreign brands are scaling up their operations and physical presence. With prominent single and multi-brand retailers such as Apple, Reliance Retail, Tata's Trent, Shoppers' Stop, etc., all vying to fulfil fast-growing urban demand, India saw record-high leasing of space by retailers in 2023. While the phenomenon of 'ghost malls' does exist, we also saw renovations of shopping malls and hypermarkets that were struggling to retain footfalls, especially after the covid pandemic. In recent years, real estate developers have been launching better designed and located retail spaces to attract large tenants whose requirement runs into several thousand square feet. Historically, in India, landlords have driven lease negotiations with tenants,

drawing up terms based on their own standard template. This has been changing. In today's times, organized retail players with a major national presence seem just as capable of tilting the scales in their favour as high-profile international tenants.

In April 2023, iPhone-maker Apple struck lease agreements for its first Apple retail stores in Delhi and Mumbai, thereby officially marking its physical presence in the country. The lease agreement for Apple's 20,000-sq-ft space in Reliance Jio World Drive mall, located in Mumbai's posh BKC area, features an 'exclusive zone' clause that restricts the landlord from leasing space to 22 competing technology brands near the store, as specified by the tenant. This is one of the first such instances in the Indian retail sector of an 'anchor' tenant leveraging its dominance to obtain such favourable terms.

An 'exclusive zone' is a tenant-requested clause designed to ensure that two similar tenants do not end up in such close retail proximity that they interfere with each other's customer traffic. In such cases, landlords are wary of the restriction being too wide, effectively acting as a restraint on their space-rental business. Fortunately for Apple, past rulings of law courts in India suggest that such a restrictive clause does not

violate any Indian law, considering that its objective is not restrictive of trade but to facilitate the retailing of a company's products in a specified geographical location (and also that the restriction ends with the expiry of the lease tenure).

Across the world, big shopping malls rely on an anchor retailer to attract footfalls. This is also evident in India, where some shopping centres have turned into loss-making 'ghost malls' after their anchor tenants shut shop. Anchor retailers are in a position to use this dependence to their advantage by negotiating the lease rent and corresponding terms in anticipation of market downturns.

There also exists a 'co-tenancy' clause that enables an anchor tenant to exercise the right to pay reduced rent if the shopping centre fails to achieve a pre-negotiated occupancy level of nationally recognized tenants "open and operating" within a specified period of time. As tenant departures could also

reduce the whole shopping centre's traffic, specific conditions could be stipulated as the trigger for rent reduction. If occupancy falls below a certain threshold along a timeline, for example, this clause could be invoked.

There can be complexities. An anchor tenant with market clout, for example, may want to reduce the rent payable to, say, a fixed percentage of its gross sales till the time the co-tenancy occupancy threshold is attained. This may invite its own disputes. To begin with, the landlord and tenant may have different interpretations of who quali-

**QUICK READ**

Dominant retailers have begun to exercise their clout as tenants. Apple's rental deal in Mumbai, for example, reportedly has an 'exclusive zone' clause designed to keep rival brands at a distance.

An anchor tenant at a mall may have a symbiotic relationship with the landlord and their lease agreement can include clauses that protect either party from being let down by the other.

fies as a "nationally recognized tenant" or what an "open and operating" store means. Further, the legality of an anchor tenant using a unilateral formula to determine rent in response to a breach of the co-tenancy clause has been contested in US courts, where it has been held that "co-tenancy provisions will be generally enforceable, unless they are substantively unreasonable."

While lease rent in India is governed by the rent control legislation of respective states and is a result of the sum agreed upon by both parties, India's apex court has made it clear that "both the landlord and tenant are empowered under the law to approach the rent controller for fixing 'fair rent' during the subsistence of the lease."

Apart from choosing what concessions to extend to an anchor tenant, there are certain terms under a lease that landlords can negotiate to protect their interests. For any big retail centre, store occupancy drives traffic and a shuttered anchor will inevitably hurt smaller tenants. Dark storefronts and corridors put customers off. To combat this, landlords can introduce the right to 're-capture' space in lease agreements. This would empower them to take back rented space from an anchor tenant in the event the latter is not open for business for a defined period of time during the week. Landlords could also demand monetary compensation from such a tenant. In general, though, with organized retail expected to expand further and Indian spending on the rise, we can expect to see retailers with significant clout and market presence driving a hard bargain with landlords for retail spaces.

These are the author's personal views.





THEIR VIEW

MINT CURATOR

# Set priorities to prepare for the global economy that's emerging

How well we leverage and ride ongoing transformations of energy and digital technology will determine India's success



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A new government will soon take charge at the centre. Hopefully, India's new government will have a long-term vision and the courage to think outside the box. Nothing less will do to prepare India for the emerging new global economy, driven by fundamental, disruptive technological changes that are gathering momentum.

There have been periods in history when such fundamental technological change has had a profound, pervasive impact on the way we live and work. The first industrial revolution triggered by the coal-powered steam engine, electricity, the oil-powered transport revolution and the computer and communication revolutions are illustrations of such disruptive technological change in modern history. Today, two such transformations are simultaneously underway: the energy transition and the digital transformation.

The fossil-fuel-based industrial economy had more or less run its course by the end of the 20th century, as it became evident that burning fossil fuels was leading to climate change, which could eventually make the earth uninhabitable. It took another quarter century for national governments to agree on targets to limit greenhouse gas emissions and switch to alternative technologies to arrest global warming. But action by governments to achieve those targets has proceeded at a snail's pace, while we are already experiencing the impact of global warming in our daily lives.

Fortunately, the market and private capital have come to the rescue. As the profitability of renewables became evident, massive private investment flowed in to fast-track the transition to solar power, wind power and green hydrogen across a wide range of industries. Costs plummeted as renewable energy capacity and products were rolled out at scale to reap economies of scale. Reports suggest that the costs of solar power, off-shore and on-shore wind power and electric vehicle batteries have dropped by 80%, 60-70% and 80% respectively. The binding constraint now is not technology, but inadequate availability of financing in developing countries where much of the transition to renewables must be done (Sudipto Mundle, *Mint*, 28 April and 25 May 2023). However, the market is likely to devise instruments like guarantees and insurance to find its way around this constraint.

Though markets and private capital are leading the energy transformation, national governments are also playing a key role in supporting and subsidising private companies. Chinese companies now control more than three-fourths of the global photovoltaic cells market and well over half the global market for wind turbines, electric vehicles and e-vehicle batteries, thanks to large scale government support. There has been pushback from

the US and EU. But US companies are also receiving billions of dollars in subsidies under the Inflation Reduction Act and the EU is contemplating its own counter-measures. Green industries are growing rapidly, thanks to intense global competition among leading companies, supported by their respective governments.

Most of the examples of disruptive technical change cited at the outset were embodied in machines designed to replicate and multiply hugely the physical capacity of human beings. But the computer revolution pioneered by Alan Turing and others led to machines that would replicate and massively multiply the mental capacity of human beings. Semi-conductor chips multiplied the capacity of these machines manifold while miniaturizing them. Computers combined with the communication revolution gave us the internet, then smartphones and finally artificial intelligence (AI): large learning models that don't just follow human commands, but autonomously replicate and hugely multiply, with Generative AI (GenAI), their capacity for some forms of human-like thinking. The advent of AI will further change the way we live and work.

Deep thinkers like Geoffrey Hinton, recognized as the 'father of AI,' and Israeli philosopher Yuval Harari fear that AI poses an existential threat to humankind. Others like Sam Altman, CEO of OpenAI, argue AI can be deployed to immensely

enhance human knowledge and creativity across many fields.

In India, the AI experience has been quite positive so far. The Microsoft LinkedIn Work Trend Index indicates that 92% of knowledge workers in India use AI, as compared to a global average of 75%. However, much of this has to do with the application of AI and GenAI algorithms, rather than creating them. There is now intense global

competition, especially between the US and China, in leading this digital transformation, since its enormous strategic and economic potential is clear.

Perhaps for the first time in history, two fundamental technological transformations are taking place together, their pace intensified by global rivalry. Barring catastrophic shocks, this will usher in a massive investment boom and decades of high growth as new technological and economic processes change the world in which we live.

It is at this critical juncture of a global economic transformation that a new government will take charge to lead India for the next five years. Its policy agenda must focus on new opportunities.

that a new government will take charge to lead India for the next five years. How well we prepare to leverage both technological transformations and ride them successfully will determine whether India becomes the third largest economy by the end of this decade, as has been projected, and a developed country by the middle of the century. Hopefully, this will be the strategic agenda of India's new government.

QUICK READ

Perhaps for the first time in history, two fundamental tech transformations are taking place together, their pace intensified by global rivalry. Barring shocks, this sets the stage for a boom.

It is at this critical juncture of a global economic transformation that a new government will take charge to lead India for the next five years. Its policy agenda must focus on new opportunities.

# Transparency holds the key to a carbon market that delivers

Resolving this market failure will help us against climate change



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The US is trying to fix its faulty market for carbon credits

The problem of climate change cannot be solved without capitalism. Governments have tried for more than three decades with little to show for it. And while more of them are now engaging partners in the private sector, the world is still lagging in deploying the full power of the market. An announcement by the Joe Biden administration in the US could help change that by beginning a much-needed overhaul of the market for carbon credits.

Global investment in clean energy has accelerated but is far below what's required to restrain rising temperatures. Governments will not make up that difference on their own. Private capital will be needed, and while businesses and investors are eager to provide it, a market failure in one crucial area—carbon credits—is keeping them on the sidelines.

Carbon credits, which are bought and sold in a voluntary carbon market, offer companies and investors many ways to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. In addition to helping finance new clean-energy installations, these credits can drive capital to projects with high upfront costs and high potential rewards, such as scaling up green hydrogen technology. They can also play a role in funding reforestation and ecological preservation, as well as financing the early retirement of coal plants.

There is enormous potential demand for carbon credits. Many business leaders recognize that tackling climate change is in their companies' self-interest and are setting ambitious decarbonization goals. That is not altruism. It's capitalism.

Companies have far less control, however, of their 'Scope 3' emissions, those generated by suppliers and customers. Letting firms buy credits against these emissions—but only after they disclose and begin implementing robust plans aligned with the Paris Agreement—could dramatically increase demand for them. For the demand side of the market to function, however, supply side problems must be fixed. Right now, the market for credits is opaque and riddled with inefficiency. Buyers can't be sure which credits are credible, projects often don't deliver what they promise and sellers can't be held accountable. Lack of transparency also opens the door for greenwashing, where companies claim to be making a much bigger difference than they are, which fuels public scepticism about [private efforts].

As a result, the market for carbon credits is much smaller and far less useful than it should be. Many of us have long been sceptical of it, and for good reason. As with any

market, opacity breeds not only inefficacy but also corruption.

This is a market failure we can fix, and we should treat it like any other market failure. For instance, when banks collapsed and the stock market melted down in 2007, the world didn't walk away from markets and banking. Governments worked to address some of the causes of the crisis, including requiring more transparency of opaque securities like credit default swaps and collateralized debt obligations. A similar remedy is needed for carbon credits.

Transparency works. Bloomberg's story is a testament to that. When we created Bloomberg in 1981, there was virtually no way for firms (especially smaller ones) to negotiate bond prices with sellers, because sellers had all the information. Prices were inflated, commissions were enormous and the market was inefficient. By creating real-time bond pricing and making it available to buyers and sellers, we helped level the playing field and allowed more capital to flow to productive assets, benefiting investors and driving economic growth.

For markets to work well, they must be transparent, trusted and standardized—three qualities that have largely eluded the market for carbon credits. But change is coming. The US has released a policy statement and set of principles for building more transparent, responsible and effective voluntary carbon markets. It's an important step that builds on work led by the Integrity Council for the Voluntary Carbon Market and the Voluntary Carbon Markets Integrity Initiative.

Together, these efforts can do for the carbon market what the Bloomberg Terminal helped do for the bond market in the 1980s. Through transparency and standardization, we can generate more trust that these investments are sound, turning a relatively small market into an enormous one, and a relatively inefficient one into a powerhouse. This way, we can unleash the market power that we desperately need on our side in this fight. Encouraging other nations to join should be a priority for the Biden administration, including at November's G20 summit in Rio de Janeiro.

Fixing the carbon-credit market won't solve the climate crisis on its own, but it will go a long way towards enlisting the market in the fight.

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MY VIEW | PEN DRIVE

# Inclusivity crisis: Transgender students need support

SUHANI GARG & YASHVI BANSAL



are students at Fortune Institute of International Business (FIIB).

India's democracy is famed globally not just for its size, but for its diversity. There are sections of people, however, who suffer the effects of centuries-old practices that deny them their right to equality. One such community at the receiving end comprises individuals who identify as LGBTQIA+.

While doing our internship at Basera Samajik Sansthan and living with transgender people for 15 days, we observed much variation in how they chose to describe themselves. A transgender woman, someone assigned the gender 'male' at birth who identifies as female, might describe herself as a "transwoman", "male-to-female" or simply "female," and vice versa. Some do not identify as either male or female, opting to go beyond the gender binary.

In India, transgenderism is well known as a sub-culture. Yet, mainstream awareness about the community is very low, which worsens their social oppression. A transwoman working for a global lifestyle brand

recounts how co-workers would often ridiculed her appearance. Customers would also pass snide remarks and avoid her billing counter. She was deeply disheartened, she says. In another instance, a transgender individual secured a job at a renowned pathology lab. On her first day, the organization invited the media to celebrate its recruit and showcase its commitment to diversity and inclusion. It was good news for all transgenders in need of regular jobs. However, after seven months, the company asked her to leave, citing an alleged contractual term that was never documented. Unlike the fanfare on her first day, her dismissal got no media attention. Diversity for the lab was only performative, she says, aimed at brownie points instead of genuine inclusion. This incident highlights the reluctance of employers to accept transgender individuals. Similar cases of discrimination are found in educational settings.

Data suggests that the literacy rate among India's transgender population is significantly lower than the national average. This disparity extends to education, with transgender students dropping out of school. Many of them face a hostile environment within institutions. Bullying, harassment

and the targeted use of derogatory language create a climate of humiliation and anxiety. These experiences take a toll on their well-being, contributing to depression, a major factor leading young people to leave school prematurely. Despite their strong desire for education, they find their academic goals thwarted. This highlights the need for rapid progress in creating safe and welcoming learning environments for all.

There are an estimated 25 million transgender people globally, and they are nearly four times more likely to suffer from conditions like depression, anxiety and the ills of substance misuse than cisgender individuals. The former often encounter barriers to enrolling in higher education due to discrepancies between their birth certificate's assigned sex and their gender identity. As a result, many are unable to pursue university education. In India, low educational qualifica-

tions and job discrimination have led some to turn to prostitution for income, with increased vulnerability to sexually transmitted diseases. Government policy interventions for transgenders include the National Youth Policy, which recognizes transgender youth as marginalized and calls for support for the LGBTQ+ community. Then, there are Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Rules and Ayushman Bharat TG Plus Scheme, among several other welfare schemes. The way forward would be to

establish specialized schools for vocational training and guidance, promote transgender culture, integrate transgender-related topics into academic curricula and explore new modes of engagement that can dismantle barriers and foster inclusive classrooms. We must also respect people's chosen names and pronouns, provide gender-neutral facilities, ensure confidentiality, offer financial

Whether it's as students or job seekers, transgender folks still have to bear discrimination and hostility. Their upliftment will be a long haul but the principle of equality demands that we act.

Those who identify as LGBTQIA+ deserve better. We must respect chosen names and pronouns, provide gender-neutral facilities, strengthen legal protections and establish feedback mechanisms.

QUICK READ





# Political wisdom a must to solve Punjab's problems



**KC SINGH**  
FORMER AMBASSADOR  
AND EX-SECRETARY, MEA

PUNJAB goes to the polls tomorrow, with four major parties in the fray. The BJP and the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) are in power at the Centre and in the state, respectively. In the past three decades or so, the Congress and the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD)-BJP alliance have ruled the state for 15 years each.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi, interviewed by this newspaper, is promoting the BJP's vision and record of good governance. Farmers sitting in the searing heat at the Shambhu border would disagree. He has argued that the SAD-BJP alliance ended due to a "series of electoral routs" and the ally's inability to 'reform' and move "with the times". He has concluded that Punjab is 'disgusted' with AAP 'disillusioned' with the Congress and 'disappointed' with the SAD.

He is partly right on all counts. The SAD was founded in 1920 after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre to wrest control of Darbar Sahib and other gurdwaras from the British or their nominee mahants.

Thereafter, the Akali leadership and the Congress were mostly in alignment during the freedom struggle. However, before attending the 1929 Lahore Congress session, the Akalis sought a commitment that no constitutional arrangement would be concluded without Sikh concurrence. This was reiterated before Independence. Although upset over the Partition on communal lines, the Sikh leadership rejected negotiations with Muhammad Ali Jinnah for an autonomous Sikh province within Pakistan.

But neither the Congress in the past nor the BJP now has understood the Sikhs' fears over the perceived threat to their language, religion and identity. This has surfaced periodically and been mishandled each time. The States' Reorganisation Act, 1956, reformed the boundaries of states on a linguistic basis, except those of Punjab. The Akali Dal's Punjabi Suba agitation persisted till the demand was conceded a decade later, albeit with many issues left unsettled or conditionally resolved.

The decade-long militancy, Operation Blue Star and the PM's assassination by her Sikh bodyguards shaped the Sikh angst. The 1984 mass killings of Sikhs, especially in Delhi, scarred the Sikh psyche. The SAD, under Parkash Singh Badal, by aligning with the BJP, managed to bridge the communal divide. After his demise



**SHORTCOMING:** Neither the Congress in the past nor the BJP now has understood the Sikhs' fears over the perceived threat to their language, religion and identity. TRIBUNE PHOTO

in 2023, the SAD has been reduced to a family enterprise with a Panthic veneer. The wooing of Dera Sacha Sauda head Gurmeet Ram Rahim Singh by getting the Sikh clergy to pardon his blasphemous conduct was the last straw. The BJP, too, is pampering him in Haryana, with parole being granted leniently. Electoral benefit, not Sikh sentiments, takes precedence.

The SAD-BJP romance ended mainly over differences regarding the handling of the farmers' agitation in protest against the three Central farm laws. The BJP, instead of addressing the rural distress and the farming crisis in Punjab and Haryana, is adopting a divide-and-win policy.

It began with former CM Capt Amarinder Singh and the Dhindsa family being lured by the BJP. While the

Dhindsas reversed course, Congress leaders like Manpreet Singh Badal and Sunil Jakhar joined the BJP. Their collective influence, the BJP's urban Hindu support and the dera-guided Dalit vote were expected to enhance the BJP's political prospects in Punjab.

The latest entrant is former diplomat Taranjit Singh Sandhu as the BJP's Amritsar candidate. The BJP hopes to capitalise on the legacy of his grandfather Teja Singh Samundri, who died in custody in 1926, resisting British interference in Sikh gurdwara management. Historically, Punjab has memorialised martyrs like Samundri, but punished those collaborating with perceived oppressors.

Amritpal Singh's sudden ascendance, followed by his arrest and now his candidature from Khadoor Sahib seat

lead to the question: Is he the inheritor of the Samundri legacy or is it the grandson?

Punjab's problems are self-evident, but no party is comprehensively discussing solutions. They range from debt-caused rural distress, unsustainable farming, fragmented landholdings, joblessness, massive youth migration, lack of inbound investment in sustainable manufacturing, environmental stress and drug addiction. The export of agricultural or horticultural produce is a recurrent proposal. However, no system exists to facilitate it. The talk of reviving trade routes to Central Asia ignores the BJP's aggressive policy on Pakistan.

Simply bringing private entrepreneurs to lift the produce will create imbalanced profiteering by some in select districts. I have known MA Yusuff Ali of the LuLu Group since his pre-billionaire days in the late 1990s. He is a shrewd trader, now aiding the BJP electorally by promising procurement from Punjab.

Punjab needs a cooperative network for food procurement and export, like the Anand dairy cooperative which procures, processes and markets produce. They introduce modern techniques and deliver services that individual members can neither afford nor manage. The Abu Dhabi proposal for the India-UAE Food Sector Corridor was announced in February 2022, with an outlay of \$7 billion. India amended the Essential

Commodities Act to allow 'contract farming' and supply chains for export. The UAE budgeted \$2 billion for a food park to supply onions, rice and bananas. But the first big investment is going to Gujarat, with Madhya Pradesh also a beneficiary. Why have the northern states been ignored?

This proposal assumes the collaboration of the US and Israel under the four-nation I2U2 format. But Israel's Gaza misadventure degrades its viability as a partner. The same factors also threaten the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor.

The perils of dependence on individual businessmen or a single export destination are demonstrated by the fate of Himachal Pradesh's apple growers. 'Contract farming' needs guidelines and oversight to protect farmers. Punjab requires the political wisdom of Partap Singh Kairon. During his eight-year tenure, he established Punjab Agricultural University ahead of the Green Revolution, anticipating a demand for trained agricultural scientists.

Punjabis must introspect before voting. Outside the Hindi-belt states, regional parties have flourished. The SAD once performed that role. Historically, Punjabis resist autocracy and reject communalism. Let their instincts again guide them. This election is to save India, as envisaged by its founding fathers. Saving Punjab is a project for after June 4.

The perils of dependence on individual businessmen or a single export destination are demonstrated by the fate of HP's apple growers.

# Juvenile justice must balance punishment with rehabilitation



**SHARAD S CHAUHAN**  
DGP & MD, PUNJAB POLICE  
HOUSING CORPORATION

IN the aftermath of the May 19 Pune accident, in which two young bike-riding engineers were fatally hit by a Porsche car driven by a 17-year-old boy, a web of cover-ups and misuse of power has emerged, involving politicians, doctors and law enforcement officials.

The minor had reportedly been drinking at pubs before the accident. A local MLA is accused of influencing the investigation and is linked to doctors who allegedly tampered with the teenager's blood sample to conceal alcohol consumption. The Juvenile Justice Board, particularly its non-judicial member, has faced flak for initially granting bail to the boy on lenient conditions like writing an essay. The minor's father and grandfather have been accused of wilful neglect and manipulating evidence and witnesses, including an alleged attempt to coerce their driver into taking the blame for the mishap. Police officials have been suspended for mishandling the case. The lapses on

their part include a delayed collection of the teen's blood sample and initially pressing less serious charges.

The case underscores the complex interplay of influence and accountability, highlighting significant lapses and raising questions about the integrity of not only the juvenile justice system but the criminal justice system in general, which can be manipulated by the rich and powerful. Besides, such cases demonstrate that some minors display adult-level criminal behaviour.

Heinous crimes, such as rapes, violent assaults and fatal accidents, being committed by juveniles across the world highlight this trend. In England and Wales, stop and searches involving children rose by 13 per cent in one year, and arrests increased by 9 per cent, pointing to a rise in youth involvement in serious offences. The reoffending rate among juveniles in the UK has increased to 32.2 per cent, suggesting that the current system may not be addressing the root causes of juvenile delinquency.

In India, according to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), there was a significant increase in juvenile crimes, rising by 30 per cent in 2020 compared to the year before. Most of these offenders were in the 16-18 age group. Rape and murder were among the offences committed by them, underlining a worrying trend that has seen minors commit seri-



**PORSCHE CASE:** The boy involved in the fatal crash should have faced more stringent action. PTI

ous sexual crimes. The NCRB data from 2002 to 2012 shows an increase of 143 per cent in the number of rapes by juveniles, an 87 per cent rise in murders and an alarming increase of 500 per cent in kidnappings of women and girls by minors.

High-profile cases of heinous crimes committed by underage persons draw media attention and public scrutiny, shaping perceptions and influencing the debate on juvenile justice. These cases amplify the public sentiment and lead to calls for harsher penalties for the minors behind such serious crimes. The Nirbhaya case prompted amendments in criminal laws to enhance penalties for sexual offences. But the changes have not addressed the root

causes of juvenile delinquency or the developmental and psychological aspects of juveniles.

Research indicates that public confidence in the justice system is affected by the perceived leniency in such cases. A Pew Research Centre study found that 58 per cent of the Americans believe that the justice system was too lenient when it came to juvenile offenders, a concern applicable to other countries, including India. Although substantial evidence supports rehabilitation over punishment for juveniles, the US juvenile justice system often leans towards stricter penalties in view of public and political pressure. However, recent reforms and shifts towards rehabilitation indicate recognition of the need for a bal-

anced approach that prioritises the wellbeing of young offenders and takes into consideration their prospects, under the *Harvard Undergraduate Law Review*.

A balanced approach to punishment and rehabilitation is essential for maintaining public trust in the juvenile justice system. Transparent and fair handling of cases involving juveniles is the key. The Juvenile Justice Act permits the trial of juveniles aged 16-18 as adults for heinous crimes, provided that their mental capacity to understand the crime is proven. To ensure swift action and mitigate public outcry, initial psychological evaluations could be expedited. This demonstrates the system's responsiveness in addressing severe offences.

The legal framework offers various options for dealing with offenders, including the application of the strictest measures. For instance, the boy involved in the fatal car accident should have faced more stringent consequences, such as extended detention, mandatory community service or strict probation. A recent study published in *Frontiers in Psychology* supports this approach, revealing that despite ongoing brain development, juveniles, particularly those aged 16-18, often have the cognitive and moral maturity to grasp the severity

of their actions. This ensures that the punishment is proportionate to the severity of the crime and addresses public concerns about leniency.

Rehabilitation programmes for juveniles who commit serious offences should include structured activities like regimented training, cadet programmes, firefighting, civic service corps, agricultural initiatives, sports, and skill development in construction and trades. These programmes, encompassing law enforcement training, emergency skills, community projects and hands-on public service, not only address behavioural issues but also prepare the underage offenders for societal reintegration, ultimately reducing recidivism and fostering long-term success. By putting in place a stringent legal framework that ensures swift and transparent trials and balances justice with rehabilitation, the system can address both punitive and reformative needs while reinforcing societal values that discourage violent behaviour.

As Marian Wright Edelman, founder of the Children's Defence Fund, stated, "Justice is not cheap. Justice is not quick. It is not ever finally achieved. It is hard, continuous work to bring about social change." This approach avoids the pitfalls of short-term penal solutions driven by public pressure.

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<p><b>ACROSS</b></p> <p>1 Be in trouble (5,2)</p> <p>5 Quick-witted (5)</p> <p>8 Operating at full potential (2,2,5)</p> <p>9 Put down (3)</p> <p>10 Heavy clumsy ship (4)</p> <p>12 Similarly (8)</p> <p>14 Speleology (6)</p> <p>15 Display ostentatiously (6)</p> <p>17 Answer to problem (8)</p> <p>18 Medieval bondsman (4)</p> <p>21 Monkey (3)</p> <p>22 Clumsy with one's hands (3,6)</p> <p>24 Simple song (5)</p> <p>25 Fugitive (7)</p> <p><b>DOWN</b></p> <p>1 Temporary infatuation (5)</p> <p>2 Small measure of liquor (3)</p> <p>3 A muddle (4)</p> <p>4 Dissertation based on research (6)</p> <p>5 Out of the blue (8)</p> <p>6 Without needing to hurry (2,7)</p> <p>7 Outlay (7)</p> <p>11 One's utmost (5,4)</p> <p>13 Fluctuating (8)</p> <p>14 A sweet sauce (7)</p> <p>16 To arrest (6)</p> <p>19 Arousing suspicion (5)</p> <p>20 Eschew (4)</p> <p>23 Jaws of voracious animal (3)</p>							<p><b>YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION</b></p> <p><b>Across:</b> 1 Escapade, 5 Wolf, 9 Peril, 10 Shelter, 11 Masterstroke, 13 Eulogy, 14 Recoil, 17 Take to pieces, 20 Conceit, 21 Loose, 22 Lead, 23 Hypnosis.</p> <p><b>Down:</b> 1 Espy, 2 Cure-all, 3 Pull together, 4 Desert, 6 Outdo, 7 Formerly, 8 Set the seal on, 12 Vertical, 15 Onerous, 16 Apathy, 18 Kenya, 19 Less.</p>							<p><b>YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION</b></p> <table border="1"> <tr><td>4</td><td>7</td><td>2</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>1</td><td>9</td><td>3</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>3</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>4</td><td>9</td><td>5</td><td>2</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>9</td><td>1</td><td>8</td><td>3</td><td>2</td><td>6</td><td>4</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>2</td><td>1</td><td>7</td><td>4</td><td>6</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>1</td><td>7</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>6</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>9</td><td>8</td><td>3</td><td>1</td><td>7</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>7</td><td>6</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>8</td><td>3</td><td>5</td><td>9</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>6</td><td>9</td><td>5</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>5</td><td>8</td><td>3</td><td>7</td><td>4</td><td>2</td><td>1</td><td>6</td></tr> </table> <p><b>CALENDAR</b></p> <p><b>MAY 31ST 2024, FRIDAY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shaka Samvat 1946</li> <li>Jyeshtha Shaka 10</li> <li>Jyeshtha Parvishite 18</li> <li>Hijari 1445</li> <li>Krishna Paksha Tithi 8, up to 9.39 am</li> <li>Vishkumbha Yoga up to 6.04 pm</li> <li>Shatbhisha Nakshatra up to 6.14 am</li> <li>Purvabhadrapad Nakshatra up to 4.48 am</li> <li>Moon enters Pisces sign 11.10 pm.</li> </ul>							4	7	2	5	6	1	9	3	8	8	3	6	7	4	9	5	2	1	5	9	1	8	3	2	6	4	7	3	8	9	2	1	7	4	6	5	2	1	7	4	5	6	8	9	3	6	4	5	9	8	3	1	7	2	7	6	4	1	2	8	3	5	9	1	2	3	6	9	5	7	8	4	9	5	8	3	7	4	2	1	6	<p><b>SUNSET: FRIDAY 19:18 HRS</b></p> <p><b>SUNRISE: SATURDAY 05:22 HRS</b></p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>CITY</th> <th>MAX</th> <th>MIN</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Chandigarh</td><td>45</td><td>30</td></tr> <tr><td>New Delhi</td><td>44</td><td>28</td></tr> <tr><td>Amritsar</td><td>45</td><td>26</td></tr> <tr><td>Bathinda</td><td>45</td><td>26</td></tr> <tr><td>Jalandhar</td><td>44</td><td>31</td></tr> <tr><td>Ludhiana</td><td>45</td><td>28</td></tr> <tr><td>Bhiwani</td><td>45</td><td>33</td></tr> <tr><td>Hisar</td><td>45</td><td>28</td></tr> <tr><td>Sirsa</td><td>45</td><td>32</td></tr> <tr><td>Dharamsala</td><td>36</td><td>23</td></tr> <tr><td>Manali</td><td>28</td><td>17</td></tr> <tr><td>Shimla</td><td>29</td><td>17</td></tr> <tr><td>Srinagar</td><td>30</td><td>16</td></tr> <tr><td>Jammu</td><td>44</td><td>25</td></tr> <tr><td>Kargil</td><td>29</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr><td>Leh</td><td>22</td><td>06</td></tr> <tr><td>Dehradun</td><td>39</td><td>25</td></tr> <tr><td>Mussoorie</td><td>29</td><td>11</td></tr> </tbody> </table> <p>TEMPERATURE IN °C</p>							CITY	MAX	MIN	Chandigarh	45	30	New Delhi	44	28	Amritsar	45	26	Bathinda	45	26	Jalandhar	44	31	Ludhiana	45	28	Bhiwani	45	33	Hisar	45	28	Sirsa	45	32	Dharamsala	36	23	Manali	28	17	Shimla	29	17	Srinagar	30	16	Jammu	44	25	Kargil	29	11	Leh	22	06	Dehradun	39	25	Mussoorie	29	11
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