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CSE 2023 : Top 10 Rankers Selected from NEXT IAS

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5

In Top 10

17

In Top 25

34

In Top 50

66

In Top 100

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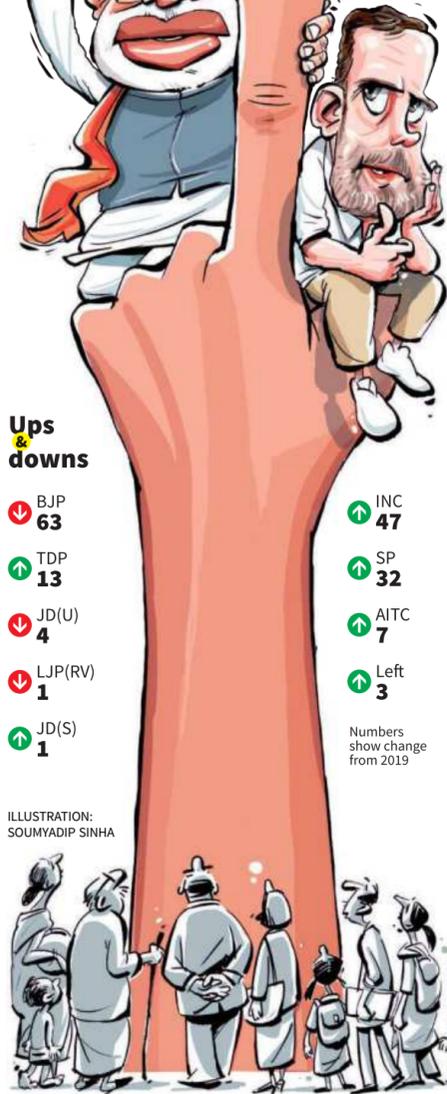
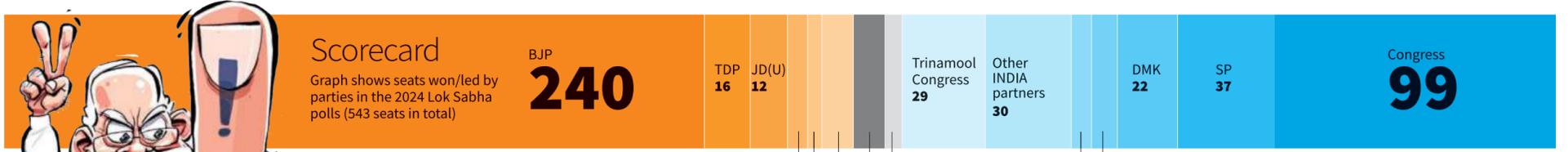
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Ups & downs

- BJP **63**
 - TDP **13**
 - JD(U) **4**
 - LJP(RV) **1**
 - JD(S) **1**
 - INC **47**
 - SP **32**
 - AITC **7**
 - Left **3**
- Numbers show change from 2019

ILLUSTRATION: SOUMYADIP SINHA

BJP falls short, needs allies to govern

BJP 32 short of majority mark of 272 seats in LS; suffers setback in Uttar Pradesh | NDA set to bag 292 seats against Cong.-led INDIA bloc's 234; Congress likely to get 99 | NDA govt. will be dependent on the support of allies TDP and JD(U)

Varghese K. George
Nistula Hebbar
NEW DELHI

Prime Minister Narendra Modi won a third term in power on Tuesday, but he will be dependent on allies as the BJP fell almost 32 short of the halfway mark of 272 seats in the Lok Sabha. The BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) is set to bag 292 seats against the Congress-led INDIA bloc's 234 seats. The Congress is likely to win 99 seats compared to 52 in 2019.



Another term: Prime Minister Narendra Modi greets supporters at the BJP headquarters in New Delhi on Tuesday. SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA

The BJP faced setbacks in strongholds and ended up with lower tallies in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, while its southern foray yielded only marginal returns. Its hopes of expanding in West Bengal were dashed. However, Odisha went according to the BJP's script where it rose to power for the first time and posted wins in 19 out of 21 Lok Sabha seats.

workers and leaders at the party headquarters in New Delhi late evening asserting that a third term to the NDA was historic. He heaped praise on the Election Commission for having successfully concluded the world's biggest exercise of franchise, and also acknowledged the role of women voters in these polls for their larger turnout, terming himself of having been "blessed" with their support. In an acknowledgement of the new realities of the NDA government's dependence on the support of two allies, the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) and

the Janata Dal (U), he said: "In Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, under Chandrababu Naidu and Nitish Babu [Nitish Kumar], the NDA has had a stellar performance."

Rahul's claim
Congress leader Rahul Gandhi asserted that the country had unanimously stated that it does not want Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Home Minister Amit Shah "to be involved in the running of this country". He said the people of the country, especially those from Uttar Pradesh, took the first step in protecting the Constitution. Tuesday's results have comprehensively brought coalitions back at the centre of national politics after a gap of a decade, and a robust opposition in Parliament, with the Congress now entitled to the official Leader of the Opposition post (Cabinet rank) for the first time since 2014.

Nitish and Naidu emerge kingmakers

Sobhana K. Nair
NEW DELHI

With 28 seats between them, N. Chandrababu Naidu's Telugu Desam Party (TDP) and Nitish Kumar's Janata Dal (United) hold the balance of the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in their hands. Both parties have re-pledged their allegiance to the NDA and have confirmed that they will be present at the alliance's meeting scheduled for Wednesday. This has not stopped the INDIA bloc, which is nearly 40 seats short of the majority mark, from courting them.

BJP headquarters in Delhi, credited both Mr. Kumar and Mr. Naidu for the NDA's victory in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh.

In a post on X, Mr. Naidu said, "Our people of Andhra Pradesh have blessed us with a remarkable mandate. It is a reflection of their trust in our alliance and its vision for the State."

Unlike Mr. Naidu's public assertion, none was forthcoming from Bihar Chief Minister Mr. Kumar. Mr. Kumar reportedly declined to meet Bihar BJP president Samrat Chaudhary, despite his repeated efforts to call on him on Tuesday.

CONTINUED ON » PAGE 4
MORE REPORTS » PAGES 2-11

TDP routs YSRCP in A.P.; Naidu to be CM

Sumit Bhattacharjee
VISAKHAPATNAM

The Telugu Desam Party (TDP) handed a crushing defeat to the ruling YSR Congress Party (YSRCP) in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly polls on Tuesday, securing 135 seats.

Pawan Kalyan's Janasena Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), both allies of the TDP, won 21 and eight seats respectively. The YSRCP was reduced to 11 seats.

TDP national president Nara Chandrababu Naidu is all set to become the Chief Minister for the fourth time.

FULL REPORT
» PAGE 10



Yellow wave

The table shows the party-wise number of seats won in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly election

Party	Number of seats
TDP	135
JnP	21
BJP	8
YSRCP	11

Results as of 01.00 a.m.

BJP wrests Odisha, dethrones Naveen

Satvasundar Barik
BHUBANESWAR

In a historic upset, the 24-year-long tenure of Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik is set to come to an end, with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) poised to form the government with a narrow majority in the eastern State.

The BJP won 78 seats in the 147-member State Assembly, which has the halfway mark for forming the government at 74.

Mr. Patnaik's ruling Biju Janata Dal (BJD) managed to get 51 seats, followed by the Congress which won 14 seats.

FULL REPORT
» PAGE 10



Saffron wash

The table shows the party-wise number of seats won in the Odisha Assembly election

Party	Number of seats
BJP	78
BJD	51
INC	14
CPI(M)	1
IND	3

Results as of 01.00 a.m.

AAP-Cong. combine fails to stop BJP from repeating clean sweep in Delhi

Satvika Mahajan
NEW DELHI

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won all seven Lok Sabha seats in Delhi for the third time in a row, defeating the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and the Congress that came together under a 4-3 seat-sharing alliance to consolidate the anti-BJP votes.

The voters of Delhi, in their verdict declared on Tuesday, made it clear that while they backed AAP with consecutive victories with over 50% vote share in the State elections, they have reposed faith in the BJP to represent them in Parliament. The INDIA bloc, however, managed to reduce the BJP's vote share from 56.7% in 2019 to 54.35% in 2024. While the AAP got a vote share of 24.17%, the



Victorious: Delhi BJP president Virendra Sachdeva (second from right) with winning candidates Ramvir Singh Bidhuri, Manoj Tiwari and Bansuri Swaraj at the party headquarters on Tuesday. PTI

Congress bagged 18.91%.

The BJP's campaign — centred around the work done by its government at the Centre and the portrayal of AAP as a party mired in corruption — seems to have worked against Delhi's ruling party, which termed PM Narendra Modi a "dictator" who would go to any lengths to "destroy" AAP and other Opposition parties. The BJP

was North East Delhi MP Manoj Tiwari. Ramvir Singh Bidhuri, Harsh Malhotra, Kamaljeet Sehrawat and Yogender Chandoliya won from South Delhi, East Delhi, West Delhi and North West Delhi respectively.

AAP, contesting its first Lok Sabha poll as a national party, found itself unable to leave a mark. As the AAP-Congress experiment failed, the BJP never missed an opportunity to call out the alliance for its "double standards" as the two parties fought against each other in Punjab. Even though the INDIA bloc tried to present a picture of togetherness, the attempts didn't work in the absence of joint rallies and major events.

OPPORTUNITIES » PAGE 21

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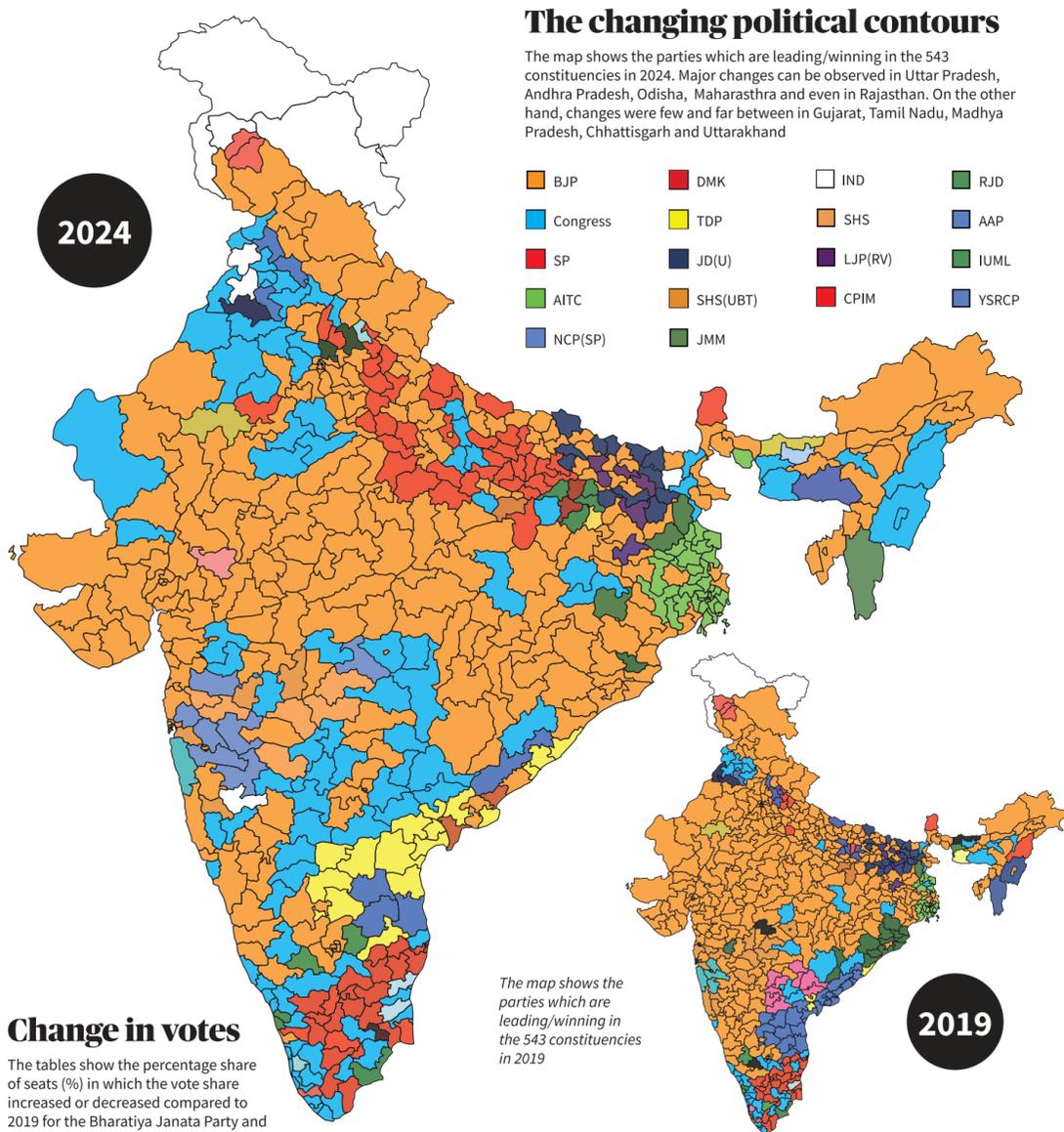
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VERDICT 2024

Going gets tough for NDA...

Heavy vote share losses in Maharashtra and a reversal of fortunes in Uttar Pradesh – the States which were considered as bastions of the BJP in the west and the Hindi heartland – meant that the party along with its partners had to huff and puff to cross the half-way mark. *The Hindu* Data Team breaks down the numbers



The changing political contours

The map shows the parties which are leading/winning in the 543 constituencies in 2024. Major changes can be observed in Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Maharashtra and even in Rajasthan. On the other hand, changes were few and far between in Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand

■ In the Hindi heartland and in the west, the NDA alliance lost 2.3 percentage points and 14.4% points in vote share respectively, compared with 2019. The INDIA alliance benefitted from this decline, by increasing their vote shares by 11.2 and 12.4 % points respectively in these regions. The INDIA bloc gained vote shares across all regions

■ The NDA's vote share declined in all areas except semi-rural seats. Their biggest drop came in rural areas (2.2 points decline compared to 2019). The INDIA bloc's vote share increased across all areas, with their biggest rise recorded in the semi-urban seats

■ The NDA's vote share declined by 1.3 points compared to 2019 in the seats reserved for Scheduled Tribes. Their vote share declined in general seats too. The INDIA bloc's vote share increased across all types of seats, with their biggest increase recorded in the seats reserved for Scheduled Castes

■ In 60 seats, the win/lead vote margin was 2.5% points or less. Of which in 21 seats, the win/lead vote margin was 1% point or less. Among the seats where the margin was 1 point or less, the NDA led/won in 10 seats and the INDIA bloc led/won in 9 seats

NDA's grip loosens in west, north

The table shows the region-wise vote share (%) in the 2024 polls and the change from the 2019 elections in percentage points (↕)

REGIONS	NDA		INDIA		OTHERS	
	2024	↕	2024	↕	2024	↕
Hindi heartland	48.9	-2.3	41.0	11.2	10.0	-9.0
Non-Hindi north	20.8	2.6	49.5	4.1	29.7	-6.7
South	36.7	7.6	40.4	7.1	22.8	-14.8
West	50.4	-14.4	34.5	12.4	15.1	1.9
East	40.3	0.7	11.6	2.5	48.1	-3.2
Northeast	44.1	-1.5	38.9	4.2	17.0	-2.7

Rural voters pull down NDA

The table shows the area-wise vote share (%) in the 2024 polls and the change from the 2019 elections in percentage points (↕)

AREAS	NDA		INDIA		OTHERS	
	2024	↕	2024	↕	2024	↕
Urban	49.1	-1.2	35.0	7.6	15.9	-6.4
Semi-urban	42.1	-1.0	36.6	10.7	21.2	-9.8
Semi-rural	41.8	2.5	37.0	8.9	21.2	-11.4
Rural	43.9	-2.2	36.5	8.8	19.6	-6.5

INDIA strikes it rich in SC seats

The table shows the seat-type-wise vote share (%) in the 2024 polls and the change from the 2019 elections in percentage points (↕). SC: reserved for scheduled castes, ST: reserved for scheduled tribes

	NDA		INDIA		OTHERS	
	2024	↕	2024	↕	2024	↕
SC	42.8	1.8	38	12.4	19.2	-14.2
ST	45.5	-1.3	38.5	7.2	16	-5.9
GEN	44.8	-0.7	38.6	11.1	16.6	-10.4

Many thrillers in 2024

The table shows the total number of seats in which the win/lead margin (in terms of the % of votes) was 1% point or less and those seats where it was between 1% and 2.5% points

Win margin in % pts of votes	Total seats	NDA	INDIA	Others
1% pt or less	21	10	9	2
1-2.5% pts	39	13	19	7
Total	60	23	28	9

■ In the table, the figures correspond to the number of wins/leads recorded by each alliance

Change in votes

The tables show the percentage share of seats (%) in which the vote share increased or decreased compared to 2019 for the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Congress, across States. Only the seats where the BJP participated in both the 2019 and 2024 polls were considered for analysing the BJP's numbers. A similar approach was followed for the Congress too. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh, the BJP's vote share increased in only 3% of the seats in 2024, which it had contested in 2019 as well. While the Congress' vote share increased in all the seats (100%) in 2024, which it had contested in 2019 as well

State	% seats where vote share increased for BJP	% seats where vote share increased for Congress
Uttar Pradesh	3	100
West Bengal	26	85
Madhya Pradesh	62	48
Gujarat	60	52
Karnataka	16	90
Maharashtra	0	100
Rajasthan	0	96
Odisha	90	11
Telangana	100	88
Bihar	0	100
Jharkhand	0	100
Kerala	85	40
Chhattisgarh	73	55
Assam	30	46
Haryana	0	100
NCT OF Delhi	14	100
Andhra Pradesh	100	87
Uttarakhand	0	60
Himachal Pradesh	0	100
Punjab	0	8
Tamil Nadu	33	17

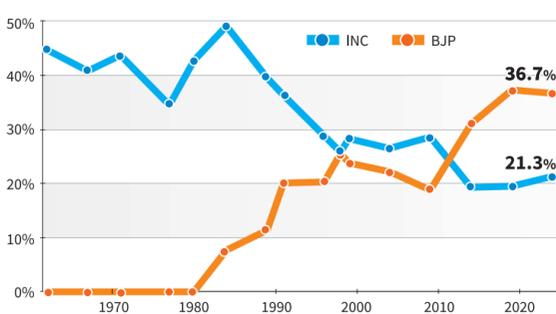
■ In West Bengal, the BJP's vote share increased only in 26% seats, in Karnataka 16% seats. In Maharashtra and Rajasthan the BJP's vote share did not increase even in one seat when compared with 2024

■ In Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Haryana and Jharkhand too, the BJP's vote share did not increase in any of the seats when compared with 2019 polls

■ Compared with 2019, the Congress' vote share increased in all the seats (100% seats) in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand, Haryana, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh

BJP juggernaut slowed

The BJP garnered 36.7% of votes in the 2024 polls, a marginal decline from the 2019 figure. In contrast, the Congress' vote share jumped up by about 2 points



Gains and holds: BJP

The BJP trailed/lost in 92 seats that it had won in 2019 and contested again in 2024, losing ground. On the other hand, in 2024 it led/won in 27 seats that it had lost in 2019, gaining ground. This list excludes Surat

No. of seats won by BJP in 2019, which they contested in 2024	Of these BJP leading/won in 2024	Of these BJP trailing/lost in 2024
299	207	92
No. of seats lost by BJP in 2019, which they contested in 2024	Of these BJP leading/won in 2024	Of these BJP trailing/lost in 2024
99	27	72
No. of seats BJP did not contest in 2019, which they contested in 2024	Of these BJP leading/won in 2024	Of these BJP trailing/lost in 2024
41	5	36

Gains and holds: Congress

The Congress trailed/lost in 14 seats that it had won in 2019 and contested again in 2024, losing ground. On the other hand, in 2024 it led/won in 58 seats that it had lost in 2019, gaining ground

No. of seats won by INC in 2019, which they contested in 2024	Of these INC leading/won in 2024	Of these INC trailing/lost in 2024
48	34	14
No. of seats lost by INC in 2019, which they contested in 2024	Of these INC leading/won in 2024	Of these INC trailing/lost in 2024
257	58	200
No. of seats INC did not contest in 2019, which they contested in 2024	Of these INC leading/won in 2024	Of these INC trailing/lost in 2024
22	7	15



VERDICT 2024

... as INDIA gets going

A clean sweep in Tamil Nadu by the DMK, the Samajwadi Party's resurgence in Uttar Pradesh, the newly formed alliance with Uddhav Thackeray in Maharashtra and the Congress' all-round performance across all regions helped the INDIA bloc to halt the BJP wave but it still fell short of the majority mark



■ In the west, the NDA took a massive hit in Maharashtra, mainly due to the split in the Shiv Sena and the Nationalist Congress Party. The factions from the split, which joined the INDIA alliance won many seats in which they were in direct contest with those factions that joined the NDA alliance. The splits also led to a massive drop in vote share for the NDA, most of which were gained by the INDIA alliance. In Gujarat, the BJP won all the seats except Banaskantha

WEST

In Maharashtra, the SHS(UBT), NCP(SP) were in alliance with Congress, while the Shinde-led SHS and the Ajit Pawar led NCP were in alliance with the BJP. In Gujarat, AAP and Congress were partners

GOA

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	1	0	50.9	-0.5
INDIA	1	0	39.6	-6.3
Others	0	0	9.5	6.8

GUJARAT

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	25	-1	61.8	-0.5
INDIA	1	1	34.0	1.9
Others	0	0	4.2	-1.4

INDIA: INC (1, 31.3%); AAP (0, 2.7%)

MAHARASHTRA

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	17	-28	43.6	-22.8
INDIA	30	29	44.0	27.6
Others	1	-1	12.4	-4.8

NDA: BJP (10, 26.1%); SHS (6, 13%); NCP (1, 3.6%); RSPS (0, 0.8%)

INDIA: INC (13, 16.9%); SHS(UBT) (9, 16.7%); NCP(SP) (7, 10.2%)

DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI & DAMAN AND DIU

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	1	0	52.8	9.9
INDIA	0	0	28.5	15.8
Others	1	0	18.7	-25.7

DATA TEAM: VIGNESH RADHAKRISHNAN, JASMIN NIHALANI, REBECCA ROSE VARGHESE, SAMBAVI PARTHASARATHY, NITIKA FRANCIS, SRINIVASAN RAMANI

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NORTH NON-HINDI

In Punjab, AAP and Congress contested against each other, though they were alliance partners in other States. In J&K, the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference was Congress' partner

PUNJAB

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
INC	7	-1	26.3	-13.8
NDA	0	-2	18.6	8.8
AAP	3	2	26.0	18.6
SAD	1	-1	13.4	-14.0
Others	2	2	15.5	0.5

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
INDIA	2	-1	42.2	5.0
NDA	2	0	24.4	-22.5
Others	1	1	33.4	17.5

INDIA: INC (0, 19.4%); JKN (2, 22.3%)

LADAKH

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	0	-1	23.6	-10.3
INDIA	0	0	27.6	10.8
Others	1	1	48.8	-0.5

CHANDIGARH

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	0	-1	47.7	-3.0
INDIA	1	1	48.2	4.8
Others	0	0	4.1	-1.8

EAST

In Odisha, the Congress was in alliance with the JMM. In West Bengal, Trinamool Congress contested alone while the Congress was in partnership with a host of Left parties

ODISHA

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
INDIA	1	0	13.2	-1.5
NDA	20	12	45.5	7.1
BJD	0	-12	37.5	-5.3
Others	0	0	3.8	-0.3

INDIA: INC (1, 12.5%); JMM (0, 0.5%)

SIKKIM

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	0	0	4.9	0.2
INDIA	0	0	0.6	-0.5
SKM	1	0	42.7	-4.8
SDF	0	0	20.0	-23.9
Others	0	0	31.8	29.0

WEST BENGAL

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
AITC	29	7	45.8	2.5
INDIA	1	-1	11.0	4.2
NDA	12	-6	38.7	-1.7
Others	0	0	4.4	-5.1

INC+Left: INC+Left: INC (1, 4.7%); CPI (0, 0.2%); CPI(M) (0, 5.7%); AIFB (0, 0.2%); RSP (0, 0.2%)

NORTH EAST

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	2	0	48.5	-18.1
INDIA	0	0	30.4	9.4
Others	0	0	21.1	8.7

ASSAM

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	11	2	46.3	1.6
INDIA	3	0	40.9	5.2
Others	0	-2	12.7	-7.0

NDA: BJP (9, 37.4%); AGP (1, 6.5%), UPPL(1, 2.4%)

INDIA: INC (3, 37.4%); ASMJTP (0, 2.1%)

MANIPUR

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	0	-2	35.4	-23.4
INDIA	2	2	47.6	14.7
Others	0	0	17.0	8.7

NDA: BJP (0, 16.6%); NPF (0, 18.8%)

MEGHALAYA

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	0	-1	24.3	-5.9
INDIA	1	0	34.1	-14.2
Others	1	1	41.7	20.2

NDA: NPEP (0, 24.3%)

MIZORAM

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
MNF	0	-1	28.5	-16.4
NDA	0	0	6.8	1.1
INDIA	0	0	20.1	20.1
Others*	1	1	44.6	-4.8

*Zoram People's Movement (1, 42.4%)

NAGALAND

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	0	-1	46.1	-5.1
INDIA	1	1	52.8	4.7
Others	0	0	1.0	0.3

NDA: NDPP (0, 46.1%)

TRIPURA

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	2	0	70.9	17.7
INDIA	0	0	23.9	-1.4
Others	0	0	5.2	-16.3

INDIA: INC (0, 11.5%); CPI(M) (0, 12.4%)

HINDI-HEARTLAND

In Bihar, the BJP was in alliance with the JD(U) and LJP(RV). Congress was in alliance with RJD and the Left. In Delhi and Haryana, AAP was in alliance with the Congress

BIHAR

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	30	-9	47.3	-12.5
INDIA	9	8	39.2	13.6
Others	1	1	13.5	-1.1

NDA: BJP (12, 20.4%); JD(U) (12, 18.6%); LJP(RV) (5, 6.5%); HAMS (1, 1.1%); RLM (0, 0.6%)

INDIA: INC (3, 9.3%); RJD (4, 22.1%); CPI(M)(L) (2, 3%); VSIP (0, 2.8%); CPI(M) (0, 0.8%); CPI (0, 1.3%)

CHHATTISGARH

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	10	1	52.7	1.6
INDIA	1	-1	41.3	0.1
Others	0	0	6.0	-1.7

DELHI

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	7	0	54.4	-2.2
INDIA	0	0	43.0	2.4
Others	0	0	2.6	-0.2

INDIA: INC (0, 18.9%); AAP (0, 24.1%)

HIMACHAL PRADESH

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	4	0	56.4	-12.7
INDIA	0	0	41.7	14.2
Others	0	0	1.9	-1.5

HARYANA

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	5	-5	46.1	-12.0
INDIA	5	5	47.8	18.9
Others	0	0	6.1	-7.0

INDIA: INC (5, 43.7%); AAP (0, 3.9%)

JHARKHAND

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	9	-3	47.2	-13.2
INDIA	5	3	39.6	9.5
Others	0	0	13.2	3.7

NDA: BJP (8, 44.5%); AJSUP (1, 2.7%)

INDIA: INC (2, 19.2%); JMM (3, 14.7%); CPI(M)(L) (0, 2.3%); RJD (0, 2.9%)

MADHYA PRADESH

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	29	1	59.3	1.2
INDIA	0	-1	32.9	-2.1
Others	0	0	7.7	0.9

INDIA: INC (0, 32.4%); AIFB (0, 0.1%)

RAJASTHAN

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	14	-10	49.2	-9.3
INDIA	11	10	45.0	8.6
Others	0	0	5.7	0.6

INDIA: INC (8, 37.9%); BHRTADVSP (1, 3.3%); CPI(M) (1, 2%); RLTP (1, 1.8%)

UTTAR PRADESH

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	36	-28	43.7	-9.1
INDIA	43	37	43.2	18.8
BSP	0	-10	9.4	-9.9
Others	1	1	3.7	0.2

NDA: BJP (33, 41.4%); ADAL (1, 0.9%); SBSP (0, 0.4%); RLD (2, 1%)

INDIA: INC (6, 9.5%); SP (37, 33.6%); AITC (0, 0.5%)

UTTARAKHAND

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	5	0	56.9	-4.1
INDIA	0	0	32.7	1.3
Others	0	0	10.4	2.8

SOUTH

In Andhra Pradesh, the BJP was in alliance with the TDP. In Karnataka, the BJP was in alliance with JD(S). In Kerala and Tamil Nadu a variety of parties came together to form alliances

ANDHRA PRADESH

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	21	18	53.5	7.1
INDIA	0	0	3.2	1.8
YSRCP	4	-18	39.5	-9.6
Others	0	0	3.9	0.8

NDA: BJP (3, 11.4%); TDP (16, 37.7%); JnP (2, 4.3%)

INDIA: INC (0, 2.7%); CPI(M) (0, 0.4%)

KARNATAKA

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
NDA	19	-7	51.7	-9.4
INDIA	9	8	45.4	13.5
Others	0	-1	2.9	-4.1

NDA: BJP (17, 46.1%); JD(S) (2, 5.6%)

KERALA

Party	Seats won		Vote %	
	2024	2023	2024	2023
LDf	1	1	33.4	-0.6
UDF	18	0	45.1	-0.9
NDA	1	1	19.2	4.4
Others	0	-2	2.3	-2.9

LDf: CPI(M) (1, 25.8%); CPI (0, 6.1%); KECC(M) (0, 1.4%)

UDF: INC (14, 35.1%); IUML (2, 6%); RSP (1, 2.2%); KECC (1, 1.8%)

NDA: BJP (1, 16.7%); BDJS (0, 2.5%)

TAMIL NADU

VERDICT 2024

WINNERS	ASADUDDIN OWAIISI	SHASHI THAROOR	SUPRIYA SULE	MAHUA MOITRA	AKHILESH YADAV
	AIMIM, Hyderabad	Congress, Thiruvananthapuram	NCP (SP), Baramati	Trinamool Congress, Krishnanagar	SP, Kannauj
WON	WON	WON	WON	WON	WON
Defeated Madhavi Latha Kompella (BJP)	Defeated Rajeev Chandrasekhar (BJP)	Defeated Sunetra Pawar (NCP)	Defeated Amrita Roy (BJP)	Defeated Subrat Pathak (BJP)	
Vote share 61.28%	Vote share 37.19%	Vote share 51.85%	Vote share 44.1%	Vote share 52.74%	
Not in alliance	Alliance: INDIA	Alliance: INDIA	Not in alliance	Alliance: INDIA	

From Page One

BJP falls short, needs allies to govern



On cloud nine: Party workers celebrating SP's victory in the Lok Sabha polls, in Lucknow. SANDEEP SAXENA

The nature of Tuesday's results points to a situation where the BJP, while dominating in numbers over the NDA, will have to pursue a more consensual approach as the numbers secured by its allies are what have pushed the alliance above the half-way mark in the Lok Sabha. A meeting of the NDA has been scheduled for Wednesday, with the two biggest NDA allies, TDP and JD(U), having confirmed their attendance.

The Indian National Developmental, Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) bloc of parties will also be having their meeting in New Delhi on Wednesday.

Naidu and Nitish emerge kingmakers

His refusal has spurred speculation, especially since there are talks that the Indian National Developmental, Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) bloc leaders have approached him. However, party secretary general and spokesperson K.C. Tyagi told *The Hindu*, "We are with the NDA and will continue to be with them."

Mr. Naidu and Mr. Kumar both in the past have publicly repudiated Mr. Modi. In March 2018, the TDP, which was part of the NDA's first term, snapped ties with the BJP over the denial of special category status to Andhra Pradesh. The TDP had also subsequently moved a no-confidence motion against the Modi government and joined hands with the Congress and the rest of the Opposition ahead of the 2019 election. Mr. Naidu returned to the NDA fold just ahead of the 2024 election.

Scathing resolution

Following the 2002 Gujarat riots, Mr. Naidu's TDP was the first NDA ally to demand Mr. Modi's resignation as Chief Minister. In April 2002, the TDP adopted a scathing resolution against Mr. Modi for having miserably failed to quell the violence and also in providing relief and rehabilitation to victims of communal riots. He also demanded Mr. Modi's resignation.

In June 2013, just a week after then Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi was named the campaign committee chief of the BJP for the 2014 Lok Sabha election, Mr. Kumar snapped his ties with the BJP, campaigning for a "secular Prime Minister." Both have also been part of the coalition governments. This gives the Opposition hope that the two could be convinced to switch sides.

At a press conference in the Congress headquarters, senior Congress leader Rahul Gandhi, when asked about Mr. Naidu and Mr. Kumar, said, "We are going to have a meeting [of INDIA bloc] tomorrow [on Wednesday]. These questions will be raised and answered there. We respect our alliance partners and we are not going to make statements in the press without asking them," he said.

Special category status for A.P.

Congress general secretary (communications) Jairam Ramesh, in a post on social media platform X, asked Mr. Naidu whether he will have "the courage to demand special category status for Andhra Pradesh as a non-negotiable precondition for support to the NDA at the Centre". He also listed out "special category status" for Andhra Pradesh, as promised by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, as "unfinished business of 2014" that the INDIA bloc, he said, would fulfil.

"For the past 10 years the outgoing Modi sarkar [government] did nothing. It, in fact, abolished the very policy of special category status to financially distressed States," Mr. Ramesh said.

With no majority on its own, BJP will have to take consensus route

In an NDA that is likely to be dependent on TDP and JD(U), the party may have to adopt a more conciliatory approach; within the party, the old guard and RSS may claim more influence; a new party president and organisational team likely

NEWS ANALYSIS

Nistula Hebbar
NEW DELHI

To make sense of a National Democratic Alliance coming to power with the BJP not having a majority on its own, turn the clock back 26 years to May 15, 1998, when former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee created the first avatar of the NDA and formed a government that held power between 1998 and 2004.

The Lok Sabha election result, which has left the BJP without a majority, will likely lead to changes – not just in terms of how the coalition, if it fructifies in governmental terms, is run but also in the internal dynamics of the BJP.

Politics of consensus

The BJP will have to look mostly to two of its largest allies, N. Chandrababu Naidu of the Telugu Desam Party and Nitish Kumar of the Janata Dal(U). Both are said to be shrewd bargainers and till late on Tuesday, have been receiving offers from the Opposition Indian National Developmental, Inclusive Alliance as well.

Till now, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has never



Looking ahead: BJP workers and supporters celebrating the results of the Lok Sabha election at the BJP headquarters in New Delhi on Tuesday. SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA

had to play the conciliatory consensus-maker, unlike Vajpayee, who had to keep aside the three core issues of the BJP – the construction of a Ram Temple in Ayodhya, the abrogation of Article 370, and the implementation of a Uniform Civil Code (UCC) – while being in the NDA. In a new NDA, the BJP's held-over agenda of the UCC and simultaneous polls to the Lok Sabha and the Assemblies may be put on the back burner. More than anything else, Tuesday's poll outcome may result in a more conciliatory position from the BJP and the Prime Minister.

Political scientist Ashwani Kumar of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences looks at the results as a re-

turn to a more centrist political outlook.

"Given the rich tradition of centrist politics in India, the BJP is set to enter into the *Rajdharm* of a rainbow coalition, reverting to Vajpayee's consensual politics of governance [while] reinventing the idea of cooperative federalism. Thus, let us expect what a legendary political scientist called a 'consocial' or power sharing democracy, within the majoritarian polity of India," he said.

Within the BJP too, there will be changes from the current dynamics. After the 2023 Assembly election in five States, the party's senior Rajasthan leader Vasundhara Raje and former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shivraj

Singh Chouhan were replaced. Mr. Chouhan has now won a Lok Sabha seat with a huge margin, and Rajasthan has seen the Congress make a comeback, snagging 11 seats in a State which had seen all 25 seats go to the BJP in both 2014 and 2019. This makes a case for a return of the old guard of the BJP – which predates 2014 – to some increased authority within the party.

With BJP president J.P. Nadda currently on an extension after his term in the post ended in January, a new party president and a new organisational team will also be put in place before long, and that too will change the way the BJP has been functioning over the past decade or so.

Verdict shows voters don't want Modi, Shah to run the country, says Rahul

Sandeep Phukan
NEW DELHI

Tuesday's verdict, which saw the Congress nearly doubling its Lok Sabha tally from that of 2019, signalled a political revival on the back of its leadership, strategies, and the ability to effectively build and communicate its narrative to the electorate.

A jubilant party president, Mallikarjun Kharge, and former chief Rahul Gandhi addressed the media, amid celebrations at the party headquarters. Congress Parliamentary Party chief Sonia Gandhi and star campaigner Priyanka Gandhi Vadra were present, but did not speak.

"It's now clear that this mandate is against [Prime Minister] Narendra Modi. This is his political and moral defeat," Mr. Kharge said. Though he did not elaborate on the party's next move, leaving all official decision-making to an INDIA meeting on Wednesday, Mr. Kharge did hint about "new" partners.

'Anti-Modi verdict'

Mr. Gandhi said that he had faith that the people would respond after the government targeted Opposition parties, hitting the Congress's banking operations, and jailing Chief Ministers of Opposition-ruled States.

"The country has unani-



Rahul Gandhi and Priyanka Gandhi Vadra leaving after addressing a press conference in Delhi on Tuesday. SHASHI SHEKHAR KASHYAP

mously and clearly stated that we do not want Mr. Modi and [Union Home Minister] Mr. Amit Shah to be involved in the running of this country... This is the main thing that this election has said," he asserted.

Thanking the people for their mandate, the former Congress chief said that voters, especially those from Uttar Pradesh, had taken the first step in "protecting the Constitution".

The results may not have increased the Congress tally of seats *khata khat* (swiftly) – a term popularised by Mr. Gandhi in his campaigns – enough to allow them to stake a claim to form the government, but the comeback has firmly placed Mr. Gandhi as the main alternative to Mr. Modi. "We and the INDIA bloc didn't just fight a political

in various States.

Without being tied to any formal position in the party, Mr. Gandhi was positioned as a key campaigner of the INDIA bloc. In States such as Uttar Pradesh, where he held press conferences and rallies with Samajwadi Party (SP) chief Akhilesh Yadav, the move seems to have paid off.

"In U.P., our good showing is also because of my sister [Ms. Vadra] who is hiding somewhere here," Mr. Gandhi said.

Coalition strategy

The task of building a rainbow coalition of non-BJP/NDA parties was left to Mr. Kharge and to general secretary (organisation) K.C. Venugopal, who also returned to the electoral fray and won the Alappuzha seat in Kerala. One of the party's most difficult decisions was to contest only 328 out of the 543 seats in the Lok Sabha. The party high command faced stiff resistance and even rebellion in Maharashtra, where its ally, the Uddhav Thackeray-led Shiv Sena, contested a higher number of seats than the Congress.

"Even our party units found it difficult to digest it, but our leadership clarified that this anarchy of misgovernance, dictatorship, misusing power must end," Mr. Venugopal had said in an earlier interview with *The Hindu*.

NDA will continue to take big decisions in third term, says Modi

Vijaita Singh
NEW DELHI

In his maiden speech after the Lok Sabha election results were declared on Tuesday, Prime Minister Narendra Modi said the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) will continue to take big decisions in its third term and strike hard against corruption.

Stating that the Constitution of India is a "guiding light", Mr. Modi said the "NDA has always worked for all sections of society and 25 crore people were pulled out of poverty, including many from the SC [Scheduled Caste], ST [Scheduled Tribe] and OBC [Other Backward Class] categories."

"We should all work for the country together, national interest comes first. Constitution is our guiding light, the [framing of] Constitution will complete 75 years this year. We will work with all State governments, irrespective of the party. This is the time to work for a developed India. After six decades, an alliance – the NDA alliance – has got the opportunity to serve the country a third time," he said.

Addressing party workers at the BJP headquarters in Delhi, Mr. Modi said that this was the first time in six decades that the government has returned to pow-

BJP's push in South India yields a mixed bag

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

The Bharatiya Janata Party's southern push for the 131 Lok Sabha seats from five States – Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and Tamil Nadu – and two Union Territories resulted in a mixed bag, with the party losing a few seats in Karnataka while opening its account in Kerala.

The Congress on Tuesday emerged as the single-largest party in the south with 42 seats, while the BJP was ahead in 29.

The BJP's gains mainly came from Telangana, where it was ahead in eight seats as against the four it won in 2019. In Karnataka, however, the party won only 17 seats, compared with the 25 it won in 2019.

The BJP's alliance with the Telugu Desam Party and the Jana Sena in Andhra Pradesh saw the party win three out of the six seats it contested, up from a zero tally in 2019. The victory in Thiruvananthapuram was considered sweet for the BJP as the party has never won a seat in the State before.

In Tamil Nadu, however, where Prime Minister Narendra Modi has invested much political capital in the past few years, the party came a cropper. As part of its nationwide strategy, the BJP was hoping to gain seats in the southern and eastern States.

er for a third straight term and the mandate is the victory of the biggest democracy in the world. He said the BJP on its own has won more seats than all the Opposition parties combined.

He acknowledged the contribution of women voters thanking them for reposing their faith in him.

"It is an emotional moment for me personally, this was the first election after my mother passed away. But the mothers, daughters and sisters of this country never let me miss my mother. They gave me unprecedented love, it cannot be measured in numbers. Women broke all voting records. The love cannot be expressed in words, it is etched in my mind. Women have given me a new inspiration," Mr. Modi said.

He added that women-led development is at the centre of the government's policy and they will work to provide new opportunities for women.

The Prime Minister also thanked the BJP workers for toiling hard in excessive heat for the past two months.

VERDICT 2024

DEFEATED



MEHBOOBA MUFTI
PDP, Anantnag - Rajouri

LOST

Defeated by **Mian Altaf Ahmad** (JKNC)

Lost by votes **2,81,794**

Alliance: **INDIA**



KANHAIYA KUMAR
Congress, North-East Delhi

LOST

Defeated by **Manoj Tiwari** (BJP)

Lost by votes **1,38,778**

Alliance: **INDIA**



PRAJWAL REVANNA
*JD(S), Hassan *Suspended

LOST

Defeated by **Shreyas Patel** (Congress)

Lost by votes **42,649**

Alliance: **NDA**



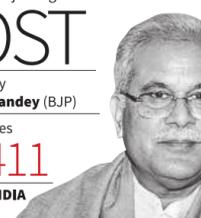
BHUPESH BAGHEL
Congress, Rajnandgaon

LOST

Defeated by **Santosh Pandey** (BJP)

Lost by votes **44,411**

Alliance: **INDIA**



SMRITI IRANI
BJP, Amethi

LOST

Defeated by **K.L. Sharma** (Congress)

Lost by votes **1,67,196**

Alliance: **NDA**



Trinamool wins big in Bengal, bags 29 seats, restricts BJP to 12; Cong. gets 1

The State's ruling party improved its Lok Sabha seat tally from 22 in 2019 to 29 in 2024, while the saffron party's numbers dropped from 18 to 12; the Mamata Banerjee-led entity registered a vote share of 46%, whereas BJP recorded 38%; Abhishek Banerjee wins by a margin of about 7.1 lakh votes

Shiv Sahay Singh
KOLKATA

The Trinamool Congress registered a massive victory in the 2024 Lok Sabha election in West Bengal, winning 29 of the 42 Lok Sabha seats, show the latest reports that came in on Tuesday evening.

Not only did West Bengal's ruling party win a majority of seats in the southern part of the State, sweeping Gangetic West Bengal and constituencies in and around Kolkata, the Trinamool also made a dent in the BJP strongholds in north Bengal and the Jangalmahal region, reducing the saffron party to 12 seats.

The Trinamool improved its tally from 22 seats in 2019 to 29 in 2024, while the BJP's numbers dropped from 18 to 12. The party registered a vote share of about 46%, whereas the BJP recorded 38%.



Victory vibes: Trinamool Congress supporters celebrate the party's lead in the 2024 Lok Sabha election, outside the party chief Mamata Banerjee's residence in Kolkata on Tuesday. PTI

With an emphatic victory, Chief Minister and Trinamool chairperson Mamata Banerjee has emerged as a key player in national politics.

Her party is part of the Opposition INDIA bloc but

fought alone in the State without entering into an electoral alliance with the Left parties and the Congress. She said Mr. Modi's alliance had not got the numbers – a two-thirds majority – and thus would

not be able to change the Constitution.

Huge margin
Among the major victories in the election was that of Trinamool general secretary Abhishek Banerjee,

who won the Diamond Harbour seat with a margin of about 7.1 lakh votes from his nearest rival, Abhijit Das of the BJP. This was one of highest margins of victory registered by any candidate in the Lok Sabha polls.

The other significant victory was of Basirhat candidate Hazi Nurul Islam, who defeated the BJP's Rekha Patra, who had become the face of the Sandeshkhali protests.

Major upsets include the loss of five-time Congress MP and State Congress president Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury to Yusuf Pathan in Baharampur.

Former State BJP president Dilip Ghosh, who contested the Burdwan Durgapur seat, lost to Trinamool candidate Kirti Azad.

In Coochbehar, Union Minister of State for Home Affairs Nisith Pramanik lost to Trinamool candidate Jagadish Chandra Basunia.

The BJP won six out of eight seats in north Bengal; two in Jangalmahal, Purulia and Bishnupur; Tamluk and Kanthi in Purba Medinipur district and Bongaon and Rangaghat in the region bordering Bangladesh where the Citizenship (Amendment) Act was an issue.

Minority votes

The minority vote bank remained firm with the Trinamool as in the previous elections and the BJP's attempts to polarise Hindu votes led to further polarisation of the minority electorate.

The only exception in the bipolar contest was the Malda Dakshin Lok Sabha seat, which was won by Congress candidate Isha Khan Chowdhury.

The Left parties drew a blank and registered about 6% vote share and the Congress managed to secure about 5% votes.

Don't support Modi-led govt., Mamata urges Nitish, Naidu

The Hindu Bureau
KOLKATA

Prime Minister Narendra Modi should be kept out of power, West Bengal Chief Minister and Trinamool Congress chairperson Mamata Banerjee said on Tuesday.

She urged political parties in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) to not support any government led by Mr. Modi. She also made a public appeal to the "good people" in the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, and said that it was the right time to "revolt".

"PM Modi has lost credibility; he should resign immediately. He broke many parties and now the people have broken his morale. Modi is now at the feet of the TDP (Telugu Desam Party) and Nitish [Kumar]," she said urging the Janata Dal (United) and TDP to not support a government led by Mr. Modi.

"I will help the INDIA team and try to make sure that Modi is out, and INDIA is in. Because if INDIA is in, people will be safe, the country will be safe, and I think that the bloc has the capacity for it. Whatever votes they have got is enough," the Trinamool chief said.

She added that Abhishek Banerjee will attend the INDIA bloc meeting in Delhi on Wednesday.

The Chief Minister also threatened to launch a movement in Delhi if funds due to the West Bengal government are not released.

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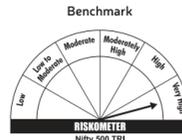
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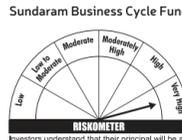


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VERDICT 2024

DEFEATED	LOST	LOST	LOST	LOST	LOST
	AJAY KUMAR MISHRA TENI BJP, Kheri	ADHIR RANJAN CHOWDHURY Congress, Baharampur	UJWAL NIKAM BJP, Mumbai North Central	D.K. SURESH Congress, Bengaluru Rural	VAIBHAV GEHLOT Congress, Jalore
	Defeated by Utkarsh Verma (SP)	Defeated by Yusuf Pathan (Trinamool)	Defeated by Gaikwad Varsha Eknath (Cong.)	Defeated by C.N. Manjunath (BJP)	Defeated by Lumbaram (BJP)
	Lost by votes 34,329	Lost by votes 85,022	Lost by votes 16,514	Lost by votes 2,69,647	Lost by votes 2,01,543
	Alliance: NDA	Alliance: INDIA	Alliance: NDA	Alliance: INDIA	Alliance: INDIA



Another wave: Supporters of the BJP celebrate in Bengaluru, on Tuesday. GETTY IMAGES

Dynasts, incumbents and freshers have a field day

The Hindu Data Team

In the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, *The Hindu* identified and categorised candidates into five types: Muslims, turncoats, dynasts, incumbents and freshers.

Of the 68 Muslim candidates tracked among major parties, 21 were leading or winning while 46 were trailing/losing. A party-wise split shows that of the four Muslim candidates belonging to the Samajwadi Party (SP) in Uttar Pradesh, none had lost. Among the 19 Congress Muslim candidates, seven were leading or had won. All the 11 Muslim candidates from the CPI(M), were trailing or had lost. Of the 10 All India Majlis-E-Ittehadul Muslimeen candidates only one was leading or won. Notably, Abdul Salam, the BJP's lone Muslim candidate in India, lost.

Of the 80 young dynasts tracked in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, 44 were leading or had won. Dynasts are candidates with a close family member who is currently or was an MLA/MP, assuming that they leveraged their familial political connections to get a ticket. Candidates aged between 25 and 45 from the following major parties were considered for the analysis.

Of the 35 Congress dynast candidates, 18 won the elections and among the 23 dynasts from the BJP, 13 were leading or had won. In Maharashtra, of the 13 dynasts identified, nine were leading or had won. In Karnataka, six out of 11 dynasts were leading or had won.

The old and the young prevail

Of the 76 turncoats tracked, 20 were leading or had won. The BJP had fielded eight turncoats in Telangana, and two among them had won. The Congress had fielded four turncoats in Punjab and two among them won. A turncoat is an MP candidate in the 2024 Lok Sabha polls, who participated in the previous election as a candidate of another recognised State/national party. The previous election can be either an Assembly or a Lok Sabha poll. The candidates from the BJP and the Congress were considered for the analysis. Of the 33 turncoats in the Congress, seven were leading or had won. Of the 43 turncoats in BJP, 13 were leading or had won.

Of the 212 incumbent candidates, 134 were leading or had won. Incumbents are candidates who are contesting in the same constituency from which they won in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. Candidates from the BJP and the Congress were considered for the analysis. Of the 177 BJP incumbent candidates, 110 won the elections while 24 of the 35 incumbents from the Congress were leading or had won.

As many as 190 new faces were fielded by the BJP and the Congress, of whom 70 were leading or had won. Freshers are candidates who are contesting in the Lok Sabha elections for the first time. Of the 96 BJP freshers, 50 won in the elections and among the 94 new faces from the Congress, 20 were leading or had won.

In Maharashtra, break-off factions face a close contest

Thackeray's Sena and senior Pawar's NCP have enjoyed more success in this election against Ajit Pawar-led NCP and Eknath Shinde's Shiv Sena

The Hindu Data Team

In the 13 constituencies in Maharashtra where Eknath Shinde's Shiv Sena and the Shiv Sena (UBT), led by Uddhav Thackeray, fought head-to-head in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, the latter was leading in more seats as of 8:30 pm.

Similarly, in the two seats in which the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) led by Ajit Pawar and the Nationalist Congress Party (Sharadchandra Pawar) were directly up against each other, the faction led by the senior Pawar – which is allied with the INDIA bloc – led in both the seats. Ajit Pawar's NCP is supporting the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) coalition this time.

Of the 13 constituencies in which the two Shiv Sena factions were in direct contest, Shiv Sena (UBT) was leading in seven while the Shinde-led party was leading in six seats (at the same time).

Eknath Shinde's faction of the Shiv Sena is part of the NDA, led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), while the Thackeray-led party is with the INDIA bloc spearheaded by the Indian National Congress (INC).

Neck-and-neck

The table shows the lead position in direct contests between Shiv Sena and Shiv Sena (UBT)

Constituency name	2024 party that won	2024 coalition that won
Buldhana	SHS	NDA
Yavatmal - Washim	SHS(UBT)	INDIA
Hingoli	SHS(UBT)	INDIA
Aurangabad	SHS	NDA
Nashik	SHS(UBT)	INDIA
Kalyan	SHS	NDA
Thane	SHS	NDA
Mumbai North - West	SHS(UBT)	INDIA
Mumbai South - Central	SHS(UBT)	INDIA
Mumbai South	SHS(UBT)	INDIA
Maval	SHS	NDA
Shirdi (Sc)	SHS(UBT)	INDIA
Hatkanangle	SHS	NDA

Pawar power | The table shows lead positions in the direct contests between NCP and NCP (Sharad Pawar)

Constituency name	2024 party won
Baramati	NCP(SP)
Shirur	NCP(SP)

The trends and the results are based on data the Election Commission of India had released by 8:30 pm.

Larger trends

Overall, the results show that the parties allied with the INDIA bloc have enjoyed more success in this election in Maharashtra. Together, the INDIA bloc was leading in 29 seats, higher

than the 18 seats in which the NDA parties were leading.

The vote shares were also close: the INDIA alliance secured 43.8% while the NDA secured 43.7%. Of the 23 seats that the BJP won in 2019, it has retained seven and lost five to the Nationalist Congress Party (Sharadchandra Pawar), nine to the INC, and one to Thackeray's Shiv Sena.

NOTA scores big in Indore after call from Cong.

The Hindu Data Team

At the last minute, Akshay Kanti Bam switched from the Indian National Congress (INC) to the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) just ahead of the general elections in Indore. In reply, the INC floated an extensive campaign urging voters to vote for 'none of the above' (NOTA).

Local leaders told *The Hindu* the party had pasted posters for NOTA on more than 4,000 auto-rickshaws across the constituency. Workers also went door-to-door in local INC strongholds encouraging registered voters to vote come poll day. Their campaign urging voters to vote for NOTA has apparently succeeded.

A successful campaign About 14% of (or 2.18 lakh) Indore voters picked NOTA this year, a jump from just 0.3% in 2019. The NOTA vote share is also much higher. The BJP intensified its campaign, saying its candidate, Shankar Lalwani, would win by a margin of eight lakh. He ended up winning by 11.75 lakh votes. The BSP's Lakshman Solanki came in third after NOTA with more than 51,000 votes.

But Indore also stands alone: across India, NOTA's vote share dropped below 1% for the first time since 2014, to 0.99% as of 9.30 pm.

(With inputs from Mehul Malpani)

In the onion belt, farmers' discontent tears into BJP's wins

Wins in the onion belt

The tables show the seats led/won and vote shares secured by alliances in 2024 and changes from 2019

Coalition	2024	Change
NDA	4	-8
INDIA	8	8
Others	0	0

Coalition	2024	Change
NDA	41.2	-25.4
INDIA	39.3	16.2
Others	19.5	9.2

The Hindu Data Team

Flip-flops in the Centre's onion export policy since mid-2023 riled onion farmers and traders in Maharashtra, and they seem to have made their opinions felt in the 2024 general elections.

In the 12 Parliamentary constituencies in which Maharashtra's onion growers and traders are concentrated, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), led in only four seats – a drop of eight from 2019. Similarly, its vote share declined 25.4 percentage points from 2019 to 41.2% this year.

Parties allied with the INDIA bloc, on the other hand, led in eight, versus their tally of zero in 2019, and secured 16.2 percentage points more for 39.3% in 2024. All figures are as of 8:30 pm. The data suggests the repeated changes in the export policy are likely to have dented the NDA's

Data suggests that repeated changes in the government's export policy are likely to have dented the NDA's chances in Maharashtra's onion belt

chances in the State's onion belt.

Seat share

In the two seats in Nashik – which exports 90% of onions from India – the Nationalist Congress Party (Sharadchandra Pawar) won/led in Dindori, a seat the BJP held in 2019, while Shiv Sena (UBT) won/led in Nashik. Similarly, the Indian National Congress (INC) won/led the two seats in Dhule, which the BJP had won in 2019. In Jalgaon, the BJP won/led in Jalgaon and Raver, against Shiv Sena (UBT) and Nationalist Congress Party (Sharadchandra Pawar), respectively.

BJP secures most of its bastions in M.P., Karnataka, Gujarat

The Hindu Data Team

In the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has managed for the most part to retain its 'stronghold' seats – constituencies in which it has won in the last three elections or more. Specifically, of the 94 seats the BJP won in the last three general elections, it led in 82 and trailed in 12 in 2024 (as of 8:30 pm).

The 15 seats where the BJP trails include Jalna in Maharashtra (where the BJP won the last seven elections before 2024; the Con-

gress's Kalyan Vajjinathrao Kale is ahead this year); and Rajasthan's Churu, where the BJP had won the past five elections (Congress's Rahul Kaswan was leading in this seat).

A bulk of these 94 seats are in Madhya Pradesh (16), Karnataka (15) and Gujarat (15). These include seven seats they have won nine times in a row: Gandhinagar, Surat, Bhind, Bhopal, Damoh, Indore, and Vidisha. In 2008, delimitation changed the boundaries of many seats but didn't change the names of the constituencies.

Stronghold seats

The table shows the number of stronghold seats where the BJP is leading or trailing

No. of seats BJP won consecutively in at least the last three elections	Of those seats, BJP leading/won in 2024	Of those seats, BJP trailing/lost in 2024
94	82	12

The table lists select BJP stronghold seats where it was trailing

Seat	State Name	Frequency of past wins	Leading party	Winning candidate
Jalna	Maharashtra	7	Indian National Congress	Kalyan Vajjinathrao Kale
Churu	Rajasthan	5	Indian National Congress	Rahul Kaswan
Bellary	Karnataka	4	Indian National Congress	E. Tukaram

In head-to-head seats, the Congress's strike rate improves

The Hindu Data Team

In the 286 seats where its candidates were up directly against each other in the general elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) beat the Indian National Congress (INC) in 183. However, the INC came out on top on strike rate – 28.3%, a leap from 8.3% in 2019. Conversely, the BJP's strike rate against the INC fell from 68.7% in 2019 to 64% in 2024. The strike rate is the percentage of seats a party has won of those it contested – in this case, the 286 seats featuring a BJP versus INC direct contest.

The figures here are accurate as of 8:30 pm.

Race to the finish

Notably, the number of seats featuring direct contests has dropped from the high of 370-plus in 2014 and 2019 to 286 this year. This change is distributed unevenly across States, depending on the alliances the INC has forged.

In Uttar Pradesh, for example, there were 65 direct contests in 2019 but only 17 this time, since the INC is allied with the Samajwadi Party among others. That said, comparing party strike rates remain a viable and informative exercise since they are expressed as a percentage of

Direct contest

The table shows the overall strike rates of the BJP and the Congress in direct contests in 2014, 2019 and 2024

Years	Seats in direct contest	Seats won by BJP	BJP Strike rate (%)	Seats won by Congress	Congress Strike rate (%)
2014	370	236	63.8	36	9.7
2019	374	257	68.7	31	8.3
2024	286	183	64	81	28.3

The table shows the State-wise strike rates of the BJP and the Congress in direct contests in 2014 and 2019

State	Direct contests in 2024	Direct contests in 2019	Congress Strike rate in 2024 (%)	Congress strike rate 2019 (%)	BJP strike rate in 2024 (%)	BJP strike rate 2019 (%)
Rajasthan	23	24	35	0	61	100
Haryana	9	10	56	0	44	100
Uttar Pradesh	17	65	35	2	65	80
Karnataka	25	21	32	5	68	95
Maharashtra	15	16	67	6	33	94
Telangana	17	17	47	18	47	24

seats won of those contested each year.

In direct contests in Karnataka, the BJP's strike rate fell from 95% to 68% – a difference of -27 percentage points – while the INC's improved from 5% to 32%, or +27 percentage

points. Likewise in Rajasthan, BJP fell by -39 percentage points, and INC gained by +35 percentage points; in Telangana, BJP -23 percentage points, INC +29 percentage points; in Uttar Pradesh, BJP -15 percentage points, INC +33

percentage points; in Maharashtra, BJP -61 percentage points, INC +61 percentage points; and in Haryana, BJP -56 percentage points, INC +56 percentage points.

What the BJP lost, the INC gained.

VERDICT 2024

History of LS polls

The table lists the seat share (%) of the two major national parties, all the State parties put together and the Left and Independents

PARTY (GROUP)	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1998	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019	2024
BJP & Jana Sangh	—	—	—	—	—	54.2	5.8	2.3	16.0	24.6	33.6	33.4	25.3	21.3	51.7	55.6	44
State parties	16.4	13.0	19.5	31.4	17.6	10.2	19.0	13.1	36.3	22.8	32.4	38.1	37.9	36.2	38.2	33.6	30.3
Congress and its earlier avatars	72.9	73.5	71.1	54.1	70.2	28.9	66.5	78.3	37.1	45.7	25.9	20.9	26.6	37.8	8.1	9.5	18
Left parties and Independents	10.6	13.6	9.6	14.7	11.9	7.0	8.9	6.5	11.0	7.1	8.7	8.1	10.6	5.3	2.5	1.7	2.7



Mayawati's BSP faces a sharp fall in Uttar Pradesh

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) failed to win a single seat in the 2024 Lok Sabha election, which it fought alone, despite contesting the highest number of seats among the six national parties, fielding candidates in 488 constituencies, including all 80 in Uttar Pradesh.

The BSP's absence from the 18th Lok Sabha coincides with the parliamentary entry of Dalit leader Chandrashekhar Azad who centred his campaign on Dalit icon Kanshi Ram.

Mr. Azad won the Nagina Lok Sabha seat by a margin of over 1.5 lakh votes, with the BSP candidate garnering a little over 13,000. Amidst the crushing defeat, BSP president Mayawati did not comment on the results. She has been facing sharp criticism from Opposition parties who have alleged that she has been operating under pressure of the BJP.

The BSP had fielded 35 Muslim candidates in Uttar Pradesh, the highest by any party in the State. This move was criticised by the Samajwadi Party and the Congress as a bid to split minority votes. The BSP's national vote share stood at a little over 2%.

U.P. loss steals BJP's thunder; SP-led INDIA makes big gains

The loss of a string of seats in the politically crucial State with 80 Lok Sabha constituencies, in comparison with the 2019 mandate, has particularly hurt the saffron party, preventing it from reaching the magic mark of 272 in the Lok Sabha

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mayank Kumar
LUCKNOW

Uttar Pradesh, politically the most crucial State in the country, sprang a massive surprise in the Lok Sabha election with the Samajwadi Party (SP) bagging 37 of the 63 seats it contested as part of the Opposition INDIA bloc, while its partner Congress winning six of the 17 seats it fought.

As per Election Commission figures, the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won 33 seats.

Many top BJP leaders including Union Minister Smriti Irani had to face defeat. Ms. Irani lost from Amethi where Congress candidate Kishori Lal won by 1,67,196 votes. Mr. Lal polled 5,39,228 votes against the Union Minister's 3,72,032. On the other hand, there was good news for several top Opposition leaders including former Congress chief Rahul Gandhi, who registered a landslide victory by almost 4,00,000 votes from Rae Bareilly. Mr. Gandhi polled



Show-stoppers: Samajwadi Party supporters celebrate the party's lead during the counting of votes for the Lok Sabha election, in Lucknow, on Tuesday. PTI

6,87,649 votes against his nearest rival Dinesh Pratap Singh of the BJP who received 2,97,619.

Of the 62 Lok Sabha seats the BJP won in Uttar Pradesh in 2019, it lost 24 to the SP and five to the Congress. Among the prominent leaders losing their seats were Union Minister Ajay Kumar Mishra from Kheri where SP candidate Utkarsh Verma 'Madhur' emerged victorious by

34,329 votes. In Sultanpur, former Union Minister Maneka Gandhi lost by 43,174 votes to the SP candidate Rambhul Nishad. In Nagina, a newcomer contesting on his own symbol, Chandrashekhar of Aazad Samaj Party (Kanshi Ram), bested Om Kumar of the BJP by over 1,50,000 votes.

Key BJP leaders who were able to register victories include Prime Minister Narendra Modi from Varana-

nasi by 1,52,513 votes. Mr. Modi polled 6,12,970 votes against Congress candidate Ajay Rai's 4,60,457 votes. In Lucknow, Defence Minister Rajnath Singh emerged victorious by over 1,28,000 votes.

The Opposition INDIA bloc in Uttar Pradesh led by SP president Mr. Yadav and Mr. Gandhi ran a high-pitched campaign focusing on issues such as unem-

ployment, inflation and caste census, dubbing the 2024 election as one to save India's democracy against the authoritarian tendencies of the BJP. The BJP's campaign revolved around the Ram Temple and nationalism.

The BJP engineered social coalitions with focus on the Other Backward Classes (OBCs), tying up with caste-centric sub-regional parties such as the Suheldev Bharatiya Samaj Party (SBSP) of Om Prakash Rajbhar, the Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD) of Jayant-Chaudhary, Anupriya Patel's Apna Dal (Sonelal), and Nishad party of Sanjay Nishad as it hoped to leave nothing to chance.

The loss of the 29 seats in comparison to the 2019 mandate would hurt as it had prevented the saffron party from reaching the magic mark of 272 in the Lok Sabha. In 2014, when the BJP came to power at the Centre with a majority with 282 seats, it won 71 on its own from U.P. In 2019, when the BJP secured 303 seats, it won 62 from the State. On both occasions, U.P. contributed the highest number of seats to the BJP's tally.



Angered by several issues, the youth seemed to have switched towards the INDIA bloc. AFP

Jobs and reservation trump Mandir and rations

Anuj Kumar
GHAZIABAD

Caste identity triumphed over religious polarisation in Uttar Pradesh as the INDIA bloc's promise of saving *rozi roti* (employment) and reservation outshone the narrative of the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance of Ram, rations, and *shashan* (governance) in a fiercely contested election where more than a dozen seats went down to the wire before the Opposition alliance secured 43 out of 80 seats, bringing down the NDA tally from 64 to 36.

Riding on the PDA (Pichda, Dalit, Alpsankhyak) plank and propelled by a severely diminished Bahujan Samaj Party, Akhilesh Yadav shed the Muslim-Yadav image of the Samajwadi Party (SP) and repurposed the red and green force as the champion of social justice, securing a record 37 seats.

The caste calculus of 'U.P. ke ladke' (sons of U.P.) worked as Congress leader Rahul Gandhi and SP chief Mr. Yadav complemented each other. Keeping the campaign low-key in the first two rounds, Mr. Gandhi played second fiddle to Mr. Yadav. But ground reports suggest that the SP supremo read the mood of the Muslim and Dalit voters before he left 17 seats for the Congress and the grand old party came out on top in six constituencies.

Fielding two SC candidates from general seats proved to be a smart move as Awadhesh Prasad bagged the prestigious Faizabad-Ayodhya seat, and though Sunita Verma lost to the BJP's Arun Govil in Meerut by a thin margin, her presence sent a message across western Uttar Pradesh that Jatavs and Yadavs could fight for a common cause. Mr. Yadav scythed through the non-Yadav OBC arithmetic of the BJP across the State, particularly in Purvanchal.

After the consecration of Ram Temple, Uttar Pradesh was seen as a done deal for the BJP but the results have shown that the ruling party failed to gauge the discontent on the ground. The results have dented the brand Modi as his own victory margin has come down by around five times and the BJP has lost the other three seats in the Varanasi division. Also, the fact that the BJP lost Ayodhya and Muzaffarnagar, the epicentres of Hindu assertion in the State, proves that the Hindutva wand has begun to corrode.

In contrast, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Yadav's decision to contest from Rae Bareilly and Kannauj improved the strike rate of the INDIA alliance in the Awadh belt, which was a bastion of the BJP for the last two general elections.

The anti-incumbency trend remained a major factor as six Ministers of the Modi government lost their seats. The party suffered by repeating 44 sitting MPs despite adverse reports. The stories of infighting in the ruling party turned out to be true as the two engines seemed to have collided. The Rajput anger was real and so was the influence of *Bahubalis* (strongmen) from the Kshatriya clans. It reflected in the BJP's defeat in Kaushambi, Pratapgarh, Jaunpur and Machhli Shahar. Most of the candidates against whom the supporters of Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath raised reservations bit the dust at the hustings or managed to win by a wafer-thin margin.

Angered by frequent paper leaks, rampant privatisation of jobs, and lateral entry into government jobs without following the reservation norms, the youth seemed to have switched towards the INDIA bloc. The youth bought Mr. Yadav's interpretation of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's brazen appeal for 400 *paar* (crossing 400 seats). By the time Mr. Modi realised its impact, the damage was done.

JD(U) defies all election predictions, with Nitish calling the shots yet again

Amarnath Tewary
PATNA

With the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) falling way short of a majority in the Lok Sabha, Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar has emerged as a potential kingmaker with his party, the Janata Dal (U), winning 12 Lok Sabha seats in the State on Tuesday.

Contrary to poll predictions, the JD(U), which contested 16 seats under the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), won more seats than expected. Given his history of changing sides at key political moments, Mr. Kumar has become the most sought-after political leader now.

Another NDA member, the Chirag Paswan-led Lok Janshakti Party (Ram Vilas), won all five seats it contested - Hajipur (reserved), Vaishali, Samastipur, Khagaria and Jamui (reserved).

"It is a referendum on Mr. Kumar's work for development in the State. He is *vikas purush* (development man) of the State for whom people have voted, reposed faith in him once again," JD(U) State president Umesh Kushwaha said.

However, Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) leader and Rajya Sabha member Manoj Jha recalled the role Mr. Kumar had played in the formation of the INDIA bloc.



Given his history of changing sides at key political moments, Nitish Kumar has become the most sought-after leader. FILE PHOTO

"We have been formally in alliance with Nitish Kumar. We know he shares dislike for vendetta politics which the BJP stands for," he said.

A few days ago, RJD leader Tejashwi Yadav had spoken about "a big political development in Bihar after the June 4 Lok Sabha results".

'Will stay with NDA'

JD(U) leaders told *The Hindu* that the party would remain with the NDA and attend the alliance meeting in New Delhi on Wednesday.

Party spokesperson K.C. Tyagi said that "the party is with NDA and will continue to be with NDA".

Political analysts in the State said the JD(U)'s performance is a shot in the arm for the party. "With the JD(U) getting such a mandate in the poll, the party has definitely got a fresh lease of life," said political commentator N.K. Choudhary.

"Mr. Kumar is a deft social engineer and has very meticulously carved out an Extremely Backward Class (EBC) support base, which forms 36% of the population, and a non-Yadav OBC support for his party. It worked well in alliance with 6% Dalit voters of the State and in tandem with the BJP's upper caste vote bank," he said.

"The RJD and *Mahagathbandhan* leaders failed to make a dent into Mr. Kumar's core vote base of EBC, Dalits and non-Yadav OBC along with the BJP's upper caste support," said political analyst Ajay Kumar.

Among the 40 seats in Bihar, NDA partner Rashtriya Lok Morcha's leader Upendra Kushwaha lost the Karakat seat, while Hindustani Awam Morcha (Secular) leader Jitan Ram Manjhi won the Gaya (reserved) seat defeating *Mahagathbandhan* candidate Kumar Sarvajeet of the RJD.

INDIA bloc's roller coaster from a faltering start to flying close to its target

Sobhana K. Nair
NEW DELHI

The Indian National Developmental, Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) has fallen short of the score that it had expected for itself on June 1, when it announced that the anti-Bharatiya Janata Party coalition will win 295 seats. The INDIA bloc will meet to chart out its strategy for the road ahead, with no single party crossing the majority mark.

Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge and senior party leader Rahul Gandhi thanked the INDIA allies. Mr. Kharge applauded the allies for speaking in "one voice". Mr. Gandhi also gave credit to the Congress for respecting the wishes of the allies, and underlined that wherever a seat-sharing arrangement had been in place, the bloc had fought unitedly.

The INDIA bloc had won 220 seats till half past Tuesday midnight. The tally includes the Trinamool Congress, which fought alone. With speculation on the Trinamool Congress's allegiance, party president and West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee defined the results as "INDIA has won, Modi has lost".

But while the allies can pat themselves now, their campaign had begun on a faltering note. On January 25, when the BJP launched



Rahul Gandhi said wherever a seat-sharing arrangement had been in place, the INDIA bloc had fought unitedly. PTI

its campaign song, the INDIA bloc was still struggling to find its footing. A day earlier, Ms. Banerjee had announced her decision to go solo, blaming the Left parties. Four days later, INDIA's founding member, Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar, led his party, the Janata Dal (U), back to the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance.

The seat-sharing arrangements were also not in place. The Congress went out of its way to cede space for its regional allies. The leaders say the delay did not come in the way of their electoral performance. "... We managed to have a credible arrangement in place to minimise the BJP wherever possible. Even to fight separately in Kerala, Punjab, and West Bengal, was with this aim in mind," CPI(M) general secretary Sitaram Yechury said.

The INDIA bloc's journey began on June 23, 2023, when 16 Opposition

parties came together in Patna. Mr. Gandhi coined the name - INDIA - re-framing the Opposition versus BJP battle as that of BJP versus the people of the country. But the bloc failed to capitalise on the momentum it had built and the organisational structures it envisaged. Its aim of pooling resources for campaigning and formulating a cohesive election strategy remained a non-starter. But once the campaign began, even in the absence of a formal decision-making structure, the group united under the banner of "save democracy". It also had high recall value among voters, partly because of the consistent attack by Narendra Modi, who derisively referred to it as "INDI-Alliance".

"Such blocs cannot function under formal structures. We have had informal conversations throughout the campaign and it has brought in the results," Mr. Yechury said.

VERDICT 2024

Who said what



“ This is the victory of the women of Pataliputra region. People have shown faith in what Tejaswini has done in 17 months. There was anger here against the present MP and PM

MISA BHARTI
Rashtriya Janata
Dal leader



“ I don't know whether they will form the government or step down but BJP has no simple majority to form the government headed by Modi... He has no moral right to become the PM

SIDDARAMAIAH
Karnataka CM



“ The credible showing of the INDIA bloc countered Modi's communal electioneering and championed issues of the defence of the Constitution, democracy and people's livelihood

SITARAM YECHURY
CPI(M) general
secretary



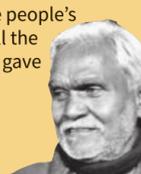
“ It's a landslide victory for the Telugu people and our party. The people have given us a one-sided victory. We have committed to the NDA; a pre-poll alliance is there, and that will continue

RAVINDRA KUMAR
TDP leader



“ I respect this mandate. The BJP could not even reach the majority mark, which had claimed to win 400 seats in the country. Due to the people's support, we won all the reserved seats and gave a good fight in other seats

CHAMPAL SOREN
Jharkhand CM



In Maharashtra, MVA's turnaround gives a jolt to Shinde-led Mahayuti

Maharashtra Congress chief Nana Patole says the people had taught a befitting lesson to the 'arrogant, dictatorial government' of the Bharatiya Janata Party; Congress emerges as a party with the most seats in the State; Sharad Pawar's NCP (SP) puts up a dazzling performance by winning seven seats

Shoumojit Banerjee
PUNE

In a turnaround, the Opposition *Maha Vikas Aghadi* (MVA) dealt a rude jolt to the ruling Eknath Shinde-led *Mahayuti* alliance in the Lok Sabha results by winning 29, and leading in one, of the 48 constituencies in Maharashtra, with the Congress having a remarkable renaissance to emerge as the single-largest party in the State by winning 13 seats.

The ruling *Mahayuti* won 17 seats.

While Uddhav Thackeray's Shiv Sena (UBT) won nine of the 21 seats it contested, Sharad Pawar's Nationalist Congress Party (SP) put up a dazzling performance by snaring seven of the 10 seats it contested and leading in one, suggesting that the electorate had decisively rejected the manner in which the undivided Shiv Sena and the NCP were split in coups abetted by the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The ruling BJP won nine of the 28 constituencies it contested.

Despite the Election Commission awarding the original names and party



Impressive show: Shiv Sena (UBT) leaders Rashmi Thackeray, South-Central Mumbai candidate Anil Desai, Uddhav Thackeray, and Aaditya Thackeray in Sena Bhavan, Mumbai on Tuesday. EMMANUAL YOGINI

symbols to Chief Minister Shinde's Shiv Sena and Deputy CM Ajit Pawar's NCP, both factions performed poorly.

Mr. Shinde's ruling Sena faction won seven of the 15 seats it contested, while Mr. Ajit Pawar's NCP could win just one of the four seats it fought, crashing in the high-stakes, fiercely contested Baramati Lok Sabha seat in Pune district.

A consolation for Mr. Shinde was that he retained his bastion of Thane

where his aide Naresh Mhaske supplanted the Shiv Sena (UBT)'s Rajan Vichare, while Mr. Shinde's son, incumbent MP Shrikanth Shinde, retained the Kalyan-Dombivli seat for the third time with a handsome margin.

For all the bitter rhetoric of "diluted Hindutva" and "fake Shiv Sena" aimed at him by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Mr. Shinde, Mr. Thackeray proved his Sena (UBT) faction was the "King of Mum-

bai" as the MVA clinched five of the six Lok Sabha seats in Maximum City.

Mr. Thackeray's gains suggested that the rank-and-file Shiv Sainiks still remained with him even as the former CM carved a new, inclusive vote-base for the Sena (UBT) which included minorities and Dalits.

The Congress's revival in Maharashtra (it had won just one seat of 48 in 2019) saw the party storming the Vidarbha and Marathwada

regions by winning seven of the 10 seats in Vidarbha.

While BJP stalwart Nitin Gadkari held his own in Nagpur, the Congress juggernaut snared Chandrapur (in Vidarbha), where Pratibha Dhanorkar, the widow of deceased Congressman Suresh Dhanorkar, toppled Maharashtra Minister and senior BJP leader Sudhir Mungantiwar.

In Marathwada, Congress (and MVA) candidates staged a series of major upsets, as Balwant Wankhede trounced the BJP's Navneet Rana in Amravati.

Congress candidate Kalyan Kale emerged as a giant killer by defeating five-term incumbent Jalna MP, Union Minister Raosaheb Danve of the BJP.

It was in the sugar heartland of western Maharashtra where the MVA's turnaround bore the imprimatur of Mr. Sharad Pawar's canny strategising.

Earlier, the MVA led in seven of the 10 seats in western Maharashtra, with incumbent Baramati MP Supriya Sule effortlessly defeating her rival - Mr. Ajit Pawar's wife Sunetra Pawar despite a high-decibel campaign by the *Mahayuti*.

"I know the mindset of Baramatikars for 60 years. They have remained loyal to us. Therefore I was confident that they would remain loyal this time too and show the right path to those who have chosen the wrong path," said Mr. Sharad Pawar, speaking in Mumbai.

Mr. Sharad Pawar got the better of his rebellious nephew Mr. Ajit Pawar in the crucial Shirur Lok Sabha seat as well, with incumbent MP Dr. Amol Kolhe trouncing his rival, the NCP's Shivajirao Adhalrao-Patil.

Consolation win

Mr. Ajit Pawar's faction had to be content with just one seat - the Raigad constituency which was won by NCP State chief (Ajit faction) Sunil Tatkare.

Pawar senior's magic worked in Madha (in Solapur) as well, with the MVA's Dhairyasheel Mohite-Patil staging a major upset over the BJP's MP Ranjitsinh Naik-Nimbalkar.

In Kolhapur, Maratha royal Shahu Maharaj Chhatrapati - a candidate suggested by Mr. Sharad Pawar - triumphed over incumbent MP, the Shinde Sena's Sanjay Mandlik.



BJP workers celebrating at the party headquarters in Gandhinagar on Tuesday. VIJAY SONEJI

Congress opens account in Gujarat after a decade

Mahesh Langa
AHMEDABAD

For the first time since the 2014 Lok Sabha election, the Congress has opened its account by winning the Lok Sabha seat of Banaskantha in Prime Minister Narendra Modi's home State of Gujarat. The Banaskantha constituency encompasses a rural district with a large population that sustains itself through dairy farming.

Two-time Congress MLA Geniben Thakor won the seat by defeating the Bharatiya Janata Party's Rekhaben Chaudhary, a political novice.

Ms. Thakor is the first woman to win the seat since 1962. She is the first woman candidate from the Thakor community, a rural community engaged in farming in north Gujarat, to win the seat.

"I am thankful to the people of Banaskantha for reposing faith in me and defeating the BJP's money and muscle power and rampant misuse of cooperative institutions such as the Banaskantha Dairy and Banaskantha District Cooperative Bank," she said after being declared the winner.

In the neighbouring Patna seat, the Congress candidate, Chandani Thakor, lost by a slender margin, while in Sabarkantha, the Congress legislator, Tushar Chaudhary, lost the seat.

"It is a setback losing Banaskantha," a BJP leader told *The Hindu*.

"It is the defeat of the BJP's arrogance and large-scale corruption. The party rampantly misused the cooperative institutions for political purposes and lost in Banaskantha," State Congress chief Shaktisinh Gohil said.

The Congress victory in Banaskantha has stunned the BJP which was hoping to register a hat-trick by winning all 26 Lok Sabha seats in the State.

In fact, it was in Banaskantha that Mr. Modi made the "buffalo" remark against the Congress while referring to the "inheritance tax", a political issue during the Lok Sabha election campaign.

The contest in Banaskantha became all the more intense and divisive because of Shankar Chaudhary, State Assembly Speaker and chairman of Banas Dairy and vice-chairman of Gujarat State Cooperative Bank. The BJP nominee, Rekha Chaudhary, was a protégé of Mr. Chaudhary, who lost to Ms. Thakor in the 2017 Assembly election from the Vav Assembly seat.

In the 2022 Assembly election, Mr. Chaudhary shifted from Vav to Tharad to avoid a fight against Ms. Thakor. Ms. Thakor won from Vav in 2022 also.

In Gandhinagar, Union Home Minister Amit Shah won the seat with a seven lakh vote margin while State BJP chief C.R. Paatil won from Navsari with a 7.5 lakh margin.

Except Banaskantha, Patan, and Anand, the BJP won all other seats comfortably, including Bharuch where the party's senior-most parliamentarian Mansukh Vasava was pitted against the Aam Aadmi Party's first-time legislator Chaitar Vasava.

Another seat the AAP contested was Bhavnagar where its legislator, Umesh Makwana, lost to the BJP's Nimuben Bambhaniya.

Also, two Cabinet Ministers - Parshottam Rupala and Mansukh Mandaviya - won from Rajkot and Porbandar, respectively, while Minister of State for Communication Devusinh Chauhan won the Kheda seat in central Gujarat.

In south Gujarat also, the ruling party won all the seats, including ST-reserved Valsad and Bardoli.

In central Gujarat, the ruling party won Vadodara, Dahod, Panchmahal, and Chhota Udepur seats.

In the Union Territory seat of Daman and Diu, the BJP candidate lost to Independent candidate Umesh Patel.

Congress leadership faces uphill task of revamping M.P. unit after BJP wins all 29 seats

Mehul Malpani
BHOPAL

While the Congress has a lot to be happy about its performance at the national level, the party will have to introspect on its performance in Madhya Pradesh where it has failed to open its account, with the BJP winning all the 29 Lok Sabha seats.

The Congress also lost Chhindwara, a long-term stronghold of former Chief Minister Kamal Nath and the only seat it had won in 2019, with the incumbent MP, Nakul Nath, losing to the BJP's Vivek 'Bunty' Sahu by more than one lakh votes.

Former Chief Minister Digvijaya Singh, who was fielded from his home constituency of Rajgarh, also failed to clinch the seat from the BJP's Rodmal Nagar, who won with a margin of over 1.2 lakh votes. Mr. Singh, who was initially not interested in contesting, had a large gap to fill in the constituency which the BJP won in 2019 by a margin of over 4.3 lakh votes.

Stung by another big loss in the State in six months after the Assembly election debacle in November last year, the Congress in Madhya Pradesh now has the tough task of revamping the party in the coming years. In the Assembly election, the Congress had won only 66 seats compared with the



On a winning streak: Former Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chouhan, second from left, and Madhya Pradesh CM Mohan Yadav celebrating at party office in Bhopal on Tuesday. A.M. FARUQUI

Jitu Patwari said the Assembly poll results and defections affected Congress's performance

BJP's 163. The party was marred by a series of defections to the BJP, including its official candidate in Indore, Akshay Kanti Bam, and three MLAs, shaking the confidence of party cadre going into the Lok Sabha polls. The BJP claimed that the number of local-level Congress leaders and workers who joined the ruling party was in lakhs.

Speaking to *The Hindu* on Tuesday, State Congress president Jitu Patwari admitted that the recent Assembly poll results and defections were major factors in the party's performance. "We had hoped that the State's public should go with the national narrative. But, we had just finished the (Assembly)

polls here and after that we tried to do our best but its impact was seen (on Lok Sabha polls)," he said.

Mr. Patwari, who was made the PCC chief in place of Mr. Kamal Nath following the Assembly poll rout, however, said the Congress's vote share had increased in the State and that the party would introspect on the results and start preparing for the next Assembly election.

"Last time (in 2019), our average defeat margin was around 3.5 lakh which this time has come down below 2 lakh votes in the State. There are seats where we lost by 25,000-30,000 votes," he said. The Congress failed to make a consolidation on caste lines in the State, which has over 50% OBC and 21% tribal population, whereas the BJP appears to have strengthened its consolidation among two communities that had driven its Assembly poll performance.

BJP suffers major setback in Rajasthan while Congress makes impressive gains

Mohammed Iqbal
JAIPUR

The ruling BJP on Tuesday suffered a major setback in Rajasthan, where it lost 11 of the 25 Lok Sabha seats, while the Opposition Congress made impressive gains by winning as many as eight seats. The BJP, which was elected to power in Rajasthan in December 2023 and won all the 25 Lok Sabha seats in the 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections, won only 14 seats.

Three candidates of INDIA bloc parties routed the BJP contestants by significant margins. The winners are the CPI(M)'s Amra Ram in Sikar, the Rashtriya Loktantrik Party's (RLP) Hanuman Beniwal in Nagaur and the Bharat Adivasi Party's (BAP) Rajkumar Roat in Banswara.

The BJP's winners include Lok Sabha Speaker Om Birla (Kota), Union Ministers Gajendra Singh Shekhawat (Jodhpur), Bhupender Yadav (Alwar) and Arjun Ram Meghwal (Bikaner), and the party's State president C.P. Joshi (Chittorgarh).

Prominent winners

Prominent among the Congress winners were Rahul Kaswan (Churu), who had switched from the BJP ahead of the election, former Minister Murari Lal Meena (Dausa), Ummeda Ram Beniwal (Barmer), who left the RLP to join the



Sweet success: Rajasthan Congress chief Govind Singh Dotasra celebrates with party leaders in Jaipur on Tuesday. PTI

Congress before election, and former Director-General of Police Harish Chandra Meena (Tonk-Sawai Madhopur).

The BJP's Manju Sharma defeated Congress candidate and former Minister Pratap Singh Khachariya was in Jaipur by a margin of 3,31,767 votes. Former Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot's son Vaibhav Gehlot also suffered a humiliating defeat with a margin of 2,01,543 at the hands of BJP's Lumba Ram Chaudhary in Jalore. Mr. Vaibhav Gehlot was routed in Jodhpur in the 2019 Lok Sabha election as well.

The winning candidates of the BJP include former Chief Minister Vasundhara Raje's son Dushyant Singh (Jhalawar-Baran) and former Union Minister P.P. Choudhary (Pali).

Mr. Roat's victory in Banswara, by defeating veteran tribal leader Mahendrajeet Singh Malviya who had shifted from the

Congress to the BJP, has depicted the rising influence of the newly formed BAP in the tribal-dominated region in southern Rajasthan.

The BJP's rout in the Shekhawati region has been perceived as an indication of discontent over the Agnipath scheme and the Jat farmers' disenchantment over irrigation waters, land rights, farm loan waiver and minimum support prices.

Caste-based politics also played a major role in several constituencies, where communities such as Jats, Gujjars, Rajputs and Muslims have a significant presence.

Despite Prime Minister Narendra Modi's speeches during his campaign in the State, in which he accused the Congress of planning to take away people's properties and "snatching" reservation from Dalits, there was apparently very little religious polarisation.

VERDICT 2024

Who said what



“ This is an expression of admiration and belief of people in PM Modi. BJP is winning all 29 seats in Madhya Pradesh. Under the leadership of PM Modi, India will become developed”

SHIVRAJ SINGH CHOUHAN
BJP leader

“ India has reached a stage where not only its citizens but all the nations have this confidence that it has the capability to provide leadership and a new direction to the world”

RAJNATH SINGH
Defence Minister

“ In the last ten years, the country saw unprecedented development in all sectors, and we will be continuously working to fulfil PM Modi's dream of Atmanirbhar and Viksit Bharat”

NITIN GADKARI
Minister of Road Transport

“ For BJP, its workers are its biggest asset. The hard work with which all of you have sought blessings of the people for Modi by going door to door, from North to South and East to West is commendable”

AMIT SHAH
Home Minister

“ I thank each voter of the constituency for participating in this festival of democracy and for their immense love and faith in my abilities as the son of the soil to work for the welfare of the people”

SARBANANDA SONOWAL
Minister of Ports and Shipping



Dissent mode: A file photo of farmers protesting in Punjab for a law on MSP. SHASHI SHEKHAR KASHYAP

Trade unions, SKM claim a share in Opposition's performance

A.M. IIGEESH
NEW DELHI

Leaders of the Samyukt Kisan Morcha (SKM) and the Central Trade Unions (CTUs), who relentlessly campaigned against the BJP in the farming belts, have claimed a share in the Opposition's performance in States such as Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Punjab, and Haryana. According to them, the victory of farmers' protests against the three farm laws have paved the way for a resurgence of the Opposition in several States.

Former All India Kisan Sabha president Amra Ram, who got elected from Sikar seat in Rajasthan as the INDIA bloc candidate, said the impact of farmers' movements were huge on the electorate. “In all States, the issues raised by farmers had an impact. Narendra Modi had to succumb before the rage of farmers. We will continue to raise these issues inside and outside Parliament,” the senior CPI(M) leader said.

The SKM and the CTUs have been campaigning among farmers on issues of legalised minimum support price (MSP), filling up of vacancies in governments and PSUs, restoration of the Old Pension Scheme (OPS) and abrogation of four labour codes. Issues such as ban on exports of onions were on the electoral agenda in onion-cultivating areas such as Nashik in Maharashtra. They have also been specifically campaigning against Union Minister of State for Home Affairs Ajay Mishra Teni, whose son was allegedly involved in the Lakhimpur Kheri violence that left some farmers dead. Mr. Teni lost in Kheri seat against the Samajwadi Party.

“We campaigned based on the economic distress of farmers, need for MSP, debt waiver and jobs for youth. The debt on farmers has increased and they are selling their land to survive,” said Jitender Singh Hudda, a farmers' leader from Shamli. He said the Samajwadi Party won several seats from the belt in Uttar Pradesh despite not having a strong base in the area.

Livelihood issues

All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) general secretary Amarjeet Kaur said despite efforts to communalise the election, people voted against the BJP based on livelihood issues. “We will continue to struggle to make sure that democratic practices will be re-established. The outcome of the election makes it clear that livelihood issues, unemployment, farmers' issues are the real issues for people. Industrial belts in several States have also voted in favour of the Opposition as we saw in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu,” Ms. Kaur said adding that people's confidence will be high in their pursuit to struggle for their rights.

Coordinator of Bharatiya Kisan Union (Ekta Ugrahan) Pavel Kussa said though protests should not be viewed from the angle of electoral politics alone, they empowered people to talk about their rights and this awareness has increased and some political parties were able to capitalise on it.

“The real impact of these protests cannot be assessed by electoral results alone as fighting elections involve a lot of other yardsticks too,” Mr. Kussa said adding that unemployment and price rise have made the lives miserable for people. “This election has also given a message that such anti-people governments can be defeated by joint struggles,” he said.

In historic upset, BJP breaks Naveen's 24-year grip on Odisha

BJP wins 78 seats in 147-member House; BJD gets 51 and Congress 14; BJD citadel breached due to strong anti-incumbency factor coupled with widespread ire against the dominance of former bureaucrat Pandian in governance and party affairs

Satvasundar Barik
BHUBANESWAR

In what can be described as a historic upset, the 24-year-long tenure of Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik came to an end on Tuesday, with the aggressive BJP poised to form government in Odisha.

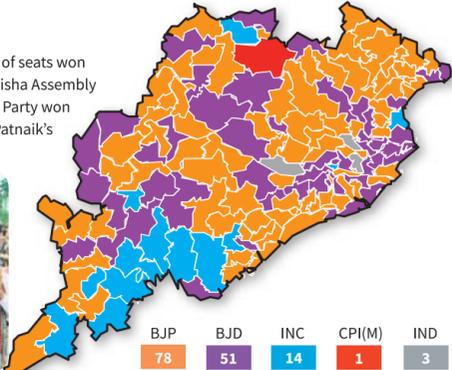
The BJP won 78 seats, while the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) got 51, and the Congress 14. The halfway mark for forming the government is 74 in the 147-member Assembly.

Strong anti-incumbency sentiments coupled with widespread ire against the dominance of V.K. Pandian, the Tamil Nadu-born former bureaucrat, in governance and party affairs, has brought down the BJD citadel in the eastern State.

The anti-incumbency factor was so strong that Mr. Patnaik lost to Laxman Bag of the BJP in Kantabani, the second Assembly seat he had fought from. This is his first electoral de-

New dawn

The map presents the number of seats won by parties contesting in the Odisha Assembly election. The Bharatiya Janata Party won 78 seats, followed by Naveen Patnaik's Biju Janata Dal with 51 seats



feat in 26 years. The BJD's failure to form a government was a personal setback for the five-time Chief Minister. If he had secured a sixth term, he would have been in contention to become India's longest-serving Chief Minister, surpassing the record held by former Sikkim Chief Minister Pawan Chamling.

The BJD's vote percentage dropped from 44.71%

in 2019 to 40.13% in 2024, while at the same time the BJP's vote share surged to 39.93% in 2024 from 32.4% in 2019.

Ganjam tally

The BJP swept all seats in Mayurbhanj, the home district of President Droupadi Murmu, and significantly improved its tally in Ganjam, the home district of Mr. Patnaik. Besides, the

party repeated its performance in western districts, a bastion of the BJP.

Despite the party's spectacular performance, Odisha BJP president Manmohan Samal lost to the BJD in Chandbali.

For long, Odisha has been an enigmatic State for pollsters or political pundits. A man who did not have any experience in electoral politics till he

turned 51 went on to become second longest serving Chief Minister of India. During past two decades, no politician had come closer to Mr. Patnaik on popularity parameter.

There was clearly yearning for change. The change of regime was hastened by V.K. Pandian factor. The Odia sub-nationalism sentiment played out through out election. And the BJP leaders repeated the issue of Mr. Pandian's Tamil origin and his dominance, in every speech. Striking an emotional chord, the BJP also highlighted the missing keys of Ratnabandhar (treasury) of Shree Jagannath Temple and placed the blame on the BJD.

In contrast, the BJD stuck to its welfare programmes. In every public speech, the Odisha CM listed the schemes. But, his speeches hardly crossed 10 minutes. Most of the campaigning time was consumed by Mr. Pandian, which showed the five-term CM in poor light.

BJP wins 20 of 21 LS seats in Odisha, Cong. gets one

Satvasundar Barik
BHUBANESWAR

The BJP on Tuesday achieved a landslide victory in the Lok Sabha election in Odisha, securing 20 of the 21 Lok Sabha seats in the State. The Congress won the remaining seat.

Union Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan defeated BJD organisational secretary Pranab Prakash Das in Sambalpur Lok Sabha seat by a margin of over 1.19 lakh votes.

BJP spokespersons Sasmit Patra and Aparajita Sarangi won in Puri and Bhubaneswar, respectively. Party national vice-president Baijant Panda and six-time MP Bhartruhari Mahatab won in Kendrapara and Cuttack, respectively. Sitting Congress MP Saptagiri Sankar Ulaka retained his Koraput seat.

“Thank you Odisha! BJP will leave no stone unturned in fulfilling the dreams of people and taking Odisha to new heights of progress,” said Prime Minister Narendra Modi on X. He had addressed 12 public meetings and held two roadshows in the State.

Hat-trick of clean sweeps for BJP in Uttarakhand

Ishita Mishra
NEW DELHI

The BJP recorded a hat-trick of clean sweeps in Uttarakhand, with the party winning all five seats in the State.

Ajay Bhatt, who had served as the Union Minister of State for Defence and Tourism, won the Nainital-Udhamsingh Nagar seat by more than 3 lakh votes. The constituency had faced one of the worst riots in the State in the past decade.

In Haridwar, former Chief Minister Trivendra Rawat won by more than 1.5 lakh votes. Here, the Congress had fielded Virendra Rawat, son of former Chief Minister Harish Rawat. It was in Haridwar where religious leaders of the Hindu community organised a *dharma sansad* (religious gathering) in 2021 and threatened Muslims in the presence of the BJP members. Many of those who participated in the event were later arrested followed an outrage.

In the Garhwal seat, Anil Baluni, the BJP's backroom boy, won by more than 1.6 lakh votes. The Congress's Ganesh Godiyal aggressively campaigned to capitalise on people's anger towards the Centre's Agnipath scheme but failed.

Mala Rajya Laxmi Shah, the titular queen of the erstwhile Tehri Garhwal kingdom, defeated Jot Singh Gunsola of the Congress by more than 2.6 lakh votes.

In Almora, the BJP's Ajay Tamta defeted Pradeep Tamta of the Congress by more than 2.3 lakh votes.

With 135 seats in kitty, Naidu set to become A.P. CM the fourth time

Sumit Bhattacharjee
VISAKHAPATNAM

Telugu Desam Party (TDP) national president Nara Chandrababu Naidu is all set to become the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh for the fourth time after handing a crushing defeat to Y.S. Jagan Mohan Reddy's YSR Congress Party in the Assembly election, which was held simultaneously with the Lok Sabha election in the State.

The TDP, which is part of the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) along with the Jana Sena Party (JSP), secured 135 seats.

The Pawan Kalyan-led JSP handsomely chipped in by winning 21 seats, while the BJP secured victories in eight seats. The NDA won 164 of the 175 seats in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly.

On the other hand, the YSRCP won just 11 seats. It will not even have the status of Opposition party in the Assembly as the minimum requirement is 18 seats.

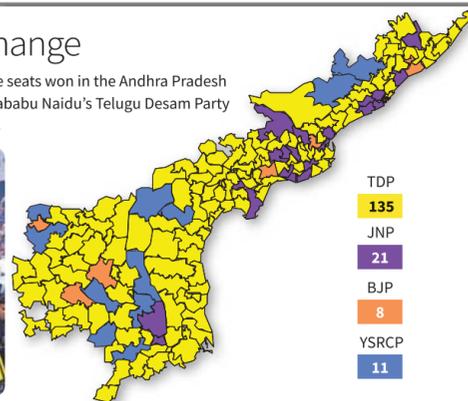
Mr. Reddy had stormed to power by securing 151 seats in the 2019 election. The TDP won just 23 seats.

For Mr. Naidu, Tuesday's result is a powerful comeback, especially after he was arrested in September last year by the State police's CID for involvement in the alleged Skill Development scam. Mr. Naidu had been the Chief Minister of united Andhra Pradesh for two terms from 1995 to 2004. He was also the first Chief Minister of the residual Andhra Pradesh after its bifurcation in 2014.

From the results, it has become clear that a huge

Yearning for change

The map shows the party-wise seats won in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly election. N. Chandrababu Naidu's Telugu Desam Party leads the count with 135 seats



anti-incumbency wave had uprooted Mr. Reddy despite him successfully going ahead with many welfare schemes during his tenure.

The anti-incumbency factor was so huge that many key Ministers in Mr. Reddy's Cabinet such as Revenue Minister Dharmanna Prasada Rao from Sriakulam, Fisheries Minister Seediri Appalaraju (Palasa), Deputy Speaker Kolagatla Veerabhadra Swamy (Vizianagaram), Speaker Tamineni Sitaram (Amadalavalasa), IT Minister Gudivada Amarnath (Gajuwaka), Home Minister Taneti Vanitha (Gopalapuram), Health Minister Vidala Rajini (Guntur West), Housing Minister Jogi Ramesh (Penamaluru), Irrigation Minister Ambati Rambabu (Sattenapalli), Tourism Minister R.K. Roja (Nagari), and Education Minister Botcha Satyanarayana (Cheerupalli) had to face bitter setbacks.

Even the party's number two, former MP V. Vijaya Sai Reddy, who had contested from the Nellore Lok Sabha seat, was defeated by a huge margin by the

TDP's Vemireddy Prabhakar Reddy.

Swept coastal areas

The NDA swept coastal A.P. and Uttarakhand (northern Andhra), while the YSRCP could only bag a few seats across Rayalaseema and Uttarakhand.

Analysts say that Mr. Reddy, who tried to ride high on his welfare schemes, was no match for the NDA alliance as Mr. Naidu and Mr. Kalyan campaigned hard for a development model that combined welfare schemes.

Issues such as lack of development, local governance, and unemployment had become key factors, which reportedly pulled the YSRCP down.

The TDP and the JSP said that except for promoting the volunteer system, the YSRCP government was not able to generate employment for the youth, and industrial development did not progress as desired.

Mr. Naidu and Mr. Kalyan were able to project a development model with

industrialisation that would generate employment for the youth. Both Mr. Naidu and Mr. Pawan were vocal in saying that an alliance with the BJP in the Centre would trigger “double-engine growth” in the State.

The final blow to Mr. Reddy was dealt by the Land Tiling Act. The Opposition projected this Act as “draconian”, and spread the message among the masses that the ruling party leaders were trying to push this Act only to grab their lands. As Mr. Reddy and his party failed to present an alternative narrative on the Act, the NDA alliance successfully raked up this issue in the last phase of the election campaign.

The result puts Mr. Naidu in a formidable position in the NDA negotiating table and he is once again in the driving seat, both at the Centre and the State. People are hopeful that he will be able to secure the Centre's financial backing and investments that are crucial for the development of the State.

AAP loses to BJP in Delhi, bags 3 seats in Punjab

Jaideep Deo Bhanj
NEW DELHI

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) had a disappointing outing in the Lok Sabha election, winning just three of the 22 seats it contested across Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, and Assam. It was, however, an improvement from the party's performance in the 2014 and 2019 elections, when it won a lone seat.

Keen to showcase its *kaam ki rajneeti* (politics of work), the INDIA bloc member had drawn a hard bargain with the Congress not only for the seat-sharing alliance in the national capital but also for the Bharuch seat in Gujarat, where the Congress had to deny ticket to Faisal Patel, son of late Congress stalwart Ahmed Patel.

Senior AAP leader Gopal Rai said the party was happy to be increasing its representation in Parliament with its wins in Punjab. The Delhi result showed that it had managed to reduce the BJP's margin of victory. The party lost all four seats in Delhi, where it is in power.

In the two seats in Assam that it contested independently – Dibrugarh and Sonitpur – the AAP stood third. In Gujarat, it was placed second in Bharuch and Bhavnagar, which it had contested as part of the INDIA bloc. In Haryana's Kurukshetra seat, where it contested as part of the INDIA bloc, the AAP candidate came second to the BJP's Naveen Jindal. Of the 13 seats it contested in Punjab, the AAP won Sangrur, Hoshiarpur, and Anandpur Sahib.

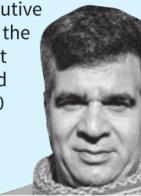
VERDICT 2024

Who said what



BJP-led NDA under the leadership of Modi is forming the government for the third consecutive term, given that the trends show that the Congress-led INDIA bloc is 100 seats behind us

RAVINDER RAINA
J&K BJP president



BJP is not able to get a clear majority in the name of Prime Minister Modi. In such a situation, he should now withdraw his name from the candidature for the post of Prime Minister

ASHOK GEHLOT
Former Rajasthan CM



INDIA alliance resorted to lies about ending reservations and changing the Constitution. I think their lies have slightly worked (in their favour). However, the NDA will form a government with a clear majority

VISHNU DEO SAI
Chhattisgarh CM



We contested the poll in adverse circumstances. The number of MPs in Punjab will increase. In Delhi, we gave a strong fight to the BJP and the margins are narrow this time (as compared to 2019)

GOPAL RAI
AAP leader



After the victory, our collective responsibilities have increased. Let bygones be bygones. What happened during the poll did not suit Maharashtra politics and it should be avoided in the State election

SUPRIYA SULE
NCP (SP) leader



JJP leader and former Haryana Deputy Chief Minister Dushyant Chautala. FILE PHOTO

Chautala-led factions in Haryana put up a dismal show

Ashok Kumar
GURUGRAM

The Chautalas, who were a force to reckon with in Haryana politics for decades until a split in the Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) led to the formation of the Jannayak Janta Party (JJP) in 2018, put up a dismal show in the Lok Sabha election, with all their candidates set to lose their security deposits and two even trailing behind the NOTA (None of the Above) vote count.

Among the prominent losers from the two parties, INLD secretary general and the party's lone MLA Abhay Chautala was the distant third in Kurukshetra Lok Sabha constituency, as per the latest Election Commission of India figures, with over 78,000 votes, while BJP's Naveen Jindal polled over 5,42,000 votes. Similarly, former Deputy Chief Minister Dushyant Chautala's mother and JJP candidate Naina Chautala finished fifth with a little over 22,032 votes, just behind her sister-in-law and INLD candidate Sunaina Chautala, who polled 22,303 votes.

JJP leader and former Haryana Deputy Chief Minister Dushyant Chautala, in a post on X on Tuesday, said he was proud of the voters who had cast their ballot to strengthen the country, Constitution, and democracy. "On the other hand, I seek an apology for not being able to live up to your expectations while being in power," he said. He also thanked the people of Haryana and JJP party volunteers.

The INLD's Gurgaon Lok Sabha candidate Sorab Khan and JJP's Faridabad candidate Nalin Hooda were trailing behind the NOTA vote count at the time the edition went to the press. Moreover, the candidates of the Bahujan Samaj Party, which does not have a single MLA in the current Haryana State Assembly, were ahead of INLD and JJP candidates in around six seats.

Before the split, the INLD, however, had won two Lok Sabha seats in the 2014 general election despite the 'Modi wave', with its candidates Dushyant Chautala and Charajeet Singh Rori winning from Hisar and Sirsa respectively.

The INLD was hit hard by the conviction of its chief and former Haryana Chief Minister Om Prakash Chautala in the JBT teachers recruitment scam in 2013.

Later, the JJP, formed after a split in the party, lost its core Jat voters to the Congress after it entered into an alliance with the BJP following the 2019 Assembly election and did not support the farmers' agitation against the now-withdrawn farm laws.

Even after snapping ties with the BJP in March this year, the JJP has continued to face the farmers' ire. The JJP candidates and leaders were confronted by the State's farmers and prevented from entering villages to campaign.

Fighting for the party's survival, Mr. Abhay Chautala took out a 215-day "padayatra (foot march)" last year and travelled through all 90 Assembly constituencies of the State to reconnect with the electorate ahead of the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections and reclaim the political ground ceded to its breakaway group. But his efforts do not seem to have paid many dividends.

U.P.'s western region proved to be the wind vane of the State

Despite getting RLD on board to cut its losses, BJP could win only 13 of 26 seats in the region; it won 18 seats in 2019; biggest upset came in Muzaffarnagar, where SP's Harendra Malik defeated Union Minister Sanjeev Balyan in a tightly fought contest

NEWS ANALYSIS

Anuj Kumar
GHAZIABAD

In the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)'s reduced score in Uttar Pradesh, the Western and adjoining central parts of the State played the role of a wind vane. The BJP was aware of the change in the political climate. That is why it got on board Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD) to reduce the losses in the region affected by farmers' agitation and protests against the treatment meted out to the women wrestlers.

Despite the RLD's muscle and the BSP staying out of the Indian National Developmental, Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) bloc, out of the 26 seats, the NDA has won only 13 seats. In 2019, its tally was 18.

In the first round, the INDIA bloc won six of the eight seats. The BJP secured only the Pilibhit seat, while Nagina went to Chandra Shekhar Azad of the Azad Samaj Party (Kanshi Ram). In 2019, the Opposition alliance of Samajwadi Party (SP), Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), and RLD won five of these seats.

The biggest upset came from Muzaffarnagar, where, in the clash between two Jat powerhouses, SP's Harendra Malik defeated Union Minister Sanjeev Balyan in a close contest.

RLD sources said while the party won both the seats it contested – Bijnor and Baghat – and has minimised the BJP's losses in other seats, the result could spiral problems for



Jubilation: Samajwadi Party supporters celebrate the party's lead during the counting of votes in Lucknow on Tuesday. PTI

the alliance in the region. Mr. Balyan's supporters have accused the RLD of not going full tilt to ensure the victory of the BJP's Jat face, who rose to prominence after the 2013 Muzaffarnagar riots and defeated the then RLD chief Ajit Singh in 2019.

Mr. Balyan was also facing the wrath of the Thakurs in the region, who felt that he was undercutting the influence of the party's Rajput strongman Sangeet Som, also a product of the Muzaffarnagar riots. Thakur leaders had accused the BJP of taking their community for granted and promoting Jats and Gurjars

who joined the party just ahead of the elections. This discontent in the BJP cadre about the last-minute entrants getting a disproportionate share of the political pie was felt across the State. Mr. Balyan's task was made all the more difficult by the BSP, which fielded a Prajapati candidate who secured around 1.40 lakh votes.

Initial flip-flops

The results also reflect that the SP's initial flip-flops in candidate selection and dissonance between the party leadership and senior leader Azam Khan over the Rampur and Mora-

dabad picks did not cost the party, as the Muslim vote remained steadfast with the SP across the State.

In the second round, the BJP swept all eight seats. Danish Ali Khan, who won the Amroha seat in 2019 on a BSP ticket, contested on the Congress symbol this time but lost to BJP's Kanwar Singh Tanwar by a small margin after a see-saw battle. Here, the BSP's Muslim Rajput candidate spoilt the chances of Mr. Khan by securing more than 1.60 lakh votes.

An important takeaway from the round was that the victory margins of the

BJP in seats where its candidates were facing anti-incumbency has come down drastically. For instance, in Aligarh, BJP's Satish Gautam won the seat for the third time by only around 15,000 votes. In 2019, the margin was around 2.25 lakh votes.

Similarly, in Meerut, where Arun Govil was brought in to tide over the anti-incumbency of the outgoing candidate and create a Hindutva wave in the region managed to secure the seat by around 10,000 votes after a hard-fought battle in which he trailed for the greater part of the day.

It was at a rally in Aligarh that Prime Minister Narendra Modi, instead of mentioning the '400 paar' slogan, shifted the crux of his speech to Hindu-Muslim rhetoric, leading to speculations.

It reflected in the third round, fought in the SP bastion, where the BJP has lost six of the 10 seats. In 2019, when Shivpal Yadav's party was also in the fray, the BJP had won eight seats. It was the round in which Akhilesh Yadav's call to save democracy and reservation reached the grassroots, and the BJP could not find a counter to slay the doubts that took root in the minds of the voters in the Mandal belt.

On April 17, in a joint press conference with Congress leader Rahul Gandhi in Ghaziabad, Mr. Yadav said, "The winds of change that would start from Ghaziabad will end in Ghazipur." The results show he understood the sentiments in U.P. better than the PM.



Manish Tewari secured nearly 2.16 lakh votes. PTI

Cong's Tewari wins LS seat of Chandigarh by 2,504 votes

Vikas Vasudeva
CHANDIGARH

Congress leader and former Union Minister Manish Tewari, the Indian National Developmental, Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) bloc candidate for Chandigarh, wrested the seat from the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP)'s Sanjay Tandon. Mr. Tewari secured nearly 2.16 lakh votes and won by a slender margin of 2,504 votes.

Mr. Tewari was fielded jointly by Congress and Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) to take on Mr. Tandon, who replaced the sitting Lok Sabha member Kirron Kher. The BJP won Chandigarh Lok Sabha in the general elections of 2014 and 2019. The BJP's decision to drop Ms. Kher to offset anti-incumbency appears to have not worked. The Congress targeted the BJP over its "non-performance" and "unfulfilled promises" during the last ten years in the city.

The campaign of the INDIA bloc candidate was centred around local issues. However, Mr. Tewari also talked spoke about the "threat" to democracy and the Constitution in his campaign speeches.

BJP snatches Chhindwara from the Nath family, makes a clean sweep in M.P.; aggressive campaign pays off

Mehul Malpani
BHOPAL

Following an aggressive campaign in Madhya Pradesh's Chhindwara, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) clinched the former State Chief Minister Kamal Nath's bastion from the Congress in the Lok Sabha election. BJP candidate Vivek Buntty Sahu defeated Mr. Kamal Nath's son and incumbent MP Nakul Nath by over 1.13 lakh votes.

Chhindwara Lok Sabha seat was represented nine times by the former Chief Minister and once by his wife Alka Nath. It was the only among the State's 29 seats that the Congress won in the 2019 general election, with Mr. Nakul Nath securing it by a margin of 37,536 votes.

This time, however, the BJP appeared determined to wrest the constituency from the Congress and make a clean sweep in the State. Starting early, the party went ahead with an



Former Chhindwara MP Kamal Nath (second from left) with Jitu Patwari (left), the Congress State unit chief, on Tuesday. ANI

The Chhindwara seat was represented nine times by former CM Kamal Nath and once by his wife Alka

aggressive strategy against the Nath family with senior BJP leaders and State Ministers, including Kailash Vijayvargiya and Prahlad Singh Patel, camping in Chhindwara for weeks. Chief Minister Mohan Yadav, former CM Shivraj Singh Chouhan and other

senior leaders held a number of rallies in Chhindwara. In fact, soon after the Assembly poll last year, Mr. Chouhan had informally launched the party's campaign in the constituency, where the Congress had won all seven Assembly segments. Even though Mr. Chouhan was replaced with Mr. Yadav days later, the party's outreach continued. Union Home Minister Amit Shah also held a roadshow in the seat. The BJP's strategy in-

cluded inducting several Congress leaders, ranging from ground-level workers to an MLA to several of Mr. Kamal Nath's aides.

The Congress's prospects in Chhindwara were also harmed by the rumour that spread in political circles earlier this year – that Mr. Nath, who was the party's CM candidate in the Assembly poll, was reportedly upset by his removal as the party's State unit chief and was poised to join the BJP.

Though Mr. Kamal Nath dismissed the rumours, the speculations put the Congress in an awkward position. Observers said the episode was the reason that no national Congress leader campaigned in the Lok Sabha seat, ensuring that the contest was between the BJP and the Nath family.

Taking to social media platform X on Tuesday, Mr. Kamal Nath said Chhindwara was his family and accepted the results.

A. M. Jigeesha
NEW DELHI

Though Punjab voted emphatically against the BJP, farmer groups are worried that the victory of two independent candidates, Amritpal Singh and Sarabjeet Singh Khalsa, may polarise the society on communal lines.

They also believe that had ruling Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) acted decisively on issues such as drug menace, price rise and farmers' problems, the Congress and AAP could have won all the seats.

"Be it Hindu, Muslim or Sikh fundamentalism, they serve each other's interests. The victory of two supporters of Sikh fundamentalism is in BJP's interest too as it helps the latter consolidate their Hindutva fundamentalist politics," said Bharatiya Kisan Union (Eka Ugrahan) leader Pavel Kussa.

Farmers organisations in the State had run paral-

lel campaigns against the BJP, which observers see as having helped the Congress and AAP secure 10 out of the 13 seats in the State and win Chandigarh.

'Real issues missing'
Mr. Kussa said people were getting alienated from ruling class politics as the real issues were not reflected in campaigns. "AAP tried to fill the vacuum. But when people understood that AAP is not filling this vacuum, votes started going towards fundamentalists," Mr. Kussa said.

The issue of drug abuse, especially among the youth, was also a major campaign point by the independent candidates during the polls.

Households of Dalit agricultural workers have been a victim of this menace. There were complaints that the AAP government did not act decisively despite promises that they will break the drug networks in the State.



People at the centre

The BJP needs to be more constructive, inclusive in approach to nation building

People are, and should be, at the centre of a democracy. The outcome of the 18th general election is an unambiguous reiteration by the people of that tenet. As the verdict unfolded on June 4, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) fell short of an absolute majority in the Lok Sabha, which is a far cry from its claims made during the campaign. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA), which the BJP leads, has, however, won a majority, getting more than 290 seats. The BJP's individual tally is 240, which is 63 fewer than its 2019 strength of 303. Two NDA partners, the JD(U) in Bihar and the TDP in Andhra Pradesh, which have won 12 and 16 Lok Sabha seats, respectively, will hold significant sway in the Lok Sabha, as will other regional parties in general. The verdict of the people cannot be clearer than this – it wants the BJP to be more conciliatory and less confrontational towards the political aspirations of various communities and regions of India. The verdict also shows the limits of communal polarisation as a mobilisation strategy, which turned out to be the mainstay of the BJP's campaign. The outcome holds the BJP accountable, and demands it be more constructive. The BJP must heed that message in a democratic spirit, and reorient itself to the reality of the reemergence of coalition politics after 10 years.

The Congress, which nearly doubled its 2019 tally to reach 99 seats, has restored its position as the other pole of Indian politics, though it finished a distant second. It too should respect the verdict, and resist any temptation to attempt any post-poll coalition at this moment. The pre-poll coalition led by the Congress – INDIA – has not crossed the halfway mark, while the NDA has. Respect for the people requires all parties to remain steadfast to their pre-poll alliances and positions. The Congress has managed to form and lead an alliance in spite of the many internal contradictions, and its leader, Rahul Gandhi, has elevated himself in the public eye as a challenger to Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The Congress organisation, strategy and communication worked for it this time, while the BJP came up short on all three factors when measured against its claims. The party runs a serious key person risk, with its campaign, strategy and thinking all dependent on one person, Narendra Modi. The overwhelming charisma and style of Mr. Modi served the party well in 2014 and 2019, but the same factors were corroding the party's organisational strengths and withering its regional and local leadership. These factors, and the accumulated anti-incumbency of two terms, caught up with the BJP. Still, that it won a third term, though in alliance, is remarkable. Its ideological agenda has taken deep roots in its strongholds, enabling it to win what it has even amid clamour about inflation, unemployment and other livelihood issues. By winning a seat in Kerala, the BJP breached a fortress, and by defeating the BJD in Odisha, the party has captured the imagination of a new terrain. That said, the people did not take kindly to its strategy of portraying its return to power as an inevitable fate of Indian democracy.

The Congress strategy of making livelihood issues and equity questions the core of its campaign seemed to have worked well in its direct contests with the BJP in Karnataka and Rajasthan. Both parties that operate at the national level should learn the right lessons from this verdict. The lifeblood of Indian democracy is its diversity and the BJP has been less than respectful of that in the last 10 years. The new government will be required to deal with two particular questions that are critical to India's federalism and diversity – the delimitation of Lok Sabha constituencies after the publication of the first Census after 2026; and the ongoing work of the 16th Finance Commission which is scheduled to submit its report in 2025. Both these call for political wisdom, wide consultations and maturity. The verdict for a coalition government at the Centre underscores the diversity of India, and the role of States and regional political parties in its federalism. Coalitions are not a deficiency in a plural democracy, but quite the opposite. Rather than attempting inorganic and transactional coalitions, both the Congress and the BJP should nurture genuine, organic coalitions with regional parties and social groups. Enforcement of uniformity cannot be the aim of a federal polity, and the people have spoken on this issue loud and clear in 2024.

The outcome of 2024 should also put to rest the unnecessary fear mongering about EVMs, though serious and urgent steps are required to reinforce public trust in the electoral process. EVMs have been around for long enough, and until now, have recorded results that align with what campaigners and observers report from the field. Responsible leaders and parties should not amplify conspiracy theories. The Election Commission of India (ECI) faced a lot of flak, largely for justifiable reasons, and the remedy cannot be combative rebuttals but more confidence building. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, the 2024 elections turned out to be proof yet again of the vitality of India's democracy and its electoral system, and the ECI deserves credit. An issue that requires the attention of the ECI and the government is the function of exit polls. The speculative hysteria that it generates ahead of the actual results is hardly an innocent sport. Exit polls could influence stock markets, for one, and many of the channels have business interests and are heavily invested in the markets.

India has once again proved to itself and the world that it is a vibrant, functioning democracy. The new government has a responsibility to live up to the expectations of the people, and they are much more than a voter base.

How India read the election, how the BJP reads the result

Five years ago, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) promulgated the phrase, 'aayega toh Modi hi' (in the end, Modi will come'). At the time, the phrase communicated an efflorescence of support, particularly in the wake of a national tragedy and a subsequent government response in Pakistan. As the 2024 election came around, 'aayega toh Modi hi' gave way to a new slogan – 'Abki baar 400 paar' (this time, more than 400 seats). The party imagined the election less as a contest and more as an appointment. While the chattering classes were focused on whether the BJP would win 240 seats or 340 seats, the average voter we spoke to understood the real implications of total control and this raised anxieties about democratic erosion. It is these anxieties that framed the contours of the 2024 elections.

Crossing a red line

For so many years, the BJP has sought to defend itself against concerns of democratic erosion by pointing to the electoral support it receives. In this way, the BJP constructed its "democratic legitimacy" from its extraordinary performance in elections. But, democratic legitimacy is not about just winning elections. It is about winning fair elections. In the run-up to the elections, two Opposition Chief Ministers were jailed and countless important Opposition political leaders had to fight against investigative agencies or the tax department. The once-hallowed Election Commission of India (ECI) seemingly acted in a partisan manner in not censuring the Prime Minister and others for blatant violations of the Model Code of Conduct. The traditional media often refused to cover the campaign of the Opposition parties and concerns. This fed into the perception that elections were meant to be a foregone conclusion, a performative exercise.

It crossed a red line. The political theorist Robert Dahl argued that democracies require the citizens, as a whole, to be able to choose between all political actors and parties – that they can essentially compete on equal footing. Of course, all of this can be hard to measure. But in principle, there should be an "equality of opportunity" for all viewpoints and all political actors to be heard. It may be hard to define, but it is easy to spot when this equality is missing. This is why political theorist Adam Przeworski noted that a "minimal condition" of democracy is that political "alternation" is plausible, i.e., the ruling party loses from time to time.

In short, democratic erosion occurs when institutional manipulation entrenches a particular political actor or party in power. Some have argued that India's institutions will naturally be compromised when one party dominates. But to the democracy theorist, the causal arrow runs in the other direction – domination occurs when the state's core institutions have been compromised.

While this might seem like high-minded



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theory, these concerns express themselves in myriad ways. In Uttar Pradesh, the Dalit community, in particular, expressed concerns that the Constitution might change. Elsewhere, we heard complaints about the BJP "washing machine" – the use of investigative agencies to coerce popular politicians to defect to the BJP. In the South, many we spoke to expressed a fear that the federal bargain was being compromised, and that their linguistic identities were at risk. These may all sound like specific issues, but their root cause is the same – excessive coercion and manipulation of institutions from the ruling party.

The possible 'national issue'

Other anxieties about democratic erosion were also visible. Apart from the Constitution entering the realm of mass politics, voters recognising the extent of total media control, had turned to social media in search for alternative narratives, others spoke of fear (only after a lot of trust building, necessary to break the sullen silence) and still others of *tanaasahi* (dictatorship). Together, it was these issues that pushed the electoral discourse as it travelled through the seven phases. The sole campaigner, Narendra Modi repeatedly found himself on the back foot, deploying deeply polarising and divisive rhetoric and *ad hominem* attacks on the Congress Party to counter these claims.

The campaign was thus both a reflection and response to voter discontent emerging, in part, from the visible concerns over the democratic legitimacy of the BJP. To the extent that there was a "national issue" in this election, it was framed around concerns of democratic erosion – concerns that cut through, in different ways, across the country. Even those who were committed to voting for Mr. Modi and the BJP expressed a discomfort with the unbridled misuse of power. The election was framed by the BJP as a *fait accompli*. There were no demands that citizens could bring to their leaders, no issues upon which they could hold them accountable. Prime Minister Modi's third term was inevitable.

As the campaign rolled out, the BJP's quest for dominance raised a fundamental question that students of democracy have often grappled with – what does it mean when political parties fail to respond to concerns of citizens and yet entrench themselves in power so deeply and for a prolonged period? What kind of democratic legitimacy does the government derive in crafting and executing policy when elections are no longer seen as contests? These questions were dominant in the average voter's mind.

In some ways, glimpses of these concerns were visible throughout the five years of Modi 2.0. As the BJP sought to centralise power within itself and use the cult of Mr. Modi's personality to undermine formal parliamentary and electoral processes, citizens began to seek alternative sites

to exert democratic pressures. The movement against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act and the farmers' movement – one of the most critical moments in the 2019-24 government – successfully halted a major policy effort. But, it did so outside of formal processes, choosing the streets as the site of exerting democratic pressure rather than political parties, Parliament or even the polling booth. In this sense, what we began witnessing in India was a democratic process in which traditional institutions of the democracy no longer seek or command the same democratic legitimacy. Citizens were seeking alternative, informal sites for exerting democratic pressure to hold the government accountable.

As the campaign unfolded, this demand for accountability returned, albeit partially to the electoral process. When we spoke to voters about the electoral process, many expressed concerns about the lack of fairness in the process. The debate on electronic voting machine (EVM) manipulation, regardless of the truth, had percolated into the chatter in the rural hinterlands. It was this frustration and growing de-legitimisation of the BJP's democratic credentials that, to the Opposition's credit, it was able to harness, ultimately declaring this as the election to battle for the Constitution. The fact that the BJP had to spend a large part of the last two phases of the election reassuring the population that it would not change the Constitution, suggested that bottom-up feedback mechanisms were indeed working. Even concerns from farmers' protest, that had moved outside of the formal, democratic process, eventually found their way into the electoral arena. The BJP sustained some of its heaviest losses in the States of Haryana, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh that had been touched by the protests.

Looking ahead

As we look forward to what happens next, much will depend on how the BJP reads the result. The BJP remains the single largest party in India and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) will likely form the government with Narendra Modi as Prime Minister again. From his days in Gujarat to his meteoric rise to power at the Centre in 2014, political centralisation has been core to Prime Minister Modi's model of governance. There is little to suggest that he will change tack now. This forms the critical question for governance going forward. Will the BJP continue to walk down the path of political centralisation that we have been seeing since 2014, or will it recognise the limits that the Indian voter has placed on it? If it chooses to ignore this message, new sites of resistance will open up, but these will unlikely be within the confines of democratic institutions, as we have traditionally known. And it is in this interplay between the political centralisation and resistance, that the next chapter of India's democratic history will be written.

The average voter's anxieties framed the contours of the 2024 election, and much will depend on how the BJP responds to this

The site of a major political earthquake

In a moment that mirrors the two times when the dominant party of the country tasted political defeat (the Congress in 1977 and 1989), the stormy winds of change have emerged from the Hindi heartland in 2024. While the Narendra Modi-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) might scrape past an absolute defeat, its all-conquering political warship also seems to have ruptured over the choppy political waters of the Gangetic plain.

Out of the 225 odd seats that form part of the Hindi heartland, the NDA has been restricted to 149 seats, a loss of 31 seats. The INDIA bloc, meanwhile, touched 74 seats.

The return of 'normal politics'

The BJP's seat-share in the Hindi belt had hovered close to 80% in the last two elections, having steamrolled both the Congress and opposing Mandal formations. In this general election, the BJP's seat share in the region has dropped markedly to around 60%, a shade above the 55% threshold the saffron party skirted around in the late 1990s (in 1996, 1998 and 1999). In that respect, the BJP's current performance aligns more with its traditional strengths in the region but falls much below the high watermark of the two Modi waves.

Broadly, it marks the return of 'normal politics' in the Hindi heartland.

Apart from the headline narrative of a receding Modi wave and the uneven performance of the ruling BJP, the Hindi heartland throws up a mishmash of mini-narratives, varying on a State-by-State basis.

The State of Uttar Pradesh, arguably, represents the biggest political earthquake of the election. The INDIA bloc has bested the NDA alliance 43-36 seats. The Samajwadi Party (SP), at 37 seats, has emerged as the single largest party, trouncing the BJP in the critical Purvanchal region.

For the first time since 2014, the SP's Mandal politics has overpowered the Hindu nationalism of the BJP. This has been achieved through a



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well-executed strategy of including Dalits in an enlarged Mandal coalition (what the SP leader Akhilesh Yadav terms the Pichda-Dalit-Alpsankhyak or PDA block). The party's increasing representation to Dalits (including in non-reserved seats), along with its alliance with the Congress, succeeded in taking away a section of Dalits from the Bahujan Samaj Party and the BJP towards the INDIA bloc. The BJP's loss in Ayodhya to the Dalit face of the SP, Awadhesh Prasad, represents a memorable capstone to the SP's winning strategy.

The only solace for the BJP might lie in its impressive performance in western Uttar Pradesh, partly helped by its alliance with the Rashtriya Lok Dal. The Congress, meanwhile, registered its best performance in the State since 2009, winning six seats. The Congress's surge in its erstwhile stronghold of Awadh, was made possible on the back of the unstinting support it received from the SP, with Akhilesh Yadav joining rallies on behalf of its candidates.

In Bihar, Rajasthan and Haryana

In Bihar, the Janata Dal (United) has matched the performance of the BJP, with both parties winning 12 seats each (the JD(U) contested on one seat less). Unlike earlier Assembly elections in Bihar, the allies of the BJP (the JD(U) and the Lok Janshakti Party) have romped home with a higher strike rate on their contested seats than the BJP. The results point to not just the continual dependence of the BJP on its alliance partners in the State but also increases their bargaining power *vis-à-vis* the BJP ahead of the crucial Assembly elections next year. While the INDIA bloc (Rashtriya Janata Dal-Congress-CPI(ML)) alliance has been restricted to just six seats (up from a single seat), the alliance was able to significantly reduce its vote-share gap with the NDA. The Tejaswi Yadav-led INDIA bloc campaign has also been able to mount a strong narrative on livelihood concerns, which might hold it in good stead for the upcoming Assembly elections.

The elections in Rajasthan and Haryana saw

the budding revival of the Congress in the Hindi belt. Much like Uttar Pradesh, the Congress's fortunes here have been boosted with a return of its Dalit voter base, attracted to its agenda of social justice and protection of the Constitution. While the BJP hung on to the majority of seats in Rajasthan, the Congress managed to pluck eight seats from its grasp. In Haryana, the Congress managed to split the verdict, winning five out of the 10 seats.

The Congress's creditable performance in semi-rural and rural districts in both States owed much to its emphasis on issues of farmer distress and wealth concentration. For the first time since 2009, the Congress swept the Jat belt in Haryana in a national election. Meanwhile, the party also brought back into its fold a large section of the Jats in Rajasthan, once the bedrock of the party in the State, which had steadily deserted it since the late 1990s.

BJP strongholds

The BJP has maintained its strongholds in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, wiping out the Congress in Madhya Pradesh and restricting it to a solitary seat in Chhattisgarh. Apart from its core Hindutva appeal, what seems to have worked for the BJP is its stable appeal among tribal voters, who have largely stayed within the saffron fold despite Rahul Gandhi's Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra earlier this year. These are also the States where the Modi wave does not appear to have ebbed. The BJP's dominance here partly stems from a lack of a distinct ideological challenge, and partly from a crisis of leadership within the Congress ranks. This election also marks out Madhya Pradesh as the pre-eminent saffron bastion, after Gujarat, deepening its more than two-decade-old dominance of the central State.

The results remind us that the dynamics of the subaltern challenge to Hindutva work much the same here as in other regions, forming a potent ideological counter to the politics of religious majoritarianism.

The results of the Hindi heartland are a reminder that the dynamics of the subaltern challenge can counter the politics of religious majoritarianism

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Now, the verdict

There are three very welcome developments that have arisen from the 2024 Lok Sabha verdict. First, we will now have a very strong Opposition that has been eluding us for many years. Second, the

Bharatiya Janata Party government will have a chance to find the positives from a coalition. Third, as a nation, the electorate has attained a maturity that is becoming scarce in even established democracies elsewhere. The people of

India have spoken and have authoritatively pushed to the front, issues that are at the very core of their concerns. This will help the government in course correction.
R. Narayanan,
Navi Mumbai

Using the power of his vote, the Indian voter has shown who the real boss is in India's democracy. The 'my way or the high way' style of governance was clearly not acceptable.
Devasdas V.,
Talap, Kannur, Kerala

The INDIA bloc has shredded the exit poll 'results' and will step into the 18th Lok Sabha as an effective and robust Opposition unit. The Prime Minister has to shake off the spirit of brute strength and work for the benefit of all

sections across India.
Rajamani Chelladurai,
Palayamkottai, Tamil Nadu



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Change wears the deceptive mask of continuity

The results presage the beginning of the end of the Modi era and also the decade-long domination of the BJP

Indian democracy can now breathe easy. The core values of the Constitution, which came under severe stress in the past 10 years, now stand well-protected. The BJP's politics of communal polarisation, which looked invincible, has been held in check. The people of India have given their verdict in the 18th Lok Sabha elections, and the verdict is for change.

At first glance, this may sound paradoxical, even false. How can it be said that the voters have given a mandate for change when the BJP, which has been in power since 2014, has again emerged as the single largest party in the lower house of Parliament and is, therefore, all set to lead the next government? But the way to read the outcome of the 2024 elections is to see that change has come wearing the deceptive mask of continuity.

Modi will commence his new innings on Raisina Road with reduced authority and diminished legitimacy. That shrinkage in power and popular prestige will by itself herald a rapid transformation in Indian politics, presaging the beginning of the end of the Modi era and also the decade-long domination of the BJP. The nation's political landscape will change significantly in the months and years to come, well ahead of the next parliamentary elections.

To the extent that there is no hung Parliament, this has been a mandate for stability. The NDA, led by the BJP, has crossed the halfway mark of 272 in a house of 543 seats. By ensuring political stability, the collective wisdom of the electorate has given the next government an opportunity to rule without facing immediate trials and tremors. This is good for India's democratic polity.

Nevertheless, the reduced numbers of the BJP — at least 60 less than the 303 seats it had won in 2019 — provide only one of the several reasons why Mr. Modi is a diminished leader today. He had begun his campaign with the bombastic slogan of "Abki baar 400 paar" (the NDA will win more than 400 seats). "Ek akela sab par bhaari (I alone am enough to vanquish all of you)," he had thundered in a chest-thumping speech



Prime Minister Narendra Modi with BJP chief J.P. Nadda in New Delhi on Tuesday. ANI

mocking the Opposition, in Parliament in 2023. The voters have now shown him his place.

Clearly, the days of Mr. Modi's politics of arrogance are over. He and Home Minister Amit Shah will no longer be able to misuse with impunity the Enforcement Directorate, the Central Bureau of Investigation, the Income Tax Department, and other coercive instruments of governance against their political opponents in a sham campaign against corruption. Even the media, large sections of which had been muzzled and turned into messengers of the BJP's politics of hate, will begin to reassert its independence. So, too, will the judiciary. Therefore, the

verdict has come as oxygen to an endangered democracy that would have been gasping for breath had the predictions of the exit polls come true.

New worries

But beyond his shrunken numbers, Mr. Modi will now have a new worry he never imagined would plague his third term. To stay in office, he will have to depend on two allies whose support cannot be taken for granted for the ensuing five-year term — the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) led by Chandrababu Naidu and the Janata Dal (United) led by Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar. He will have to keep them in good hu-

mour to ensure cohesiveness of the new coalition government.

Mr. Modi's biggest headache will come from the erosion in cohesiveness within his own party. For the past 10 years, he, ably assisted by Mr. Shah, has controlled the BJP with unquestioned authority. But that luxury will now be denied to him and Mr. Shah. This is because two big States, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra, where the party has suffered its worst setback in this election, will almost surely slip out of the BJP's hands whenever the Assembly polls are held there. Mr. Modi, who made U.P. his own 'home' State by contesting from Varanasi, has to take the highest share of blame for the BJP's poor performance in the State. The third "strongman" in the party, U.P. Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath, has also been weakened by the party's dismal showing. Add to these troubles the fact that the relations between Mr. Modi and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) are not at their harmonious best. Indeed, the RSS cadre did not work enthusiastically for the BJP's victory this time.

Cumulatively, therefore, "Who after Modi?" is a question that will begin to be asked increasingly in the time to come, and it will have no clear answers. This itself will open up the political space for new competitions and alignments

both within and outside the BJP.

No more hegemony

When the BJP won 88 seats in the 1989 general elections, which was a huge jump from its 1984 tally of a paltry two, L.K. Advani, the then party president, had famously quipped: "The winner comes second!" Subsequent developments proved him right because the BJP kept up its winning spree and succeeded in forming a coalition government of its own in 1998. The same quip can be said about the Congress this time, even though its jump from 52 to close to 100 is not quite as spectacular. Rahul Gandhi has revitalised the Congress, and its graph can only go up from here. Undoubtedly, the revival of the Congress at the national level — along with the strong showing of the SP, the TDP, the JD(U), the Shiv Sena (UBT), the NCP (SP), the Trinamool Congress, and others at the regional level — suggests that the BJP's hopes of further consolidating its hegemony over the nation's polity lie shattered. True, the BJP has managed to add Odisha to its bag of State governments. But, overall, these elections mark the start of the party's descent from the pole position it occupied in the nation's politics for the past 10 years.

India has changed. Let's welcome and accelerate this change.



Sudheendra Kulkarni

was a close aide to India's former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee

Shrinkage in power, prestige

It sometimes happens, albeit rarely in history, that the seeds of a victor's defeat are sown by his victory itself. This is what has happened. Narendra Modi will in all likelihood be sworn in as India's Prime Minister for the third time in a row. That is by any yardstick a phenomenal achievement. Only Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi have achieved this feat in the past. Yet, in his hour of historic success, Mr.

The similarities between two very different States

The results in Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu herald the possibilities of a new form of progressivism

Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu have little in common. The landlocked State of Uttar Pradesh is the largest in the Hindi heartland. It is one of the poorest States by per capita income and depends heavily on services and agriculture to employ citizens. Tamil Nadu is a coastal State in the deep south. It is among the richest States with a strong industrial and manufacturing base and houses perhaps the lowest share of Hindi-speaking people. U.P. Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath is a Hindutva hard-liner who wears his religiosity literally on his sleeve and does not shy away from blatant dog-whistling and minority-bashing to secure votes for his party. On the other hand, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.K. Stalin belongs to the DMK, a party that comes from a tradition of rationalism. He leads the Secular Progressive Alliance that includes parties that share an ideological oneness on the key issue of the plurality of the Indian nation.

victory against a BJP that was peaking in the Lok Sabha elections in almost every other State, while the Adityanath-led BJP in U.P. decisively defeated a 'Bahujan' coalition of the SP and the BSP.

The case of Tamil Nadu

Yet, in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, these two States showed some remarkable similarities. The DMK-led alliance in Tamil Nadu secured all the 39 seats (plus one in Puducherry), which could be explained by some as the consequence of the splintering of the BJP-AIADMK alliance. But that would only be a partial reading. The collective vote share of the DMK-led alliance was nearly 10% points higher than that of the combined vote shares of the AIADMK and BJP-led alliances. The fact remains that this victory was yet another ideological defeat of the BJP and the politics that it stands for.

The DMK built its support base on the ideology of social justice. Among the others in the alliance, the Congress seeks to remain the



A Samajwadi Party supporter carries portraits of Akhilesh Yadav and Rahul Gandhi as he celebrates the SP's lead in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh. AP

legatee of the organisation that led the freedom movement and embodied the secular Constitution after Independence; the Left aspires to make the idea of economic justice and equality more broad-based; and the VCK represents the interests of the marginalised Dalits in the State. The ideological coherence of this alliance was made possible by each of these parties shedding some of their respective antipathies towards each other: the DMK's acceptance of the Con-

gress as an ally required it to tone down its strident Tamil sub-nationalism in favour of an inclusive idea of a federal India, while the Congress aligned with the DMK despite historical differences. The Left aligned with the Congress by overcoming its own ideological reading of the latter as a representative of its class antagonists, while the VCK overcame the idea of being a "Dalit exclusionary" party to find common strands that connected it with its allies. The com-

munitarian IUML also adopted the language of secularism to secure its place in the alliance.

The BJP's emphasis on Hindutva, jingoism, social harmony between the privileged and the marginalised, and status quo over social justice, and the suzerainty of its one leader over that of a coalition of parties in power, rendered the DMK-led alliance a natural ideological adversary of it.

The case of U.P.

Meanwhile, the Samajwadi Party and the Congress coalition also managed a cohesion that went beyond an alliance of necessity. The SP adopted a new language of social justice that transcended old Mandal politics. It sought to represent the aspirations of a new coalition of "Pichdas" (backwards), Dalits, Alpasankhyaks (minorities), and Adivasis. It did so by fielding candidates from different Other Backward Classes and groups beyond its Yadav-Muslim base. The Congress made a strong pitch for safeguarding the Constitution and projected itself as a legitimate

vehicle of social justice. This ideological clarity brought the coalition substantial dividends.

A large section of people belonging to the "Bahujan" coalition of Dalits, backward communities, and minorities repeatedly emphasised their fear about changes to the Constitution, despaired over the ruling government's apathy towards their joblessness and poverty, and expressed anger over corruption in examinations for government postings. It was clear that the coalition's agenda was making a mark in the elections. Despite its best efforts to polarise the electorate, the BJP could manage less than half the seats in the State to which Ayodhya belongs (as part of Faizabad constituency).

After years in the wilderness, the Congress won six seats in U.P., while the SP won 38 out of the 80 seats. The 43-seat haul in U.P. and the sweep of 40 seats in Tamil Nadu and Puducherry provided a large bulk of INDIA's wins. Importantly, it also brought out the commonalities in the politics of social justice in two different States.



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The verdict points to the importance of economic issues

The crises of unemployment and persisting low wages, inadequate livelihoods from self-employment, and rising prices of essentials were all effectively ignored by the Modi government

The results of the Lok Sabha elections have come as a shock to those who had mistakenly believed in the problematic exit polls, which continued the narrative so assiduously cultivated by the Modi government. Many pundits who had confidently justified those false predictions have already jumped to explain the actual results. One main explanation is that the INDIA alliance emphasised social justice and the caste census, stitched up more astute coalitions, and made sharper candidate choices in terms of caste.

es, inadequate livelihoods from self-employment, and rising prices of essentials were all effectively ignored by the Modi government, both in its policy actions and in its campaign. The results show that these bread-and-butter issues continue to define the lives of the majority of people in the country.

This is where the promises made by the INDIA alliance, especially the Congress, may have been significant, especially in parts of the Hindi heartland such as Uttar Pradesh. Unlike the Modi regime, and sections of the media that faithfully reproduced the BJP's voice, these parties focused on issues of livelihood and employment, along with social justice. Their promises undoubtedly resonated with much of the electorate.

The focus on justice for youth, women, farmers, and workers, as well as dignity through social justice, which was highlighted in the Congress manifesto for example, necessarily implies a major shift in economic policy. In fact, what is required is nothing short of a fundamental transformation. The



A woman in Mayurbhanj district of Odisha. BISWARANJAN ROUT

most important shift is to move back to a framework of human rights, especially social and economic rights, rather than seeing public goods and services delivery as "gifts" from the state or a supreme leader.

This requires two immediate changes in the economic policy framework. The first is ensuring

basic social and economic rights for everyone by expanding the right to work (through a better funded and more flexible MGNREGA as well as the introduction of an urban employment guarantee scheme); the right to food, which is still inadequate and denied to at least 100 million Indians; the right to education, based on public delivery rather than expensive and exclusionary private education; the right to social security, especially through universal pensions provided at half the minimum wage to the elderly and those unable to work for other reasons; and the right to health, once again through public delivery.

The second is to create jobs to address the frustrated aspirations of millions of young people. This must become the primary economic goal. This requires expansion of public employment. First, vacancies need to be filled and all public workers, including "scheme" workers, need to be regularised. The needs of micro, small and medium enterprises, which have been battered by the

policy mistakes of the past decade, need to be delivered through a comprehensive package covering credit, access to new technologies and training, infrastructure provision, and marketing assistance. Farming continues to be in crisis. The valid demands of the farmers' movement need to be taken on board, ideally after a special session of Parliament devoted to discussing them in detail. Special attention needs to be paid to the ongoing impact of climate change and higher temperatures.

Much has been made of the "new welfareism" of the Modi government. But it is more accurately described as "the new branding around welfareism". Successive governments at the Centre and State have been oriented to the provision of welfare schemes, which are necessary given continuing poverty and poor human development indicators across much of the country. The Modi government advertised its interventions as completely new when these are, in fact, merely continuations or expansions of old schemes; or as

gifts from the Prime Minister. Instead, they need to be advertised as ways of fulfilling citizens' rights. For example, the free food ration has been touted as a major gift to around 800 million people. But in effect, the food being offered under the Public Distribution System under the National Food Security Act, 2013, brought in by the previous United Progressive Alliance government was already heavily subsidised — at only ₹2 per kg of wheat and ₹3 per kg of rice. So, this was not such a big difference. We need a shift from promises of welfare as "gifts" to a reaffirmation of the discourse on rights.

Revival of federalism

An important shift that is likely to result from this election is the revival of federalism, away from the undemocratic centralisation evident over the past decade. State governments are responsible for most of the public service delivery that affects people: it is critical for them to be able to provide these without interference, control and partisanship from the Centre.



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Big win for Congress-led UDF in Kerala, BJP opens account

United Democratic Front sweeps 18 of the 20 Lok Sabha seats while CPI(M)-led Left Democratic Front and BJP-led National Democratic Alliance win one seat each in the State; Congress leader and sitting MP Rahul Gandhi retains the Wayanad seat

The Hindu Bureau
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

Dealing a heavy blow to the CPI(M)-led Left Democratic Front (LDF), the Congress-led United Democratic Front (UDF) on Tuesday swept 18 of the 20 Lok Sabha seats in Kerala, even as Thrissur fell to the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in a remarkable victory for actor-turned-politician Suresh Gopi.

The lone LDF win came through Minister for SC/ST Welfare K. Radhakrishnan of the CPI(M) who wrested Alathur from Congress's sitting MP Remya Haridas.

Senior Congress leader and sitting MP Rahul Gandhi retained the Wayanad seat by a hefty margin of 3.64 lakh votes over his nearest rival, CPI's Annie Raja. Mr. Gandhi won 6,47,445 votes.

In Thiruvananthapuram, sitting MP Shashi Tharoor of the Congress ensured a straight fourth term for himself by scraping past BJP candidate and Union Minister Rajeev Chandrasekhar by a margin of 16,077 votes.

At one point, Mr. Chandrasekhar's lead had soared to over 23,000 votes before it began a nosedive in the final rounds of counting. Mr. Tharoor won 3,58,155 votes. In Kozhikode, M.K. Raghavan (Congress) also ensured a fourth straight term.



Happy moment: NDA candidate Suresh Gopi, who won a thumping victory in Thrissur, and, right, LDF candidate K. Radhakrishnan who won the Alathur seat. K.K. NAJEEB AND K.K. MUSTAFAH

Mr. Suresh Gopi enjoyed a smooth sailing in Thrissur, defeating his nearest rival the CPI's V.S. Sunilkumar by a margin of 74,686 votes. Mr. Gopi won 4,12,338 votes to open the BJP's Lok Sabha account in Kerala. Congress leader K. Muraliedharan was pushed to third position here.

Other than Mr. Sunilkumar and Ms. Raja, the big names in the LDF camp who bit the dust on Tuesday included CPI(M) leaders K.K. Shailaja, T.M. Thomas Isaac, Elamaram Kareem, A. Vijayaraghavan and M.V. Jayarajan, and CPI's Pannian Raveendran.

CPI(M) MLA V. Joy, despite keeping alive LDF hopes for one more seat, eventually bowed to the Congress's Adoor Prakash in a photo-finish race in Attingal.

Minister of State for External Affairs V. Muraliedharan, BJP state president K. Surendran, Shobha Surendran, M.T. Ramesh and Anil Antony were among the BJP names who tasted defeat on Tuesday. Thushar Vellappally of NDA-ally Bharath Dharma Jana Sena (BDJS) finished third in Kottayam.

In the final tally, it was UDF 18, LDF 1, BJP 1.

Building up the UDF score, the Congress retained Kasaragod (Rajmohan Unnithan), Kannur

(KPCCC president K. Sudhakaran), Vadakara (Shafi Parambil), Wayanad (Rahul Gandhi), Kozhikode (M.K. Raghavan), Palakkad (V.K. Sreekandan), Chalakudy (Benny Behanan), Ernakulam (Hibi Eden), Idukki (Dean Kuriakose), Mavelikkara (Kodikunnill Suresh), Pathanamthitta (Anto Antony), Attingal (Adoor Prakash) and Thiruvananthapuram (Shashi Tharoor). The Congress also wrested Alappuzha (K.C. Venugopal) from the CPI(M). The IUML retained Malappuram (E.T. Mohammed Basheer) and Ponnani (Abdusamad Samadani). N.K. Premachandran of RSP won Kollam for a third consecutive term, while Kerala Con-



gress's K. Francis George won in Kottayam.

Alathur, which fell to CPI(M)'s K. Radhakrishnan, and Thrissur, where the BJP triumphed, were earlier held by the Congress.

Exit polls by multiple agencies over the weekend had forecast glad tidings for the Congress-led UDF.

The counting of votes began at 8 a.m. across 20 centres in Kerala on Tuesday, starting with the postal ballots. The electronic voting machines (EVMS) were brought to the counting tables at 8.30 a.m.

As the day progressed, key constituencies including Thiruvananthapuram and Attingal went on to give cliff-hanger moments with the leads swinging between the top candidates. In Attingal, where Mr. Prakash's initial victory margin over V. Joy of the CPI(M) was just 685 votes, prompting the CPI(M) to insist on a recount of the postal ballots. The results are awaited.

Huge victory margins

Half of the Lok Sabha seats in Kerala saw emphatic UDF victories on Tuesday with margins above one lakh. Congress's Rahul Gandhi topped the list with a victory margin of 3,64,422, followed by E.T. Mohammed Basheer of the IUML (3,00,118).

In Karnataka, Cong. fails to break single-digit victory jinx

Nagesh Prabhu
BENGALURU

Armed with its five "guarantees" schemes, the ruling Congress in Karnataka has managed to improve its tally by winning nine seats – up from one in 2019 – but fell short of expectations and conceded 19 Lok Sabha constituencies to the BJP-JD(S) alliance in the State.

The Congress, which won the Assembly election last year with a thumping majority, was unable to sway voters away from the BJP in the Parliamentary election to the extent it had hoped, and break the single-digit victory jinx it has had since 1999.

The BJP and the JD(S), which were decimated in the Assembly election, won 17 seats and two seats, respectively.

Interestingly, in the 2014 Lok Sabha election during Chief Minister Siddaramaiah's first term, the Congress won 9, BJP 17 and JD(S) 2, the exact numbers as now.

Political dynamics

The political dynamics in Karnataka clearly once again demonstrated that the State has always voted differently in Assembly and the Parliamentary elections. The Congress won five constituencies in Kalyana Karnataka, a relatively backward region. Four of the party's candidates won in reserved constituencies.

In the Bengaluru Rural constituency, which saw high-voltage campaign,



Song and dance: BJP supporters celebrating the party's victory in Bengaluru on Tuesday. K. MURALI KUMAR

KPCC president and Deputy Chief Minister D.K. Shivakumar's brother D.K. Suresh suffered a stunning defeat at the hands of eminent cardiologist C.N. Manjunath of the BJP. Dr. Manjunath is the son-in-law of former Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda.

This was the only seat the Congress had won in 2019.

The BJP swept three coastal constituencies as in the past and all the four seats in Bengaluru. The JD(S) that joined the NDA and fought the election in alliance with the BJP in three constituencies won in Mandya and Kolar. It seems to suggest that the political alignment between the parties has yielded positive results.

Caste factor

The dominant Vokkaliga community of the Old Mysore region backed the Congress last year, but seems to have supported

the BJP and the JD(S) in this Parliamentary election. Of the six Vokkaliga candidates fielded by the Congress, only Hassan nominee Shreyas Patel won. He defeated Prajwal Revanna of the JD(S), who is facing multiple sexual abuse cases.

Modi guarantees

In Karnataka, the BJP had crafted a narrative that the Congress's "guarantees" were "short-lived" and it will halt the development works in the State and it propped up what it called "Modi guarantees".

Despite the Congress flagging issues of inflation and unemployment, the party did not see an uptick in votes, particularly in segments that went to the polls in the first phase.

All three former Chief Ministers – H.D. Kumaraswamy in Mandya, Basavaraj Bommai in Haveri, and Jagadish Shettar in Belagavi – registered victories.

Chandrababu Naidu's TDP pushes NDA to victory in Andhra Pradesh

V. Raghavendra
VIJAYAWADA

The TDP-BJP-Janaseena Party alliance pulled off a stunning victory in the Lok Sabha election in Andhra Pradesh over the YSR Congress Party (YSRCP) largely because the latter shot itself in the foot. Telugu Desam Party won 16 of the 25 seats, while the BJP secured three and the Janaseena Party won two. The YSRCP emerged victorious in four constituencies as per the Election Commission (EC) data.

It may be noted that the TDP contested in 17 constituencies and the BJP six and Janaseena Party two as part of the seat-sharing arrangement. The YSRCP waged a lone battle under the leadership of Y.S. Jagan Mohan Reddy.

BJP State president Dagubati Purandeswari won the Rajahmundry Lok Sabha seat with a margin of 2,39,139 votes, while party candidates C.M. Ramesh and Bhupatiraju Srinivasa Varma for Anakapalli and Narsapuram were comfortably placed against their



Back in limelight: TDP national president N. Chandrababu Naidu greeting people in Mangalagiri on Tuesday. G.N. RAO

rivals. Then, there are the Guntur and Vijayawada constituencies where Mr. Reddy's concept of three capitals played its part in triggering the YSRCP's downfall.

It is pertinent to mention that the whole 'capital region' of Amaravati is entirely situated in those two constituencies and the 'capital city' is located in Mangalagiri and Tadikonda Assembly constituencies. Farmers here have been protesting for over four years against the proposed shifting of the capital from Amaravati to Vi-

sakhapatnam under the guise of the so-called decentralisation effort.

Kesineni Shivanath (TDP) pipped his elder brother Kesineni Srinivas (YSRCP), who recently quit the TDP and joined YSRCP, at the post by 2,82,085 votes. Former Lok Sabha Speaker G.M.C. Balayogi's son G.M. Harish (TDP) was leading by 3,35,787 votes in Amalapuram-SC constituency.

Besides, TDP's Pemmasani Chandrasekhar (an NRI businessman who hails from the erstwhile Guntur district), one of the

richest contestants in the country with declared family assets worth an astounding ₹5,790 crore, was leading by a margin of 3,44,695 votes in Guntur.

YSRCP sitting MP M. Gurumothu won in the Tirupati constituency by a majority of 14,569 votes and Y.S. Avinash Reddy (Kadapa) and P.V. Midhun Reddy (Rajampet) were leading by 66,048 votes and 81,818 votes, respectively. Mr. Avinash Reddy's imminent triumph in Kadapa is most noteworthy as it amounted to proving his alleged involvement in the murder of his uncle and former Minister Y.S. Vivekananda Reddy to be a non-issue.

A.P. Congress president and Y.S. Jagan Mohan Reddy's sister Y.S. Sharmila and Vivekananda Reddy's daughter Sunitha Narreddy harped on about the murder to no avail; voters seem to have not bought the theory that Mr. Avinash Reddy played a key role in the crime. Incidentally, Ms. Sharmila was relegated to the third position in Kadapa constituency.

Ravi Reddy
HYDERABAD

The ruling Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in Telangana shared honours in the Lok Sabha election, winning eight seats each with the other seat – Hyderabad – going to AIMIM. The main Opposition Bharat Rashtra Samiti (BRS) drew a blank.

For the Congress and the BJP it was time to celebrate with the two parties doubling their tally of 2019 election as their candidates secured record margins of victory. As many as 11 candidates secured a majority of over 1 lakh votes with Congress nominee from Nalgonda, Kunduru Raghuvver Reddy, securing the highest margin of 5.59 lakh.

No fight

Surprisingly, nowhere did the BRS candidates put a semblance of fight as the final figures started coming out.

In the 2019 election, BRS had won nine seats, BJP four, Congress three and MIM one.



Jubilant mood: Senior leaders of Congress party and supporters celebrate at Gandhi Bhavan, Hyderabad, on Tuesday. NAGARA GOPAL

The clear takeaway from the results was the partial polarisation witnessed in north and central Telangana, where the BJP put up a good fight and retained some of the seats it had held in 2019.

The Congress' six-month rule in the State was put to test and it came out triumphant in eight seats, particularly in the south Telangana region.

The Congress won the Nalgonda, Bhongir, Khammam, Mahabubabad (ST), Warangal SC, Zaheerabad and Nagarkurnool SC reserved seats with impres-

sive margins. For the BJP, its candidates retained the Adilabad, Karimnagar, Nizamabad and Secunderabad seats and wrested the Chevella, Mahabubnagar, Medak and Malkajgiri constituencies.

It was Narendra Modi's charisma that worked for the BJP in north and central Telangana, as the results reveal.

Party candidates during the campaign openly sought support for BJP, asking people to vote for the party "looking at Modi's face".

The communal polarisation in constituencies like Nizamabad, Adilabad and Karimnagar seats with sizeable minority population was amply witnessed and the margin of victory of the BJP candidates only reflected the way the voters had backed the saffron party.

See-saw battle

The urban constituencies like Malkajgiri, Chevella and Secunderabad also saw the BJP getting full backing of the voters. Mahabubnagar was the only seat where the see-saw battle between the BJP and the Congress culminated with the former winning by a slender margin. The oft-repeated slogan of the BJP leaders that they would do away with Muslim reservations caught the attention of the majority community voters.

The disastrous performance of BRS since the Assembly election has continued as its candidates could not match the pace of their political rivals. With each passing round, the BRS candidates continued to be relegated to the third place.

SC declines immediate bail to Manish Sisodia

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court on Tuesday did not give Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) leader Manish Sisodia bail in the Delhi liquor policy case.

A Vacation Bench of Justices Aravind Kumar and Sandeep Mehta, however, gave Mr. Sisodia liberty to "revive" his plea for bail, afresh, as soon as the final chargesheet/prosecution complaint is filed by the CBI and ED, respectively, in the case.

The court recorded an undertaking given by Solicitor General Tushar Mehta, who appeared for the Union government and the ED, that the final chargesheet/prosecution complaint, signalling the completion of investigation in the excise policy case, would be filed in the trial court on or before July 3, 2024.

The court refused to comment on the merits of the case.

"We will not say anything. We will dispose with li-



Manish Sisodia

ED cases, the order is common. We have recorded Mr. Mehta's statement that final chargesheet/complaint will be filed by July 3," Justice Kumar informed the parties in court.

No clarity

The Bench did not clarify whether Mr. Sisodia, who was arrested in February 2023, could apply for bail directly in the Supreme Court or climb up the ladder again from the trial court onwards.

"Where do I 'revive' my

plea for bail? I am inside for 15 months. Let me be very blunt here... Trial courts do not deal with politically sensitive matters," senior advocate Abhishek Manu Singhvi, for Mr. Sisodia, submitted.

Justice Kumar responded there have been instances in the past when judges have sat late into the night to hear bail matters.

The Delhi High Court had refused to grant bail to Mr. Sisodia in the case on May 21 in the liquor policy case.

Sukhoi fighter jet crashes in Nashik

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

An SU-30MKI fighter jet of the Indian Air Force (IAF) crashed in Nashik on Tuesday.

The aircraft was recently overhauled by Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) and was on a test sortie from HAL Nashik at Sirsa gaon, a HAL official said.

"Both the pilots of HAL have ejected to safety. A technical snag was reported by the pilots. The exact



Wrong landing: Remains of the Sukhoi fighter jet after it crashed in Nashik district on Tuesday. PTI

reason will only be known after detailed investigation," the official added. India has procured 272

SU-30 jets from Russia, a bulk of which have been licence-manufactured by HAL in India.

Business

IN BRIEF



PNB board gives nod to pare 10% stake in Canara HSBC Life

Punjab National Bank (PNB) has got board approval for initiating the process to dilute 10% stake in Canara HSBC Life Insurance Company by listing the insurer through an initial public offer. The filing by PNB comes close on the heels of Canara Bank according approval for initiating the process of diluting 14.50% stake in the insurer. "The same shall be subject to approval of RBI and Department of Financial Services, Government of India," Canara Bank said.

Toyota to recall over one lakh U.S. vehicles over engine stall

Toyota will recall more than 1,00,000 SUVs and pickup trucks in the U.S. over debris in the engine potentially causing it to stall, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) said on Tuesday. The recall includes some Toyota Tundra pickup trucks and Lexus LX600 SUVs equipped with the V35A six-cylinder engine. Debris from manufacturing may contaminate the engine, causing the main bearings to fail and in loss of drive power, NHTSA said. REUTERS

'May palm oil imports reach 4-month high on price drop'

India's palm oil imports rose by 12.4% in May from the previous month to reach the highest level in four months as the recent correction in prices led to higher purchases, five dealers said. Higher palm oil purchases by India could support the benchmark Malaysian palm oil futures that fell to their lowest level in more than three months in May. Palm oil imports in May jumped to 7,69,000 metric tons, the highest since January, according to dealer estimates. REUTERS

Sensex slides as BJP to rely on allies

Benchmark index suffers its worst fall since March 2020 by plunging more than 4,300 points, or 5.7%, from Monday's record high; analysts voice apprehensions that a coalition government could slow the BJP's economic reforms agenda

Lalendu Mishra
MUMBAI

India's S&P BSE Sensex suffered its sharpest fall since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020, as the surprise outcome of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) being poised to fail to win a majority on its own in the just concluded Lok Sabha elections triggered frenzied selling that sent the key equity benchmark tumbling more than 8% intraday on Tuesday.

The Sensex nosedived 4,390 points, or 5.7%, from Monday's record high to



Big fall: A man checks stock market news on the big screen as Sensex opened in the red when counting began on Tuesday. ANI

close at 72,079 in the process wiping out the gains of the last four months. All but three of the 30-Sensex stocks ended in the red, with losses led by state-

owned NTPC, which slumped 15.5%. State Bank (14.4%), L&T (12.7%), Power Grid (12.4%), Tata Steel (8.87%), IndusInd Bank (9%) and Reliance (7.5%)

were other heavy losers.

The NSE Nifty's fall was led by Adani Group and PSU stocks. The Nifty-50 slid 5.93% to 21,884.50. Adani Ports fell 21%, Adani Enterprises (19.7%), ONGC (16.2%), NTPC (14.5%) and Coal India (13.5%).

"Stock markets have been expecting a complete majority for the BJP and a thumping victory for the NDA," said Siddharth Bhamre, Head Research at Asit C Mehta Investment Intermediates Ltd. "Exit polls too cemented the expectations. Markets had factored in the best possible outcome and valua-

tions are rich," he added.

"The market is aware of the challenges associated with a coalition government. Now, with election results not being one-sided, we are witnessing profit booking... profit booking may continue for some more time," he added.

A coalition will entail reliance "on allies in making policy decisions and sharing certain cabinet seats, which will lead to policy paralysis and uncertainty in the government's functioning," said Yashvardhan Khemka, senior manager, Research and Analytics, Abans Holdings.

MARKETS

MARKET WATCH

	TUESDAY	% CHANGE
Sensex	72,079	-5.74
US Dollar	83.51	-0.44
Gold	72,900	0.62
Brent oil	77.26	-1.27

NIFTY 50

	PRICE	CHANGE
Adani Enter.....	2941.25	-704.00
Adani Ports.....	1246.95	-335.00
Apollo Hosp.....	5845.70	-5.50
Asian Paints.....	2857.65	-8.80
Axis Bank.....	1131.25	-92.65
Bajaj Auto.....	9246.75	-88.70
Bajaj Finserv.....	1477.30	-98.50
Bajaj Finance.....	6509.55	-406.00
Bharti Airtel.....	1299.70	-91.40
BPCL.....	580.20	-89.95
Britannia Ind.....	5325.10	157.30
Cipla.....	1462.55	10.20
Coal India.....	441.90	-70.45
Divis Lab.....	4324.15	2.25
Dr Reddys Lab.....	5730.80	-52.50
Eicher Motors.....	4495.40	-175.45
Grasim Ind.....	2256.40	-112.40
HCL Tech.....	1303.55	-10.90
HDFC Bank.....	1483.15	-89.05
HDFC Life.....	534.45	-15.65
Hero MotoCorp.....	5310.70	150.10
Hindalco.....	649.05	-46.90
Hind Unilever.....	2496.30	140.40
ICI Bank.....	1071.45	-88.55
IndusInd Bank.....	1391.50	-138.20
Infosys.....	1393.65	-12.25
ITC.....	415.20	-15.15
JSW Steel.....	841.85	-73.45
Kotak Bank.....	1637.95	-80.10
L&T.....	3403.20	-493.95
LTIMindtree Ltd.....	4630.65	-18.75
M&M.....	2572.90	-61.10
Maruti Suzuki.....	12176.05	300.10
NestleIndia.....	2427.75	72.70
NTPC.....	331.25	-60.55
ONGC.....	236.30	-47.80
PowerGrid Corp.....	295.95	-41.70
Reliance Ind.....	2794.55	-226.10
SBI Life.....	1338.85	-52.65
State Bank.....	775.20	-130.45
Shriram Finance Ltd.....	2260.70	-248.45
Sun Pharma.....	1429.85	-23.20
TataConsumerPro-duct.....	1087.00	17.85
Tata Motors.....	903.90	-46.55
Tata Steel.....	158.95	-15.30
TCS.....	3715.00	12.15
Tech Mahindra.....	1239.30	-6.05
Titan.....	3238.95	-22.25
UltraTech Cement.....	9918.30	-551.75
Wipro.....	438.15	-5.95

EXCHANGE RATES

Indicative direct rates in rupees a unit except yen at 4 p.m. on June 04

CURRENCY	TT BUY	TT SELL
US Dollar	83.33	83.65
Euro	90.56	90.91
British Pound	106.25	106.66
Japanese Yen (100)	53.84	54.05
Chinese Yuan	11.51	11.56
Swiss Franc	93.32	93.68
Singapore Dollar	61.82	62.07
Canadian Dollar	60.84	61.09
Malaysian Ringgit	17.72	17.80
Australian Dollar	55.29	55.51

Source:Indian Bank

Indian IT firms saw deal recovery, says BNP Paribas

Mini Tejaswi
BENGALURU

India's IT services companies saw a recovery in deal wins in May, largely driven by banking, financial services and insurance verticals, according to BNP Paribas India.

"Deal wins certainly saw a recovery in May, largely driven by the BFSI segment," said Kumar Rakesh, Analyst - IT & Auto at BNP Paribas.

"Overall, we see deal wins by tech firms started showing some signs of recovery in the last month."

For instance, in the June quarter, Infosys is likely to see revenue contributions



starting from some of the mega deals it signed last year. In May, it also reported the highest monthly number of deal wins, followed by ACN and Capgemini. Infosys' deal with Telstra (TME) and HPE's deal with Commercial bank of Dubai (BFSI) were the deal highlights for May, as per Mr. Rakesh.

BNP Paribas also noticed more partnerships and activities took place around GenAI in May.

"In Generative AI, we noticed more partnerships and activities. Firms announced collaborations and set up different platforms. For instance, TCS is setting up a first-of-its-kind human-centric AI centre of excellence in France."

Also, Infosys became the first IT Services company to receive ISO 42001:2023 Certification for Artificial Intelligence Management System. Plus, the month saw HCL Tech integrating its GenAI platform HCLTech AI Force with Google Gemini.

NCLT rejects JAL's claim of liquidity crunch on govt. delay

Press Trust of India
NEW DELHI

The NCLT, which on Monday ordered initiation of insolvency proceedings against Jaiprakash Associates Ltd. (JAL), rejected the company's contention that it faced a liquidity crunch and defaulted on debt repayments mainly due to delays in government approvals and prolonged litigation concerning land acquisition for Yamuna Expressway and change in government policies.

It has been held by the

Supreme Court that if there is a debt and default in repayment of debt and application filed by a financial creditor under section 7 of Insolvency & Bankruptcy Code, then the insolvency plea is to be admitted, the NCLT's Allahabad bench said.

The tribunal also rejected the submissions of JAL pleading not to initiate insolvency on grounds such as the feasibility of initiating CIRP, overall financial health and viability of the company and receivables which may go to meet the outstanding debts.

We have regained top spot in MHCV bus segment: ALL

N. Anand
CHENNAI

Ashok Leyland Ltd. (ALL), has regained 'the top position' in India's medium and heavy commercial vehicle (MHCV) buses segment and is confident of raising its market share in trucks and buses, said ALL's EC Dheeraj Hinduja on an analysts call.

"While we had a few challenges initially, our Q4 market share growth and April growth reflects a positive momentum in the MHCV truck. We are confident of increasing our market share in both the trucks and bus segments," Mr. Hinduja said.

He said, ALL ranks second in the 2.3.5 ton small commercial vehicle (SCV)



Dheeraj Hinduja

segment with a market share of more than 20%. The company plans to roll out six new product to further boost its market share in the current fiscal.

Currently, ALL caters to about half the light commercial vehicle (LCV) market in India and plans to expand this to a product portfolio to cover at least 70-80% of the market in

the next few years.

"LCV presents a huge potential for us to grow our CV volumes. Our market share and CV exports out of India has improved significantly in the last two years," Mr. Hinduja added.

Despite subdued market conditions in SAARC and in parts of Africa, ALL grew export volumes and is expecting volume expansion in its international operations, he said.

On alternative fuel vehicles, Mr. Hinduja said the first battery electric Boss ICV was launched in Q4 FY24. A 55-ton electric tractor trailer is also ready and the first unit will be delivered within months.

FY25 capex would range between ₹500-700 crore, said CEO Shenu Agarwal.

Netherlands turns third largest export destination

Press Trust of India
NEW DELHI

The Netherlands has emerged as India's third-largest export destination after the U.S. and UAE during 2023-24, even as the country's merchandise shipments dipped by more than 3%, according to the Commerce Ministry data.

The main commodities which registered healthy exports growth in the Netherlands include petroleum products (\$14.29 billion), electrical goods, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals in the last fiscal.

India's trade surplus with the Netherlands rose to \$17.4 billion in FY24 from \$13 billion in FY23.

Volvo to issue world's first EV battery passport

Reuters
LONDON

Volvo Cars is launching the world's first EV battery passport recording the origins of raw materials, components, recycled content and carbon footprint for its flagship EX90 SUV, which is about to start production, the Swedish automaker told Reuters.

The passport was developed by Volvo, owned by China's Geely, in partnership with U.K. start-up Circular which uses blockchain to map supply chains for companies. Battery passports will be mandatory for EVs sold in the EU from February 2027.

U.S. brand Steelcase eyes 50% share in India's ₹2,000-crore 'performance seating' market

Mini Tejaswi
BENGALURU

Steelcase, a Michigan-based comfort office seating and work solutions brand, said it aims to capture more than 50% of share in India's 'performance seating' market.

"We are targeting a 50% market share in India's premium and performance work seating space in the next 3 to 4 years," Tirthankar Basu, India Managing Director, Steelcase, told The Hindu.

"This pie [share] was some ₹200 crore when we entered the country over two decades ago and now



Tirthankar Basu

it's quite sizeable in the ₹1,500-2,000 crore market," he said.

Steelcase is already leading this segment by volume and value with a leadership margin of 5-8% depending on product categories, Mr. Basu said.

The company has a me-

chanised facility in Pune to manufacture multiple products, including seating solutions. The factory, which employs more than 200 people, currently has manufacturing capacity of 2 lakh chairs a year.

Today, the trend is that people want to work anywhere from the office, he said. "Different teams are using different seating spaces to execute different tasks, instead of each one having dedicated chairs.

So, companies want to give a diverse palate of choice without increasing the square foot space and real estate cost," Mr. Basu explained.

THE HINDU GROUP

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COLOMBO Sri Lanka deploys Army after 26 die in monsoon storms



Heavy monsoon rain and mudslides in Sri Lanka have killed at least 26 people, the government said on Tuesday, ordering the Army to help tens of thousands displaced. Another 42 people were injured, Junior Defence Minister Premitha Tennakoon said, with 1,30,000 people forced from their homes by the floods. AFP

PHNOM PENH Pentagon chief in Cambodia to bolster ties with staunch China ally



U.S. Defence Secretary Lloyd Austin visited Cambodia on Tuesday in an effort to reset ties with the staunch China ally. Washington's relationship with the Southeast Asian nation has been deteriorating for years, with China pouring in billions of dollars in infrastructure investments under Cambodia's former leader Hun Sen. AFP

MANILA Hundreds in emergency shelters after Philippine volcano erupts



At least 2,800 people have moved into emergency centres on Tuesday after a volcano erupted in the central Philippines. Mount Kanlaon on Negros island exploded for six minutes on Monday, sending a plume of ash, rocks and gases 5 km into the sky. The state volcanology agency said more eruptions were possible. AFP

ISLAMABAD Sino-Pak. relations 'unshakable', says Sharif as he begins China visit



Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif on Tuesday emphasised that Pakistan's all-weather relationship with China was "unshakable" as he embarked on a five-day official visit to Beijing to further bolster bilateral ties and to launch the second phase of the multi-billion dollar CPEC projects in his country. PTI

Israel mourns dead hostages as major powers seek Gaza ceasefire

Under the proposal, fighting would stop for an initial six weeks and hostages would be swapped for Palestinian prisoners, ahead of the start of rebuilding Gaza; White House insists that the plan was Israel's own and not drafted by Washington

Agence France-Presse RAFAH

Israel on Tuesday mourned four hostages confirmed dead inside war-torn Gaza as Western and West Asia powers threw their support behind a truce deal outlined by U.S. President Joe Biden.



Desperate wait: Relatives and friends of Israelis held hostage by Hamas in the Gaza Strip, during a rally in Jerusalem on Monday. AFP

Washington said it would seek a UN Security Council resolution to back the three-phase plan which was welcomed by the Group of Seven developed countries and by leading regional governments.

Under the proposal which Mr. Biden presented last Friday as Israel's plan, fighting would stop for an initial six weeks and hos-

tages would be swapped for Palestinian prisoners, ahead of the start of the rebuilding of Gaza.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has, however, stressed since that fighting would only have to cease temporarily

to free the captives, and that one of Israel's key war aims remains the destruction of Hamas.

The White House insisted on Monday that the plan was Israel's own and not drafted by Washington to put pressure on its key

ally. "It is an Israeli proposal," said National Security Council spokesperson John Kirby. "It's one that we, and they, worked on through some intense diplomacy."

Hamas, the Islamist group that has long ruled the Palestinian territory of 2.4 million people, said on Friday it viewed Mr. Biden's outline "positively" but has since made no official comment.

The group has previously insisted on a permanent ceasefire and the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Gaza in months of intermittent talks involving U.S., Qatari and Egyptian mediators.

For now, the Gaza war raged on unabated, with the Israeli military report-

ing more air and artillery strikes and ground combat against Hamas, and Palestinians bemoaning more civilian deaths.

'No alternative'

Washington unveiled a draft UN Security Council resolution on Monday that "welcomes the new deal... and calls upon Hamas to accept it fully and implement its terms without delay and without condition".

U.S. Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield said "numerous leaders and governments, including in the region, have endorsed this plan".

The truce plan also drew the full endorsement of the other leaders of the G-7.

Biden expected to block migrants from asylum

Reuters WASHINGTON

U.S. President Joe Biden is expected to sign a sweeping new border measure on Tuesday that would allow authorities to quickly deport or send back to Mexico migrants caught crossing the southwest border if illegal entries surpass a certain level, according to two sources with knowledge of the move.

The measure, which would restrict access to asylum, would take effect when U.S. Border Patrol apprehensions surpass 2,500 per day, the two sources said. The illegal crossings would have to dip below 1,500 per day for the asylum restrictions to be lifted, one of the sources said.

The restrictions are not expected to apply to unaccompanied minors. The



Joe Biden

White House did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The election-year move is expected to trigger legal challenges from immigrant and civil rights groups who have criticised Mr. Biden, a Democrat, for adopting hardline policies that mirror those of his Republican predecessor, former President Donald Trump.

Mr. Biden has toughened his approach to border security as immigration has emerged as a top issue for voting-age Ameri-

cans in the run-up to November 5 elections where he will face Mr. Trump in a rematch of the 2020 contest.

Mr. Biden took office in 2021 vowing to reverse some of Mr. Trump's restrictive policies but grappled with record levels of migrants caught crossing illegally. Mr. Trump has criticised Mr. Biden for rolling back his policies and vowed a wide-ranging crackdown if re-elected.

In advance of the announcement, Mr. Trump's campaign issued a statement calling Mr. Biden's executive order "amnesty, not border security" and again blaming immigrants for what he called a U.S. crime wave.

A range of studies by academics and think tanks have shown that immigrants do not commit crime at a higher rate than native-born Americans.

'Western trainers in Ukraine could be hit'

Agence France-Presse MOSCOW

Western Army instructors who train Ukrainian soldiers in the country would have no "immunity" from Russian strikes, the Kremlin said on Tuesday, amid reports that France could despatch military trainers to Ukraine.

Ukrainian Army chief Oleksandr Syrsky said last week that French military instructors would soon arrive in the country, but Kyiv's Defence Ministry later walked back the claim.

"Any instructors who

are engaged in training the Ukrainian regime do not have any immunity. It does not matter whether they are French or not," Kremlin spokesperson Dmitry Peskov told presspersons on Tuesday.

French President Emmanuel Macron has refused to rule out deploying troops to Ukraine, despite reluctance from other NATO members and furious warnings from Moscow.

France does not officially have military personnel assisting or training Ukrainian forces in Ukraine at the moment.

Short on troops, Australia opens military to non-citizen residents from Five Eyes

Agence France-Presse SYDNEY

Australia will allow non-citizens to join its armed forces, the government said on Tuesday, as the sparsely populated nation struggles to meet recruitment targets.

Defence Minister Richard Marles said that from July, looser eligibility criteria would allow "permanent residents who have been living in Australia for 12 months" to serve.

Citizens from Britain, Canada, New Zealand and



Thinly stretched: The Australian Defence Forces can today count on about 90,000 personnel, including reservists. AP

the United States are being favoured, he added.

Australia has a coastline that would stretch one-and-a-bit times around the

Earth, but a population of just 26 million.

Canberra has surged defence spending in recent years, buying fleets of sub-

marines, jets and scores of fighting vehicles to meet mounting regional tensions. But it has struggled to find enough pilots, mariners and troops to operate and maintain them.

Experts warn too few Australians don a uniform to meet even current requirements, much less a beefier military of tomorrow.

The Australian Defence Forces can today count on about 90,000 personnel, including reservists, according to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute.

'Chinese boats seized supplies to outpost'

Agence France-Presse MANILA

The Philippine military said on Tuesday that Chinese boats illegally "seized" food and medicine airdropped to a Filipino outpost in the South China Sea.

The alleged incident happened on May 19 at Second Thomas Shoal in the Spratly Islands, where Filipino troops are garrisoned on a grounded Navy vessel to assert Manila's claims to the waters.

Beijing claims almost the entire South China Sea

and there has been a series of confrontations involving Chinese and Philippine vessels near contested reefs, often during Philippine resupply missions to Second Thomas Shoal.

The Philippine military accused China of "aggressive and unprovoked interference" when two Chinese rigid-hulled inflatable boats allegedly came within 10 metres of the Sierra Madre vessel and seized an airdropped package meant for Filipino troops.

It was the first time supplies had been seized, the military said.

Crossword puzzle grid with clues and solutions. Clues include: 1. Approach accountant over tax (6), 2. Music company limiting new plays (7), 3. So chasing old coach leaving amateur outside? (9), 4. Crack in bone following bad slip (5), 5. Praise deputy governor leading country, needing no introduction (8,7), 6. Opening of bar always on time basically selling refreshments (9), 7. Details of popular place (5), 8. It's sweet lettuce in sticky stuff (7), 14. Note time after an explosion in Dallas, say (4-5), 15. Perhaps glad about elderly setter getting first prize (4,5), 17. Formal tea arranged for archbishop (7), 19. Line man using pigment (7), 21. Son's lingo is limited (5), 22. Tight-lipped institute engaged in diplomacy (5).

Sudoku puzzle grid with solution provided. The puzzle is a 9x9 grid with some numbers filled in. The solution is provided below the grid.

Advertisement for Sandalwood oil and a religious article titled 'FAITH Power of daily prayer'. The article discusses the spiritual benefits of daily prayer and mentions the life of Saint Tyagaraja.

Privileged to contest poll, says candidate who bagged 140 votes

Alisha Dutta
NEW DELHI

Ashok Kumar Gupta, an independent candidate from the Chandni Chowk Lok Sabha constituency, bagged only 140 votes but said he didn't mind the poll loss as merely participating in the electoral process was a "privilege" enough for him.

The seat, which remained a BJP stronghold for the second consecutive time, saw Praveen Khandelwal secure a win over INDIA bloc candidate and Congress leader J.P. Agarwal by a margin of 89,325 votes.

Mr. Gupta, who lost by a margin of over 5 lakh votes and bagged the lowest number of votes of all the candidates across Delhi's seven seats, said he is grateful that even a handful of voters "saw a leader in him".

"It gives me immense pleasure to think that those many voters considered me a trustworthy candidate. My story in electoral politics is far from over," said the retired Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) employee, adding that despite having to lose his election deposit of ₹25,000, the defeat "has not deterred his spirit".

The candidate had previously contested in the MCD elections in 2022, and is planning to contest the Delhi Assembly election too. "I have been a babu all my life but now is the time to work for people."

Workers gather to celebrate as BJP sweeps Delhi; AAP-Cong. alliance leaders say all not lost

Delhi BJP leaders claim country's heart still beats for Prime Minister Modi; Congress says despite drawing a blank, it is still a force to reckon with; AAP says people's mandate against rising inflation, unemployment, and to protect the Constitution

Satvika Mahajan
Ashna Butani
NEW DELHI

BJP workers broke into celebrations as soon as all seven Lok Sabha candidates of the party from the Capital took a lead in early trends and subsequently won against the combined strength of the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)-Congress alliance on Tuesday.

Meanwhile, though Congress workers were elated over their party's overall performance across the country that improved its Lok Sabha tally, its losses in Delhi led to subdued celebrations.

Just a stone's throw away from the Congress's office, celebrations at the AAP headquarters were toned down, with party workers claiming that all was not lost as they had improved their vote share in the Capital.

This is the third time in a row that the BJP has bagged all seven Lok Sabha seats in the Capital.

Elated at the results as his party workers distributed *laddoos*, Delhi BJP president Virendra Sachdeva said, "We will see Prime Minister Narendra Modi taking oath for the third time. Delhi has rejected the corrupt INDIA bloc



Spontaneous celebrations: BJP and Congress workers celebrate at their party offices in New Delhi on Tuesday. ANI



alliance."

On his victory, BJP's Chandni Chowk candidate Praveen Khandelwal said people of Delhi have shown that the nation's heart still beats for Mr. Modi.

"They do not trust the Congress and Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal's manipulative politics. The results have shown that people have once again reposed their faith in the Modi's guarantee of development," he said.

Meanwhile, the Congress party's Delhi office wore a deserted look as most workers moved to its headquarters on Akbar

Road to celebrate. As talks of INDIA alliance getting a majority were still on, many workers danced to the tunes of *dhols*.

However, a Congress workers shared his disappointment over the Delhi results, saying, "We were expecting a few seats in Delhi. But it's okay, we have performed well overall."

"Will strengthen cadre" Delhi Congress chief Devender Yadav thanked Congress workers at the headquarters, and appealed to them to continue with their hard work without losing hope.

He, however, accepted the verdict and promised that the Congress will strengthen its cadre at the grassroots level.

Mr. Yadav said he respected the will of the people but the response they got showed that the Congress is still a force to reckon with.

"Since morning, we have been able to see that the exit polls have been defied. We have been saying that the media is under threat, which is why the exit polls were biased towards the ruling party at the Centre," he said.

Delhi's AAP office saw a flurry of activity as soon as

early trends started pouring in. Party workers and supporters reached the office at 8 a.m.

"Mandate to oust BJP" Later, addressing a press conference at the party's Rouse Avenue office, AAP leader Sanjay Singh said the people's mandate was to oust the BJP. He said the results have proven that people wanted to remove the BJP government as they were upset over rising inflation and unemployment. "Despite the use of the money power, and the misuse of the ED, CBI, the people of India said the 'BJP go back'," he said.

Voters lost a chance, says Dhanani after losing grudge match

Maitri Porecha
NEW DELHI

The tables were turned after two decades as old rivals clashed in Gujarat's Rajkot constituency, and Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) candidate and Union Minister Parshottam Rupala won against Congress's Paresh Dhanani by a margin of over 4.84 lakh votes.

Mr. Dhanani had earlier defeated Mr. Rupala by a margin of two lakh votes in the Gujarat Assembly election in 2002.

Mr. Dhanani told *The Hindu* after the results that Rajkot, an old BJP-RSS stronghold, has always been one of the toughest seats for the Congress to contest in Gujarat.

He said people vote

predictably in the constituency, and the Congress always receives votes in the range of 3.75 lakh (in 2014) to 3.90 lakh (in 2019).

"The 2024 poll was no different; I secured 3.78 lakh votes," he said.

Mr. Rupala, on the other hand, swept the constituency with over 8.57 lakh votes. The Union Minister had wooed voters by promising delivery of a new international airport, a six-lane highway and an All India Institute of Medical Sciences hospital.

"The battle for Gujarat and Rajkot was not against a person but it was for preserving the Constitution, and I regret that it is an opportunity lost," Mr. Dhanani added.

Undeterred by poll loss, says Delhi's first transgender candidate

Ashna Butani
NEW DELHI

The Capital's first transgender candidate, Rajan Singh, got just over 300 votes in the Lok Sabha poll while contesting from the South Delhi constituency, but that has not discouraged her from contesting the election again.

"South Delhi has just 22 transgender voters, even then I managed to get that much votes. This means that the people of Delhi have started supporting us. This is just the beginning," said the 26-year-old South Delhi candidate, who identifies herself as a transwoman.

Ms. Singh had contested against BJP leader Ramvir Singh Bidhuri and Aam

Aadmi Party (AAP)-Congress alliance candidate Sahi Ram. She said though she failed to enter Parliament this time, her community will be more vocal on their issues knowing that the people of Delhi have supported them.

Ms. Singh said she entered the fray to press for her community's demand for the constitution of a national commission to deal with the issues concerning them.

"A national transgender commission can oversee the implementation of various schemes the government has promised us," Ms. Singh said. "We may not be in Parliament but the streets are ours and we will keep fighting for our rights," she added.

Timings
DELHI

WEDNESDAY, JUN. 05	RISE 05:24	SET 19:17
	RISE 03:59	SET 18:18
THURSDAY, JUN. 06	RISE 05:24	SET 19:18
	RISE 04:46	SET 19:26
FRIDAY, JUN. 07	RISE 05:24	SET 19:18
	RISE 05:40	SET 20:29

Delhi Weather

	max	min
Delhi City	44	30
Safdarjang	44	30
Palam	44	30

CHENNAI METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY AND SEWERAGE BOARD
NOTICE INVITING TENDER THROUGH E-TENDER
NATIONAL COMPETITIVE BIDDING

e-Tenders are invited from the eligible bidders for the following work as per the procedure of CMWSSB under two cover system conforming to the Tamil Nadu Transparency in Tenders Act, 1998 and Rules 2000.

Sr No.	Name of work and Tender No.	Bid Security	Prebid meeting Date	e-Bid Submission closing Date	e-Bid Opening Date
1.	Improvement of Water system in Thiru Vi Ka Nagar Consilency - Phase II - Improvement of water supply for providing water supply through tap to the individual buildings and the TNUHDB Tenements in Kamnigapuram area by laying new feeder line from Vyasaipadi WDS and laying new distribution mains in Depot 72, Area-VI of Chennai City. CNT/WSS/NCB/Singara Chennai 2.0/06B/2024-25	Rs.12.32 Lakhs	21.06.2024 at 11.30 am	09.07.2024 upto 3.00 p.m	10.07.2024 after 3.30 p.m

EMD by online transfer only through tender Portal. The tenderer shall submit scanned copy of online transaction statement towards EMD as part of Tender document.

Availability of tender documents and e-bid submission is permitted through tender portal / website: www.tntenders.gov.in For all other details refer tender schedule in the website from 06.06.2024.

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It is notified for the information of all the candidates who have submitted their application forms in response to Advertisement Notice No. 13 of 2023, dated December 19, 2023 for the posts of Assistant Professor that the list containing deficiencies/observations observed by Recruitment and DIOA in the subject of **Electronics & Instrumentation Technology, Economics, Law, Computer Science (PGD-CS-11) UR, Commerce (PGD-CM -03) EWS and Geography (PGD-GR-12) SC** have been uploaded on the university website under Jobs/ Recruitment Portal. All the concerned candidates may please check their status by visiting the university website and complete their deficiencies within 07 days from the date of issuance of deficiency list i.e., upto and including 10-06-2024. No claim after 10-06-2024 for clearance of deficiencies shall be entertained.

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Advertisement No.ni-msme/vacancies/2024/03, Date 05.06.2024

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Assistant Registrar	01 (Un-reserved)	Direct Recruitment	7th CPC, Level-10	1) For all details, please visit the official website, www.nimsme.org 2) Last date for submission of application by post is 05.07.2024 upto 5.00 P.M.

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E-Tender Notice No: 73-S&T-Proj-TENDER-2024 Dated: 02.05.2024
Name of Work: "Design, Planning, Supply, Installation, fixing, configuration, integration and commissioning of IP-MPLS (Internet Protocol Multiprotocol Label Switching) routers and associated equipments at Bilaspur, Raipur and Nagpur division of South East Central Railway."
Tender Value : ₹ 34,55,48,687.94/- (Rupees Thirty four crores fifty five lakhs eighteen thousand six hundred eighty seven & ninety four paise only).
Bid Security (Earnest Money): ₹ 18,77,600.00/- (Rupees Eighteen lakhs seventy seven thousand six hundred only). Closing of Tender Upto: 12.00 hrs. on 14.06.2024.
Corrigendum no. 2 : Issued on 30.05.2024. No change in date of opening of tender.
For details of corrigendum no. 2 and purchase of tender document, eligibility criteria & the complete details for "b" tender document, please visit our website <http://www.ireps.gov.in>.

Divl. Sig. & Tele. Engineer(Project/W)
CPR/1078 S.E.C.Railway, Bilaspur

For further details related to tender document eligibility criteria and the complete details for the above work please contact office of the chief administrative Officer/Con/S.E.C.R./ bilaspur - Pin- 495004 or CPM/S.E.C. Railway/Con/Bilaspur Pin-495004 refer on our website www.ireps.gov.in

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TENDER-CUM-AUCTION SALE NOTICE UNDER SARFAESI ACT 2002

The following properties mortgaged to City Union Bank Limited will be sold in Tender-cum-Public Auction by the Authorised Officer of the Bank, under Rule 8 (6) & 9 of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002, under the SARFAESI Act, 2002, for recovery of a sum of **Rs.10,06,92,574/- (Rupees Ten Crore Six Lakh Ninety Two Thousand Five Hundred and Seventy Four only)** as on 31-05-2024 together with further interest to be charged from 01-06-2024 onwards and other expenses, any other dues to the Bank by the borrowers / guarantors No.1) M/s. Upar Finvest Limited, 402, 403, 404 Fourth Floor, 73-74, Sheela, Nehru Place, Delhi - 110019. No.2) Mr. Pradeep Sharma, S/o. Ramesh Chandra Sharma, 58 Seemant Vihar, Kaushambi Uppar Pradesh, Ghaziabad - 201012. No.3) Mr. Ashu Mathur, S/o. Sukhbir Kishore Mathur, House No.A1, Nawaloka Apt. Bharat Mata Sukhbir, Kishore, Mathur JLB, Marg C-Scheme, Jaipur - 302109. No.4) Mr. Mohan C Pandey, New Delhi - Late Hari Datt Pandey, A-56, Karampura, New Delhi - 110015. No.5) Mr. Prakash Pandey, Brother of Mohan C Pandey A-56, Karampura, Punjabi Bagh, New Delhi - 110026. No.6) Mrs. Chandra Kanta Sharma, W/o. Ramesh C Sharma, H.No.118, Village Naktia Kaun, Shikohabad, Firozabad, (UP) District - 282023. No.7) Mrs. Neelam Sharma, W/o. Pradeep Sharma, No.58, Seemant Vihar, Karushambhi, Ghaziabad, (UP) District - 201012.

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AUCTION DETAILS

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16-07-2024	City Union Bank Limited, New Delhi-Janakpuri Branch, Ground Floor, Door No.30, Block-B1, Janakpuri, New Delhi, Delhi - 110058 Telephone No:011-25555343, Cell No:9311542475.

Terms and Conditions of Tender-cum-Auction Sale:

(1) The intending bidders should be present in person for the auction and participate personally and give a declaration in writing to the effect that he/she is bidding for himself / herself. (2) The intending bidders may obtain the Tender Forms from **The Manager, City Union Bank Limited, New Delhi-Janakpuri Branch, Ground Floor, Door No.30, Block-B1, Janakpuri, New Delhi, Delhi - 110058.** (3) The intending bidders should submit their bids only in the Tender Form prescribed in sealed envelopes addressed to **The Authorised Officer, City Union Bank Ltd.,** together with a Pay Order / Demand Draft for an EMD of 10% of the Reserve Price, drawn in favour of "City Union Bank Ltd.", on or before 12.00 Noon on the date of Tender-cum-Auction Sale hereby notified. (4) For inspection of the property and other particulars, the intending purchaser may contact **Telephone No.011-25555343 Cell No.9311542475.** (5) The properties are sold on "As-is-where-is", "As-is-what-is" and "whatever there is" basis. (6) The sealed tenders will be opened in the presence of the intending bidders at 01.00 p.m. on the date of Tender-cum-Auction Sale hereby notified. Though in general the sale will be by way of closed tenders, the Authorised Officer may, at his sole discretion, conduct an Open Auction among the interested bidders who desire to quote a bid higher than the one received in the closed tender process, and in such an event, the sale shall be conferred on the person making highest bid. The sale, however, is subject to confirmation of City Union Bank Limited. (7) The successful bidder shall have to pay 25% (inclusive of EMD paid) of the sale amount immediately on completion of sale and the balance amount of 75% within 15 days from the date of confirmation of sale, failing which the initial deposit of 25% shall be forfeited. (8) The Sale Certificate will be issued by the Authorised Officer in favour of the successful purchaser only after receipt of the entire sale consideration within the time limit stipulated herein. (9) The successful purchaser shall bear the charges/fees payable for conveyance, such as stamp duty, registration fee etc., as applicable under law. (10) The successful bidder should pay the statutory dues (lawful house tax, electricity charges and other dues), TDS, GST if any, due to Government, Government Undertaking and local bodies. (11) The Authorised Officer shall have all the powers to accept or reject the bids or postpone or cancel the sale without assigning any reason whatsoever.

Place : Kumbakonam, Date : 03-06-2024 Authorised Officer

Regd. Office: 149, T.S.R. (Big) Street, Kumbakonam, Thanjavur District, Tamil Nadu - 612001. CN - 1551127N194MPLC001287, Telephone No.0435-2402322, Fax: 0435-2431746, Website: www.cityunionbank.com

DMK-led front's clean sweep denies the BJP a foothold in Tamil Nadu

B. Kolappan
CHENNAI

In an emphatic display of electoral prowess, the DMK-led alliance bettered its performance, winning or establishing leads in all 39 constituencies in Tamil Nadu and the lone constituency in Puducherry on Tuesday.

In 2019, the alliance had won in 38 constituencies in the State. This is the first time since 1991 that a Dravidian party-led alliance has registered back-to-back landslide victories in the Lok Sabha elections.

Its performance has disproved the exit polls that accorded a couple of seats to the coalitions led by the AIADMK and the BJP. The



Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.K. Stalin at a press conference in Chennai on Tuesday. R. RAGU

results also proved to be a victory for the DMK's "ideological war" against the BJP, since Tamil Nadu is the only State which continues to resist the party from gaining a toe-hold.

Commenting on the results, Chief Minister and DMK president M.K. Stalin said that though the BJP launched a psychological

onslaught two days ago in the name of exit polls, it was reduced to a position wherein it was not able to win a simple majority to form the government.

The Congress, the major ally of the DMK, won or led in all the 10 constituencies it contested, as did the two Left parties in two seats each.

The Viduthala Chiruthaigal Katchi, which contested in two seats and won both. The MDMK won in Tiruchi and the IUML retained Ramanathapuram.

While Vijaya Prabhakaran, the DMDK candidate and son of late actor Vijayakant, who was part of the AIADMK alliance, was ahead of his Congress rival Manickam Tagore in Virud-

hunagar in a couple of rounds, he was edged out to the second slot by late evening.

Similarly, PMK candidate Sowmya Anbumani, who entered the fray in Dharmapuri in the company of the BJP, lost after registering a good lead over the DMK candidate.

Going by the trends, it was possible that had the AIADMK, led by former Chief Minister Edappadi Palaniswami, and a faction, led by O. Panneerselvam, joined hands with the BJP under the NDA banner, the alliance may have altered the outcome. The Naam Tamizhar Katchi (NTK), led by Seeman, has also polled a notable percentage of votes.

Owaisi retains Hyderabad with record margin

Syed Mohammed
HYDERABAD

Imaginary arrows shot by the BJP in the run-up to the Lok Sabha election fell short of the intended target by several miles in Hyderabad constituency as sitting MP Asaduddin Owaisi won with a staggering margin of 3,38,087 votes.

The margin is the widest since 1984, when Mr. Owaisi's father Salahuddin Owaisi contested from the Hyderabad Lok Sabha constituency which then included Tandur, Vicarabad and Chevella Assembly segments.

The challenger here was the BJP's Kompella Madhavi Latha, whose gesture of shooting an arrow near a covered-up masjid in Siddiamber Bazaar on Ram Navami caused considerable controversy.

Ms. Latha embarked on a campaign cutting across areas in the constituency. But her outreach failed to make the cut.

Prajwal bites the dust in Hassan

The Hindu Bureau
SHIVAMOGGA

JD(S) Member of Parliament Prajwal Revanna, facing charges of rape and sexual abuse of many women, suffered a defeat in Lok Sabha polls from Hassan against Congress candidate Shreyas M. Patel.

During the counting of votes on Tuesday, Mr. Patel was declared the winner. He secured 6,72,988 votes (49.67%) and won by a margin of 42,649 votes against his nearest rival Prajwal Revanna of the JD (S), who secured 6,30,339 votes (46.52%).

With this, the Congress has won the seat for the first time in the last 25 years. The last time was in 1999 when Shreyas Patel's grandfather, G. Puttaswamy Gowda, defeated former Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda. Both families have been political rivals for five decades. Puttaswamy Gowda contested against Deve Gowda and his son, H.D. Revanna. And, Puttaswamy Gowda's daughter-in-law, S.G. Anupama, contested and lost twice against Revanna in



Congress candidate Shreyas Patel receiving certificate from Hassan Deputy Commissioner C. Sathyabhama. PRAKASH HASSAN

the Assembly polls. In the Assembly elections held last year, Mr. Shreyas Patel lost the battle against Revanna by a thin margin. This time, he succeeded in defeating Revanna's son, Prajwal Revanna, in the Lok Sabha polls.

Prajwal Revanna contested for the Hassan Lok Sabha seat for the first time in 2019 as his grandfather, H.D. Deve Gowda moved to contest for Tumakuru. He won by a margin of 1.41 lakh votes against the BJP candidate, A. Manju.

This time, the JD(S) had an understanding with the BJP. The candidate had the support of H.D. Deve Gowda, who campaigned ex-

tensively, his father, H.D. Revanna, former minister and former Chief Minister, H.D. Kumaraswamy, his uncle, besides party MLAs in four Assembly constituencies. Prime Minister Narendra Modi also sought votes for him in a rally held in Mysuru.

However, a section of BJP leaders, including former Hassan MLA Preetham Gowda, was against fielding Prajwal Revanna as the NDA candidate.

Prajwal Revanna faced anti-incumbency as people alleged that he hardly listened to their problems and raised their issues in Parliament.

Cong. vote share goes up by 15% as it halves seats of BJP in Haryana contest

After losing all 10 seats in 2019 Lok Sabha poll, Congress makes comeback by winning five seats; Deepender Hooda, Kumari Selja register biggest wins; former CM Manohar Lal bags Karnal

Ashok Kumar
GURUGRAM

The BJP, which had a clean sweep in Haryana in the 2019 Lok Sabha poll, on Tuesday ceded half of the 10 Parliamentary constituencies in the State to the Congress in a closely contested election fought under the shadow of the farmers' agitation and palpable anti-incumbency sentiment.

The Congress secured 43.67% votes, recording around 15% increase in its vote share when compared with the last Lok Sabha poll. The BJP got 46.11% of the votes, a drop of around 12%.

Among the prominent winners, Congress's Rajya Sabha member Deepender Hooda and former Haryana Congress president Ku-



Rao Inderjit Singh, the victorious BJP candidate from Gurgaon Lok Sabha seat, with supporters on Tuesday. PTI

mari Selja registered the biggest wins in the State defeating BJP candidates Arvind Sharma and Ashok Tanwar, both former Congressmen, with a margin of 3,00,000 and 2,68,000 votes, respectively.

Retaining the Karnal Lok Sabha seat for his par-

ty, two-time BJP Chief Minister Manohar Lal defeated the Congress's Divyanshu Budhiraja with a margin of over 2,00,000 votes.

Congress's actor-turned-politician Raj Babbar, who was pitted against Union Minister of State, BJP's Rao

Inderjit Singh, in the Gurgaon Lok Sabha seat, lost by 75,079 votes.

Sushil Gupta, the president of the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and a joint candidate of the INDIA bloc, lost to BJP's Navneet Jindal by 29,021 votes, with the Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) secretary-general Abhay Chautala finishing a distant third with 78,708 votes.

Reduced margins

Contrary to the 2019 Lok Sabha poll when the BJP registered big wins with margins ranging from over 3-6 lakh votes, the victory in four of the 10 Lok Sabha constituencies in the State - Ambala, Sonapat, Bhiwani-Mahendragarh and Kurukshetra - was decided by a margin of around 50,000 votes this time.

Tharoor defies odds to emerge victorious in Thiruvananthapuram

Sarath Babu George
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

United Democratic Front (UDF) candidate Shashi Tharoor clinched victory in the Thiruvananthapuram Lok Sabha constituency for the fourth consecutive term, overcoming a strong challenge from Rajeev Chandrasekhar of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA).

Mr. Tharoor's win makes him the first politician to represent the constituency in Parliament for four terms.

Securing 3,58,155 votes (37.19%), the Congress Working Committee member won by a margin of 16,077 votes despite a notable erosion in the UDF's vote base (4%) compared to the previous elections.

Mr. Chandrasekhar, Minister of State for Electronics and IT, garnered



A jubilant Shashi Tharoor with his supporters after winning the Thiruvananthapuram Lok Sabha seat. S. MAHINSHA

3,42,078 votes (35.52%), marking NDA's best-ever performance in the constituency.

LDF retains vote share The Left Democratic Front (LDF) retained a vote tally largely similar to that in the 2019 general elections, with Communist Party of India veteran Pannian Ra-veendran securing

2,47,648 votes (25.72%). A total of 6,684 voters opted for NOTA (None of the Above) in Thiruvananthapuram.

The UDF camp faced tense moments during counting as Mr. Chandrasekhar initially held a substantial lead stretching to over 23,000 for nearly two hours.

The voting pattern mir-

rored his victory in the 2014 general elections where he narrowly defeated BJP leader O. Rajagopal by 15,470 votes.

Acrimonious contest

The outcome brought an end to an acrimonious contest that was rife with mudslinging among candidates and interventions by the Election Commission of India.

An elated Mr. Tharoor pledged efforts to perform to the best of his ability to be worthy of the "fourth blessing" and serve the people of Thiruvananthapuram well.

Offering a cricketing analogy, he said: "While the World T20 is going on in the United States and the West Indies, the Super Over was here. It was a very tight race. I congratulate my rivals for having put up such a spirited fight."

OBITUARY & REMEMBRANCE

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DEMAND LETTER of DDA Flat D-4/35, Pkt-8, Sec-23B, Dwarka, New Delhi-77 lost. FIR /LR No.-1300563/2024, Dt:02.01.2024. Contact: Anil Kumar Gupta 7042050103

PUBLIC NOTICE

My Client, Dayal Singh S/o Shri Norat Singh R/o 235, Guru Ram Dass Nagar, Laxmi Nagar, Delhi-92 has debarred his Son Ravinder Singh with his family Shanti Singh, Akshaj Singh, Aarav Singh from his all movable & immovable properties. In future, Whosoever deals with them, deals on their own risk & responsibility. Deepak Bhargava (Advocate) Delhi High Court, Add: 98, Krishan Kunj, Laxmi Nagar, Delhi-92

PUBLIC NOTICE

Notice is hereby given on behalf of Axis Bank Ltd that Mrs. Sanju Bose intends to purchase/mortgage the Entire Basement, Ground and First floor of Property No. 229, admeasuring 500 sq. yds., Block-S, Situated at Panchshila Park, New Delhi, with our client against the financial assistance. Whereas, Mrs. Santosh Bhupinder Singh had acquired the Said Property by way of Conveyance Deed dt. 03.02.2003 and after her death, her sole legal heir Mr. Jai Arjun Singh (as per Surviving Member Certificate) became the owner of said entire property. Now, he intends to sell the same to Mrs. Sanju Bose. If any person(s) having objection with regard to ownership/mortgage of the said property is/are requested to intimate in writing to undersigned within 07 days from the date of issue of this notice at below address. In the event no information is received within 07 days from date hereof, our Client i.e. Axis Bank Ltd will proceed with the mortgage process.

RISHI KAPOOR, ADVOCATE
A-13, LGF, South Extn-II, New Delhi-49 # 011-40587824

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TENDERS

Embassy of Nepal, New Delhi
Disposal off old vehicles and other items.

- The Embassy of Nepal is going to dispose off its old cars, office furniture, and other items on an 'as is, where is' basis, without any guarantees regarding their condition or quality.
- Sealed bids are invited from interested firms or individuals for these items under the terms and conditions set by the embassy. Prospective buyers should submit their quotations using the form provided by the Embassy of Nepal. Sealed quotations must be delivered to the Embassy of Nepal, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi by 1:00 PM on 19th June, 2024. The received quotations will be opened at 2:00 PM on the same day. The items will be available for inspection between 11:00 AM and 1:00 PM (Monday to Friday) from 6th June to 18th June, 2024.
- For more details, please visit the embassy's website: <https://in.nepalembassy.gov.np/>.

PROUD
Special moment to hear our anthem: Uganda skipper Masaba



Captain Brian Masaba relished the special moment of hearing Uganda's national anthem during his side's debut appearance in the T20 World Cup. "Special moment to hear our national anthem and see our flag at the World Cup. It's a moment that I will cherish for the rest of my life," Masaba said.

LEVEL UP
Bravo coming in as Afghanistan bowling coach is fantastic: Trott



Afghanistan chief coach Jonathan Trott on Tuesday said the decision to rope in Dwayne Bravo as its bowling coach worked wonders. "Dwayne Bravo coming into the side, fantastic. It's only a brilliant thing to have a player like him coming to the side as coach. It makes the coaching more enhanced, especially with the bowlers."

FINGERS CROSSED
The luck of the Irish is always with us, says coach Malan



Ireland head coach Heinrich Malan is banking on a popular fable to help his team out against India in their Group-A T20 World Cup match at the Nassau County International Cricket Stadium in New York on Wednesday. "The luck of the Irish is always with us," Malan said with a wide smile.

HEAVY CRITICISM
T20 WC scheduling has been unfair, says Sri Lanka's Theekshana



Sri Lanka's Maheesh Theekshana criticised the scheduling of his team's matches in the T20 World Cup. "So unfair for us. We have to leave every day because we are playing (at) four different venues. I can't say the (names of the) teams that are playing in the same venue. They're (also) playing practice games at the same venue."

Global interest spikes as Rohit's men are all set for World Cup kick off

The experienced Indian batting line-up will have to bring its A-game against Ireland in a ground that has been a bowler's paradise till now

CRICKET
Ashwin Achal
NEW YORK

The Indian team would have keenly watched the Sri Lanka-South Africa encounter at the Nassau County International Cricket Stadium on Monday. The batting group, led by skipper Rohit Sharma, would not have liked what they saw.

The drop-in pitch at the new venue was not conducive to big shots and big scores – ingredients usually taken for granted in T20 cricket. The bounce was uneven, the outfield slow. SL was not up for it, crumbling for 77. SA huffed and puffed to make it home in 16.2 overs.

India will face a similar test when it takes on Ireland in its Group-A ICC Men's T20 World Cup opener here on Wednesday. There are minefields to navigate, not just for this encounter but for two more to come at New York.

This is the time for the experienced core – Rohit, Virat Kohli, Suryakumar Yadav and Rishabh Pant – to stand tall. There is enough quality in the ranks to assess the conditions and make the necessary adjustments on the fly.

Kohli, likely to open the



Hawk-eye: Kohli will have to watch the ball closely given the way the pitches have behaved in the USA so far. K.R. DEEPAK

innings with Rohit, is best suited to emerge as the hero. His insistence on getting the eye in before breaking the shackles – a quality that has sometimes been criticised as outdated T20 batsmanship – could save the day here.

The spinners hold all the aces with ball in hand.

Left-arm wrist spinner Kuldeep Yadav, and Ravindra Jadeja are the likely choices for this role, which leaves no room for Yuzvendra Chahal.

Conditions do not matter to Jasprit Bumrah. The fast bowler, who was virtually unplayable even in the India net sessions, is a

true match-winner. Left-arm pacer Arshdeep Singh – an asset with his tight death over spells – is the best fit to partner Bumrah.

India will hope that Hardik Pandya forces his way out of a slump. As the stand-out all-rounder, Hardik is invaluable, but his poor run with Mumbai Indians

in IPL 2024 raises doubts.

Ireland may be ranked a low eleventh in T20Is, but the side has the quality to stun the favourite. This was evident last month, when a 55-ball 77 from opener Andy Balbirnie took Ireland to a first-ever win over Pakistan in T20Is.

Left-arm speedster Josh

Today's match

New York, 8.00 p.m.
HEAD-TO-HEAD T20Is
Played: 7
India 7 | Ireland 0

Little, who featured in one game for Gujarat Titans in IPL 17, can crank it up. Captain Paul Stirling is vastly experienced, having earned 142 T20I caps. Stirling would like to recreate the magic of the second T20I against India a couple of years ago, where he pummelled an 18-ball 40 to nearly power his side to the 226-run target.

India will not take Ireland lightly, but on this occasion, it is the alien conditions which poses the real challenge.

The teams (from):
India: Rohit Sharma (Capt.), Hardik Pandya, Yashasvi Jaiswal, Virat Kohli, Suryakumar Yadav, Rishabh Pant (wk), Sanju Samson (wk), Shivam Dube, Ravindra Jadeja, Axar Patel, Kuldeep Yadav, Yuzvendra Chahal, Arshdeep Singh, Jasprit Bumrah, and Mohammed Siraj.
Ireland: Paul Stirling (Capt.), Mark Adair, Ross Adair, Andrew Balbirnie, Curtis Campher, Gareth Delany, George Dockrell, Graham Hume, Josh Little, Barry McCarthy, Neil Rock, Harry Tector, Lorcan Tucker, Ben White, and Craig Young.

Ashwin Achal
NEW YORK

India captain Rohit Sharma stated that his batters will have to use their experience to navigate the tricky pitch at the Nassau County International Cricket Stadium here.

"This does not look like a venue where you can score easily. We have to be mindful of that. Our experience will help – many of our players have played outside India. We are coming off the IPL, where a lot of runs were scored. So, we have to adapt. We're mindful of the fact that those kind of runs will not be made," Rohit said on the eve of India's ICC Men's T20 World Cup opening match against Ireland.

The skipper explained that he tried to talk head coach Rahul Dravid – now in his final assignment – into staying in the job for a while longer.

"My equation with him (Dravid) goes a long way back. He was my captain when I made my international debut, against Ireland. He is such a big role model for all of us. We grew up watching him play. He has shown a lot of great determination throughout his career. That is something I wanted to learn from him when he became the coach. Other than the big silverware, we have won a lot under him," Rohit said.

"I tried holding him



Pant and Dravid... strategising. K.R. DEEPAK

back (in the head coach job). But he has a lot of things he needs to look after," Rohit said.

Rohit refrained from making statements about possibly honouring Dravid with a title here. "It was great working with him, and I hope to... I'm not going to say anything," Rohit said, fearful of possibly jinxing the dream.

During the warm up game, a fan entered the field and rushed to greet Rohit. The batter does not condone pitch invasion, and called on spectators to stay in their seats.

"No one should intrude into the ground. The players' security is important. The fans' security is also important. They should realise that there are laws in place. India has rules. Here there are different rules."

Openers and Farooqi star in Afghanistan's big win

Press Trust of India
PROVIDENCE (GUYANA)

Afghanistan pacer Fazal-haq Farooqi produced a fiery spell after Rahmanullah Gurbaz and Ibrahim Zadran's solid opening partnership to begin its T20 World Cup campaign with a comprehensive 125-run victory over Uganda here.

Gurbaz (76 off 45 balls) and his partner Zadran (70 off 46 balls) struck fluent fifties to register the second highest opening partnership (154) in the men's T20 World Cup as Afghanistan posted a challenging 183 for five after being asked to bat.

Left-arm pacer Farooqi (five for nine) then knocked the wind out of the Ugandan batting line-up with his maiden five-wicket haul as the debutant was shot out for 58 in 16 overs.

Farooqi was twice on the brink of claiming a hat-trick. He was lethal with the new ball. After being hit for a four off his first de-



Lights out! Riazat Ali is castled by Farooqi. AP

livery, he bowled a brilliant in-swing which clipped off Ronak Patel's bat before crashing onto the stumps. He then trapped Roger Mukasa leg before with another in-swing off consecutive balls.

Farooqi then returned in the 13th over to snare three more wickets to register his career-best figures in T20Is.

He first deceived Riazat Ali Shah with a slower delivery before forcing skipper Brian Masaba to nick the ball behind. He missed out on a hat-trick again but

claimed his fifth victim in the last ball of the over.

The scores: At Providence (Guyana): Group C: Afghanistan 183/5 in 20 overs (Rahmanullah Gurbaz 76, Ibrahim Zadran 70) bt Uganda 58 in 16 overs (Farooqi 5/9); **Toss:** Uganda.
At Dallas: Group D: Nepal 106 in 19.2 overs (Paudel 35, Pringle 3/20, van Beek 3/18, van Meekeren 2/19, de Leede 2/22) lost to Netherlands 109/4 in 18.4 overs (O'Dowd 54 n.o.); **Toss:** Netherlands.
At Bridgetown (Barbados): Group B: Scotland 90/0 in 10 overs (Munsey 41 n.o., Jones 45 n.o.) vs England. Match abandoned due to rain.

Injured Djokovic withdraws from Roland Garros; Gauff to meet Swiatek in the semifinals

FRENCH OPEN
Associated Press
PARIS

Novak Djokovic withdrew from the French Open with an injured right knee on Tuesday, ending his title defence and meaning he will relinquish the No. 1 ranking.

The tournament announced the news, saying Djokovic has a torn medial meniscus in his right knee. The extent of the injury was found during an MRI exam a day after Djokovic was hurt during a fourth-round victory against No. 23 Francisco Cerundolo.

The 24-time Grand Slam champion was supposed to face two-time French Open runner-up Casper Ruud in the quarterfinals on Wednesday. Instead, Ruud gets a walkover into the semifinals.



Problem point: Djokovic's knee had been bothering him for a couple of weeks before he arrived in Paris. AFP

and reduce any inflammation. Jannik Sinner powered past Grigor Dimitrov 6-2, 6-4, 7-6(3) to reach his first French Open semifinal, and take over as World No. 1 next week after Djokovic's withdrawal.

"What can I say?" said the 22-year-old.

THE RESULTS

Women: Quarterfinals: 1-Swiatek (Pol) bt 5-Vondrousova (Cze) 6-0, 6-2; 3-Gauff (USA) bt 8-Jabeur (Tun) 4-6, 6-2, 6-3.
Men: Fourth round: 2-Sinner (Ita) bt 10-Dimitrov (Bul) 6-2, 6-4, 7-6(3).

nal four at a third consecutive Grand Slam tournament. No. 1 Swiatek followed in Court Philippe Chatrier with a 6-0, 6-2 victory against Wimbledon champion Marketa Vondrousova to stretch her Roland Garros winning streak to 19 matches as she seeks a third trophy in a row in Paris and fourth in five years.

"It's good to just keep going and not think about this match as something huge – just another match – to not put too much baggage on your shoulders," Swiatek said.

"It's every player's dream to become number one in the world. On the other hand, seeing Novak retiring (from the tournament) is disappointing, so I wish him a speedy recovery."

No. 3 seed Gauff came back to defeat Ons Jabeur 4-6, 6-2, 6-3 to reach the fi-

IN BRIEF



GM Arjun Erigaisi breaks into world's top-five

Grandmaster Arjun Erigaisi's strong show in the French Team Chess Championship has helped him reach the fifth spot in the FIDE standings, making him the highest-ranked Indian by live rating. Arjun, with a ELO rating of 2769.7, has so far added 8.7 points to his tally, behind Magnus Carlsen of Norway, USA's Hikaru Nakamura and Fabiano Caruana and Ian Nepomniachtchi of Russia.



Patrice Evra in Sony's expert panel for Euro 2024

Former France football team captain Patrice Evra will be one of the expert panellists on Sony Sports Network for the live coverage of the UEFA Euro 2024. Sony Sports Network will broadcast the much-anticipated UEFA EURO 2024 live across Sony Sports Ten 2, 3, 4, 5 SD & HD.

LIVE TELECAST

Badminton: Sports 18-1 (SD & HD) & JioCinema, 7.30 a.m.
Shooting: World Cup, Sports 18-1 (SD & HD) & JioCinema, 1.30 p.m.
Roland Garros: Sony Sports Ten 2, 5 (SD & HD) & LIV, 2.30 p.m.
Hockey: Pro League: Sports 18-1 (SD & HD) & JioCinema, 5.30, 8 & 10 p.m.
T20 World Cup: India vs Ireland, Star Sports 1 (SD & HD) & Hotstar, 8 p.m. & 5 a.m. (Thursday).



Proving too good: Praggnanandhaa added to the miseries of the woefully out-of-form Ding, winning in Armageddon. NORWAYCHESS

Nakamura puts it across Carlsen; Pragg beats Ding

Firouzja prevails over Caruana; Muzychuk shocks World champion Wenjun in the women's section while Vaishali goes down to Humpy

NORWAY CHESS

Sports Bureau

Hikaru Nakamura won a close Armageddon game against World No. 1 Magnus Carlsen in the seventh round of the Norway Chess tournament at Stavanger on Monday.

The local superstar, in fact, lost on time to the American, but maintained his sole lead still.

The Armageddon followed a 20-move draw between the two familiar rivals. Carlsen was on 13 points, half-a-point ahead of Nakamura.

R. Praggnanandhaa was placed third with 11 points. The Chennai teenager added to the miseries of the woefully out-of-form World champion Ding Liren of China, winning in Armageddon.

The day's other game in the open section also went to Armageddon, with Alireza Firouzja of France prevailing over Fabiano Caruana of the USA.

Firouzja had 9.5 points, followed by Caruana (7.5) and Ding (3.5). In the women's section, Ukraine's Anna Muzychuk shocked World champion Ju Wenjun of China in Armageddon and moved to the sole lead. She had 12

points, half-a-point more than Ju.

Though R. Vaishali lost to fellow-Indian Koneru Humpy in the classical game, she maintained her third place with 10 points. Humpy and Lei Tingjie of China had eight points each, while Pia Cramling of Sweden was on 5.5.

The results (seventh round):
Open: Hikaru Nakamura (USA) 12.5 bt Magnus Carlsen (Swe) 13; Fabiano Caruana (USA) 7.5 lost to Alireza Firouzja (Fra) 9.5; R. Praggnanandhaa 11 bt Ding Liren (Chn) 3.5.

Women: Anna Muzychuk (Ukr) 12 bt Ju Wenjun (Chn) 11.5; Koneru Humpy 8 bt R. Vaishali 10; Pia Cramling (Swe) 5.5 lost to Lei Tingjie (Chn) 8.5.

Lakshya Sen in second round of Indonesia Open

BADMINTON

Press Trust of India
JAKARTA

Lakshya Sen entered the men's singles second round of the Indonesia Open Super 1000 badminton with a straight-game win over Japan's Kanta Tsuneyama here on Tuesday.

Lakshya took just 40 minutes to get the better of Tsuneyama 21-12, 21-17 in an opening round clash.

Later Priyanshu Rajawat also entered the singles second round beating H.S. Prannoy 21-17, 21-12 in an all-Indian contest.

Kiran loses

However, it was curtains for Kiran George from the men's singles event, but not before giving a tough fight to Hong Yang Weng of China 21-11, 10-21, 20-22.

The Indian mixed dou-



Easy outing: Lakshya took just 40 minutes to get past Tsuneyama. GETTY IMAGES

The results (first round): Men: Lakshya Sen bt Kanta Tsuneyama 21-12, 21-17; Hong Yang Weng bt Kiran George 11-21, 21-10, 22-20; Priyanshu Rajawat bt H.S. Prannoy 21-17, 21-12.

Women: Doubles: Treasa Jolly & Gayatri Gopi Chand bt Yu-Pei Cheng & Yu Hsing Sun 21-15, 21-11.

Mixed doubles: B. Sumeeth Reddy & Sikki Reddy bt Vinson Chiu & Jennie Gai 18-21, 21-16, 21-17.

Ankita has it easy in the opener

Sports Bureau

Ankita Raina cruised past Lara Pfeifer of Italy 6-2, 6-2 in the first round of the \$40,000 ITF women's tennis tournament in Montemor-o-Novo, Portugal, on Tuesday.

Other results: \$82,000 Challenger, Tyler, USA: Singles (first round): Abdullah Shelbayh (Jor) bt Ramkumar Ramanathan 7-5, 6-1.

\$15,000 ITF men, Monastir, Tunisia: Singles (first round):

Manish Sureshkumar bt Tai Sach (Aus) 6-3, 3-6, 6-3.

\$25,000 ITF women, Daegu, Korea: Singles (first round): Shrivalli Bhamidipaty bt Shi Han (Chn) 6-3, 6-4.

\$15,000 ITF women, Madrid: Doubles (pre-quarterfinals): Luiza Fullana (Bra) & Madhurima Sawant bt Sandra Alonso (Esp) & Claudia Solis (Mex) 5-7, 6-2, [10-6].

\$15,000 ITF women, Kawaguchi, Japan: Doubles (pre-quarterfinals): Akari Inoue & Michik Ozeki (Jpn) bt Ashmitha Easwaramurthi & Talha Kokkinis (Aus) 4-6, 6-3, [10-6].

Inter Milan appoints Marotta as new president

Associated Press

MILAN

Inter Milan's new American owner Oaktree appointed Giuseppe Marotta as the club's president on Tuesday. Marotta is one of the most experienced directors in Italian football and served as Inter's chief executive since joining the club in December 2018.

Bengaluru Smashers picks Elena Timina as the coach

UTT

Sports Bureau

CHENNAI

The Ultimate Table Tennis (UTT) is set for its fifth season in the City following the Coach Draft recently, where each of the eight franchises selected one foreign and one Indian coach.

This year, the league has expanded to eight teams with the addition of Ahmedabad SG Pipers and Jaipur Patriots.

The draft witnessed Bengaluru Smashers selecting Elena Timina of Netherlands, a four-time Olympian who led Goa Challengers to victory last season.

Four Indian coaches will make their UTT debut this season — Jay Modak (Ahmedabad SG Pipers), Anshuman Roy (Bengaluru Smashers), Subhajit Saha (Goa Challengers), and Subin Kumar (Chennai Lions).

Ahmedabad SG Pipers opted for the experienced Francisco Santos, marking his fifth participation in the UTT.

Dabang Delhi TTC and Jaipur Patriots chose Indian coaches Sachin Shetty and Somnath Ghosh respectively.

Four Indian coaches will make their UTT debut this season — Jay Modak (Ahmedabad SG Pipers), Anshuman Roy (Bengaluru Smashers), former National champion Subhajit Saha (Goa Challengers), and

Subin Kumar (Chennai Lions).

The upcoming season is scheduled here from August 22 to September 7.

The teams and coaches (in order of selection):

Bengaluru Smashers: Elena Timina (Netherlands) and Anshuman Roy.

Ahmedabad SG Pipers: Francisco Santos (Portugal) and Jay Modak; **Dabang Delhi TTC:** Sachin Shetty and Vesna Ojstersek (Slovenia).

U Mumba TT: John Murphy (Ireland) and Anshul Garg.

Goa Challengers: Zoltan Batorfi (Hungary) and Subhajit Saha.

Puneri Paltan Table Tennis: Jorg Bitzigeo (Germany) and Parag Agarwa.

Jaipur Patriots: Somnath Ghosh and Ronald Redep (Croatia).

Chennai Lions: Tobias Bergman (Sweden) and Subin Kumar.

Mayank stuns third seed Pranav

WORLD JUNIOR CHESS

Sports Bureau

GANDHINAGAR

Mayank Chakraborty shocked third seed Pranav Anand in an all-Indian battle in the third round of the World junior chess championship on Tuesday.

In the girls' section, top seed Divya Deshmukh beat G. Tejaswini for her third straight win.

Important results (third round): Pranav Anand 2 lost to Mayank Chakraborty 3; Sambit Panda 2 lost to Gleb Dudin (Hun) 3; Siddharth Jagadeesh (Sgp) 2.5 drew with Arsen Davtyan (Arm) 2.5; Kazybek Nogerbek (Kaz) 3 bt Hamed Wafa (Egy) 2; Gabriel

Cardoso (Col) 3 bt Zanas Nainys (Ltu) 2; Santiago Lopez 2.5 drew with Vuppala Praneeth 2.5; Shaile Dey 2 drew with Aleksey Grebnev (FIDE) 2; Bendeguz Bodrogi (Hun) 2 drew with Rudik Makarian (FIDE) 2; Jan Subelj 2.5 bt Michal Koziorowicz (FIDE) 1.5; Ayush Sharma 2.5 bt Shawn Rodrigue-Lemieux (Can) 1.5.

Girls: G. Tejaswini 2 lost to Divya Deshmukh 3; Mariam Mkrtychyan 3 bt Lala Shohradova (Tkm) 2; Liya Kurmagalyeva 3 bt Meryem Agajanova (Tkm) 2; V. Rindhiya 3 bt Martyna Wikar (Pol) 2.

Sneha Halder 2 lost to Xeniya Balabayeva (Kaz) 3; Sofia Hryzlova (Sui) 3 bt Dakshita Kumawat 2; Kseniya Norman (FIDE) 2.5 drew with Yashvi Jain 2.5; Saparya Ghosh 2 lost to Ayan Allahverdiyeva (Aze) 3; Advika Sarupria 2 lost to Narmir Abdinova (Aze) 3; Arya Mallar 2 lost to Beloslava Krasteva (Bul) 3.

Juventus agrees departure terms with coach Allegri

Agence France-Presse

ROME

Juventus said on Monday that it had reached a deal with coach Massimiliano Allegri, who it fired two weeks ago, to end his contract by mutual agreement.

The 56-year-old Italian was sacked on May 17 after he exploded with anger during the Italian Cup final win over Atalanta two days earlier.

On Monday, the club said the two sides had agreed the terms of the separation.

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2nd Extension of Time
Ref. IEP No.: WBSSECL/TURGA PSP/HM/PO-KCB/10/23-24, Dtd.: 07.03.2024 of the Chief Engineer, PSPD, WBSSECL.
PO Application Submission Closing Date (Online) is hereby further extended up to 25.06.2024 (till 15:00 hrs. IST).

For details, visit <https://wbtenders.gov.in> & www.wbsedcl.in

SMART CITY THIRUVANANTHAPURAM LIMITED
(A SPV for the implementation of Smart City Mission in Thiruvananthapuram)

APPLICATIONS INVITED

Applications are invited from qualified candidates for appointment to the following posts in Smart City Thiruvananthapuram Limited.

♦ Assistant Manager (Environmental & Social safeguards) - 01 no.
For more details regarding guidelines & submission of online application, visit www.smartcitytmv.in. Printout or hard copy of the applications will not be accepted.

[Last date for submitting applications is extended to 07/06/2024]

(Sd/-)
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Government of India
Ministry of Jal Shakti

Department of Water Resources, River Development & Ganga Rejuvenation

The Ministry of Jal Shakti (Department of Water Resources, River Development & Ganga Rejuvenation) invites applications for the following positions in the Mahadayi PRAWAH (Progressive River Authority for Welfare And Harmony), Panaji (Goa):

S.No.	Name of the Post	Pay Scale as per 7 th CPC	No. of Posts.
1.	Chairperson	Level-15 (Rs.182200-224100)	01
2.	Member (Environmental Issues)	Level-14 (Rs.144200-218200)	01
3.	Member (Hydrology)	Level-14 (Rs.144200-218200)	01
4.	Member (Monitoring and Regulation)	Level-14 (Rs.144200-218200)	01
5.	Secretary	Level-13 (Rs.123100-215900)	01
6.	Director (Finance)	Level-13 (Rs.123100-215900)	01

2. Mahadayi PRAWAH is a Body Corporate set up by the Central Government in the exercise of the powers conferred by Section 6A of the Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1956, for the purpose of securing compliance with the implementation of the decision and direction of the Mahadayi Water Disputes Tribunal. The Mahadayi PRAWAH has its headquarters at Panaji, Goa.

3. The candidates who have already applied in response to the advertisement published earlier in Employment News edition 17th-23rd February 2024 are not required to apply fresh.

4. Details of the post, eligibility conditions, etc. are available at mowr.gov.in & dopt.gov.in. Applications (in triplicate) complete in all respects of suitable and eligible officers and who can be spared immediately in the event of selection may be sent through proper channel to: The Under Secretary (Estt.IV), Department of Water Resources, River Development & Ganga Rejuvenation, Ministry of Jal Shakti, Room No. 428-A, Shram Shakti Bhavan, Rafi Marg, New Delhi - 110001 and by email at use4-mowr@nic.in & soe4-mowr@gov.in., within a period of 30 days from the date of issue/publication of this Advertisement in the Employment News.

5. Advance copies of the application or application received after the prescribed period or not accompanied with the requisite information/ documents are liable to be rejected.

(Narayanan Bhattadiri K.P.)
Under Secretary to the Govt. of India

Note:- In the event of any discrepancy or inconsistency between the English version and its Hindi translation, the English version shall take precedence.

PARADIP PORT AUTHORITY
HARBOUR WORKS DIVISION No.1

e-TENDER CALL NOTICE
e-TCN No. CE/HWD/ACCT-24/23/166, dtd. 29.05.2024

Name of the work : "Providing additional two wheeler parking sheds near Gate No.3 at Paradip Port". Put to tender Value : Rs.1,76,97,897.31 plus GST as applicable. Last Date & time of submission of tender through online bidding is 20.06.2024 up to 17:15 Hrs. For details, please log on to the Website : <https://eprocure.gov.in/eprocure/app>.

Executive Engineer,
Harbour Works Division No.1, PPA
PPA/PR/05/2024-2025, Dt.03/06/24

APPEAL

Mugesh Kannan aged 16 years is a severe heart patient with history of valve replacement after 45 days of birth and a heart surgery when he was 3 years. Now he is advised to undergo Percutaneous Pulmonary Valve Implantation + Cardiac Catheterisation Test + Coronary Angiography Test at the Madras Medical Mission, Chennai. The total expenditure is Rs. 16,77,000/-. His family is very poor and cannot afford this huge cost. Kindly donate and help him to lead a healthy and normal life. The donations sent through CHD/DINEFT Transfer & Google Pay (Canara Bank, Nungambakkam Branch, A/C. No:60182010063310, IFSC No: CNRB0016018) favouring **WOMEN'S WELFARE SYNDICATE** is exempted under 80G IT.

All correspondence is done through WWS, Regd Public Charitable Trust, Flat No. GF 1, Cordell Apartments, O.No.13, N.No.29, Pycrofts Garden Lane, Chennai - 600006. Ph: 044-42137401/28235324/7338978027. E Mail ID: womenswelfare.org@gmail.com. Website: www.womenswelfare.org.

WWS

ODISHA JOINT ENTRANCE EXAMINATION-2024 (OJEE-2024)

No: 227/OJEE DATE: 04-06-2024

NOTICE FOR ONLINE APPLICATION FOR 2ND/ SPECIAL OJEE, 2024

The 2nd / Special OJEE for B.Tech., LE-Tech (Diploma), LE-Tech (B.Sc.), MBA, MCA and B. Pharm will be held in the last week of June, 2024 (24th June, 2024 to 26th June, 2024).

The Entrance Examination will be conducted in Computer Based Test (CBT) mode for all the courses as mentioned above.

Interested candidates are advised to fill up the respective Application Forms online through OJEE website (www.ojee.nic.in) only.

Filling-up of Online Application through OJEE website has been started on 04th June, 2024 and will end on 11th June, 2024 (11.00 PM).

Please read, carefully, the 'Information Brochure' and the 'Instructions to fill On-line Application Form' for OJEE - 2024, which are available in the OJEE websites to get detailed information regarding eligibility criteria, examination pattern, syllabus etc.

Syllabus for B.Tech. course is same as that for JEE MAIN 2024, while syllabus for other courses are same as for OJEE 2024.

Candidates, who have appeared and have rank in JEE MAIN 2024 (for B.TECH) or OJEE - 2024 (for other courses), are not required to appear the 2nd / Special OJEE.

The results (ranks) of 2nd Special OJEE shall be used for admission to the vacant seats left over after 1st phase counselling.

Please note that Outside State candidates are not eligible for admission in Government Colleges, but they are eligible for admission in Private Colleges. For other details, please visit our website: www.ojee.nic.in / www.odishaee.com.

Sd/- CHAIRMAN, OJEE
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Online bids are invited from manufacturers/direct importers/ loan licensees on behalf of Department of Health, Govt of Kerala for the Procurement of Drugs for Anemia Mukth Bharath for the year 2023-24.

Sl. No.	Tender No. and Date	No. of items
1.	KMSCL/ED/IFA/RC/2024/009 dtd. 04.06.2024	05

The last date and time of online uploading of tender will be 20.06.2024, 5.00 pm. The date and time of opening of Technical bid will be 24.06.2024 11.00 am. Tender shall be downloaded and submitted online through the e-tender portal www.etenders.kerala.gov.in.

(Sd/-) MANAGING DIRECTOR (Tender Inviting Authority)

OPPORTUNITIES

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT • JOBS • TECHNOLOGY

Campus hires: companies up against growing attrition rate

Opportunities Desk

Deloitte India's latest campus-workforce trends 2024 indicates a shift towards hiring based on skills and a greater focus on gender-diverse talent recruitment and a need to ink in retention strategies that would ensure campus hires are in a long innings with the company. The survey encompasses data from over 190 organisations and 500 campuses.

Focus on specific skills

Organisations are pivoting to specific skills/competency clusters within the educational stream while selecting their talent. For example, AI/ML in engineering, social selling in management and computational biology in pharma are the most in-demand skill segments. Complementing this trend, expectations from campus students are pivoting to management consulting roles for MBA specialisation and data scientist for technology talent.

Retention reboot needed

Attrition remains a significant challenge, especially among MBA graduates. Overall, one-year and two-year attrition rates for top-tier campuses are 21 percent, 26 percent and 28 percent, in a pan-India assessment. These rates drop, only slightly, where tier-2 and tier-3 campuses are concerned. This trend underscores the need for innovative retention strategies. To combat this challenge, leading organisations are implementing flexible work arrangements, performance-based incentives and targeted career development programmes.

Workplace diversity



For representational purpose only

The report underscores significant progress in workplace gender equality and diversity hiring. Female campus hiring increased in FY24 compared with that in FY23. However, the availability of gender-diverse talent remains a challenge, especially in the engineering stream. Rise in various initiatives also supports the hiring of differently-abled individuals and those with diverse gender identities. Targets for hiring differently-abled employees increased from 5 percent in FY23 to 9 percent in FY24, while LGBTQIA+ hiring targets surged from 8 percent to 20 percent.

Location preferences

The survey reveals distinct location

preferences for different disciplines. For engineering graduates, Bangalore, Hyderabad and Chennai emerge as the top destinations, likely due to their thriving tech ecosystems, prestigious universities and robust job markets. In contrast, for students pursuing management degrees, the top three preferred locations are Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai. Bangalore's reputation as an IT and start-up hub likely makes it attractive for management students seeking opportunities in diverse industries.

Salary trends

For the first time in 5 years, 2024 projected salaries for management students (viz. MBA) are experienc-

ing a drop of 5 percent to 10 percent across tiers.

Notably, the expectation of salary by campus students is also experiencing a similar decline. Variable pay increased by 250 basis points over the past year, indicating a shift towards higher performance orientation by employers.

Internship intake

Internship intake by organisations reduced by 10 percent on an average, indicating declining uptake. Similarly, pre-placement offers (PPOs) have experienced an annual drop of 26 percent.

Complementing it, campus hiring budgets saw a 33 percent drop in the past year.

HR BUZZ

Hiring LGBTQIA+ candidates

Axis Bank has launched a talent acquisition programme for the LGBTQIA+ community. 'ARISE ComeAsYouAre' is an open campus programme focussed on skills-based hiring, one that puts traditional factors such as a specific degree or college pedigree in the shade. This recruitment programme is designed to welcome talented LGBTQIA+ individuals from any college in India to apply and build a career in banking with Axis Bank.

Fresh graduates and professionals with up to five years of experience will get an equal opportunity to launch their career in a dynamic and inclusive environment that focuses on their skills, potential and fresh perspective, said a press release.

Prioritising mental health

More than 30,000 employees of Central Bank of India can now seek help for any mental health issues. The bank has tied up with Ito1help, an Employee Assistance Program (EAP) provider, to prioritise the mental well-being of employees. As part of this partnership, Ito1help will introduce a personalised self-care journey for each individual. Central Bank of India has a network of more than 4700 branches, said the release.

Enhanced parental leave

Colgate-Palmolive (India) Limited has extended its parental leave policy for "supportive caregivers" from four weeks of fully paid leave to 12 weeks.

Primary caregivers are primarily responsible for the day-to-day care of the child. Secondary

caregivers, such as partners, spouses, or other family members, support them in caring for the child. This policy covers biological parents, adoptive parents and those involved in surrogacy, said the release.

Caregivers will have the flexibility to take their leave in up to three tranches, with no more than two months per tranche. The time period for availing leave has also been extended from within 6 months to within 12 months of the child's birth or adoption. By allowing caregivers more flexibility in how they take their leave, we hope to support a better balance between work and family responsibilities, ultimately retaining more women in the workforce, added the release.

Health insurance for siblings

Razorpay, an omnichannel payments and banking platform, has a new employee health insurance policy which includes benefits to cover all full-time team members, including all acquired entities and their families.

This includes defining their own families, encompassing Live-in or LGBTQIA+ partners as spouses, and now extending coverage to siblings, adopted or third child.

The sibling insurance inclusion is a rare provision that less than 1% of organisations in India currently offer, as per data from Prudent's database, said a release.

The updated policy not only sets a new standard by incorporating coverage for HIV/AIDS and PCOS but also eliminates "co-pays" for employees, their spouses and children covered in the policy.



Representational image

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Chhetri ready for farewell as India aims for final round

Igor Stimac's side lies second in its group, behind already qualified Qatar, and next takes on Kuwait; Afghanistan is level on points



One last tango: Skipper Chhetri leads the Indian team training session in in Kolkata on Tuesday. PTI

WC QUALIFYING

Agence France-Presse
HONG KONG

Indian legend Sunil Chhetri will say farewell to international football on Thursday as the team aims to reach the final stage of Asian World Cup qualifying for the first time.

The 39-year-old skipper Chhetri has 94 goals in 150 appearances for India, be-

hind only Cristiano Ronaldo, Iran's retired Ali Daei and Lionel Messi in the list of all-time international goal-scorers.

India's most-capped player announced last month that Thursday's home qualifier against Kuwait in Kolkata will be his international swansong, and he will want to go out with a bang.

Igor Stimac's side lies second in its group, behind already qualified Qatar, and can take a large step

towards the third and final qualifying round for 2026 with victory.

Wide open

With two games left and two nations to go through, the last qualifying berth from the group is wide open with India and Afghanistan level on four points and Kuwait on three.

"I feel privileged to have had a career like this," Chhetri told *The Economic Times*. "When I started

playing football, all of this was unthinkable.

Europe sojourn

"If I would have left for Europe when I was a 15-year-old, for example, I could have had a different kind of career," added Chhetri, who had a brief unsuccessful spell in Portugal more than a decade ago.

"But when I now look back, I will not trade what I have got for anything in the world."

Shambhavi shines in women's air rifle

Sports Bureau

youth gold medals

Shambhavi Kshirsagar swept three of the four gold medals in women's rifle in the 22nd Kumar Surendra Singh shooting in Bhopal on Tuesday.

The 15-year-old from Maharashtra shot 254.6 in the women's final to beat the qualification topper Gautami Bhanot (634.4).

Shambhavi went on to bag the youth and sub-

The results: 10m air rifle:

Women: 1. Shambhavi Kshirsagar 254.6 (631.6); 2. Gautami Bhanot 251.4 (634.4); 3. Yana Rathore 230.8 (631.0).

Juniors: 1. Gautami Bhanot 251.9 (634.4); 2. Yana Rathore 250.3 (631.0); 3. Isha Taksale 229.2 (629.9).

Youth: 1. Shambhavi Kshirsagar 252.2 (631.6); 2. Ojasvi Thakur 251.2 (628.9); 3. Isha Taksale 229.6 (629.9). Sub Youth: 1. Shambhavi Kshirsagar 631.6; 2. Ojasvi Thakur 628.9; 3. Ameerah Arshad 627.0.



Perez to stay at Red Bull till 2026

Associated Press

MILTON KEYNES (ENGLAND)

Sergio Perez is staying with Red Bull after signing a two-year contract extension with the Formula 1 team through 2026.

The Mexican driver's contract had been due to expire at the end of this season. There had been speculation he might be replaced after difficulty matching the pace of teammate and defending champion Max Verstappen.

Perez has not won a race since the Azerbaijan Grand Prix in April 2023, even as Verstappen sealed last year's title with a record 19 wins and leads the standings this season.

"I want to thank everyone for all the trust they are putting in me, it is a lot and I want to pay it back with excellent results on track, and off track," Perez said.

Coach Nar Singh chosen for Dilip Bose award

Sports Bureau

NEW DELHI

The All India Tennis Association (AITA) has announced the Dilip Bose award for life time achievement to coach Nar Singh. The award along with a cash prize of ₹50,000 will be presented during the 11th national coaches workshop to be held at the PYC Hindu Gymkhana in Pune on June 7 and 8.

The secretary general of AITA, Anil Dhupar, announced a new life time achievement award for women coaches.

The first award would be presented to the 69-year-old Rohini Lokhande who was a member of the national team along with Kiran Bedi, Nirupama Mankad, Susan Das and Udaya Kumar, before she took to coaching at a young age.

Rohini was the first woman tennis coach to quali-



Nar Singh.



Rohini Lokhande.

fy from the National Institute of Sports. She has trained thousands of players in different age groups and has helped many to qualify as coaches.

The 65-year-old Nar Singh, who has served as a coach and educator for several years, will be the 11th recipient of the Dilip Bose award. His eldest brother Balram Singh was chosen for the award in 2011.

Akhtar Ali, Nandan Bal, C.G.K. Bhupathi, T. Chan-

drasekaran, Enrico Piperno, Tahir Ali, C.V. Nagaraj, Gajendra Singh, Hemant Bendrey, S. Narendra Nath were the other recipients of the award.

The AITA coaches workshop revived after 2019 will have the theme of technology and allied services in tennis.

The head of participation and education of the International Tennis Federation (ITF), Miguel Crespo, will deliver the keynote address.

Vijayveer misses the rapid fire pistol final

Sports Bureau

India's Vijayveer Sidhu shot 587 but missed the final owing to lesser number of inner-10s (18 to 23) against Li Yuehong of China in the World Cup in Munich, Germany, on Tuesday.

While Vijayveer was seventh in a field of 65 shooters, in which Peter Florian of Germany equalled the world record score of 593, Bhavesh Shekhawat (583) and Anish Bhanwala (579) placed 12th and 23rd respectively.

In women's 25-metre sports pistol final, India's Esha Singh finished in the sixth place.

In the mixed air rifle event, the Indian pair of Elavenil Valarivan and Sandeep Singh (630.0) were placed in the 13th spot, one rung above the other Indian team of Ramita Jindal and Arjun Babuta (629.7), in a strong field of 59 teams.

The results: 25m sports pistol: Women: 1. Cmilie Jedrzewski (Fra) 40 (8) 588; 2. Doreen Vennekamp (Ger) 40 (6) 586; 3. Kim Yeji (Kor) 35 (588); 6. Esha Singh 20 (584); 55. Rhythm Sangwan 570.

Germany held by Ukraine; Palmer scores for England

FOOTBALL

Agence France-Presse
NUREMBERG

Germany was held to a 0-0 draw by Ukraine as the European Championship host lacked a cutting edge at a sold out Max-Morlock Stadion in Nuremberg.

More than 44,000 fans were in jovial mood at kickoff, expecting a Germany that has rediscovered its form under Julian Nagelsmann put on a show less than two weeks before it starts Euro 2024 against Scotland in Munich on June 14.

Nagelsmann was without Real Madrid's Toni Kroos and Antonio Rudiger, both rested after winning the Champions League final as well as Borussia Dortmund pair Nico Schlotterbeck and Niclas Fuellkrug.

Brighton midfielder Pascal Gross deputised for Kroos admirably, pulling the strings alongside Bayer Leverkusen's Robert Andrich, and Germany was relatively comfortable at the back, as Stuttgart's Waldemar Anton enjoyed an assured full debut alongside Jonathan Tah.



Midfield boss: Gross, right, pulled the strings for Germany in its draw against Ukraine. AFP

It was rather in attack where Germany laboured, lacking a cutting edge.

Arsenal's Kai Havertz was isolated for long periods and Bayer Leverkusen's Florian Wirtz, whose every touch sent a buzz of excitement around the stadium, failed to get going before his withdrawal at half time.

Germany's best chances fell to Ilkay Gundogan, who missed a golden first half chance as he mistimed his jump attempting to meet a teasing cross by Gross.

Meanwhile, Cole Palmer scored his first England goal as the Chelsea forward's penalty inspired a 3-0 win against Bosnia and Herzegovina in their warm-up.

Palmer marked his maiden start for the Three Lions with a clinical spotkick in the second half at Newcastle's St. James' Park.

Trent Alexander-Arnold was England's other standout performer in its penultimate game before the Euros.

The Liverpool star - again deployed in midfield rather than at right-back by Southgate - scored England's second goal to cap a lively display.

Harry Kane, who came off the bench in the second half on his return to fitness, bagged the third goal in the final seconds to put a flattering gloss on an inconsistent display from understrength England.

SNAPSHOTS

Keerthivassan ousts top seed Shivank

Keerthivassan Suresh knocked out top seed Shivank Bhatnagar 6-1, 6-7(5), 6-4 in the pre-quarterfinals of the Hotel Ravine ₹250,000 AITA men's tennis tournament in Panchgani on Tuesday.

The results: Men

(pre-quarterfinals):

Keerthivassan Suresh bt Shivank Bhatnagar 6-1, 6-7(5), 6-4; Abhinansu Borthakur bt Sandesh Kurale 6-7(8), 6-4, 6-2; Maan Kesharwani bt Sarthak Suden 6-7(4), 6-1, 6-2; Aditya Balsekar bt Varun Dhandhukia 6-1, 6-2; Oges Thejyo bt Krish Waghani 6-3, 6-7(2), 6-1; Rashein Samuel bt Nishit Rahane 6-1, 6-0; Ajay Malik bt Anmol Nagpure 6-1, 6-0; Omar Sumar bt Jagmeet Singh 6-4, 6-3.

Vihari gets NOC from ACA

India batter Hanuma Vihari has finally got the No Objection Certificate (NOC) from the Andhra Cricket Association (ACA) after falling out with the state body.

In March, the ACA had served a show-cause

notice to Vihari after he accused the governing body of unceremoniously removing him from captaincy and vowed not to play for the state again.

In a post on X, Vihari wrote that he had been asking for the NOC for the past two months but finally got it on Monday.

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Game Theory – the gateway to a healthy lifestyle through technology

The idea is to provide an enjoyable sports experience to the common man with the support of technology as the drive for physical fitness seems to have captured the imagination of the young and old alike



SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

Kamesh Srinivasan

It is a comfortable life, if you have the money. However, the flow of money and resources seem to have reduced the physical activity of people, making them more dependent on machines and leading to an increasingly sedentary life.

To be healthy, you need to have physical activity and be constantly engaged mentally. Sports offers a ready solution. You play sports not only to entertain yourself or others, but lead a happy and healthy life.

Now you want anything, it gets delivered at your door step. There is no need to even go to a nearby shop or the market. You have all the time to stay glued to your phone for entertainment.

Mobile phones the culprit

When I look around inside the metro train while returning from office, I find people fully engrossed with their mobile phones.

One thing that is more common than the use of phones is the way the people pounce on seats as and when people vacate as most don't have the energy to stand for long, irrespective of age.

Well, it may paint a gloomy picture, but it is reality.

The drive for physical fitness is one area that seemed to have captured the imagination of the young and old alike. A routine visit to the local gym, and a good work out on the apparatus of their choice, and brisk running on the treadmill seemed to have solved the problem of physical inactivity in public. But, it calls for tremendous discipline to stick to a gym routine.

Ask Sudeep Kulkarni, the founder and CEO of Game Theory that is focused on providing enjoyable sports experience with the support of technology to the common man who finds time to engage in sports at any level.

Sudeep realised that sports offers the solution to all of life's problems.

"Sports is inherently exciting. You won't think about the bills to pay when there is a ball in front and you are running towards it," Sudeep said, as we engaged in a conversation.

"Essentially, sports is almost a weekend fun activity. People do not have a reliable way to play consistently and well. The trick is having people of the same skill level playing each other regularly," said Sudeep, even as he matched it with the success of video games.

"Sports excellence is more comparative at the recreational level, than being competitive. Am I better than you?! That is my only worry. If we can have a comparative element going, then people get more interested in playing.

"That is what video games achieve. So, we are building a video-game like experience for real sports. That is achieved by converting a regular badminton or squash or table tennis court into a smart court, with cameras, screen etc.," explained Sudeep, quite happy to drive sports into the life of about 30,000 people every day in about 15 centres across the city of Bengaluru.

Gauging skill and grouping according to their level is done through "computer vision".

"We do a lot of analytics on your game, understanding how you play. We are now able to figure out everything about the game that is available to a professional athlete, and bring it to anyone who gets on court to play the game. There is so much data available, which when put together meaningfully can provide pointers on how to grow in the game. It helps to arrive at conclusions and insights that are meaningful to our customers," said Sudeep, giving an insight into technology that is helping players improve and enjoy sports more." No wonder they get glued to the sports for long. It is fun, there is growth, and is quite healthy.

Badminton is the fastest growing sports in the country after cricket. Technology has dissected the game so much and delivers data instantly to give clarity on one's game and what needs to be done to step up the game.

Computer vision engine

"The computer vision engine understands everything about your game play. It identifies where the shuttle is like a hawk eye. It measures everything and is able to compute what kind of shots you are playing, what is the speed of the shuttle when you hit it, are you a hard hitter or a placer. Eventually, it tells your skill level," said Sudeep.

"The same technology can read your shot patterns and compare it with State and National-level players. There is constant monitoring by computer vision to see whether the growth pattern signals something special and that a particular kid can go far," said Sudeep.

Such talent identification also provides clear pointers for the parents of the children to pursue the path of excellence. Whether you play for recreation or trying to become a world beater, the path is the same, and there is enough data to help anyone.

"Most of the time, parents don't know much about the game when the child is getting coached. They want to be involved and know the progress. Now we can show data. If you played a forehand drop drill yesterday and you played the same shot

three months back, we can combine the two videos and show you real progress. We can show you strength and progression," said Sudeep, emphasising the importance of having the parents in the loop for the healthy growth of the child in the world of sports.

When there is progress, parents get more involved and keep their kids in the sport longer, which helps in the long-term training of them in the best possible way. "This way, we can develop a culture of sports which will help the country achieve more medals at higher levels," said Sudeep.

The process has been nicely put in place for badminton, and it is being worked out for squash. It is already being used in swimming. The basics of technology are the same, and it is up to the experts to tailor it to suit the needs of different games.

"There is computer vision, the engine behind all these things. It is tracking objects, people. You have to just put a car around it. You can choose which car you want to build. There is some work involved, but you are not reinventing something," he explained.

Analysis of strength and weakness

"It will not take us much time to get it ready for squash. We can analyse the weakness or strength of the players. Where do the maximum forced or unforced errors come from, and from which part of the court. Where should you play the shot," he said.

With such useful analysis and broadcast quality videos delivered in quick time, the smart courts swarm with activities most of the time.

Coming back to the start, Sudeep pointed out that sports would soon become the best way forward for every citizen.

"The amount of calories burnt in an hour of playing feels effortless at the end of the game, and leaves you wanting for more. In comparison, the fitness activity feels so tiresome," he said.

Even though not much is being charged additionally for playing on the smart courts as compared to the normal courts, Sudeep does feel that the public at large is willing to spend more on sports.

"Now is the time to ensure technology

is available to these customers. Am sure, bigger business will be built in sports, even at the recreational space itself," he pointed out.

Sudeep is also confident that venture capitalists will continue to plough money into sports as the investments would help in the speedy and healthy growth into a bright future for everyone.

Affordable

The unique point of Sudeep and his 100-odd team of people in Game Theory is that they have made technology affordable.

The idea is to keep installing the smart courts city after city and possibly get into the international market at some stage. And of course, the smart engine, the core of technology can be fitted into different games, across the spectrum.

More than building the smart courts, and letting technology take over in driving sports, Sudeep and team have done something more smart. They have made playing sports effortless and enjoyable.

"We got a few basics right at the start itself. We made the facilities very good and clean. When you walk into a Game Theory centre, everything is hygienic. Rest rooms are there. We have showers in all our places. It makes it convenient for people to play and go to office. By doing that, our utilisation rate is almost full," he said.

Apart from people playing for health and recreation, the company is also having around 1500 kids in coaching programmes. It is just the starting block. There is so much more to come.

"If you are asking me about the impact of technology, I cannot answer you yet! Some of the technology we have built is yet to be deployed," Sudeep said.

Elevating the experience

Sudeep, for sure, is proving that the integration of sports and technology can elevate the sporting experience of people from all walks of life.

Quite commendably, Sudeep and his team also utilise the facilities to provide access to sports for the less privileged through the Game Theory Foundation.

The game theory is simple: enjoy sports everyone, technology is with you!

THE GIST

Technology can read your badminton shot patterns and compare it with State and National-level players

Game Theory CEO Sudeep emphasises the importance of having parents in the loop for the healthy growth of the child

Talent identification provides clear pointers for guiding the children on the path of excellence



The bacteria that write new genes to cope with infections

Columbia University researchers suggest that when *Klebsiella pneumoniae* bacteria are infected by bacteriophages, they take the help of reverse transcriptase to create a specific protein they called *Neo*. This protein could place the bacterial cell in suspended animation, thus stopping the infection in its tracks

Sridhar Sivasubbu
Vinod Scaria

Amid the unprecedented challenges presented by the COVID-19 pandemic, a once obscure enzyme found itself in the spotlight: reverse transcriptase. As laboratories worldwide rushed to develop reliable diagnostic tests, techniques using the enzyme became the gold standard to detect the SARS-2 virus, and a cornerstone of molecular diagnostics. This remarkable enzyme not only facilitated rapid and accurate testing; along with another powerful approach – genome-sequencing – it also helped track the virus’s spread, paving the way for surveillance, better public healthcare, and vaccine development.

The discovery of reverse transcriptase is a story unto itself. Researchers in the labs of Howard Temin and David Baltimore independently discovered it and published their findings in back-to-back articles in the journal *Nature* in 1970. In his paper, Dr. Baltimore suggested that in the vesicular stomatitis virus, a protein called RNA polymerase was involved in reverse-translating RNA to DNA.

A molecular biology revolution

The discovery was transformative. The prevailing belief at the time was that in all living beings, hereditary information flowed only from DNA to RNA and from RNA to protein (a.k.a. the ‘Central Dogma’). The discoveries of Drs. Temin and Baltimore et al. showed information could flow the other way, too, with RNA giving ‘rise’ to DNA. The name ‘reverse transcriptase’ was, however, coined by the editor of *Nature*, in an article discussing the significant advance in an accompanying column.

The discovery’s impact was also immediate. The ability of cells to create DNA copies from RNA revolutionised research methods in molecular biology, where researchers could reverse-transcribe messenger RNAs to pieces of DNA, clone that DNA into bacterial vectors, and study the function of the corresponding genes. In diagnostics, clinicians used reverse transcriptase to convert RNA to DNA and thus estimate the amount of viral material in a given sample. This technique quickly found wide application and use in the study of RNA viruses, including hepatitis B and the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

Indeed, the discovery of reverse transcriptase had a significant effect on the management and treatment of HIV



A growth of *Klebsiella pneumoniae* bacteria developed from a positive blood culture. CHIARA MARRACCINI

infections, including Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), in the 1980s. A generation of antiviral agents that specifically targeted the reverse transcriptase enzyme helped convert an otherwise deadly disease to one that could be managed, translating to improving the long-term outcomes and survival of people living with AIDS.

Subsequent studies of the reverse transcriptase enzyme since the 1970s led to mechanistic insights into how viruses use this enzyme to replicate, as well.

Retroelements in the human genome

Reverse transcriptases also had a significant role in shaping the human genome. The human genome is interspersed in many places with sequences, called elements, that appear to have originated from retroviruses. Thus, researchers call them retroelements. Evolutionary biologists believe these retroelements to have been transferred horizontally during the course of millions of years of evolution. (Horizontal gene transfer refers to genes ‘jumping’ between organisms rather than from parent to offspring.) And until recently, researchers also considered them to be ‘junk’ elements: they were repeated through the genome and they seemingly did not confer any function to the human organism.

However, recent evidence has suggested that these retroelements could really have had a profound impact on human biology and evolution, and that they play important roles in a variety of physiological processes. In a recent paper in the journal *Nature Communications*, researchers extensively studied the expression of genes in different parts of the human brain from post-mortem brain



Techniques using the reverse transcriptase enzyme became the gold standard to detect SARS-2 virus, and a cornerstone of molecular diagnostics

samples. They reported that the expression of more than a thousand human endogenous retroviruses – a major class of retroelements in the human genome – could be associated with a risk of neuropsychiatric diseases in humans.

Retroelements in the human genome and bacterial reverse transcriptases have a common evolutionary history as well as share functional mechanisms. Bacterial reverse transcriptases – believed to be the precursors of their eukaryotic counterparts – exhibit analogous mechanisms. The discovery of reverse transcriptase activity across the different domains of life underscores the enzyme’s fundamental role in both prokaryotic and eukaryotic systems as well as a remarkable evolutionary continuity and functional versatility.

How do *Klebsiella* create genes?

Researchers widely believed that bacterial reverse transcriptases were the precursors of their eukaryotic counterparts. They discovered the first reverse transcriptase in bacteria in 1989, with papers published back to back in the journals *Science* and *Cell*. In bacteria, as in the case of humans, retroelements are categorised as belonging to three broad

groups: the Group II introns, the retrons, and the diversity generating retroelements.

In a preprint paper uploaded to the bioRxiv preprint server on May 8, researchers at Columbia University in New York, led by Stephen Tang and Samuel Sternberg, suggested that when the bacteria *Klebsiella pneumoniae* is infected by bacteriophages – viruses that infect bacteria – they use a non-coding RNA with specific motifs (or structures) that could bind to reverse transcriptase and instruct cells to create DNA. This DNA copy has multiple copies of a gene that can create a specific protein.

The researchers dubbed this protein ‘Neo’ for “never-ending open-reading frame”. It could place the bacterial cell in a state of suspended animation, blocking its replication, and thus stalling the replication of the invading bacteriophage as well. Thus, the infection is stopped in its tracks.

Recent discoveries – including the role of reverse transcriptase in bacterial defence against bacteriophages – hint at the potential of innovative applications in biotechnology and medicine, especially in the context of emerging antimicrobial resistance, the ability of disease-causing microbes to resist the effects of substances designed to incapacitate or kill them. Further exploring reverse transcriptases could also reveal novel mechanisms of genetic evolution and viral resistance, potentially leading to new therapeutic strategies and biotechnological tools.

(The authors are senior consultants at Vishwanath Cancer Care Foundation and adjunct professors at IIT Kanpur and Dr. D.Y. Patil Medical College, Hospital & Research Centre, Pune.)

THE GIST

The ability of cells to create DNA copies from RNA revolutionised research in molecular biology. Researchers could reverse-transcribe messenger RNAs to pieces of DNA, clone that DNA into bacterial vectors, and study the function of the corresponding genes

Reverse transcriptase had a significant effect on management of HIV infections in the 1980s. A generation of antiviral agents targeting the reverse transcriptase enzyme helped convert an otherwise deadly disease to one that could be managed

Reverse transcriptase has the potential to reveal novel mechanisms of genetic evolution and viral resistance, leading to new therapeutic strategies and biotechnological tools

BIG SHOT



This photo released on Tuesday by the China National Space Administration (CNSA) shows the ascender and lander captured by China’s Chang’e-6 lunar probe after it landed on the moon. A module of the Chinese lunar probe successfully took off from the far side of the Moon on Tuesday carrying samples back to Earth, state media reported. AFP

QUESTION CORNER

The Sun never stops shining

Q: How can the sky glow even after sunset?
- Jaivanthika Karthikeyan

The sun may have set from our perspective – but hasn’t yet from the perspective of the upper atmosphere. The Sun still shines at the atmosphere, but at a sharp angle beneath the horizon. In this hour, we see the sky glow because molecules in the air scatter these sunlight in different directions, including ours. This is also why the evening sky appears red at the horizon.

Both this effect and the sky being blue-hued in daytime is the result of Rayleigh scattering – the scattering of sunlight by particles in the air that are much smaller than the light’s wavelength.

As the Sun continues to set, a smaller amount of sunlight strikes the upper atmosphere. Nightfall truly kicks in only when the Sun is at least around 18 degrees beneath the horizon. The arrival of daylight happens in a similar process, in reverse. When the Sun is at least 18 degrees below the horizon in the east, the sky starts to turn reddish again near the horizon.



A city skyline against the twilight glow. DANIEL MOTA/UNSPLASH

When the star’s position crosses the horizon (as seen by the observer), daylight breaks out and the day begins.

The sky can appear to glow even after the Sun has dipped 18 degrees below the horizon, due to other sources of light. These include the scattering of starlight by the atmosphere and – increasingly – light pollution.

- Karthik Vinod, intern with The Hindu

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