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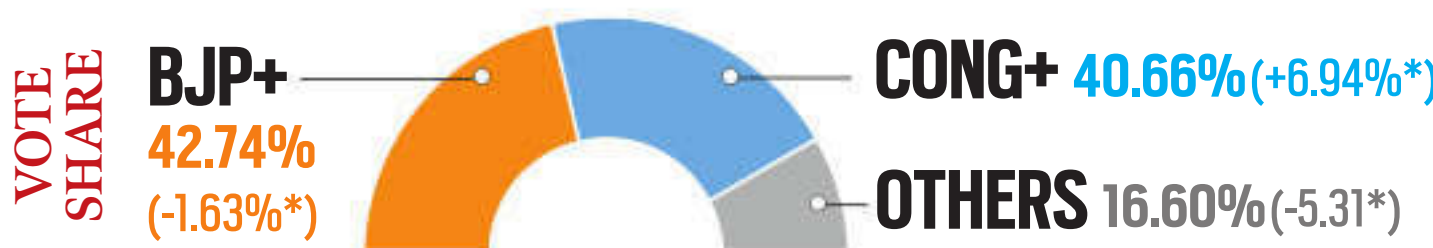
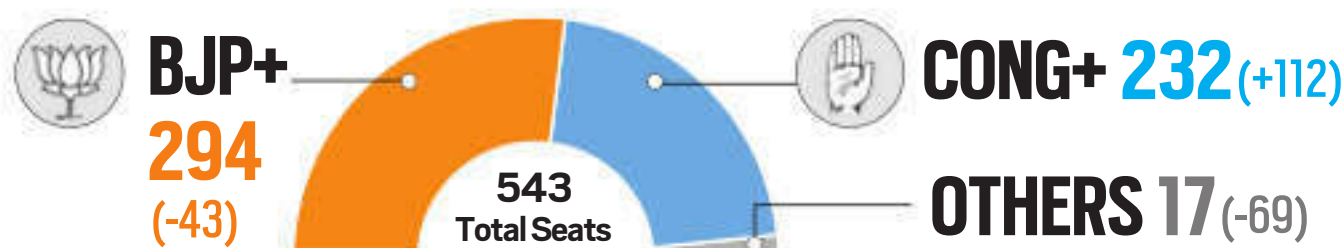
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BJP TALLY DOWN BY 63, NITISH AND NAIDU EMERGE KEY PLAYERS

India gives NDA third term, Modi a message



Note: 2019 figures based on tally of current alliance members; Figures include wins/ leads as of 10 pm; *Percentage points. Source: EC

Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal setbacks behind BJP losing majority



Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the BJP headquarters in New Delhi on Tuesday. Tashi Tobgyal

CONGRESS TALLY UP TO 99

Boosted by big gains, Cong says will talk to allies on forming govt

MANOJ CG & LIZ MATHEW

NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

THE CONGRESS is back on its feet — almost.

While the party has won or is leading in 99 seats, the INDIA bloc — powered by a remarkable show by the Samajwadi Party (SP) in Uttar Pradesh and Trinamool Congress (TMC) in West Bengal — has won 232 seats. After a gap of 10 years, the Congress has secured the numbers to claim the post of Leader of the Opposition in Lok Sabha, and earned the right to be a more aggressive Opposition force.

Significantly, the Congress did not outrightly rule out the possibility of exploring the options for government formation. Sources said the INDIA bloc has made some overtures to both JD(U) chief and Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar and TDP supremo Chandrababu Naidu — both in the NDA camp — who are together leading in 28 seats. Party leaders said Nitish and Naidu have the NDA and INDIA bloc options open before them. “So we have reached out to them and conveyed our mind...but are not aggressively looking at government formation.”

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

WORST TRADING SESSION IN OVER 4 YEARS

On exit poll high, markets fall 6% as BJP loses majority

HITESH VYAS & GEORGE MATHEW

MUMBAI, JUNE 4

WITH THE Lok Sabha election results Tuesday making it clear the BJP would not be able to reach the majority mark on its own and would have to depend on its allies to form the government at the Centre, domestic stock mar-

kets witnessed its worst trading sessions in over four years with the Sensex and the Nifty crashing over 8 per cent during intraday trades.

During intraday trades, the Sensex tanked 6,234.35 points and the broader Nifty plummeted 1982.45 points. However, benchmark indices recouped some of the losses to finally end

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



Congress leaders Rahul Gandhi, Mallikarjun Kharge, Sonia Gandhi in New Delhi. Anil Sharma

‘NDA GOVT WILL WORK WITH ALL STATES’

PM: First time since 1962, a govt elected three times in a row

MANOJ CG & LIZ MATHEW

NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

THE PEOPLE have spoken and the NDA with leads in 294 Lok Sabha seats is set to return for a third term but the mandate is not exactly what Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who spearheaded the BJP campaign, may have hoped for.

Contrary to exit polls that predicted a landslide for the ruling alliance, the BJP Tuesday was short of a majority on its own — with 272 as the halfway in the House of 543, its leads hovered around the 240-mark at night — and appeared heavily depend-

SETBACK IN KEY STATE

Disconnect on ground, ticket choice to jobs, caste: How BJP lost UP plot

SHYAMLAL YADAV & BHUPENDRA PANDEY

NEW DELHI, LUCKNOW, JUNE 4

THAT THE road to Delhi runs through Uttar Pradesh is not lost on anyone. With 80 seats in a House of 543, UP has decided national outcomes and with-

BETWEEN THE NUMBERS

Refrain behind verdict: ‘Centre’s power too one-sided, a little ankush (restraint)?’

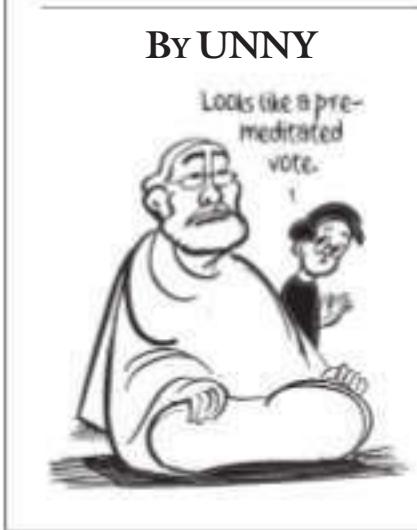
NEERJACHOWDHURY

NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

IF ONE word can sum up the outcome of the 2024 elections, it is the Hindi word, “ankush,” (restraint) that the Indian voter has exercised — she has given the BJP the mandate to

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ent on alliance partners especially the TDP and JD(U), ending

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

stood the test of time, election after election.

It propelled Narendra Modi’s rise to power in 2014, sending 71 BJP MPs to Lok Sabha, and helped him consolidate his grip in 2019 by electing 62 party candidates and two of ally Apna Dal (S).

This time, UP was meant to set the ball rolling for an even

rule for a third term — but has also reined it in.

The BJP leadership will now have to rule at the head of a coalition government, take along its allies, be more mindful of its own party leaders who were given short shrift. The BJP may still dismiss concerns raised by the Opposition but it will be aware that it can’t quite get away with it — with a 60-plus dip in their tally.

As insurance, TDP & JD(U) push case for Speaker’s post

LIZ MATHEW

NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

THE TDP and JD(U), two parties key to the third successive stint of the NDA at the Centre, have decided to press for the post of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

Sources said the two parties have already indicated to the BJP leadership that the Speaker’s post should be offered to alliance partners — TDP’s GMC Balayogi was Speaker when Atal Bihari Vajpayee was heading a coalition government in the late 1990s.

This move, sources said, is to “insulate” the alliance partners from any possible split in the future. The Speaker’s role is crucial

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

larger mandate but by Tuesday evening, the BJP was struggling with leads in only 33 constituencies, losing ground to the SP-Congress alliance.

That Modi’s own victory margin of 1.52 lakh votes in Varanasi had dropped from 4.79 lakh in 2019 was a pointer to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

In democratic politics, arithmetic also shapes chemistry and Prime Minister Narendra Modi knows that. Ever since he began contesting elections in 2001, he has never been part of a formation that’s not in majority — until now. This did have an echo on the campaign street.

After the BJP’s sweeping victories, the break-up of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



CHANGE OF GUARD IN TWO ASSEMBLIES

State polls good news for NDA: BJP ends Naveen rule in Odisha, TDP back in Andhra

SUJIT BISOYI & SREENIVAS JANYALA

BHUBANESWAR, HYDERABAD, JUNE 4

EVEN AS the BJP-led NDA suffered a setback at the national level, with its tally in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections falling well short of exit-poll projections, the silver lining for the alliance came from strong performances in the two state polls of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh.

In Odisha, the BJP was all set to form a majority government of its own for the first time, winning 78 out of 147 seats. The outcome brings to an end the five-term reign of Naveen Patnaik’s

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

ODISHA ASSEMBLY

Party	2019	2024
BJP	23 (32.49)	78 (40.04)
BJD	112 (44.71)	51 (40.19)
Cong	9 (16.12)	14 (13.29)
Others	2 (6.68)	4 (6.48)

ANDHRA ASSEMBLY

Party	2019	2024
TDP	23 (39.17)	135 (45.60)
JSP*	1 (5.53)	21
BJP	0 (0.84)	8 (2.79)
YSRCP	151 (49.95)	11 (39.37)
Cong	0 (1.17)	0 (1.72)
Others	0 (3.34)	0 (10.49)

*JSP vote share included in others for 2024; (vote share in %)

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FROM PAGE ONE

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PM: First time since 1962, a govt elected three times in a row

a decade of single-party dominance and heralding the return of a coalition government at the Centre.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi, addressing party workers at the BJP headquarters in New Delhi in the evening, hailed the mandate for the NDA and a successive third term: "For the first time since 1962, a government has returned for the third time after completing its two terms." Promising to build a Viksit Bharat, Modi said, "Our Constitution is our guiding light. I want to assure that the NDA government will work with all states, irrespective of the party in power there, to work towards our resolve to make India a developed country. We have no time to stop or feel tired. It's time to work together in the nation's interest and move forward. We have to take new decisions for the country's progress... In the third term, the country will write a new chapter of big decisions and this is Modi's guarantee."

He thanked the people of Odisha for giving the BJP a clear

The TMC improved its 2019 tally of 22 seats to 29 in West Bengal, and the DMK maintained its sway over Tamil Nadu by posting leads in 22 seats.

The NCP faction of Sharad Pawar, too, led on 7 seats and the Shiv Sena (UBT) of Udhav Thackeray on 9 seats. The RJD was ahead in 4 constituencies in Bihar and the AAP and JMM in 3.

The biggest upset for the BJP was in Uttar Pradesh where it had won 62 seats in 2019 and 71 seats in 2014. The BJP's numbers almost halved as it won and led in just 33 seats. The remarkable comeback of the SP, ahead in 38 constituencies and the Congress in 6, left the BJP stunned.

The BJP also faced setbacks in several states where the party dominated in 2019. Among them were Maharashtra, Haryana, Rajasthan and Karnataka. The party took a hit in West Bengal as well.

The only good news for the BJP came from Odisha where its tally jumped from 8 to 19, leaving one each to the BJD and the Congress. The BJP also ousted

the ruling BJD in Odisha, ending the long run of Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik.

The BJP opened its account in Kerala and doubled its seat tally from 4 to 8 in Telangana.

In Maharashtra, the BJP's tally came down to 9 from 23, and in Rajasthan 14 from 25. It had won all the 25 seats in Rajasthan in 2014 and 2019 and returned to power in the state just a few months ago.

In Karnataka, where the BJP had 25 of the 28 seats, its tally came down to 17. In Haryana, the BJP lost 5 of the 10 seats it won. In West Bengal, where the party was hoping to make major gains, it could win only 12, down from 18 in 2019. In Bihar too, the BJP suffered reverses as its tally came down from 17 to 12.

The BJP will now be dependent on its allies, key among them being the TDP and JD(U). While the TDP was ahead in 16 seats, the JD(U) led in 12.

Veterans Naidu and Kumar, who have worked with the Opposition bloc in the past, are now set to emerge as decisive

political players at the Centre along with Eknath Shinde's Shiv Sena (7) and Chirag Paswan-led LJP (Ram Vilas) (5).

In the South, the BJP opened its account in Kerala and doubled its tally of 4 in Telangana.

In Tamil Nadu, where the BJP was projected to pick up some seats, the party could win none. Its vote share, however, crossed the 11 per cent mark compared to 3.62 per cent last time.

In Andhra Pradesh, the BJP led in 3 seats, up from zero last time. Three regional parties, the BJD of Naveen Patnaik, the BRS of K Chandrashekar Rao and Mayawati's BSP, faced a rout. While the BJD was leading on just one Lok Sabha seat, the BRS and the BSP drew a blank.

In MP, the BJP was making a clean sweep, with former Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chouhan, who was eased out of his post despite the BJP's victory in the state Assembly elections months ago, was leading by a whopping margin of over 8.21-lakh votes. In Gujarat too, the BJP was ahead in 25 out of the 26 seats in the state.

• Disconnect on ground, ticket choice to jobs, caste: How BJP lost UP plot

how the BJP had lost the plot in UP this time. Other indicators of the setback in the state -- and nationally -- were the defeats of Union Minister Smriti Irani in Amethi, and sitting MP Lallu Singh in Faizabad (Ayodhya), months after the Ram temple consecration ceremony that captivated the nation.

As the state prepared to vote in each of the seven phases, conversations from campaign trails and rallies, field visits to constituencies, both urban and rural, gave ample indication that the BJP could run into turbulence.

A host of factors seemed to be at play -- the SP appeared to have learnt from the BJP social engineering experiment of expanding its base; many among the BJP candidates were not those the party and supporters wished; warnings of local disconnect were ignored in the belief that the 'Modi magic' would override dissent and complaints; the lack of cohesion with RSS workers was not hidden; there appeared to be over-reliance on the state machinery, rather than the party organisation, for events, crowd mobilisation and voter outreach; and the disenchantment among the youth over the short-tenure Agnipath scheme in the armed forces and leak of recruitment exam papers became a crucial factor.

Consider these:

A plan gone awry

In the 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections as well as the 2017 and 2022 Assembly polls, the BJP re-invented its social engineering plan. A party that was seen as representing certain upper castes and certain families expanded its base by inducting people from different parties, different social groups, promoting and elevating them. As a result, the party did well in all the four elections.

It had reduced the SP to the status of a MY (Muslim+Yadav) party. But this time, Akhilesh Yadav borrowed the approach, giving tickets to only five Yadavs (all from the Saifai family) in the SP list of 62 candidates. There were 10 Kurmis and 6 Kushwaha-Maurya-Shakya-Saini (castes considered close to the BJP for several years) and appointed Shyam Lal Pal, an OBC, as state party president during the polls. This worked in favour of the SP.

The BJP, on the other hand while losing its own support base to SP, did not expand its base. "Our social engineering was governed by Central leaders and this time they were highly unaware and ignorant of the ground realities. While the SP expanded its base, the BJP reduced itself," a BJP leader said.

Upper castes and Jats

UP BJP president Bhupendra Singh is a Jat from Moradabad

and he appeared to have prevailed on the BJP central leadership to stitch an alliance with the RLD. While this appeared to have helped the RLD -- it was leading in Baghpat and Bijnor -- the BJP took a hit in Jat-dominated seats. Even the state president's Moradabad seat is won by a SP candidate. The election trends showed that in many constituencies, where it won with a high margin in 2019, the BJP was struggling or had been defeated. An OBC leader of the UP BJP said, "Thakurs and also Brahmins are most privileged in this government. But Thakurs did not vote (for the party) in many constituencies."

Ticket distribution

The BJP had a well-defined ticket selection system based on ground inputs. That changed. This time, it was primarily a core group comprising BJP president JP Nadda, general secretary (organisation) B L Santosh, Home Minister Amit Shah, Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath, Deputy Chief Ministers Keshav Maurya and Brajesh Pathak, UP BJP chief Bhupendra Singh and UP BJP general secretary (organisation) Dharmpal Singh that decided tickets.

"It (ticket distribution) was based on reports of some survey agencies and reports from some intelligence agencies. They defined their own criteria, likings

and dislikings about ticket claimants and did not listen to word on the ground realities," a BJP leader said.

Some of the sitting MPs denied tickets learnt about it from party announcements and a few were informed an hour before the announcement of the candidate list.

The party, a state leader said, had reports that workers in constituencies such as Kairana, Muzaffarnagar, Fatehpur Sikri, Mohanlalganj, Pratapgarh, Kaushambi, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Basti were not happy with the choice of candidates but it was overlooked "thinking that Modi ji's magic will work".

Over-reliance on government

"Mobilising crowds for public meetings was left to some state government officials who were making arrangements through village pradhans, ration shop owners and other government functionaries. This resulted in a paid crowd, the real voters were missing because the organisational machinery was being ignored," a BJP leader said. The RSS was also not involved in the way it was in 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections and the 2017 and 2022 Assembly polls. RSS volunteers were not as active as before, especially in western UP areas. A BJP leader from west-

ern UP said, "Some state-level functionaries were visiting districts in chartered planes or helicopters, dictating like bureaucrats and leaving without taking proper feedback or listening to local workers."

Youth and jobs

The short-tenure Agnipath scheme that came with an uncertain future, the leak of recruitment exam papers contributed to disenchantment among the youth on the lookout for jobs.

In Bareilly, Badaun, Agra, Allahabad, Bhadohi, Rae Bareilly, Amethi and Prayagraj, the grounds that used to be full of aspirants for jobs in the armed forces were mostly empty. An estimated 48 lakh candidates, who had applied for police jobs, were stunned when the examination was cancelled due to a paper leak.

INDIA bloc outreach

Leaders of the INDIA bloc appeared to have succeeded in bringing together Muslims, OBCs, Dalits and even a section of upper castes in a few constituencies, raising issues ranging from "the need to save the Constitution" to ending the Agniveer scheme, the promise of 10 kg free ration to waiver of farm loans. With each phase of the elections, caste consolidation increased in favour of the SP-Congress candidates.

• State polls bring good news for NDA: BJP dominates Odisha, TDP sweeps Andhra

BJD, which managed to retain only 51 seats this time.

Patnaik himself lost by a margin of 16,344 votes to Laxman Bag of BJP in Kantabanji -- his first electoral loss ever. In Hinjili, the other seat he contested from, the BJD chief won by 4,636 votes, his lowest ever victory margin.

In 2019, the BJD had retained its state government by winning an overwhelming 112 seats with the BJP picking up just 23.

Even as the counting was on, BJP's Union Election Minister Dharmendra Pradhan flanked by senior party leaders, including Baijayant Panda and Bhupender

Yadav, addressed party workers at the BJP office in Bhubaneswar.

"It's a day of pride for our state, Odias and the country. I express my gratitude to the 4.5 crore people of Odisha for reposing their faith in the words of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. I express my gratitude to the Prime Minister," Pradhan said.

Banking on the plank of "Odia pride", Pradhan won the Sambalpur Lok Sabha seat by defeating powerful BJD leader Pranab Prakash Das by a margin of over 1.19 lakh votes.

The strong wave in favour of the BJP, which was once virtually wiped out in the state after

breaking ties with BJD in 2009, saw it breach the ruling party's strongholds in the coastal and interior pockets.

In Andhra, meanwhile, N Chandrababu Naidu's TDP led the NDA charge against YS Jagan Mohan Reddy's YSRCP government with wins in 135 out of 175 seats. Among TDP's alliance partners, actor K Pawan Kalyan's Jana Sena Party won 21 seats followed by the BJP with eight.

Naidu himself won by an overwhelming margin of over 48,000 votes in Kuppam while his son Nara Lokesh emerged victorious by a margin of over 90,000 votes in Mangalagiri.

Pawan Kalyan won by a margin of over 70,000 seats in Pithapuram.

The TDP's state win is particularly significant as it brings back to power Naidu, the party's chief, months after he was arrested by the state CID in connection with an alleged scam in the AP Skill Development Corporation during his previous tenure. The party had won only 23 seats last time.

While initial trends had indicated a fight between YSRCP and TDP in rural constituencies this time, the tide eventually turned in favour of Naidu's party as counting progressed. By Tuesday afternoon, workers and support-

ers of the TDP-BJP-JSP alliance had started celebrations across the state, taking to the streets and bursting crackers.

The YSRCP had seemed to be on strong ground until March, but the TDP and JSP, who had been strengthening their grassroots in the background, got a boost when the BJP joined their alliance just as the elections were announced. Political observers also listed the arrest of Naidu, the lack of new projects or industries in the state and anti-incumbency among the key reasons for YSRCP's fall.

(WITH RAHUL V PISHARODY IN HYDERABAD)

• Boosted by big gains, Cong says will talk to allies on forming govt

formation. The mandate, whatever said and done, is in favour of the NDA. Nitish and Naidu have the NDA and INDIA bloc options open before them. It is up to them. But if the BJP fails to take them along... then we will obviously go for a shot," a senior Congress leader said.

The increase in the party's tally has eased pressure on the Gandhis.

After a decade in political wilderness, Congress leader Rahul Gandhi has finally managed to inject a sense of hope and confidence in the party's leadership and workers that he can lead the 139-year-old organisation on the path to revival, although it is still a long and arduous road, despite Tuesday's better-than-expected showing at the hustings. And playing perfect foil for the Gandhi family scion was Congress 81-year-old president Mallikarjun Kharge, a veteran of many a political battle.

The Congress, which was decimated in the 2014 and 2019 elections and written off in this election by its critics as well as some friends (read Mamata Banerjee, who had predicted that the party may not get even 40 seats), bounced back, but fell short of the three-figure mark by a whisker.

The party's spirited campaign -- centered around its populist manifesto promises, an aggressive social justice pitch and the political rhetoric that Narendra Modi 3.0 with a 400-plus mandate could change the Constitution and undermine the reservation system -- has helped it dent the BJP numbers substantially.

Party leaders believe the Congress pitch on social justice and rhetoric on Constitution and reservation has found some resonance. They point out that the party has improved its tally in SC/ST reserved seats. Of the 84 SC reserved seats, the BJP had won 46 and the Congress 6 last time. This time, the tally is 30 for the BJP and 19 for the Congress. Similarly, in the ST reserved seats, the Congress won 12 this time, up from four last time. The BJP, which had won 31 of the 47 ST seats, dropped to 26.

• TDP, JD(U) push case for Speaker's post

in the anti-defection law because the time and nature of the final decision is entirely a call that can be taken by the Speaker.

Sources said both TDP chief N Chandrababu Naidu and JD(U) leader and Bihar CM Nitish Kumar have "sounded out" some of the other allies of the BJP regarding the Speaker post move. It is not clear whether Naidu and Kumar will raise this demand officially at the NDA meeting which is to be held in Delhi Wednesday. Both are expected to attend the meeting.

The post of Speaker, the constitutional and ceremonial head of the Lok Sabha, usually goes to the ruling alliance while the Deputy Speaker's post is conventionally held by a member of the Opposition party. However, for the first time in Lok Sabha history, the 17th Lok Sabha concluded without electing a Deputy Speaker.

The Congress has, to some extent, also shed its image as a weak link in the Opposition alliance. Its vote share increased from 19.67 per cent to 21.20 per cent, while the absolute number of votes jumped from 11.94 crore to 13.67 crore.

As it became clear that the BJP may fall well short of the halfway mark of 272, Kharge, Rahul and Congress parliamentary party chairperson Sonia Gandhi addressed a press conference. Kharge said the people's mandate was against Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and it was a political and moral defeat for him.

To questions on whether the Congress would explore the possibility of government formation, Rahul said: "We are going to have a meeting with our partners -- the INDIA bloc partners tomorrow. These questions will be raised there and will be answered there. We respect our alliance partners and we are not going to make statements in the press without asking them."

Kharge, however, added: "Jab tak hum apne alliance partners se baat nahi karenge, aur jo naye partners hum se judne wale hai... unse bhi kis tareeke se hum baat karke apne ko majority bana sakte hain woh dekhenge (Till we don't talk to our alliance partners, and the new partners who are going to ally with us... we will see how we can talk to them as well and reach majority). If I disclose all our strategies here, Modiji will get alert." He said the outcome was a victory of democracy and the people.

Rahul said the election was a "fight to save the Constitution". "When our bank accounts were cancelled, chief ministers were arrested, parties were broken... It was on my mind, that the people would fight for the Constitution," he said. "This election was not just against a political party. We fought this election against a political party, institutions, governance structure, intelligence agencies, CBI, ED, half the judiciary... These institutions were captured, threatened by Narendra Modi ji and Amit Shah ji," he said, adding, "the country has said that we don't want Mr Narendra Modi

and Mr Amit Shah".

Although the Congress has regained some ground in North India, it is still the South Indian states which are powering it.

Of the 99 seats which the Congress has either won or is leading in, 40 seats are from the four South Indian states of Kerala (14), Karnataka (9), Tamil Nadu (9) and Telangana (8). One each is from the Union Territories of Puducherry and Lakshadweep. It has once again drawn a blank in Andhra Pradesh. The Congress has edged out the BJP as the single largest party in the South. With 25 seats in Karnataka and four in Telangana, the BJP had 29 seats from the region in 2019, compared to Congress's 28.

The Congress lost one seat in Kerala, but gained eight in Karnataka, five in Telangana and one in Tamil Nadu. While it retained the Puducherry Lok Sabha seat, it wrested the Lakshadweep seat from the NCP.

The party's major gains this time are from four states -- Maharashtra (where it has gone up from 1 to 13), Rajasthan (0 to 8), Haryana (0 to 5) and Karnataka (1 to 9). The resurgence in Rajasthan, where the Congress was routed in the Assembly elections just a few months ago, and Haryana, where Assembly elections are due some months from now, is heartwarming for the party.

In Uttar Pradesh, the Congress was leading in six seats, its best performance after 2009 when it had won 21 seats. In 2019, the party had won two seats in UP, which fell to one (Sonia Gandhi in Rae Bareilly) last time. The Congress, however, could not make much gains in the rest of the Hindi-speaking states. It increased its tally from one to three in Bihar, and one to two in Jharkhand. However, it lost one of the two seats it had in Chhattisgarh, as well as its lone seat in Madhya Pradesh.

The party also managed to open its account in Gujarat after a 10-year drought. In troubled Manipur, the Congress won both the seats -- Inner and Outer Manipur. The party, however, drew a blank in the hill states of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand, and Delhi.

• On exit poll high, markets fall 6% as BJP loses majority

6 per cent down. The Sensex closed at 72,079.05, down 4,389.73 points, or 5.74 points. The NSE's Nifty 50 tanked 1,379.94 points, or 5.93 per cent, to close at 21,884.5.

The market capitalisation of BSE-listed firms plunged to Rs 394.83 lakh crore, down Rs 31.07 lakh crore, compared to Rs 425.91 lakh crore on Monday. Foreign portfolio investors (FPIs) net-sold Rs 12,436.22 crore worth of local shares -- an all-time high. Domestic institutional investors (DII) also off-loaded Rs 3,318.98 crore of equities.

According to stock exchange data, FPIs sold stocks worth Rs 75,000 crore during the March-May period while DIIs propped up the market by investing Rs 150,000 crore in the stock market. On Tuesday, India VIX -- or fear index -- which is an indicator of the market's expectation of volatility over the near term, closed at 26.75, up 23.65 per cent. The index surged to a high of 31.71 in intraday trades.

"The actual result of the election has been lower than what was estimated in the exit polls. However, the equity markets had been trading very close to all-time high levels on the back of economic strength and political will prevailing in the country. We must accept that most of the price returns in India got forwarded in the last few years," said A Balasubramanian, Managing Director & CEO, Aditya Birla Sun Life AMC Ltd. The long-term picture remains intact but the dynamics may change due to an NDA coalition government, he said.

"We see Narendra Modi returning as PM but in changed circumstances. The broad direction of the economy is unlikely to change, though factor market reform and privatization are off the table. India is likely to now derate due to higher risk perception," said Seshadri Sen, Head of Research and Strategist, Emkay Global Financial Services.

According to Vinod Nair, Head of Research, Geojit Financial Services, the market maintains its expectation of stability within the BJP-led coalition, as the major election winner, thereby mitigating any

substantial downside in the medium-term. This is likely to lead to a major shift in political policy with a focus on social economics, which will have a positive effect on the rural economy, he said.

Analysts said FPIs seemed to have an indication of the outcome of the Lok Sabha elections as their selling in stocks intensified since January this year. Foreign players pulled out around Rs 125,000 crore from the cash market (excluding IPO investments) since January this year. However, domestic institutional investors, led by mutual funds and insurance companies, bought stocks worth Rs 300,000 crore during the five-month period, aiding benchmark indices to hit new peaks.

Shares of all public sector companies, which rallied on Monday after exit polls indicated a resounding victory for the BJP-led NDA, got hammered the most.

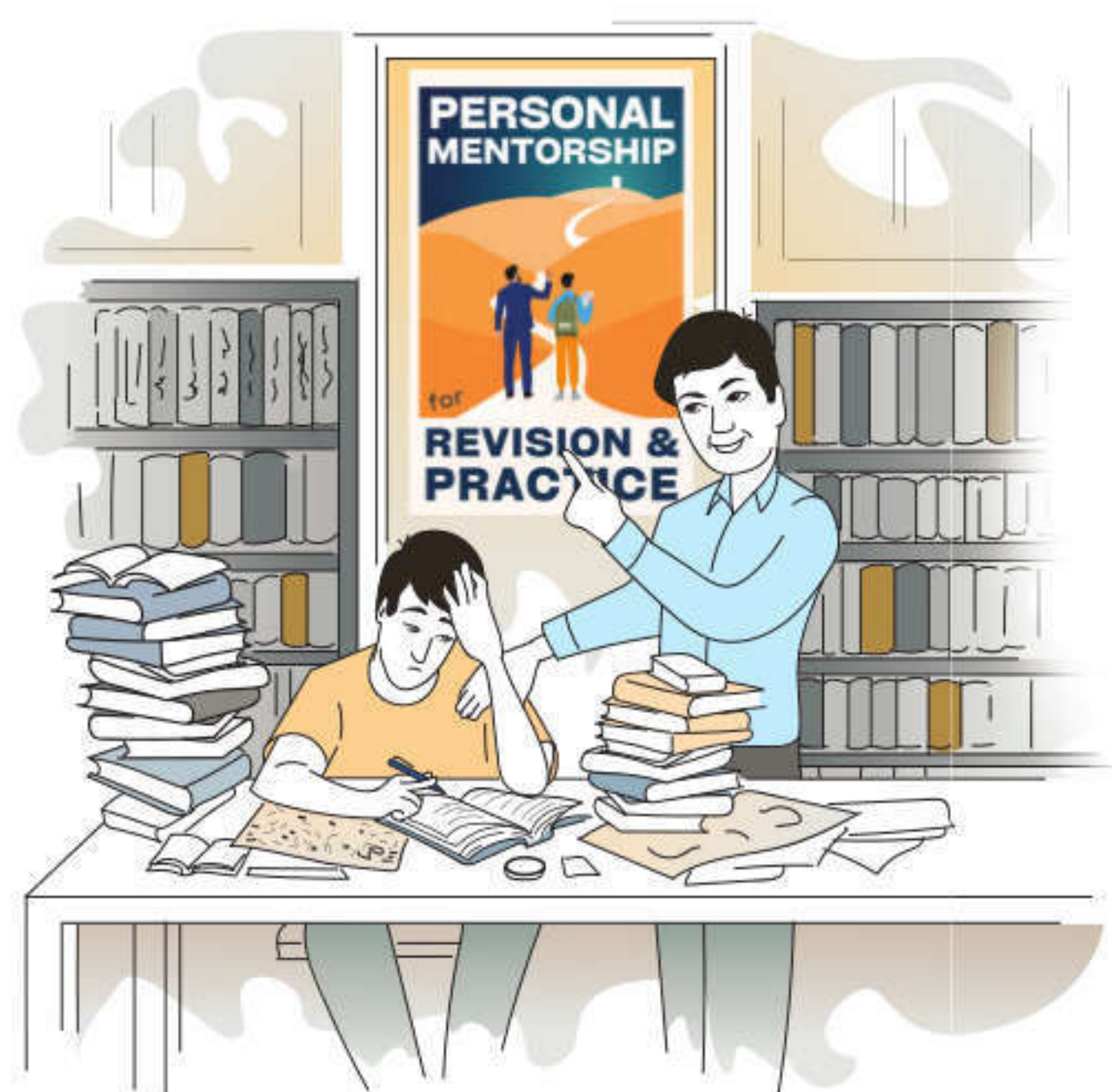
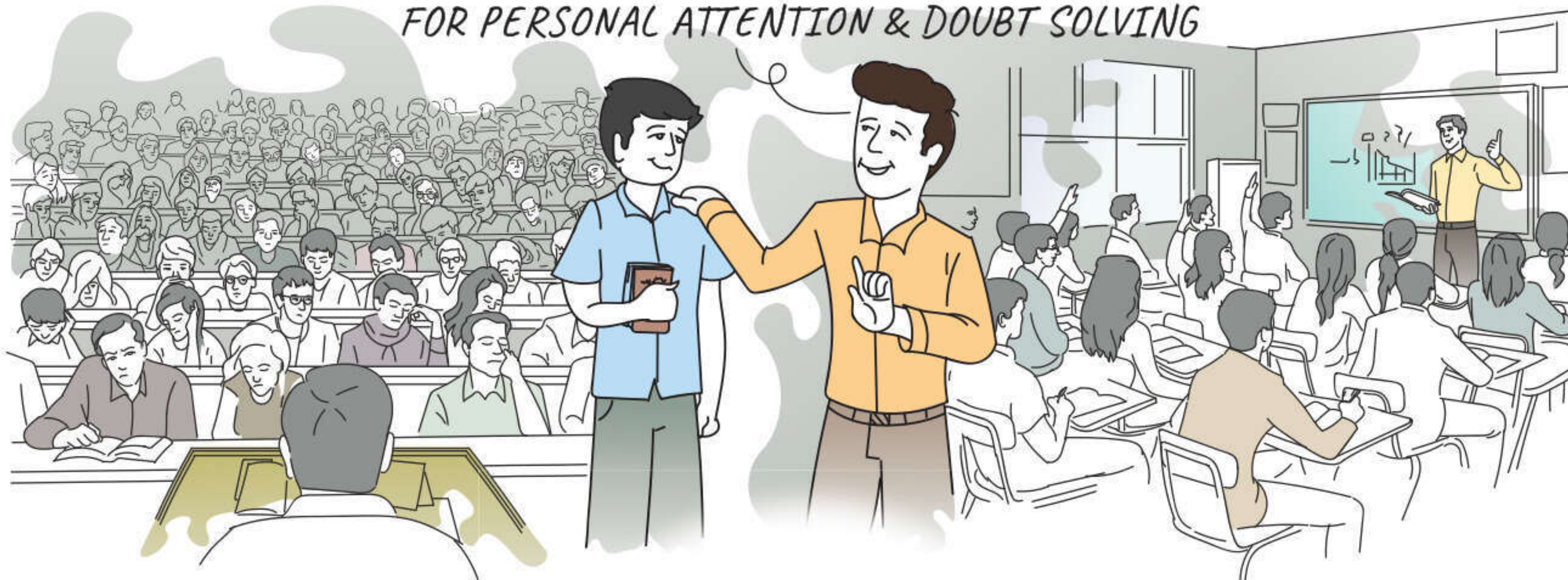
The Nifty PSE index declined 16.38 per cent and Nifty CPSE dropped 15.04 per cent. Nifty PSU Bank closed at 6,794.25, down 15.14 per cent. Shares of NTPC, State Bank of India and Power Grid Corporation of India plunged 15.45 per cent, 14.42 per cent and 12.38 per cent, respectively.

Adani Group companies fell in the 10-21 per cent range on the BSE. Reliance Industries closed at Rs 2,793.6, down 7.53 per cent.

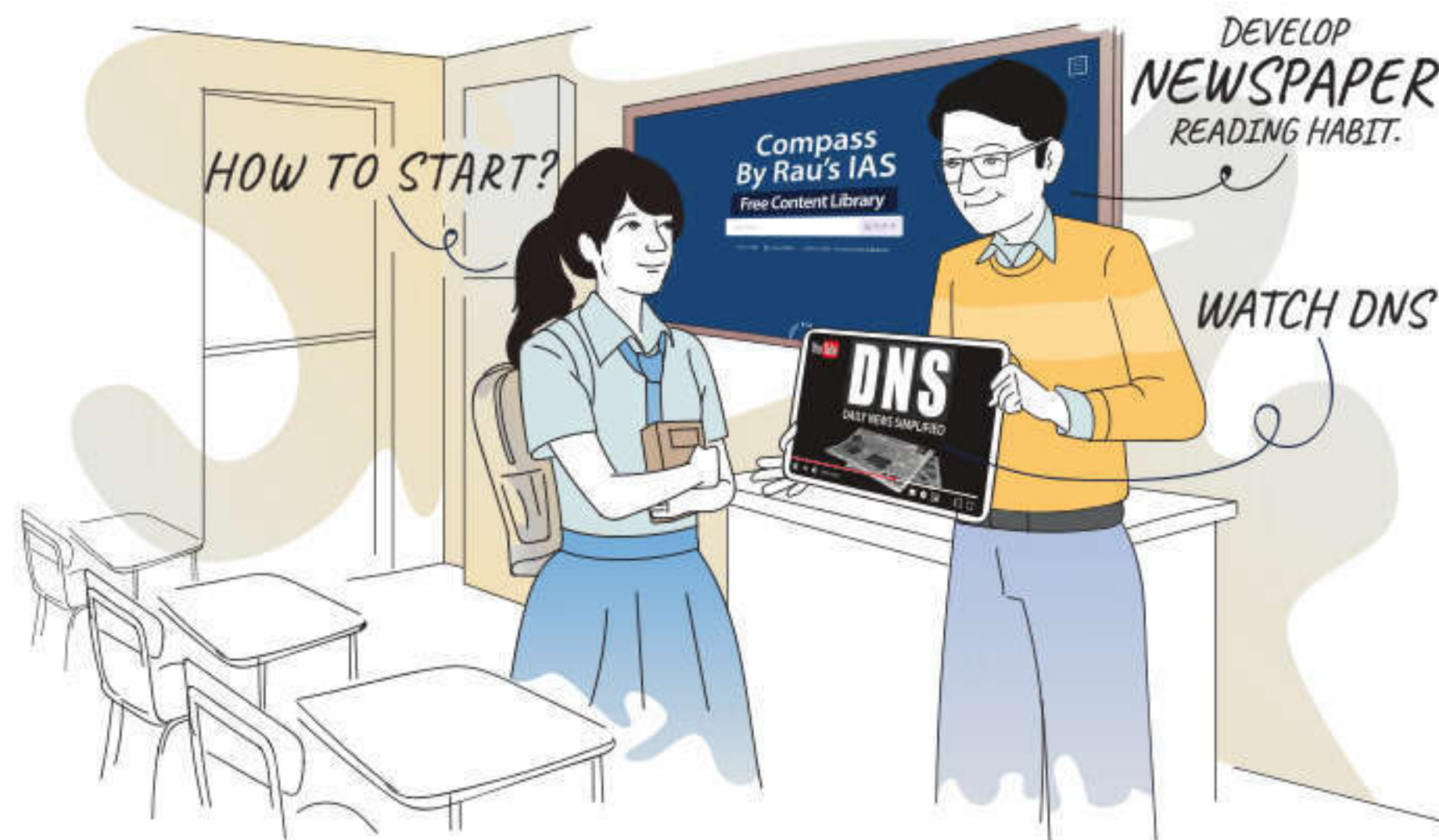
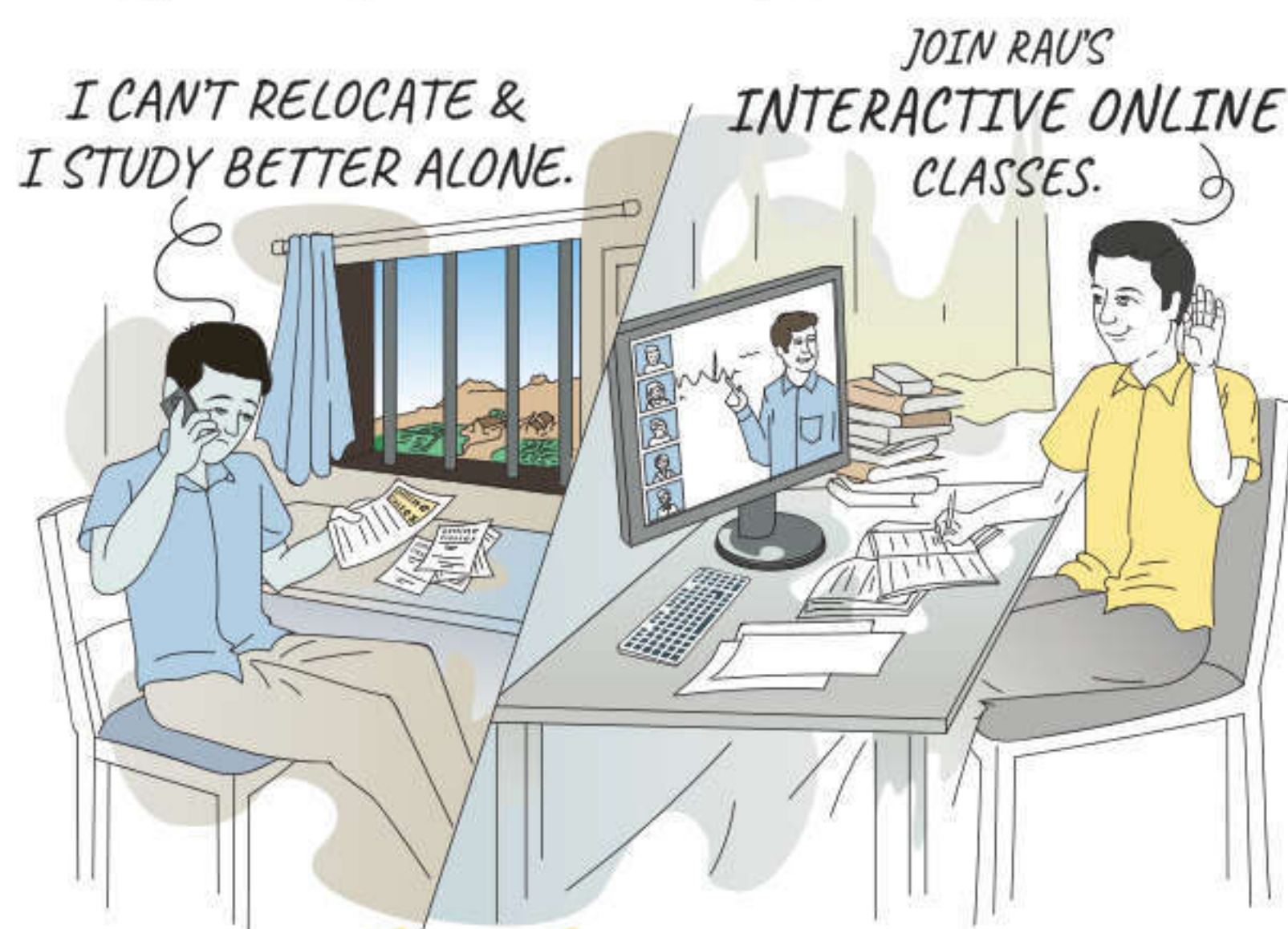
Market participants said investors should keep a long term horizon when investing in the market. "Historical data suggests that despite initial volatility, markets tend to recover and even thrive in the longer term. For instance, even after the 2014 and 2019 elections, the Indian stock market saw significant gains in the months following the election results," said Pradeep Gupta, Co-founder & Vice Chairman Anand Rathni Group.

Investors are advised to focus on long-term strategies, such as maintaining a diversified portfolio and avoiding panic selling. Strong fundamentals and resilience against political changes are crucial for navigating market volatility, he said.

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World Environment Day

ADVERTORIAL



Our Land. Our Future. We are #GenerationRestoration

A call to action for a sustainable future

World Environment Day 2024's theme, "Our Land. Our Future. We are #GenerationRestoration", underscores the global urgency for land restoration, desertification mitigation, and drought resilience

UNDONIGHT the harm and damage caused to the earth and its environment over centuries might not be a walk in the park and turning back time might be unrealistic but it is never too late to take sustained, proactive measures and inspired action to make the earth verdant again with lush forests, replenished water sources and fertile, enriched soil. All it takes is one generation, which is fully committed to the very cause and consecutive generations that take it forward zealously. Against the backdrop of the same, the resounding slogan for the impactful campaign for this year's World Environment Day — 'Our land. Our future. We are #GenerationRestoration' — drives the attention of a world that has been majorly heedless of the devastatingly catastrophic consequences of land degradation, deterioration of the earth's environment and depletion of natural resources while grappling with it, to the pressing need to join forces for land restoration as 'Generation Restoration'.

WED 2024, 'OUR LAND. OUR FUTURE. WE ARE #GENERATIONRESTORATION'
Led by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and observed on June 5 every year since 1973, World Environment Day has served as the biggest and most powerful global platform, which shines a spotlight on glaring environmental challenges and raises awareness while inspiring action that drives positive change and addresses these challenges. As a UN international day and the biggest environmental outreach platform, World Environment Day brings together millions of people from over 150 nations, to not



only celebrate the environmental initiatives of dedicated individuals, businesses and governments towards building a sustainable world but also engages fruitful efforts of people across the globe to protect the planet.

With the focus of this year's global World Environment Day celebrations, being hosted by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, centering on land restoration, desertification, and drought resilience, under the slogan, "Our land. Our future. We are #GenerationRestoration", it presents a momentous opportunity to champion leadership by launching campaigns aimed at addressing desertification and building resilience against drought. This gains special significance in light of numerous eye-opening facts reported by the platform. From

stating that 'globally, 12 million hectares of land capable of producing 20 million tonne of grain are lost due to drought each year, leading to food insecurity to drawing attention to how land degradation can interrupt earth's natural processes leading to 1 million species' extinction — World Environment Day has been vocal about how critical it is to restore our earth.

Reflecting the urgent need to act now is the thought-provoking statement of the Deputy executive director of UNEP, Elizabeth Mrema. "Now is the time to act on commitments to prevent, halt and reverse ecosystem degradation." Speaking at an Environment Week event held in Riyadh, she added, "We are the first generation to now fully under-

GOVERNMENTS, INDIVIDUALS MUST CONTINUE TO INVEST IN INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS TO PAVE THE WAY FOR A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

stand the immense threats to the land — and might be the last one with a chance to reverse the course of destruction. Our priority now must be on restoring ecosystems — on replanting our forests, on rewetting our marshes, on reviving our soils." The motivating intent in these words not only captures the focus of World Environment Day but also encapsulates perfectly the spirit of its theme".

Despite the sustained actions globally yielding promising results in land restoration, and building drought resilience, there is a long way to go with significant barriers to be overcome. This is where World Environment Day's slogan, "Our land. Our future. We are #GenerationRestoration", is a clarion call for recognising the interconnectedness of our actions and the future health of our planet as the sphere of action transcends borders and requires a collective and unrelenting response. Governments, individuals and communities must continue to work together, scaling up successful initiatives and investing in innovative solutions to pave the way for a sustainable future and a better quality of life for generations to come in a pristine environment.



"**AT** the crossroads of our planet's future, Brazil is committed to implementing actions to protect our environment and build a sustainable world. Our G20 presidency launched the Global Mobilisation Against Climate Change to foster high-level dialogues and align strategies with the goals of the UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement. Additionally, we introduced the Initiative on Bioeconomy, which is based on three topics: science, technology, and innovation; sustainable use of biodiversity; and the role of bioeconomy in promoting sustainable development.

Brazil is pioneering the Tropical Forests Forever Fund to compensate developing countries for forest conservation. Brazil, India, and the USA have established the Global Biofuels Alliance, aiming to expand biofuel consumption to reduce carbon emissions. Fighting climate change requires political will, determination from governments, resources, and technology transfer. As G20 president and at the forefront of COP 30 in 2025, Brazil remains an unwavering advocate for these objectives."

H.E. Kenneth H. da Nobrega,
Ambassador of Brazil to India



"**ONE** country working alone cannot tackle the climate and environmental problems we face today. That's why Finland is committed to solving environmental issues swiftly, practically, and in collaboration with others. We believe that technological and social innovations are key to finding solutions that work both inside and outside of Finland. Meeting ambitious global and national climate targets requires action and cooperation, supported by legislation and research. In Finland, every government sets long-term objectives and tracks their results, ensuring continuity in climate work. Climate education is integral to our school curriculum, and businesses develop sustainable practices with climate roadmaps. Finland was the first country to establish a carbon tax in 1990 and decided to ban coal in 2019, making us one of the first countries to phase out coal. In 2023, Finland's emissions decreased by 11% compared to the previous year, marking one of the largest reductions in the history of greenhouse gas statistics. Overall emissions have decreased by 43% compared to 1990, mainly due to the increase in nuclear and wind power production and the decrease in the burning of coal and peat. Finland offers world-class solutions in circular economy, meteorology, energy efficiency among others. We want to co-create and scale up our solutions together with others globally."

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H.E. Kimmo Lähdevirta,
Ambassador of Finland to India



"**WORLD** Environment Day reminds us of the critical role sustainable tourism plays in protecting our planet. Responsible travel fosters conservation and cultural preservation, allowing us to appreciate and respect natural landscapes and cultural heritage. In Korea, we are committed to advancing eco-friendly tourism.

Cities like Gyeonggi-do (Province) twice recognised as Asia's top eco-friendly city to live in by Global

Destination Sustainability Index (GDS-I), exemplify this dedication with innovative green initiatives such as smart grids, green transportation networks, and urban forests. These initiatives create a model for sustainable living.

Nationwide, we are developing exciting options, from eco-certified accommodations and green transportation to immersive nature experiences. Seoul is making strides towards carbon neutrality by 2050 with plans to transform 1 million old buildings into low-carbon buildings and significantly increase the number of electric vehicle charging stations. Meanwhile, Jeju Island promotes sustainable tourism through its "Carbon-Free Island by 2030" initiative, focusing on renewable energy and electric transportation.

By embracing sustainable tourism, we all become stewards of the environment, ensuring the wonders of our world remain vibrant for future generations."

Myong Kil Yun, Regional Director,
India & SAARC Countries, Korea Tourism Organization (KTO)



"**THE** rapid decline of biodiversity and environmental degradation, exacerbated by climate change, poses a significant threat to local ecosystems, species, food security, and global socio-economic stability. Addressing this urgent crisis necessitates collective action, with businesses playing a pivotal role. At Schneider Electric, we are dedicated to achieving net-zero biodiversity loss in our direct operations by 2030. Furthermore, we are developing solutions and technologies that contribute to biodiversity preservation by optimizing resource usage throughout their entire lifecycle.

As an impact company, we are actively collaborating with suppliers to eliminate single-use plastics from packaging, utilize recycled cardboard, and assist them in substantially reducing CO2 emissions. In 2023, our manufacturing sites completed their annual pollution risk review, reporting zero spills or discharges causing soil pollution. We also ensured compliance with regulations concerning hazardous materials and their associated wastes through effective pollution prevention measures. Our new commitment to source 100% deforestation-free wood by 2030 further underscores our dedication to minimizing land use impacts. We are consistently striving to foster a sustainable future for all through #GenerationRestoration."

Deepak Sharma, Zone President- Greater India,
MD & CEO, Schneider Electric India

Advancing towards a green energy future

Amid the global push for sustainable energy, India's ambitious renewable targets highlight its role in combating climate change and ensuring energy security



AAINST the backdrop of attaining Sustainable Development Goal 7 (SDG 7) aiming to ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all and in the face of growing climate change concerns alongside increasing energy demands, sustainable energy solutions have become a critical focal point for global development. The transition to sustainable energy is not just about addressing environmental issues; it is also about ensuring energy security, economic development, and improved quality of life for future generations. In this global movement, India has emerged as a significant player, making noteworthy strides towards a sustainable energy future.

Ambitious targets and a robust policy framework underscore India's commitment to sustainable energy solutions, wherein PM Narendra Modi has pledged to increase energy from renewable sources by up to 50% by the end of 2030 in alignment with the country's 2070 net zero emissions strategy. Furthermore, according to the Union minister of new and renewable energy, RK Singh, 95% of India's clean energy target set in 2015, which entailed setting up 175 gigawatts (GW) of renewable energy capacity in the country by 2022, had been achieved by early 2023.

Thanks to the government's proactive policies and the falling cost of solar panels, solar energy has witnessed remarkable growth in India — home

to the world's largest solar park, the Bhadla Solar Park in Rajasthan, with a capacity of 2.245 GW. The National Solar Mission, launched in 2010, has been a cornerstone of India's renewable energy policy, promoting the development of solar energy through subsidies, incentives, and regulatory support. Furthermore, rooftop solar installations are also gaining momentum, with government initiatives like the Solar Rooftop Programme providing financial assistance and streamlined processes for adoption. This push towards solar energy not only helps reduce greenhouse gas emissions but also addresses the energy access issues in rural and remote areas, providing a reliable power source where traditional grid connectivity is challenging. India's commitment to sustainable energy is

INDIA IS AT A PROMISING JUNCTURE IN ITS PURSUIT OF SUSTAINABLE ENERGY SOLUTIONS

also reflected in its international engagements. The country played a pivotal role in the formation of the International Solar Alliance (ISA) - an initiative launched by PM Modi at the India Africa Summit in November 2015 - to ensure solar energy's efficient consumption and increased deployment of solar energy technologies.

With significant progress being made, India stands at a promising juncture in its pursuit of sustainable energy solutions. In light of the path ahead requiring addressing infrastructural, financial, and technical challenges, it is by continuing to strengthen its policy framework, fostering innovation, and leveraging international cooperation that India can achieve its renewable energy aspirations and contribute substantially to the ever-increasing global efforts in combating climate change.

How COVID -19 shows us the way forward

We need to own, connect, and celebrate to heal the world and create a better future for all



SAIKAT MOOKHERJEE,
Advisor, Viridis Solutions
Private Limited

IN an era of consistent turbulence, managing the environment has become a source of constant challenge. So when we talk about the environment, it is not necessarily the ecology part of it but the entire gamut of things that makes it liveable, thrive able and achievable.

Not so long ago, the nature had thrust upon us an unique and unprecedented challenge of our lifetime, the COVID-19. We saw unsurmountable challenges of epic proportions deluging our lives in one way or the other. Human health, livelihood, trade & commerce witnessed some hitherto unknown phenomenon ever witnessed and documented in the history of the world. However, the period also made us to witness some exemplary acts of innovation, be it :-

- in the form of discovery & trials of vaccines, mass producing and ensuring it is made available for each and every living human being on the planet
- digital delivery of education
- implementation of protocols to keep everyone safe

In the era of chaos, the sectors of agriculture, pharmaceuticals, manufacturing and logistics made it possible that the population has access to essential items of consumption. Had these sectors not

THE RECENT FOCUS ON CLEANER ENERGY OFFERS SOLUTIONS FOR OUR WEARY PLANET

drawn inspiration from the universal principles of integrity, empathy and cohesiveness and not performed to the very best of our abilities, we would borne a much severe wrath of COVID -19.

After the COVID era, the world went into a frenzy of making up for the lost time. In the want of ever eluding growth, somehow we have again forgotten to renew our pledge, connect our hearts and fight as a team. Mother nature's lesson of determination, grit, empathy and cohesiveness has quickly gone back to oblivion. That is why we see:-

- extreme hatred amongst humans leading to troubled corporate and geopolitical situations
- phenomenal resource crunch due to extreme weather events and the above.
- collapsing health
- volatile economy and trade markets.
- Lack of farsighted planning and execution in every sphere of life.

We have become more transactional in our approach

The solution lies in the problem itself, as we have witnessed, analysed, actioned, implemented and came out victorious during the COVID-19 era. The UNSDG's 17 Goals propagates the same principle. The recent shift of focus and thrust on cleaner sources of energy (like Electric Vehicles, green hydrogen, solar plants) climate smart agriculture (No tillage farming, carbon fixation, micro & drip irrigation) preventive healthcare (AI sensor early detection system), improved sanitation & hygiene (accessible smart toilets ecosystem) have emerged as stupendous solutions for the weary planet.

All we need to do now is to Own, Connect, Cooperate, Congregate, and finally Celebrate to heal the world and make it a happy and a better place for us and our future generations to live in.



Green Hydrogen: A catalyst for a cleaner energy future for India

Challenge is not just to recognise hydrogen’s potential, but also create a roadmap to up both supply & demand



SHILPA GUPTA,
CTO - India, GE Vernova

INDIA’S aspirations for economic growth are intricately linked to its energy needs. However, the traditional reliance on fossil fuels presents challenges for sustainability and in this context, hydrogen emerges as a promising option to propel India’s energy revolution. India has taken firm and steady action to enable energy transition. Whether in leading the announcement of Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) under the Paris Climate Deal, expanding renewable capacity, easing climate financing, or announcing the goal of achieving net-zero emissions- India’s efforts have been diverse and plentiful. Globally, green hydrogen has been recognised as an essential component of a future lower-carbon economy. Several countries have taken steady steps to propose and develop their hydrogen strategies. Case in point, Europe is leading electrolyser capacity deployment, with 40% of global installed capacity, and is set to remain a leader in the near term on the back of the ambitious hydrogen strategies. The (green) hydrogen value chain requires the integration of several systems including renewable power (e.g., wind and solar), energy storage, grid systems to transmit and control electricity, as well as power conversion systems to provide electricity that matches the electrolyser requirements. The challenge today, thus, is not in recognising the potential of hydrogen but in enabling a clear roadmap that accelerates both the supply of green hydrogen and its demand and consumption.

DECARBONISING POWER: SWITCH FROM COAL TO NATURAL GAS TO HYDROGEN
Globally, coal-based power plants in their tradi-

tional form are twice more polluting than natural gas. Continued innovation leading to advanced gas turbine technology and flexible fuel burning capabilities, are bringing visible change in output of natural gas-fired combined cycle power plants, that are today the lowest emitting fossil fuel power plants, whether measured based on CO₂, SO_x, NO_x, particulate matter, or mercury. Now, there is further scope to modify existing and future gas power plants whose carbon emissions can be reduced to avoid CO₂ lock-in. Here, hydrogen makes a strong case for itself to emerge as a more sustainable fuel; along with investments in carbon capture technologies. A combination of hydrogen and natural gas can form a potential pathway to accelerating energy transition and providing more reliable, and more sustainable power supply. For businesses too, replacing a natural gas turbine with hydrogen is an efficient solution to reducing the carbon emissions of their fleet of gas plants. And, if the produced hydrogen is green — then overall emissions from gas-based power plants can significantly drop. In what is expected to be a first-of-its-kind operation, Duke Energy started the DeBary Hydrogen project at its solar farm outside of Orlando, Florida. Using a set of electrolyzers, part of the plant’s vast solar array will be dedicated to producing green hydrogen, which will be stored on site to distribute during those peak demand periods. To elaborate, there are two ways to turn gas generation into a zero or near zero-carbon resource; both pre-and post-combustion. The most common pre-combustion decarbonisation approach is to opt for carbon-free fuels (when combusted) like hydrogen or ammonia. For existing units, upgrades can be scheduled with planned outages; and for new units, these capabilities can be a part of the initial plant configuration or phased-in over time as hydrogen becomes more available. Recently, government ordered all gas-based

power generating stations to operationalise their plants from May 1 to June 30 due to a potential prolonged heat wave this summer. If hydrogen were blended with natural gas, the fuel mix can provide RTC (round-the-clock) power through daily consumption cycles, enabling the availability of more sustainable energy with up to 90% reliability.

COMPELLING CASE FOR HYDROGEN
Hydrogen isn’t just for power generation. It can be used to reduce the carbon emission of sectors like steel, refineries, and fertiliser production, contributing to a cleaner industrial ecosystem. In India, the demand for green hydrogen was earlier concentrated in well-established sectors like refineries, ammonia, and methanol production, where hydrogen is already utilised as a key industrial feedstock and in chemical processes but is now set to permeate other industries. The country’s growing demand for green hydrogen is expected to witness exponential growth, with demand projected to soar more than fourfold by 2050. To meet this demand, a National Green Hydrogen Policy has already been created (in 2022), which targets an annual production capacity of 5 million metric tonnes of green hydrogen while also decreasing fossil fuel imports by over ₹1 trillion, preventing 50 million metric tonnes of greenhouse gas emissions annually, and creating more than 6,00,000 job opportunities.

To meet these objectives, collaboration between innovators, entrepreneurs, and the government is imperative alongside incentivizing production, fostering demand from industries, and developing robust storage and distribution infrastructure. Additionally, promoting research, development, and manufacturing of essential components like electrolyzers through schemes such as production-linked incentives (PLI) will bolster India’s capabilities in this field.

CUTTING EDGE INNOVATIONS
The field of green hydrogen is brimming with cutting edge innovations. One such being high temperature electrolysis, which promises increased efficiency in the electrolysis process, another promising area is photoelectrochemical water splitting where PEC cells directly use sunlight to split water into hydrogen and oxygen. It’s important to keep in mind not just technological advancements, but also how to build economies of scale and innovating along the way will be crucial to make the green hydrogen supply ecosystem commercially viable.

CONCLUSION
Although at a nascent stage, green hydrogen is now being widely considered essential for the energy transition as we work to reduce carbon emissions worldwide. Hydrogen is expected to help decarbonize multiple end-use applications, and Global and regional trends will impact the growth of this new economic sector. Globally, hydrogen production is in the early stages of its value chain but once its production costs fall, its storage, transmission and distribution potential will increase. For India, a country of over 1.4 billion people, the complete adoption of green hydrogen across industries and sectors will take time. Nonetheless, we need to begin tracing our steps at the earliest. This Environment Day let’s recommit to innovation and collaboration to unlock the potential of cleaner energy solutions like green hydrogen and build a healthier planet for generations to come.



Anantshree Chaturvedi,
Vice-chairman and CEO, Flex Films International

"AS we celebrate World Environment Day 2024, UFlex reiterates its commitment to creating innovation-led, future-ready, and technology-driven sustainable packaging solutions. Our goal to achieve net-zero status by 2035 reflects our long-standing dedication to environmental stewardship, which has been integral to our corporate strategy since the early 1990s. Our dedication drives us to innovate continuously. Our portfolio includes low-carbon footprint films, mono-PE-based structures for easy recycling, and water-based inks, all designed to keep plastic within the economy and out of the environment. The greatest economic opportunity of the twenty-first century lies in green technology, and private enterprises must take the lead in making this change for future generations".



Jean Carlo Butske,
Managing Director, Weg Industries India

"WORLD Environment Day, celebrated every June 5th since 1974, highlights the importance of caring for our planet and raises awareness about environmental issues. Today, on World Environment Day, we are especially motivated to encourage everyone to take action, no matter how small, to protect our environment. World Environment Day 2024 focuses on land restoration and desertification, addressing the issue of degraded land that affects half of the global population. At WEG, we reduce emissions and waste, invest in innovation and technologies, and continually improve our processes. Every day, we’re innovating to enhance efficiency and sustainability in agriculture, industries, cities, and communities. Set our own goals and contribute to the change you wish to see for a better world. Every World Environment Day is a time to consider our role in fostering a sustainable future. In any action taken we can protect our planet for future generations."



Coca-Cola's Coolers: Innovating for a Greener Future and Empowering Retailers

At first glance, it looks like a regular refrigerator. However, Coca-Cola’s coolers, easily recognisable by their red and white design, and stocked with a variety of beverages, are becoming increasingly common in India. We are not just talking about their growing visibility across cities but through the towns to the villages, where these coolers stand tall in kiranas, hotel corners, or retail aisles.

EXPANDING REACH ACROSS INDIA
With its vast network of providing beverages to over 5 million outlets across the country, Coca-Cola is expanding the presence of its coolers to every corner of India. With India achieving 100% electrification of villages, the *kiranas* and the fast-growing network of small, medium, and large retailers now effortlessly use the Coca-Cola coolers as part of their shop front. This is bringing to reality what the company’s former president, Robert Woodruff, famously said about winning in the beverage market - delivering its products 'within an arm’s reach of desire.' *Not any desire:* The desire for a cool, refreshing beverage. Keeping it cool is the 'hot deal' when it comes to soft drinks - be it any occasion — after a delightful lunch, an exciting evening of cricket, or a quick gulp after a shopping stroll.

BOOSTING RETAILER REVENUE AND CONSUMER EXPERIENCE
Coca-Cola’s coolers are now contributing to increased revenues for retailers - especially micro, small, and medium players, many of them having access to coolers following the electrification drive. For consumers, the benefits are evident: Not only do they have a chilled beverage, but they are also assured of its purity and hygiene. They also present them with an array of options, the kind of diversity that only a Coca-Cola cooler, with exclusive rack space for its products, provides. And for retailers, the benefits are manifold. One, the advent of more coolers, especially in remote areas, has helped attract new consumers, increasing their share of revenue.



FOR COCA-COLA, IN 2022, 88% OF ALL NEW COOLERS PLACED WERE HFC-FREE. THIS IS AN INCREASE FROM 61% OF COOLERS PLACED IN 2016

India’s non-alcoholic beverages market is growing at a CAGR of 8.7% to ₹1,47,233 crore by 2030, and by product categories, Indians consume carbonated beverages

the most, according to a report by the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations. The introduction of coolers has given many retailers a boost - vis-à-vis those who continue to sell them either stored in the open or tucked into ice bags. It is not just the optics of flaunting a cooler; it is the purity and hygiene associated with a refrigerated cooler that influences consumer behaviour.

EMPOWERING RETAILERS THROUGH THE SUPERPOWER RETAILER PROGRAM
Anil Prasad, a retailer on Park Street, Kolkata, says that introducing the Coca-Cola coolers



has helped reshape his business, enabling him to stock up more products, all resulting in more sales. Lucknow’s Abhishek Pathak says beverage sales have soared since the installation of Coca-Cola India coolers which keep the beverages refreshingly chilled and help attract more customers. Across India, approximately 20% of a retailer’s income is generated from beverage sales, with 6% specifically attributed to the sale of Coca-Cola beverages. The introduction of coolers has ramped up sales further. Coca-Cola India’s Superpower Retailer Program is at the heart of this transformation, a three-year collaboration with the

National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) under the Skill India Mission, focusing on empowering small retailers in the states of Odisha and Uttar Pradesh, with plans to expand to more states. This initiative empowers retailers by building their capacity and capability in modern retailing. It provides training to small and micro retailers, equipping them with the knowledge and skills needed to better understand consumer behaviours and preferences. Amanpreet, the owner of the '9 to 9' store, says the program has helped in providing customers with refreshing beverages using coolers.

ACROSS INDIA, APPROXIMATELY 20% OF A RETAILER’S INCOME IS GENERATED FROM BEVERAGE SALES, WITH 6% SPECIFICALLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE SALE OF COCA-COLA BEVERAGES

INNOVATION IN COOLER TECHNOLOGY
As 100% rural electrification was being implemented, when many villages remained unconnected in the 2010s, Coca-Cola distributed eKOCool solar coolers free of cost to its vendors. A product innovation that was not only used for chilling beverages but also for charging mobile phones. This model was replicated across several countries globally. The possibilities of digital technologies have now become further evident. With the remarkable advances in cooler technology, Coca-Cola coolers stand out for their digital signage and enhanced design, in addition to an ongoing focus on replacing older ones with hydrofluorocarbon-free and more energy-efficient coolers. Globally for Coca-Cola, in 2022, 88% of all new coolers placed were HFC-free. This is an increase from 61% of coolers placed in 2016.

COMMITMENT TO ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIETY
This further builds on Coca-Cola’s commitment to the environment and society as part of its 'Our Planet Matters' strategy. The bottom line of this is to bring transformational and radical change through a comprehensive approach to social, environmental, and economic stewardship. All of these are being realised on the ground with the humble cooler - that is bringing more revenue to grassroots-level retailers, adding to the happiness quotient of customers, and enabling economies with a more vibrant retail sector.



The people of Delhi have created an unprecedented history by giving BJP a 7-0 victory for the third consecutive time... Delhi has expressed confidence in the Modi government... people of Delhi completely rejected corruption of Kejriwal and AAP..." VIRENDRA SACHDEVA, DELHI BJP PRESIDENT

TALKING
HEADS

"This election signals many things but the main matter that is highlighted is that the people are upset and unhappy with BJP's 10-year reign. They are unhappy with rising prices, with unemployment and with dictatorship..."

SANJAY SINGH, AAP RAJYA SABHA MP



For third time, Delhi goes with BJP

BJP's campaign focused on development, corruption

GAYATHRI MANI, ANKITA UPADHYAY & VIDHEESHAKUNTAMALLA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

DELHI REPOSED its faith in the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) a third time in a row, with the party winning all seven seats in the city again.

Changing all but one of its Lok Sabha candidates seemed to have worked for the BJP, even as its vote share took a slight hit. In 2019, the BJP polled 56% of the total vote share. This time, the party polled 54% of the total share. The BJP tried to overcome anti-incumbency that may have built up over the past 10 years by changing its candidates, choosing to repeat only Manoj Tiwari in Northeast Delhi.

The BJP's campaign, focused on the issue of development and action against corruption, saw two rallies of PM Narendra Modi, alongside meetings and roadshows by scores of union ministers, chief ministers and its popular leaders from across the country two weeks before polls.

Its biggest win came from Northwest Delhi, where Yogender Chandoliya defeated his former party colleague Udit Raj (now in Congress) by a margin of over 2.90 lakh votes. Raj had won this constituency on a BJP ticket in 2014; he left the party when he was overlooked for a seat in the 2019 elections.

The lowest margin was seen in the smallest seat, New Delhi, which had over 15 lakh voters. Bansuri Swaraj defeated AAP's Somnath Bharti by a margin of 78,370 votes.

The Chandni Chowk seat, where Praveen Khandelwal defeated Congress's J P Agarwal, was among the most closely watched contests as it was the INDIA bloc's only hope in the city till late morning, when the BJP candidate was trailing. By evening, however, Khandelwal marched past Agarwal, winning by a margin of 89,325 votes.

In South Delhi, Ramvir Bidhuri defeated his nearest rival, AAP candidate Sahiram Pehelwan, by over 1.24 lakh votes. While AAP had high hopes from its East Delhi candidate Kuldeep Kumar, Harsh Malhotra defeated him by a margin of 93,663 votes. The former Mayor of the erstwhile East MCD was chosen over incumbent MP Gautam Gambhir by the party based on his performance, groundwork and presence in the constituency.

In West Delhi, Kamaljeet Sehrawat got the BJP its second highest win in the city this time, as she defeated AAP's Mahabul Mishra by nearly 2 lakh votes.

Delhi BJP president Virendra Sachdeva said development done by PM Modi's government had won: "The people of Delhi have created an unprecedented history by giving BJP a 7-0 victory for the third consecutive time... Delhi has expressed confidence in the Modi government... people of Delhi completely rejected the corruption of Arvind Kejriwal and AAP."

For AAP, whose campaign was focused on CM Kejriwal's arrest in the excise case, Tuesday's result has been below expectation. The party's internal assessment was the alliance would win at least three seats even as BJP would retain four. AAP had hoped to sway the election by banking on the alleged unfair treatment meted out to Kejriwal. While he was in jail, the party's slogan was 'Jail ka jawab vote se'. When he was granted interim bail to campaign, Kejriwal sought votes to "keep him out of jail". Neither narrative worked.

Speaking about the BJP's performance nationally, senior AAP leader Sanjay Singh sought Modi's resignation. "It is clear the BJP does not have a majority... If the PM has any dignity, he will resign..."

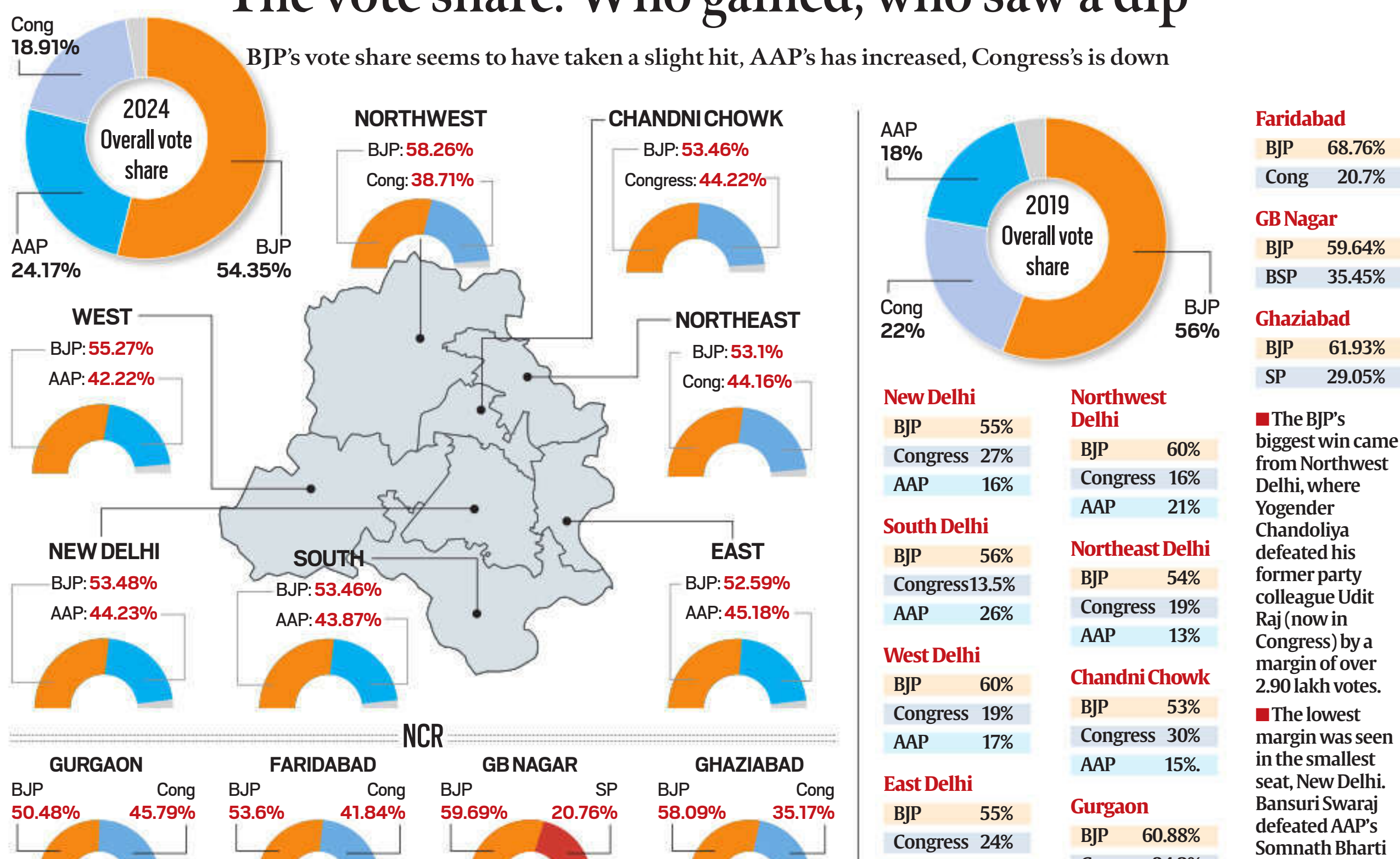


Illustration: Suvajit Dey

THE WINNERS

CHANDNI CHOWK Praveen Khandelwal, BJP 89,325 votes	EAST DELHI Harsh Malhotra: BJP 93,663 votes	NEW DELHI Bansuri Swaraj: BJP 78,370 votes	NORTHEAST DELHI Manoj Tiwari: BJP 1,38,778 votes	NORTHWEST DELHI Yogender Chandoliya: BJP 2,90,849 votes	SOUTH DELHI Ramvir Singh Bidhuri: BJP 1,24,333 votes	WEST DELHI Kamaljeet Sehrawat: BJP 1,99,013 votes
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The vote share: Who gained, who saw a dip



ALLIANCE, HOWEVER, DENTS VOTE SHARE

In Delhi, why AAP + Congress was no match for BJP juggernaut

MALLICA JOSHI & JATIN ANAND
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

IT MAY have had the desired impact nationally, but, in Delhi, the alliance between the Aam Aadmi Party and Congress fell way short of converting the higher, combined vote share of both into seats.

Issues ranging from the transfer of votes from one to the other, lack of coordination between their workers and the failure to inform the voter that the two bitter rivals were actually fighting the BJP together have been flagged as reasons for the BJP running away with the mandate in Delhi yet again.

What it did, however, was dent the BJP's vote share. As per the Election Commission data, the party garnered a vote share of around 54%, down from 56% it got in 2019.

While senior party leader Sanjay Singh said the mandate was the people's response to BJP's and Modi's brand of politics, a senior leader said that in Delhi, the alliance ensured that the minority votes did not split. "The biggest advantage of the alliance was that the minority vote was consolidated. In the assembly polls, when AAP and Congress contested separately, it had a role to play in the eight seats that we lost (in 2020)," a senior party leader said.

A party insider, however, blamed the loss in Delhi on a "poorly fought election".

"It has been clear for some time that AAP did not deploy the correct combination of people on the ground in areas where Congress was contesting. MLAs and councillors were asked to campaign outside their constituencies. In some cases, infighting and insecurities led to the campaign going awry," the leader said.

Another AAP leader said, "The alliance



Supporters of BJP celebrate at the party HQ in New Delhi, Tuesday. Archive

had a big impact across the country... It had an impact beyond Delhi."

AAP's vote share increased by over 6 per-

centage points to cross 24%. Congress seemed to be the biggest loser — facing big losses in Northeast Delhi and Northwest Delhi

— with its vote share decreasing from 22% in 2019 to 19% now.

Congress sources conceded that there were "several" issues with the alliance. "The alliance did not really materialise on the surface. Our workers did not coordinate, top leaders maintained a distance with each other, and a combination of these things confused our voters," a senior Congress leader said.

"At the same time, we observed that the Congress vote got transferred to AAP in many areas but not the other way around. In some places, voters ended up voting for the BJP. It is for this reason that both parties are unlikely to come together for an alliance in the state," the leader added.

AAP leaders, meanwhile, said that it was too early for alliance discussions for the Delhi assembly polls next year and was unlikely to begin with.

NEW DELHI

One of the most high-profile contests, even before its contestants were announced, the seat saw former BJP stalwart Sushma Swaraj's daughter Bansuri go head to head with three-time AAP MLA Somnath Bharti. Swaraj claimed 4,53,185 of the total 8.47 lakh votes polled on the seat against Bharti's 3,74,815, winning with a margin of more than 78,000.

WEST DELHI

Among the two women fielded by the BJP, West Delhi candidate Kamaljeet Sehrawat defeated AAP's Mahabul Mishra with over 8 lakh votes.

A law graduate and former PG teacher, Sehrawat is acknowledged for her "public connect" and the various organisational positions she has held in the Delhi BJP as well as the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. She was also mayor of the erstwhile South MCD from 2017 to 2018. BJP fielded Sehrawat, replacing Parvesh Sahib Singh Verma who had won from the West Delhi constituency in 2019.



जी न्यूज़ का सबसे सटीक **AI** एग्जिट पोल

जो **ZEENIA** ने 2 जून को दिखाया, वही नतीजा 4 जून को आया

देश के सबसे भरोसेमंद चैनल ने **AI** टेक्नॉलजी और 10 करोड़ लोगों के सैम्पल साइज के साथ जो एग्जिट पोल दिखाया उसके आगे देश की तमाम सर्वे एजेंसियों और न्यूज़ चैनल्स के एग्जिट पोल फेल हो गए।

जी न्यूज़ ने हमेशा निष्पक्ष और निर्भीक पत्रकारिता की है और अपने दर्शकों से हमारा वादा है कि हम आगे भी इन सिद्धांतों पर अडिग रहेंगे।

EXIT POLL PREDICTION

TV CHANNELS/AGENCY	NDA SEATS
ZEE NEWS-AI EXIT POLL	305
News24- Today's Chanakya	415
India TV-CNX	401
Aaj Tak-Axis My India	401
ABP News-C Voter	383

01 0101 Zee AI Exit Poll data provided by india consolidated



zeenews.com [@ZeeNews](https://www.facebook.com/ZeeNews) [@ZeeNews](https://twitter.com/ZeeNews) [@ZeeNews](https://www.youtube.com/ZeeNews)

CHANNEL AVAILABLE ON:

DTH: DISH TV 651 D2H 723 AIRTEL 311 TATA PLAY 511 SUN DIRECT 582 AVAILABLE ON DD FREE DISH 70

MSO: SITI 303 SITI (GUJARAT) 371 SITI (BHR/JHK/WB) 162 SITI (DEHRADUN) 304 DEN 301 DEN (BIHAR & UP) 303 FASTWAY 306 GTPL 231 HATHWAY 203 HATHWAY (CG) 206 IN DIGITAL (DELHI) 297 IN DIGITAL (MAH) 299 IN DIGITAL (GUJ) 306/303 NXT 705 DIGIANA 310 DL GTPL 150 DARSH DIGITAL 509 RADIANT DIGITECH 309 RAJASTHAN INFOTECH 95 SIGNET DIGITAL 551 SKYNET DIGITAL 209 TAKE ONE JK MEDIA 164 UCN DIGITAL 95

READING THE NEW POLITICAL MAP

How India decided 18th Lok Sabha

From 303 seats in 2019, the BJP's largest Lok Sabha seat tally, the saffron party fell to 241 seats and needed its allies JD(U) and TDP to cross the 272-seat majority mark. For the Opposition INDIA bloc parties, it was a considerable improvement from last time

ANJISHNU DAS
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

FAR FROM the comfortable victory that was predicted by the exit polls, the BJP fell from its record-high Lok Sabha seat tally of 303 in 2019 to 241 seats this time. The ruling party was able to clear the 272-seat majority mark only with the aid of returning NDA members in Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar's Janata Dal (United) and soon-to-be CM Chandrababu Naidu's Telugu Desam Party (which also emerged victorious in the simultaneously held Andhra Pradesh Assembly polls).

With all its members put together, the NDA managed 294 seats, enough to form the government with Prime Minister Narendra Modi at its helm for a third consecutive term, albeit this time, as the head of a coalition government.

For the Congress, and the Opposition INDIA bloc, which had faced high-profile exits and difficult seat-sharing nego-

tiations heading into these elections, the results come as a significant boost.

While the Congress secured 99 seats, it was not alone in making a significant improvement from 2019, when it had won 52 seats. Among the other allies of the INDIA bloc which recorded strong performances are the Samajwadi Party, which bagged 37 seats, followed by the Trinamool Congress at 29 seats and the DMK at 22 seats.

Although the BJP swept Madhya Pradesh's 25 seats, won 25 of 26 seats in Gujarat, ousted the BJD to win 20 of 21 seats in Odisha, the saffron party faced stiff competition from the INDIA bloc in states with the highest Lok Sabha seats—Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal.

In all three states, the INDIA bloc came out ahead of the NDA – it was 43 for INDIA and 36 for NDA in Uttar Pradesh, 29 to 18 in Maharashtra, and 30 to 12 in West Bengal.

Here's a breakdown of the 2024 Lok Sabha election results.

2019 RESULT

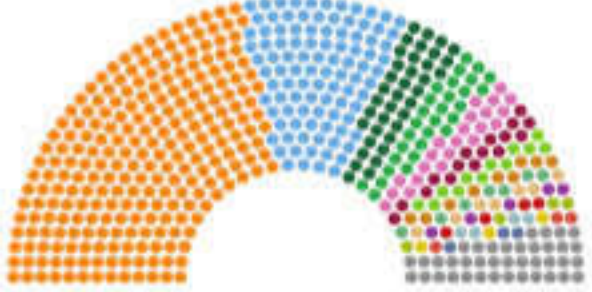


NUMBERS SAY IT ALL

2024

SEAT SHARING

● BJP: 240 ● INC: 99 ● SP: 37 ● TMC: 29 ● DMK: 22 ● TDP: 16 ● JD(U): 12 ● SS(UBT): 9 ● NCPSP: 7 ● SS: 7 ● LJP(RV): 5 ● CPI(M): 4 ● RJD: 4 ● YSRCP: 4 ● AAP: 3 ● IULM: 3 ● JMM: 3 ● Others: 39



2019

SEAT SHARING

● BJP: 303 ● INC: 52 ● DMK: 24 ● TMC: 22 ● YSRCP: 22 ● SS: 18 ● JD(U): 16 ● BJD: 12 ● BSP: 10 ● BRS: 9 ● SP: 5 ● NCP: 5 ● TDP: 3 ● SAD: 2 ● AIADMK: 1 ● AAP: 1 ● Others: 38



ALLIANCE NUMBERS

NDA SEATS

294

VOTE SHARE 42.8%

INDIA SEATS

232

VOTE SHARE 40.6%

NDA SEATS

337

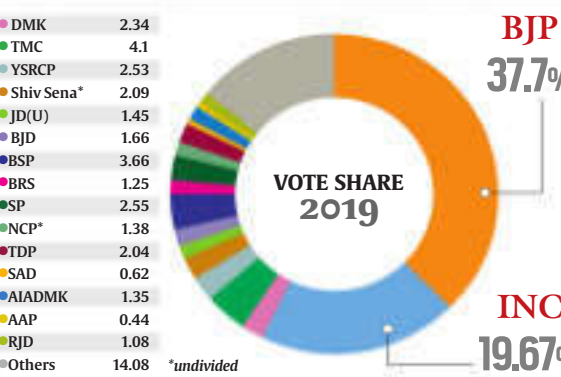
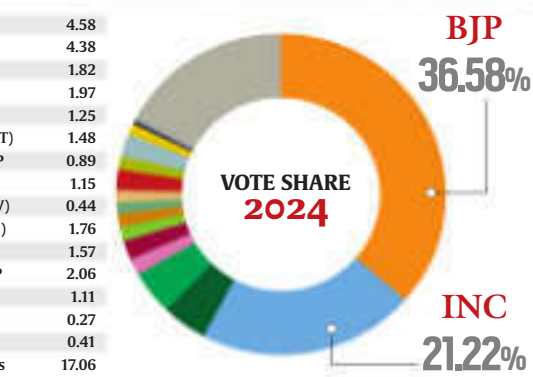
VOTE SHARE 44.4%

INDIA SEATS

120

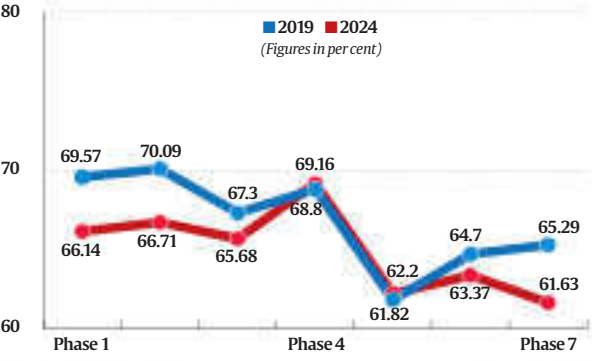
VOTE SHARE 33.7%

Note: Excluding Shiv Sena and NCP in 2019, which were undivided at the time

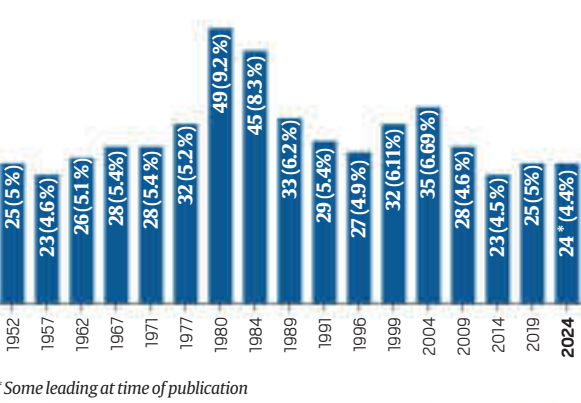


PHASE-WISE TURNOUT

Note: Phase 7 figure for 2024 as of 11:45pm on June 1



MUSLIM REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT



* Some leading at time of publication

DOUBLE CHECK

NOTA IN INDORE

Left without a candidate at the last minute in Madhya Pradesh's Indore, the Congress had aggressively pushed for voters to choose NOTA. In the absence of any significant competition, the BJP sailed through to victory in this seat with a record 10.08 lakh margin, it was NOTA that finished as the runner-up with 2.19 lakh votes, the highest ever tally for the NOTA option since it was introduced in the 2014 Lok Sabha polls.

HIGHEST AND LOWEST MARGINS

Besides Indore, among seats that saw competitive fights, the highest margin was recorded in Assam's Dhubri, where the Congress's Rakibul Hussain defeated the AIUDF's sitting MP Badruddin Ajmal by 9.92 lakh votes. On the other hand, the lowest margin was recorded in Mumbai North West, where the Shiv Sena (Eknath Shinde faction)'s Ravindra Waikar won by just 48 votes against the Shiv Sena (UBT)'s Amol Kirtikar.

BIG FISH

WHO WON



Narendra Modi
BJP, Varanasi
WON BY
1.53 LAKH VOTES



Rahul Gandhi
Congress, Rae Bareilly
WON BY
3.9 LAKH VOTES



Amit Shah
BJP, Gandhinagar
WON BY
7.45 LAKH VOTES



Supriya Sule
NCP(SP), Baramati
WON BY
1.32 LAKH VOTES



Rajnath Singh
BJP, Lucknow
WON BY
1.35 LAKH VOTES



Abhishek Banerjee
TMC, Diamond Harbour
WON BY
7.11 LAKH VOTES



Nitin Gadkari
BJP, Nagpur
WON BY
1.38 LAKH VOTES



Charanjit Channi
Congress, Jalandhar
WON BY
1.76 LAKH VOTES



Shivraj Chouhan
BJP, Vidisha
WON BY
8.21 LAKH VOTES



H D Kumaraswamy
JD(S), Mandya
WON BY
2.85 LAKH VOTES

WHO LOST



Smriti Irani
BJP, Amethi
LOST BY
1.67 LAKH VOTES



Adhir Ranjan
Congress, Baharampur
LOST BY
85,022 VOTES



Maneka Gandhi
BJP, Sultanpur
LOST BY
43,174 VOTES



Bhupesh Baghel
Congress, Rajnandgaon
LOST BY
44,411 VOTES



K Annamalai
BJP, Coimbatore
LOST BY
1.17 LAKH VOTES



Nakul Nath
Congress, Chhindwara
LOST BY
1.14 LAKH VOTES



Arjun Munda
BJP, Khunti
LOST BY
1.5 LAKH VOTES



Omar Abdullah
NC, Baramulla
LOST BY
2.04 LAKH VOTES



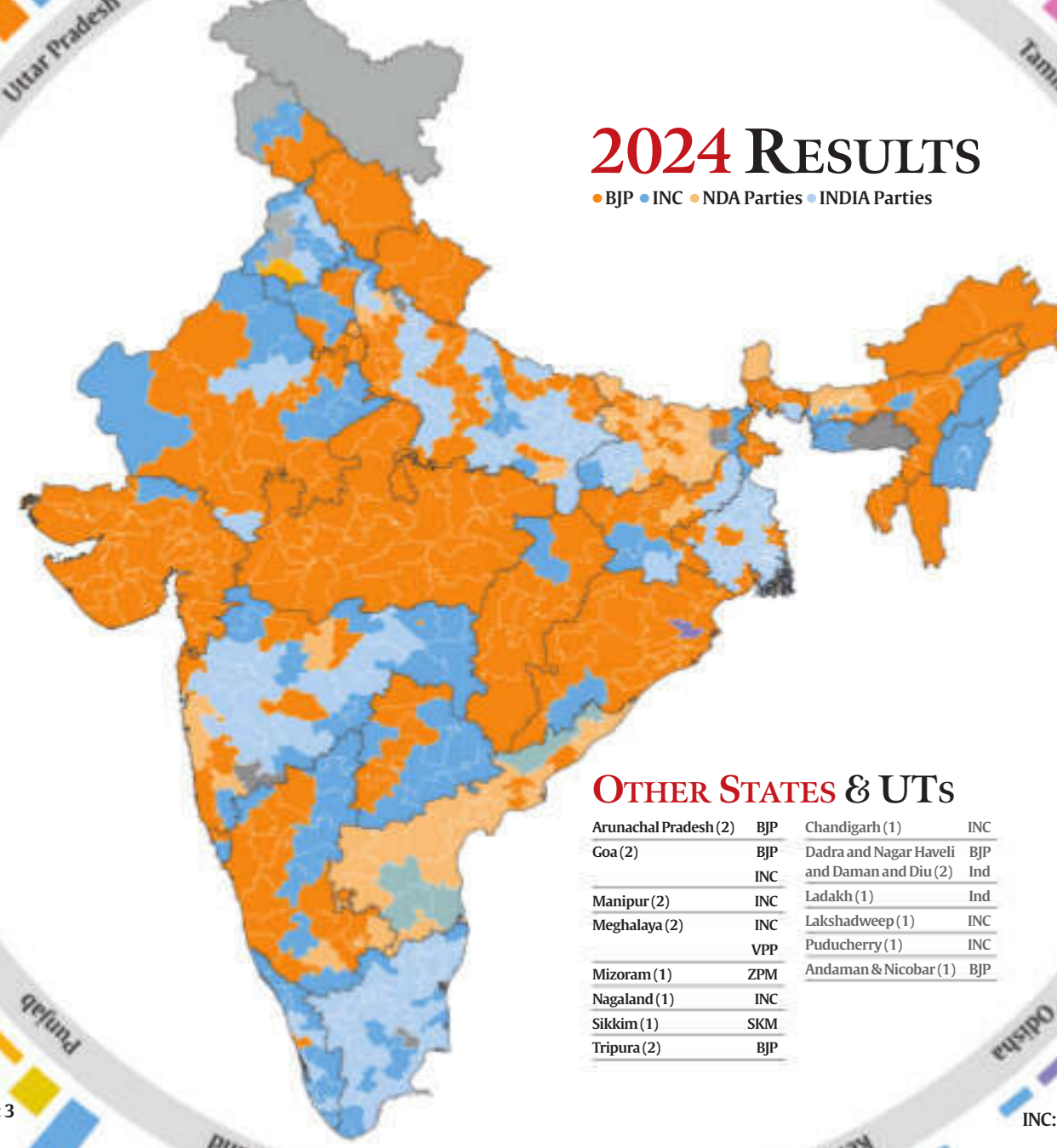
Mehbooba Mufti
PDP, Anantnag-Rajouri
LOST BY
2.82 LAKH VOTES



Digvijaya Singh
Congress, Raigarh
LOST BY
1.46 LAKH VOTES

2024 RESULTS

● BJP ● INC ● NDA Parties ● INDIA Parties



OTHER STATES & UTs

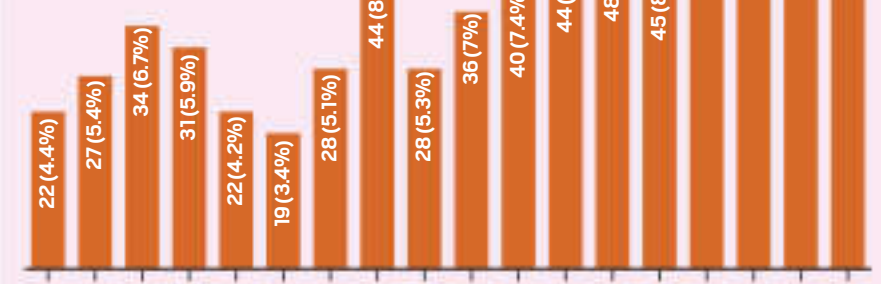
Arunachal Pradesh (2)	BJP	Chandigarh (1)	INC
Goa (2)	BJP	Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu (2)	BJP
Manipur (2)	INC	Ladakh (1)	Ind
Meghalaya (2)	INC	Lakshadweep (1)	INC
Mizoram (1)	ZPM	Puducherry (1)	INC
Nagaland (1)	INC	Andaman & Nicobar (1)	BJP
Sikkim (1)	SKM		
Tripura (2)	BJP		

NUMBERS SAY IT ALL

SC SEATS (84)				ST SEATS (47)			
PARTY	2019	2024		PARTY	2019	2024	
BJP	46	30		BJP	31	26	
INC	6	19		INC	4	12	
AITC	5	6		BJD	2		
DMK	4	3		IND	2		
LJP	3	3		JMM	1	2	
YSRCP	4	1		MNF	1		
BJD	3	1		NCP	1		
TRS	3			NPEP	1		
BSP	2			NPF	1		
JD(U)	2	1		SHS	1		
SHS	2			TRS	1		
ADAL	1			YSRCP	1	1	
CPI	1	1		AITC	1		
IND	1			BAP	1		
VCK	1	2		NCPSP	1		
SP		7		UPPL	1		
TDP		3		VPP	1		
AAP		1					
ASP(KR)		1					
CPI(M)		1					
HAM(S)		1					
IND		1					
JD(S)		1					
SS(UBT)		1					

* LJP and LJP(RV)

NO. OF WOMEN MPs OVER THE YEARS IN PARLIAMENT



Note: As of 9pm; Source: EC

Total rural seats: 398*

PARTY	2019	2024	PARTY	2019	2024
BJP	236	165	JMM	1	3
INC	31	75	KEC(M)	1	
YSRCP	21	4	RLTP	1	
JD(U)	16	12	VCK	1	2
DMK	15	13	NCPSP		6
AITC	14	19	SS(UBT)		5
SHS	11		RJD		4
BSP	10		CPI(M)		3
TRS	8		CPI(ML)(L)		2
LJP	6	5	JP		2
SP	5	37	RLD		2
NCP	4	1	SS		2
IND	3	4	AD(S)		1
ADAL	2		AGP		1
IULM	2	2	UPPL		1
SAD	2	1	ASP(KR)		1
TDP	2	14	BAP		1
AAP	1	3	HAM(S)		1
ADMK	1		KC		1
AIUDF	1		RLP		1
AJSUP	1	1			
CPI	1	1			
JD(S)	1	2			

Graphics: Express Design Team

10 DELHI-NCR



VERDICT
2024

BLANKED BY BJP IN DELHI, AAP-CONGRESS PUTS UP BRAVE FACE

Delhi lost, alliance buoyed by INDIA wins outside



Celebrations at the BJP office after the party's win, in Delhi on Tuesday. *Tashi Tobgyal*

At BJP office, chants change but belief constant: 'Modi will be our PM again'

ABHINAYA HARIGOVIND
& ANNAPURNA BHATTACHARYA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

'Ab ki baar 400 paar' went missing from chants at the BJP headquarters on Tuesday as the day progressed, swiftly replaced by 'teesri baar Modi sarkaar' in the afternoon.

Outside the BJP office, a worker from the party's IT cell set the tone for the day a little after 11 am, when he said "the results are not as expected". But party workers and supporters celebrated nonetheless — with drum beats, dancing, and sloganeering — as leads pointed to the NDA making it past the halfway mark.

Close to 11.30 am, Vijay Kumar Patel, a BJP worker from Prayagraj who had arrived in Delhi for counting day, said: "This is still the beginning. In places like UP, they may have had some benefit from the Congress-SP alliance. But they don't have a strong leader. Maybe there will be some clarity only after 12 pm or 1 pm... then we will know what numbers we can cross. *Kam-zyaada hona nishchit hai* (the numbers may be a little higher or lower), but our government will be formed."

'Ab ki baar 400 paar' read the sign attached to the front of Ratan Ranjan's bicycle, which brought him to Delhi from Bihar, he said. As he stood outside the party office, the cycle's carrier had a life-size cardboard cutout of

Modi. In the afternoon, the sign on the bicycle changed to '*phir ek baar Modi sarkaar*'.

By noon, party spokespersons at the office were cautious, but repeated that what mattered in the end was the NDA would be able to form the government. Party spokesperson Tom Vadakkan said: "This is just halftime... we will form the government, our next PM is Narendra Modi and our vision for 100 days is already fixed. There is a plan in place for the next 5 years and even 10 years."

The caution at the party office persisted all through the afternoon as the NDA's leads remained below the 300-mark.

Around 1 pm, party spokesperson Shazia Ilmi, said: "There have been some upsets. What we see from Rajasthan and UP is obviously not as good as what we thought it was. Ours is a different sort of party, we value the verdict of the people. We have never questioned any of our institutions... and never blamed EVMs. Nevertheless, there have been great gains in Odisha, Karnataka, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu."

Around 1.45 pm, BJP spokesperson Nalin Kohli said: "Certainly, the BJP and NDA were working towards getting a larger majority. But the fact of the matter is, for the third time consecutively, the BJP-led NDA is going to form a government in the Centre. It has happened only once in the history of independent India..."

Similarly, spokesperson Shehzad

Poonawalla said they would "wait for the results to solidify by around 4-5 pm." Pointing to "positive" takeaways, he added: "... After 10 years (in power)... the NDA is already past the halfway mark... the BJP has now become a party to reckon with in Odisha, the BJP has now grown in Kerala and Tamil Nadu..."

Even as spokespersons were wary, party workers began distributing sweets by around 2.30 pm and some gathered around a TV to watch the numbers. Ramvaran Singh, a worker from Delhi, said, "It's not 400 paar, but Modi will still be PM."

The tempo went up a few notches in the evening as the NDA hovered below the 300-mark, with a band entering the premises. "Yes, it is still below 300, but we'll still form the government; for the third time, Modi will become the Prime Minister. This despite the Congress making a comeback in some ways... maybe people thought Rahul Gandhi would be able to do something after the Bharat Jodo Yatra," said Lakshmi Sharma, a worker from Delhi.

Celebrations continued till the time Modi and other party leaders were scheduled to arrive at the office later in the evening. Sanjay Goswami from Meerut, who spent all day at the office, blowing into a conch shell and holding a tall stick with the Prime Minister's picture on it, took the chants a step further when he said: "*Har baar Modi sarkaar, 2029 Modi sarkaar*."

After morning scare, BJP's Rao Inderjit Singh wins Gurgaon with over 8L votes

AISWARYARAJ
GURGAON, JUNE 4

EVEN AS Congress's Lok Sabha candidate in Gurgaon, Raj Babbar, was ahead of BJP's Rao Inderjit Singh for several rounds early in the day, the latter managed to shoot past to take the lead. Singh won on Tuesday, but with a low margin of 75,079 votes, a far cry from the 3.86 lakh vote margin he secured in 2019. Singh bagged 8.08 lakh votes, closely followed by Babbar with 7.33 lakh.

During the initial rounds of counting, mostly from Nuh, the Congress candidate was leading by a margin of over 42,000 votes at times. Later, when numbers came in from Gurgaon and Rewari districts, BJP's Singh was ahead. Singh had bagged the seat with a margin of 3.86 lakh votes in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections and 2.74 lakh votes in the 2014 polls. In 2019, Singh had defeated Congress's Captain Ajay Singh Yadav by securing 8.81 lakh votes with a vote share of 60.88% against



BJP's Rao Inderjit Singh addresses his supporters in Gurgaon on Tuesday. *PTI*

Yadav's 4.95 lakh votes (34.2%).

Issuing an official statement, Singh's team said: "During his election campaign, Rao Inderjit Singh clearly said he never used the power of the people for personal interests. He has used his power for the welfare of the people and development in the area... This is

the reason why the people of Gurgaon have not only entrusted him with their representation, but also accepted him as their leader."

In 2019, Singh was elected to the 17th Lok Sabha for his fifth term as an MP, where he served as the Union Minister of State (Independent charge) for Planning, Statistics and Programme Implementation.

Singh's vote share dipped to 50.48%, while Babbar managed to bag 45.79%. Singh suffered a setback in Nuh, Ferozepur Jhirka, and Punhana. Even in seats such as Rewari and Bawal — believed to be Singh's stronghold — Babbar made comfortable inroads.

Meanwhile, Bollywood singer and rapper Rahul Fazilpuri, who contested the Lok Sabha polls on a JJP ticket, was in the third position with 13,278 votes.

In Faridabad, BJP candidate and outgoing Union minister Krishan Pal Gurjar won by a margin of 1.72 lakh votes. He was pitted against Congress veteran Mahendra Pratap. Gurjar won the parliamentary poll by securing 7.88 lakh votes.

Sanjeev, standing next to him at the roadside tea stall, isn't too convinced.

"PM Modi is still very popular," declares the man from Darbhanga, Bihar. Around 3pm, as the poll numbers begin to suggest the BJP may fall short of the majority, Sharma expresses his concern. "The Congress has successfully led a coalition government twice. They (BJP) are not used to consultation with others," he says.

As a light drizzle starts, a much-needed respite from the Delhi heat, a few men come rushing and remove the screen.

People now gather in front of a shoe store inside the adjoining Regal building. "Modi will have the victory but not the same power," a man opines. "We were listening to only one voice, inside the Parliament and outside. Now it won't be like that," says another. An old woman, who identified herself as Shanti, from JJ colony appears and asks:



People watch the vote counting on a TV screen installed at CP, on Tuesday. *Express*

"Where are the jobs? All these big companies have taken away government jobs."

"Modi should go this time," she says,

Dead silence to revelry: How the day unfolded at Cong headquarters

SAMAN HUSAIN
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

IT IS 7 in the morning and workers of the Congress, dressed in crisp white, have begun assembling at the All India Congress Committee (AICC) office. Their eyes transfixed on the monitors, they wait in dead silence as votes are counted. As the day wears on, a renewed sense of enthusiasm takes hold among them. Around 11 am, Akash Tripathi, a party supporter, exclaims: "Smriti Irani (BJP's Amethi candidate) is not winning!"

At 11.14 am, Election Commission trends show the NDA leading in 295 seats. But the INDIA bloc, too, has held its own, leading in 229 seats. As the scorching sun gives way to a cloudy sky, a supporter announces, "*Mausam thanda ho raha hai, ab lag raha hai ki sarkaar banne waali hai!*"

Sanjay Sinha, a long-time member of the Congress, says: "Within the next 10 days, Nitish (Kumar) is going to flip." As if on cue, workers begin raising the slogan "*Nitish babu wapis aao* (Nitish Kumar, come back)", exhorting the Bihar CM and JD(U) leader to once again ditch the NDA.

"It's the Samajwadi Party that has actually turned the game," notes Bindu Verma, a party supporter and an advocate from Prayagraj.

At 11.52 am, interim Delhi Congress Chief Devender Yadav climbs on a stage, holding up a framed sketch of Rahul Gandhi as workers go: "*Rahul Gandhi Zindabad*".

The workers are happy that the BJP is facing a tough fight. "They have failed the people with their divisive tactics; yet, the people have rejected their politics," says Kishan, a Congress supporter.

By 1.30 pm, the party headquarters is echoing to the beat of *dhol-nagada*, with many workers shaking a leg. Outside, ven-



Congress supporters at the party headquarters in Delhi on Tuesday. *ANI*

dors start setting shop, selling Congress headbands, brooches, and badges. The AICC canteen is jam-packed. "Too many *dosa* and *chai* orders today," says Rahul, a canteen worker. Lakshman, a supporter from Maharashtra, stands out from the crowd in his Congress-themed tricolour attire. "I still have blisters from attending the Bharat Jodo Yatra barefoot, but it energised our workers... I have been on a fast since yesterday."

Lakshman, who earlier also travelled to Manipur, says the people of the Northeastern state have rejected PM Narendra Modi. "It has been a year (of the conflict) and they have not given a solution," he adds.

For Sukhjeet Jangra, a farmer from Haryana, it is the alleged mistreatment of farmers and wrestlers that has turned the tide.

Shivani Dwivedi, a party worker, holds up her *mangalsutra* and declares: "I would like to tell the BJP that this *mangalsutra* is not under threat." At 5.30 pm, party workers and supporters form a line to greet party chief Mallikarjun Kharge, along with senior leaders Sonia Gandhi and Rahul Gandhi.

"The office was completely deserted on the counting day in 2019. This election has definitely infused renewed energy into supporters," says Raghav, a party worker from Chandni Chowk.

AAP set to lose in 19 of 22 Lok Sabha seats, bags 3 in Punjab



At the AAP office on DDU Marg on Tuesday morning. *Amit Mehra*

JATIN ANAND & MALLICA JOSHI
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

THE AAP will have three MPs in the Lok Sabha, bettering its tally as well as its vote share, but its celebrations remained muted on Tuesday. The party, which got 0.44% of the vote share in 2019, increased its count to 1.11%. Winning state elections by a landslide, decimating its primary opposition parties but failing to convert the mandate into similar gains in Lok Sabha polls in Delhi and Punjab has subdued party leaders.

The party's top leadership, including party chief and Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal, is behind bars.

"We were expecting a much better result in Punjab, for sure. We can explain the results in Delhi, where we fought in alliance with Congress and made gains of five percentage points in vote share in what has been a core BJP stronghold since 2014. But Punjab has been a setback, especially since we were fighting alone and were hoping to win at least 10 seats," said an AAP insider.

The party won four seats in Punjab in 2014, which dropped to one seat in 2019 (Bhagwant Mann).

A senior party leader said, "In Delhi, we got a higher voter share and gave a strong

fight. The margins are lower. Fewer people who support AAP in the state voted for BJP in Lok Sabha... while BJP may have won, its performance is a reflection of what happened in the nation over the years."

AAP is set to lose 19 of the 22 Lok Sabha seats it contested across the country.

Though its electoral success was limited only to three Parliamentary constituencies in Punjab, the vote share also registered a significant surge both in Delhi and Punjab where it is at the helm in the state. While it went for a seat-sharing arrangement with the Congress in Delhi, Gujarat, Goa, Haryana and Chandigarh as part of the INDIA bloc, it went alone on the 13 seats in Punjab and in two in Assam. The AAP had claimed 7.46% of the vote share in Punjab and 18.2% in Delhi in 2019; these went up to 26.07% and 24.17%, respectively.

"In Punjab, we have done much better than last time... the fourth seat was a close contest... Today no one can say that we are a flash in the pan in Punjab... We have established ourselves election by election... The other parties are much older; We are still outsiders in the system but the fact that we have won three seats and played a major role in Congress' win in Chandigarh is an indicator that we have established ourselves as a regional party," a senior party leader said.

Despite Capital loss, AAP hails people: 'They said go back BJP'

UPASIKA SINGHAL
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

AS THE polling numbers rolled in throughout the day, an eerie silence enveloped the AAP's office on DDU Marg. Party workers gathered silently around the TV, some with their hands on their heads, as they watched the results with stoic expressions. Despite the INDIA bloc doing surprisingly well across the country, the AAP-Congress combine lost out on all seven seats in Delhi.

At the office, a scattering of workers sat cloistered, refusing to talk to outsiders. In the courtyard, a tent for the media and a screen flashing the results were the only signs of life. Earlier in the day, Burari MLA Sanjeev Jha arrived at the premises. When a flurry of questions was directed at him, he flashed a cheeky smile and told the journalists: "Just wait and watch how the game changes." But the game never flipped; at least not in Delhi.

A dhol-player, hoping to earn his wages, walked inside the office premises only to be shooed away by the guards. "I was told there would be no celebrations as (CM Arvind) Kejriwal is in jail," said Raju Bhaat, who had come from Kathputli Colony. Packing up his instrument he said, "I'm going to the BJP office... at least I'll make Rs 500 to Rs 1,000 there."

Meanwhile, AAP leaders Sanjay Singh, Gopal Rai and Pankaj Gupta addressed a press conference in the evening. Highlighting that the BJP, in all probability, was winning 60 fewer seats than last time, Singh said: "If the Prime Minister has any dignity, he should resign." Tipping his hat to the people of India for participating in the democratic exercise of voting, Singh added, "There was a deep conspiracy to influence the polls. Despite that, it is the beauty of India's democracy that the people of India got together and said, 'Go back BJP.'"

Singh added: "This election signals many things but the main matter that is highlighted is that the people are unhappy with BJP's 10-year reign. They are unhappy with rising prices, with unemployment and dictatorship."

Rai, acknowledging the AAP's impending loss in its stronghold, chose to felicitate party workers for their support and hard work: "The number of MPs we have in the Lok Sabha will increase. The BJP thought AAP would crumble after Kejriwal's arrest... however, despite these adverse conditions, our party workers pulled through and for that I congratulate them..."

He also highlighted the precarious situation the BJP now finds itself in. "There are two parties in the alliance (NDA)... one is TDP, under Chandrababu Naidu... in 2019, he campaigned against India against Modi ji. The second is Nitish Kumar ji who campaigned across India during this election while speaking out against Modi... the country holds a certain hope from these two politicians that they take the right decision at the right time and end this era of dictatorship," Rai said.

BJP & ITS ALLIES



VERDICT
2024



This historic victory in the Lok Sabha elections is the victory of the unwavering faith of the people on the policies of the Prime Minister. Our goal of 'Developed India' will acquire new dimensions in the third consecutive term.

J P NADDA, BJP national president

TALKING
HEADS

The victory has demonstrated that people's trust lies solely with Modi ji. It is people's blessing for the successful implementation of initiatives aimed at the welfare of the poor... dignity of women and welfare of farmers.

AMIT SHAH, Union Home Minister



Constitution is our guiding light, will work with all states, regardless of who is in power: Modi after win

Says third term will be one of big decisions, emphasis will be on rooting out corruption

LIZ MATHEW
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

CALLING THE Lok Sabha verdict "historic", Prime Minister Narendra Modi Tuesday pledged to work with all states, irrespective of who is in power, to build a Viksit Bharat (developed India).

"Our Constitution is our guiding light. I want to assure everyone that the NDA government will work with all states, irrespective of the party in power there, to work towards our resolve to make India a developed country. We have no time to stop or feel tired. It is time to work together for the nation's interest and move forward. We have to take new decisions for the country's progress," Modi told the BJP workers assembled at the party headquarters to celebrate the victory.

Modi's BJP, which had won an absolute majority in 2014 and 2019, is falling short of a majority on its own. But the NDA, its pre-poll alliance, has won 292 seats in the Lok Sabha. This is the first time in six decades that an alliance has returned to power with a majority for a third straight time.

In his first speech after the results, Modi did not mention the fall in the BJP's tally but laid out his vision for the third term, saying it would be a tenure of big decisions. "The fight against corruption is becoming tougher by the day. In our third term, NDA will focus a lot on rooting out corruption of all kinds," Modi said.

Modi pointed out that the BJP and its allies have won the Assembly elections in Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim. He also mentioned the party's near-sweep of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand.

"Even if our opponents united, they could not win as many seats as the BJP alone has won in this Lok Sabha election," he said, adding that the hard work and the sweat they have shed during the campaign in the peak of summer has just "inspired Modi" to work continuously. "If you (countrymen) work for 10 hours, Modi will work for 18 hours, if you take two steps, Modi will take four steps. In the third term, the country will write a new chapter of big decisions and this is Modi's guarantee," he said.

Modi also remembered his mother, saying this was the first election after her demise. "This moment is an emotional one for me.... But millions of mothers, sisters and daughters of the country never let me feel the absence of my mother," he said.

The Prime Minister arrived at the BJP headquarters to a rousing welcome by hundreds of supporters chanting his name. He was greeted by BJP chief J P Nadda and Union Ministers Rajnath Singh and Amit Shah.

"Narendra Modi will be Prime Minister for a third term," Nadda declared as he welcomed the Prime Minister.

The backdrop on the stage had 'Dhanyawad Bharat' written in multiple languages, including Urdu. Modi began his speech with a "Jai Jagannath" and thanked the people of Odisha for giving BJP a clear mandate in the state for the first time. Modi also thanked TDP chief Chandrababu Naidu and Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar.



SETTING THE STAGE FOR NEW TERM

Prime Minister Narendra Modi with Union Ministers Rajnath Singh and Amit Shah, and BJP chief J P Nadda, at the party office in New Delhi on Tuesday. Tashi Tobgyal

Allies in play, tough road ahead for BJP plans: From one-election push to UCC to delimitation

LIZ MATHEW
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

AFTER A decade of absolute domination, the BJP has fallen short of a majority in the Lok Sabha elections, leading the party under Narendra Modi into new political territory with its main NDA allies emerging as key players in the ruling alignment.

The NDA is still on course to form the government but it will be dependent on alliance partners TDP and JD(U), who may not hesitate to review their support if they disagree with the BJP at crucial junctures on the road ahead — especially on hot-button issues such as simultaneous polls, delimitation and a uniform civil code.

More so, because both TDP chief N Chandrababu Naidu and JD(U)'s Nitish Kumar have had tumultuous ties with the BJP in the past. "There is no scope for any drastic reform policies, be it in the social sector or in the economic sector, in a coalition government. For example, parties like the JD(U) will not support the divestment of PSUs," a BJP leader and former Union minister told *The Indian Express*.

ter told *The Indian Express*.

In 2018, the TDP broke its alliance with the BJP, after having been part of the Modi-led Government, over Andhra Pradesh not receiving special category status. Their ties had soured so much that Naidu even described Modi as "a hardcore terrorist". Later, despite Naidu's repeated attempts to revive their ties after the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, the BJP dragged its feet over allowing his party back into the NDA.

Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar, who was part of the A B Vajpayee government, had first snapped the JD(U)'s ties with the BJP in 2014, objecting to its move to declare Modi as its prime ministerial candidate. Although he returned to the NDA fold later, he again snapped ties in 2022 to form the state government with the RJD and Congress, only to return earlier this year.

Now, with the JD(U) performing better than the BJP in Bihar in terms of strike rate, Kumar could "act pricey" again with the BJP, according to a BJP MP from the state. As counting progressed late Tuesday, the BJP was leading in 12 of the 17 seats it contested while Kumar's party had a clear lead in 14 of

The NDA is still on course to form the government but it will be dependent on alliance partners TDP and JD(U), who may not hesitate to review their support if they disagree with the BJP

the 16 seats it fought from.

According to political observers, with Modi's image of invincibility dented, at a time when the BJP has centered its politics and electioneering strategy around him, it remains to be seen whether he would be able to survive as the prime minister of a coalition government. Crucially, senior BJP leaders admit, a coalition government would mean that many of the BJP's pet projects, both in reforms as well as on the ideological front, are shelved or kept in cold storage.

While the new government was expected to prepare for simultaneous elections under the tagline of "One Nation One Poll", one of the favourite projects of Modi himself, the new combination in power may not be favourable

for any such move. For instance, the TDP is not believed to be in favour of the plan while the JD(U) had supported it while responding to the Ram Nath Kovind-led panel that recommended simultaneous polls and ways to roll it out. Then again, the 15 parties that opposed the move included the Congress, TMC, DMK, AAP and SP, which together now form a formidable and emboldened opposition.

The BJP may also be forced to change its perspective on the delimitation process, due in 2026, depending on the position taken by the TDP. During the 2024 campaign, Union Home Minister Amit Shah had categorically said that the process would take place in the scheduled time period.

Party leaders also point out that with the much-hyped Ram Temple "pran pratishtha" not yielding any big dividend for the BJP, even in UP, the party would be forced to put on the backburner its contentious agenda on other disputed religious sites in Kashi and Mathura.

Similarly, a beginning had been made towards a uniform civil code. But given the possible equations in the next Lok Sabha, the BJP may remove this plan also from its list of national priorities.

It is not just allies, BJP may face a churn within

LIZ MATHEW
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

AFTER VOTERS denied the BJP an absolute majority on its own for a third term, party sources told *The Indian Express* that the new political reality may also set the stage for a churn within the party in the months ahead with murmurs against the central leadership's style of functioning likely to find renewed voice.

As with its NDA allies, who will have a crucial say in the new Government, the BJP would also have to adopt a more consensual approach within the party, the sources said. "It (the Lok Sabha polls) will create a new chapter in the BJP. The leadership is no longer beyond questioning or criticism," a senior BJP leader told *The Indian Express*.

According to party leaders, the BJP is looking to manage its allies with a system similar to the one followed by the NDA government of A B Vajpayee — an "effective" alliance convener, and frequent meetings and consultations with alliance partners for every major decision.

The party may have to mirror this template internally, they said. The decline in Rajasthan, where Vasundhara Raje still wields influence, and the wins of other veterans such as Shivraj Singh Chouhan in MP, Nitin Gadkari in Maharashtra and Rajnath Singh in UP, will increase their importance in the party, leaders said.

Several BJP leaders who spoke to *The Indian Express* insisted that the Lok Sabha results would not bring about an immediate change in the party as the NDA fought "under Modi's leadership". But they admitted that "the leadership would have to review its style of functioning" and discuss decisions and internal appointments more extensively. "The nomination culture will be over," said a party leader from UP, responding in jest to a query on the emerging internal dynamics.

As a first step, the party will soon have to elect a national president as J P Nadda's extended term is ending this month. Subsequently, the organisation is expected to go for a complete overhaul with the state units also getting new office-bearers.

Party sources pointed out that with the emergence of Rahul Gandhi as a more formidable Opposition leader, a Congress revival is on the cards. "Not only anti-BJP forces but also unhappy and disgruntled leaders in the party could flock behind him. This could make the future of the Congress brighter, raising fresh challenges for the BJP in many places," the sources said.

The sources said regular communication at the senior level between the BJP and its ideological parent RSS had faced a setback in the recent past. With the BJP growing as a strong organisation, its reliance on the Sangh for outreach programmes at ground level in many areas had come down. "But now, there will be efforts to improve relations and regularise communications," said a party source.

AWADHESH PRASAD OF SP DEFEATS BJP SITTING MP LALLU SINGH BY 54,567 VOTES IN FAIZABAD

In BJP's Ayodhya loss, a grouse: "Temple for outsiders... BJP forgot to work for us"

DHEERAJ MISHRA
AYODHYA, JUNE 4

AROUND A kilometre from the Government Inter College in Ayodhya, which serves as the counting centre for the Faizabad Lok Sabha seat, Laxmikant Tiwari sits in the near-deserted BJP election office in Ayodhya, surrounded by a few others with long faces. Minutes ago, the BJP's Lok Sabha candidate, Lallu Singh, had accepted defeat to Awadesh Prasad of the Samajwadi Party.

"We worked really hard, we fought for this, but Ram Mandir consecration did not convert into votes," says Tiwari, the BJP's counting agent for the seat.

Barely four months after the consecration of the Ram temple — among the BJP's key ideological projects and one of its biggest calling cards this election — the party lost the Faizabad Lok Sabha seat of which Ayodhya

is a part. Even for an election that defied all exit polls predictions and saw the BJP falling well short of its own goal of 370 seats, the loss in Ayodhya was particularly stark.

"There were local issues that took centre stage. Many villages in Ayodhya were angry with the land acquisition that was happening around the temple and the airport. Also, the BSP votes were transferred to the SP because Awadesh Prasad is a Dalit leader," says Tiwari.

Awadesh Prasad, a nine-time MLA who is among the key Dalit faces of the SP, defeated Lallu Singh, who was seeking to be re-elected for the third time, by a margin of 54,567 votes.

In the extraordinary defeat of the BJP are echoes of unemployment, inflation, land acquisition and talk of "changes in the Constitution". In the run-up to the elections, outgoing MP Lallu Singh was among the BJP leaders who said that the party needed 400



SP's victorious Faizabad candidate Awadhes Prasad on Tuesday. Gajendra Yadav

seats to "change the Constitution". Outside the counting centre, 27-year-old Vijay Yadav says: "The MP should not have said this. The Constitution was one of the key issues that Awadhes Prasad picked up."

"The paper leak was another big factor. I am also a victim of this... Because I don't have a job, I have started working with my father on our fields. People voted for change here because our MP did not do any work here, except for whitewashing his failures with the Ram Mandir," Yadav adds.

Outside the BJP office, Arvind Tiwari, who identifies himself as a "BJP supporter", says the grandeur of the Ram Mandir may have impressed outsiders, but the residents of the town were unhappy with the inconvenience they were subjected to.

"The fact is, very few Ayodhya wasi go to the temple, most of the devotees here are outsiders. Ram hamare aaradhya hain (We worship Ram), but how will we survive if you

take away our livelihoods?" he says.

On his plans for Ayodhya, SP's winning candidate said, "So many people have been uprooted by the BJP government (during work on widening of roads leading to the temple). I will work to resettle them. I will also work to provide proper compensation to those whose lands have been taken away."

Mohd. Israel Ghosi, who runs a small tent house, says there was a lot of anti-incumbency against Lallu Singh. "He did not do any work for the people of Ayodhya. Whatever work was done was for outsiders. The BJP forgot to work for Ayodhya's own people. Also, Lallu Singh said that the BJP needed 400 seats to change the Constitution. That made people very angry," says Ghosi.

At the BJP's election office in Ayodhya, Lallu Singh admitted defeat and said: "There may have been some fault in me. I will introspect why this happened despite the Modi-Yogi leadership."



The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

VOTE FOR GOVERNMENT — AND OPPOSITION

For Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the mandate is for humility and negotiation; for Rahul Gandhi, it shows a clear way forward

THE FINAL NUMBERS will not tell the full story of this election verdict. The BJP, most of all, must carefully read between its lines and beyond them, too. A decade after the Narendra Modi-led party brought back the single-party dominance system to national centrestage, having replaced Congress as its centre-piece, India is set to have coalitions on both sides of the government-*Opposition* divide. The people of this diverse country have spoken and they have said that they are not one but many. And that they will not be straitjacketed by the homogenising political project that imposes One Leader, One Party, One Religion.

In days to come, this verdict will be decoded and its many strands parsed by players — on all sides — in ways that are sometimes self-serving. But it seems already clear that Scoreboard 2024 punctures the concentration of power and the thinning of checks and balances that had become normalised and institutionalised in the Modi government for 10 years, with the consequent shrinking and stifling of breathing spaces for the political *Opposition* as well as civil society institutions. The BJP-led NDA is poised to form the government again, and a third consecutive term in power is an undoubted achievement. But it would do well to acknowledge that its mandate this time is both quantitatively and qualitatively different: It opens up room in the system for other players. And carries a warning the BJP can ill afford to either ignore or downplay.

NOT JUST HIS party, Narendra Modi, who is set to return as prime minister, the first after Jawaharlal Nehru to get a third term, will need to take a message, or two, on board too. While large numbers of the people of India continue to repose faith in his leadership — the BJP's successes, depleted and circumscribed as they are, come at the end of a highly personalised campaign that centred on "Modi's guarantees" — this verdict situates him firmly on the ground. It places him squarely amid the push and pull of factions, faultlines and cleavages, thrusts upon him the responsibility of negotiation with allies and navigation of a crowded terrain. The onus of listening and humility is on him. Modi's newly re-defined role will need him not to continue deriding his political opponents with impunity, or be seen to target them single-mindedly. It will need him to see the perils of not just overweening ambition — the anxieties stoked by the "400-paar" slogan in vulnerable sections may have contributed to the BJP's striking downsizing — but also the dangers of ratcheting up religious polarisation in a diverse country. His charged rhetoric about "mangsalsutra" and "mujra" that sought to play upon Hindu insecurities, and his painting of a scare scenario in which reservation, property and rights will be taken from the majority and handed to the Muslim minority, didn't work for him. It may even have contributed to paring down his mandate — the BJP's seat tally has fallen by over 60.

THIS IS A good day for the *Opposition*, for the INDIA alliance, and especially for Congress leader Rahul Gandhi. The *Opposition* faced an uphill task, and a playing field visibly tilted against it. Two non-BJP chief ministers, Arvind Kejriwal and Hemant Soren, were arrested on election-eve, and the bank accounts of Congress frozen. Shiv Sena and NCP had been split and splintered in Maharashtra, and Central agencies, ED-CBI-I-T had selectively targeted *Opposition* politicians. In several states, the routine criss-cross of leaders and workers from one party to another on poll-eve that belies the polarisation at the higher echelons had taken the shape of a pattern — the BJP's ranks were swelling because of those migrating to it from other parties. It was against such odds that the INDIA alliance, made of parties with different and even conflicting agendas and interests, put up a spirited fight against a mighty BJP.

NO ONE BORE the weight of the battle more singularly, and more resiliently, than Rahul Gandhi. This verdict also brings vindication for him, personally and politically. Having been painted as a dilettante, a non-serious politician and a dynast by the BJP's machine, disqualified as an MP for a speech, he sought to break out of it in the run-up to this election with his two Bharat Jodo yatras, south to north, east to west.

The message for him in this verdict is that hard work pays, and that a politician who reaches out to the people will be rewarded, no matter what the obstacles stacked against him. Rahul and his party must now use their much improved numbers to make their voice heard and keep the government on its toes in Parliament and other spaces. A celebration is well-deserved, but there is little time for triumphalism.

There is work to be done to live up to the message in the mandate for all the constituents of INDIA, but especially for Congress and Rahul Gandhi. They have just been given a signal that while the people have not turned to them, they are giving them a hearing. Because this time the people of India have voted in not just a Government, but also an *Opposition*.

EXIT EXIT POLLS

Pollsters must go back to the drawing board. They must ask and answer tough questions, to be taken seriously

EXIT POLLS ARE an important feature of the electoral process in a democracy. They help gauge public opinion, provide important clues on which way the wind is blowing. But when their results are so wide off the mark — on Saturday, several polls had predicted that the BJP-led NDA would get a roughly two-thirds majority, with some even projecting the NDA would touch 400 seats — it is only natural for questions to be raised. More so when they have shown the power to move markets. On Monday, the BSE Sensex had surged, ending the day up 2,507 points or 3.39 per cent, as investors were enthused with these polls, which indicated a return of the incumbent with a comfortable majority. But, on Tuesday, when the actual results were declared, and reality was different by a dramatic margin, the markets tanked 5.74 per cent.

There is always the possibility of barometers going wrong. However, this is not a one-off. There have been several instances in the past of a marked divergence in the results of exit polls and actual electoral outcomes — as it was in the case of the Lok Sabha elections in 2004, and in assembly elections in Bihar in 2015 and Chhattisgarh in 2023. Pollsters need to urgently look within. They must carefully examine how the sample households/respondents are chosen and whether they are an accurate representation of the voting population. They must investigate if some sections of voters are underrepresented in their analysis. Is that why they failed to capture the swings in seats? What was the error in sampling? And how were the questions framed and the responses elicited? After all, few had expected the INDIA alliance to touch 200 seats. Stricter disclosure norms regarding the funding of these organisations and surveys also need to be put in place. There is a collateral damage that such surveys have in times when large sections of TV media are seen as megaphones of those in power and have lost their credibility. Their alignment with the exit polls puts another question mark on their reputation.

Their performance in this election should prompt soul-searching among pollsters. The absence of convincing answers will only lend credence to conspiracy theories that question their motives. They must go back to the drawing board. After such a drubbing, they must answer tough questions to continue to be taken seriously.



PRATAP BHANU MEHTA

THE GENERAL ELECTION of 2024 is a wondrous moment. The air of despondency, the suffocating shadow of authoritarianism, and the nauseous winds of communalism have, at least for the moment, lifted. The NDA may form a government for the third time. That is not a milestone to be scoffed at. But this election was not an ordinary election. At stake was the continuing possibility of politics itself. At the very least, the result pricks the bubble of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's authority. He made this election about himself: His performance, his omnipotence and omniscience, and his ideological obsessions. Modi is, for the moment, not the indomitable vehicle for History, or the deified personification of the people. Today, he is just another politician, cut to size by the people.

The election portends a radical realignment of Indian politics on several dimensions. In the first instance, it restores a finer balance of power between different political parties. In the absence of this result, India would have been headed towards unchecked domination of the BJP. It was a domination that threatened to end the possibility of all politics, swallowing up all opponents, and colonising all of civil society. India now has once again a deeply competitive political system. With that comes the possibility of checks and balances and accountability. This balance was made possible in part by an INDIA alliance, especially in UP, that miraculously held together. The BJP has held onto its national vote share, but has been denied seats. If the alliance holds together, it can become a permanent political force. At the very least, it became a serious contender as an alternative. TINA (There is no alternative) is not a factor anymore. It has to be said, this is a tribute to the dogged persistence of the *Opposition* that has battled the full might of being targeted by the government, a hostile media, and deep scepticism going into the election. Full marks to Rahul Gandhi and Akhilesh Yadav for proving sceptics (this columnist included) dead wrong, for crafting an alliance and being able to transfer their votes.

The election was, in part, fought on the theme of danger to democracy, institutional degradation, and risk to the Constitution. A more balanced polity also allows the possi-

NDA may form a government for the third time but air of despondency has, for the moment, lifted

The election portends a radical realignment of Indian politics on several dimensions. In the first instance, it restores a finer balance of power between different political parties. In the absence of this result, India would have been headed towards unchecked domination of the BJP. It was a domination that threatened to end the possibility of all politics, swallowing up all opponents, and colonising all of civil society. India now has once again a deeply competitive political system. With that comes the possibility of checks and balances and accountability.



A R VASAVI

FROM THE 2019 elections, which had given 25 out of 28 seats to the BJP and only one to the INC, the current results with gains for the Congress indicate complex political equations and responses. The INC was expected to build on its achievements in the 2023 Assembly elections and send a majority to Parliament. Instead, its gains indicate that its promises of a bounty of populist goodies could not garner enough support. The key reason is its nomination of at least seven new candidates from established political families. These novices were seen as privileged players whose commitment and abilities were questioned not only by voters but also by INC workers. Little wonder that very few of these legacy candidates made it to the victory stand.

To the BJP's credit, despite facing widespread anti-incumbency, it had consciously denied tickets to rabble rousers such as Anantkumar Hegde, C T Ravi, and B S Yediyurappa. Continuing to support popular leaders, such as Jagadish Shettar, and some old stalwarts, the BJP managed to retain key constituencies. The fact that Shobha Karandlaje, who faced "Go Back, Shobha" slogans in her earlier constituency (Udupi Chikmagalur) but won in Bengaluru North, indicates the consolidation of the BJP vote bank in key urban areas.

The JD(S)'s manipulation and betrayal of its secular credentials yielded mixed results. While Kumaraswamy, a former CM, rode on his Vokkaliga vote bank, the defeat of his

MESSAGE FROM KARNATAKA

A new voter has emerged, demanding dignity and accountability

Large swathes of people representing Dalits, farmers, and workers came together to articulate their resistance to the BJP's divisive agenda. Led by civil society organisations and networks that commendably put together a year-long campaign, voters voiced their grievances against price rise, unemployment and the spread of communalism. A key factor was also the step-motherly treatment that Karnataka was seen as receiving, especially in allocations of central funds.

nephew, Prajwal Revanna, accused in serial rapes, is a victory for the discerning voters of Hassan constituency. In joining forces with the BJP, the JD(S) has reneged on its moral and political commitment to secularism and Karnataka's interests. But, it has also lost its credentials as a regional party and its leaders, especially Deve Gowda and his family, have lost their moral and social standing in the state.

But the election results cannot be read as a simple narrative of the BJP's hold over Karnataka as a "gateway to South India". Instead, the gains for the Congress are a reflection of growing democratisation and anti-RSS/BJP sentiment in Karnataka. Large swathes of people representing Dalits, farmers, and workers came together to articulate their resistance to the BJP's divisive agenda. Led by civil society organisations and networks that commendably put together a year-long campaign, voters voiced their grievances against price rise, unemployment and the spread of communalism. A key factor was also the step-motherly treatment that Karnataka was seen as receiving, especially in allocations of central funds. Women, especially the beneficiaries of the state government's "guarantees" (free electricity, free bus passes, monthly rations, monthly payments of Rs 2000), were ardent supporters of the INC. Much credit to increasing voter awareness and participation is owed to the Jamaat-e-Islami Karnataka, which worked in all parts of the state to ensure that Muslim

voters did not remain outside the fold of this democratic exercise. Articulations of the need to "save the Constitution" and to live by its principles were voiced by many Dalits whose organisations overrode their differences and joined civil society organisations to rescue democracy and Dalit rights. Farmers, who remained fragmented by region, caste and organisations, came together in a show of strength and, encouraged by the brave resistance of the Samyukt Kisan Morcha, declared their anti-BJP stand.

The mixed mandate in Karnataka indicates the rollback of the saffron agenda and the emergence of voices for federalism, communal harmony, and shared development. The fact that the INC did not receive another triumphant mandate may help balance its ambitions. Yet, decades of saffronisation in the state is a serious concern that needs to be addressed. Its consolidation in the urban belts, not only in Bengaluru but also in Mysuru and the Dharwad-Hubbali regions indicates upper-caste support for the RSS-BJP. The 2024 contest will be remembered not only as a closely-fought election but as one in which the people fought against forces that sought to divide and spread hate. It has been a time for the emergence of a more aware voter; one who demands a more dignified life and greater accountability from elected representatives.

The writer is a social anthropologist



JUNE 5, 1984, FORTY YEARS AGO

GOLDEN TEMPLE TERROR

TERRORISTS INSIDE THE Golden Temple complex and the security forces exchanged fire. A Home Ministry spokesman said the security forces posted around the Golden Temple came under fire from terrorists inside. The security forces returned the fire. The firing continued for about five hours in which one *jawan* was seriously injured. It was not known if there were any casualties inside the Temple.

EYE ON GURDWARAS

ARMY JAWANS RINGED a gurdwara in Rajpura district close to the Shambhu border

with Haryana, soon after the curfew came into force in Punjab. Local information suggested that other gurdwaras in the state were under similar surveillance. The curfew had apparently been enforced strictly. Army posts had been set up around the town, and Army patrols were mounted on the highways to check any significant violation of curfew orders.

DACOITS KILL COP

A SUB-INSPECTOR OF police, Jaswant Singh, was killed and a head constable, Malkiat Singh, seriously injured in an encounter with a gang of dacoits who were trying to escape after looting a bank of about Rs 4 lakh on New

Rohtak Road. The dacoits left the bag containing the loot and fled.

ON PUNJAB PRESS BAN

PREM BHATIA, PRESIDENT of the Editors Guild of India and editor-in-chief of the Tribune group of newspapers published from Chandigarh, has described the government ban on publication of news about the current Akali agitation in Punjab as a "massive dose of censorship". In a statement, Bhatia said journalists in Punjab and Chandigarh were virtually under "house arrest with the 36-hour curfew immobilising everyone." No newspaper had been published for two days.

2024: Bharat and decolonisation

Political battles will occupy mindspace in the here and now. But the larger, long-term and all-important canvas is civilisation and culture



THE SIDEBAR

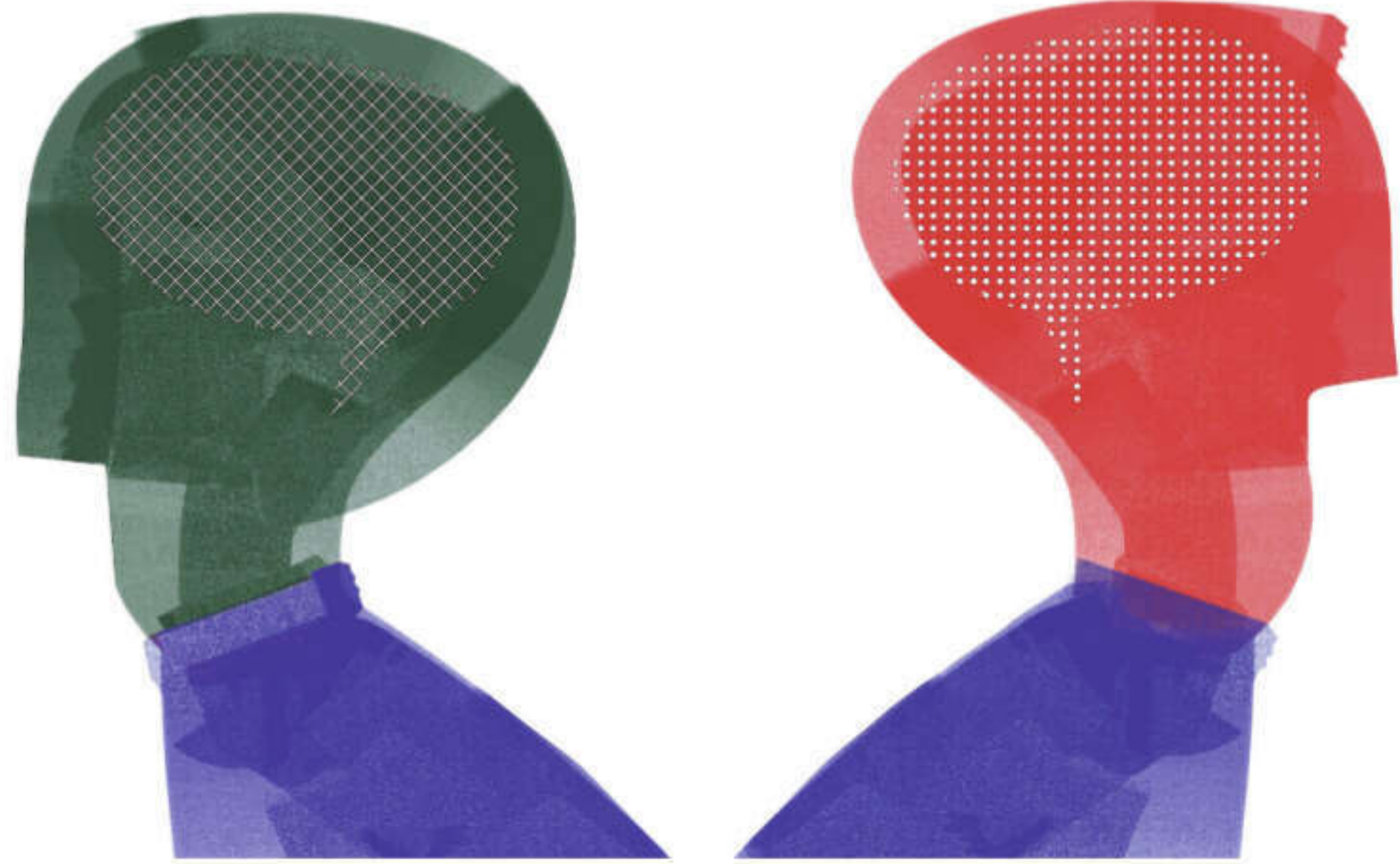
BY J SAI DEEPAK

AS OF 5:20 pm on June 4, 2024, while I pen this piece, the portal of the Election Commission of India shows the BJP leading in 241 constituencies and the Congress leading in 99. However, subject to the final result, the overall picture that may emerge is that the alliance in power will have enough to ponder over, while the alliance in the Opposition has enough to draw heart from. I am neither a trained nor functional psephologist. Therefore, I have no electoral *gyaan* to offer to either side. Where I stand as an individual is, perhaps, better captured by a brief correspondence exchanged between Dr Pratap Bhanu Mehta and myself in August 2021, shortly after the launch of the first book of my Bharat Tetralogy, namely *India that is Bharat: Coloniality, Civilisation, Constitution*.
Congratulating me on the book, Dr Mehta called it “powerfully written” and claimed to be impressed with the “clarity of the argument”. He then went on to wonder why we agreed so much on history but differed on politics. The following was my reply to him:

“Dear Shri Mehta,

Thank you for reading the book and for taking the time out to share your feedback. While politics is important, I am more interested in the framework within which it plays out and the end goals. Once again, thank you for writing (sic) and for your wishes.
Best Regards,
J Sai Deepak”

WITHIN TWO years, this is what Dr Mehta wrote in a piece that appeared this publication (‘We the decolonialists’, September 1, 2023): “‘Decolonise!’ This imperative seems to be the ideological flavour of the moment. It is behind the calls to restructure education, to rewrite laws, reconceptualise history, reimagine public spaces, reclaim Indic consciousness, and even junk the Constitution. It is a loose intellectual movement, captured in big and widely circulated books such as J Sai Deepak’s *India that is Bharat* or shorter polemics like Ambika Dutt Sharma’s recent *Bharatiya Manas ka Vi-Upniveshikaran* (The Decolonising of Indian Consciousness)...”
In stark contrast to his email of 2021, Dr Mehta also unequivocally labelled the decolonisation movement in Bharat an “insidious” project with an “exclusionary political agenda”. What explains this change of position when barely two years earlier he had claimed to agree with me on history? Importantly, why is this significant in the backdrop of the elections of 2024? It is significant, not because of the individuals involved,



C R Sasikumar

but because of the deeper ideological divide that undergirds the political differences in Bharat. Critically, to me, and people like me, politics is not and will never be an end in itself — it is but a means to an end. It is part of a larger societal churn wherein there are, indeed, some on all sides who are interested in civilisational or ideological outcomes (as the case may be), with politics merely serving as a medium or conduit for delivery of their respective larger goals. This comes with the acknowledgement of the reality that not every direct political stakeholder is necessarily committed or even remotely interested in worldviews or ideologies. The meeting of minds between the two categories of stakeholders, the non-political and the political, is typically a matter of finding the maximum possible common ground, even if it is not the ideal for either. Given this real world position, I find it both amusing and convenient on the part of well-read and informed individuals such as Shri Mehta to take the position that while their movements are broad-minded, purely academic, neutral and ideological, the counterviews are frenzied and parochial political movements driven by a cynical lust for power.

At least now, one must accept that there has always been a clear ideological bias in pre- and post-Independence Bharat, which has been passed off as a neutral benchmark for others to live by. Almost no sphere or institution is an exception to this. If anything, the last decade has thrown this reality into sharp relief and perhaps for the first time, the lack of ideological diversity in policy-making institutions and opinion-shaping spheres was there for the public to see. This led to hitherto unknown and fairly scathing public criticism of an entrenched “establishment” whose foundations were

As a continuing student of history, I believe that those movements which depend primarily on society are bound to achieve their goals, compared to those which place all their eggs in the political basket. After all, society is not Plan B. It is the Plan A that creates and shapes the future. This holds good as much for those who wish to see a safer, more prosperous and stronger Bharat, as it does for those who wish to see the idea of Bharat disintegrate mentally and physically.

laid in 1947 and strengthened since 1952. The last decade finally saw the emergence of a vocal and confident alternative viewpoint, namely the native perspective, which was previously denied access to spaces and platforms, and whose existence was either denied or decried.

While political battles will occupy mindspace in the here and now, the larger, long-term and all-important canvas is consciousness, and hence civilisation and culture. Although some progress (not enough) has been made on this front in the last decade, thanks to diversity of thought being made possible by a “non-establishment” political vision, it remains to be seen whether “2024” enables or stifles the journey of the Bharatiya decolonisation movement. As a continuing student of history, I believe that those movements which depend primarily on society are bound to achieve their goals, compared to those which place all their eggs in the political basket. After all, society is not Plan B. It is the Plan A that creates and shapes the future. This holds good as much for those who wish to see a safer, more prosperous and stronger Bharat, as it does for those who wish to see the idea of Bharat disintegrate mentally and physically. The unrest created between 2019 and 2024 is a case in point for the latter. I, for one, will remain committed to the idea and reality of Bharat.

The writer is a commercial and constitutional litigator who practises as a counsel before the Supreme Court of India, the High Court of Delhi, the NCLAT and the CCI, and author of India that is Bharat: Coloniality, Civilisation, Constitution and India, Bharat and Pakistan: The Constitutional Journey of a Sandwiched Civilisation



NILESH SHAH

The show must go on

New government must aim for more investments, sustainable growth

economy, along with additional liquidity.
Three, agriculture will hold the key to creating inclusive and sustainable growth. The country became the largest producer of milk in the world through cooperative movements like Amul. This can be replicated in other commodities. Substituting imported agri products like palm oil, pulses, and dry fruits can create local opportunities. Focusing on exports of agro products and horticulture can support farmers. We should enter into a bilateral arrangement to trade food for oil. For example, Saudi Arabia can invest in the agriculture sector to secure its food supplies and provide us with a guaranteed oil supply.
Four, seek free labour movement with long-term work permits in our FTAs. We should provide preferential access to our markets on trade and investment in exchange for preferential access to our labour on long-term work permits. India is the highest recipient of remittances in the world. We should look to increase this through such access.
Five, provide skills through institutional mechanisms across India. For instance, the plumbing institute in Kendrapara, Odisha, can provide plumbers to India and the world.
Six, improve/launch PLI schemes to expand manufacturing jobs. For example, it makes commercial sense to export garments rather than yarn or fabric. This can create jobs, primarily for women workers. Processed agro products, automobiles, auto components, engineering, lab-grown diamonds, jewellery and shipbuilding can all be areas of focus.

Seven, services sectors like tourism, education and healthcare must be supported through integrated development. The Indian diaspora should be nudged to become brand ambassadors for tourism, education and the healthcare sector. India can provide quality healthcare at a low cost. Our citizens teach across universities around the world. An ageing world with an underfunded healthcare system is like the Y2K problem waiting to be solved by India.
Eight, growth requires investment. Our savings are frozen in real estate, gold, and currencies. We must unlock frozen savings through innovative ideas to ensure adequate domestic capital for our entrepreneurs.
Nine, investment requires the rule of law. Many investors prefer arbitration outside of India. Our judicial infrastructure is burdened. Investment should improve judicial infrastructure to reduce pendency and resolve cases faster.
Ten, investment requires the ease of doing business. Land acquisition remains a challenge. Labour laws, despite some reforms, pose a significant challenge. We must create special economic zones where one window clearance is available for setting up a project with labour laws comparable to other countries.
Eleven, in today’s world of disruptive technologies, we must invest for the future. The vote on account proposed a fund for investment in future technologies. It should be operationalised quickly through public-private partnerships. The country should set up its own institute for artificial intelligence. The pharma industry should

be vertically integrated with large-scale fermentation plants and primary research institutes for new drugs.
Twelve, India, China and the US have become the engines of global growth. We remain one of the lowest per capita carbon emitters in the world. While we should follow a green growth model through renewable energy, we must seek compensation through technology/capital grants to create a level-playing field on per capita historical emissions. We must push carbon credit schemes and an emission tax on per capita and historical contributions.
Thirteen, land acquisition for mining is challenging in a populous country like India. Despite having large coal reserves, we import coal worth billions of dollars annually. We must create a responsible mining policy, balancing local and industrial interests.
Fourteen, we should leverage technology to provide quality education and healthcare solutions to citizens. A public-private partnership to keep government schools accountable locally can improve education significantly. DBT, through education coupons that can be encashed at a school, can enhance the quality of education.
Fifteen, Indians are good savers but not so good investors. Crores of Indians remain poor due to suboptimal savings allocation to cryptos, Ponzi schemes and derivatives trading. We must encourage investor education initiatives to ensure better financial awareness.

The writer is managing director, Kotak Mahindra AMC. Views are personal

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

“There is a lack of accountability pervading our law enforcement forces and institutions... Custodial torture is a betrayal of public trust... We demand a proper investigation into the death of Afroza Begum and all such cases by an impartial and independent body.”
— THE DAILY TIMES, BANGLADESH

The challenge for INDIA

The BJP has been cut down to size. For Opposition, this is not a victory, but an opportunity to define its politics



SUHASH PALSHIKAR

WHEN DRAMATIC EXPECTATIONS are set through media management, a setback looks like defeat. When parties and leaders are believed to be invincible, retaining power with constraints looks devastating. This is the BJP’s predicament. After enjoying two consecutive terms with an unfettered majority, the BJP can now return for a third term with crutches. The outcome presents three complications.

First, the BJP’s strength in the Lok Sabha will be reduced compared to the past five years. Two, in contrast, its vote share will remain robust. With a nearly 38 per cent vote share for the BJP, it would be ostrich-like to celebrate the outcome as a defeat. Third, to form the government and remain in power for five years, the party will have to strike many compromises — internally and among its allies — something its leadership seems incapable of. This could bring more intrigue, repression and revenge into our politics. While cutting the dominant party to size, the outcome may have posed a challenge before the country’s bruised institutions and blinkered politicians.

As this writer has said repeatedly, Narendra Modi has been the main driver of the BJP’s successes since 2014 and by implication, the under achievements too need to be laid squarely at his door. The BJP has built a gigantic electoral machine, but its energy comes from Modi. If the BJP’s expansion in south India (not so much in terms of seats but vote shares) and east India is to Modi’s credit, the setbacks elsewhere indicate the limitations of his appeal. It is necessary that “Brand Modi” is appropriately deciphered. Comprehending the meaning of Modi — the brand, the representation of something beyond Modi the person — can help us unravel three things: Even in its near-defeat, what the BJP has achieved so far, how and what this means for the India of tomorrow.

We must recognise that the BJP has fundamentally changed the terms of political discourse. It has also managed to ensure that economic hardship will be condoned in lieu of distant dreams and most importantly, that multiple fault lines, including economic ones, will be overwhelmed by a narrative of religio-cultural assertion. These elements were present in its 2014 victory but became more explicit in subsequent victories. They have brought the BJP and its now-less-needed mother organisation, the RSS, to an important milestone in the achievement of their century-long objective of making Hindutva the *lingua franca* of culture and politics in India.

Once we realise this core aspect of the BJP’s contribution to politics, the explanations of the current electoral outcome can be fitted into the larger and historical shifts since the 1990s. Probably more than in any of the BJP’s previous campaigns, this election saw harsh dog whistles and direct appeals to an aggressive religious identity. The Opposition made efforts to move the focus

to issues of distribution and social justice. That seems to have yielded limited results. The BJP responded to the Opposition campaign with shriller minority-phobia. That is where the relevance of Brand Modi needs attention. It articulated a package: A response to the social need to have a larger-than-life figure as saviour, a strong personality to ward off global challenges, a devout Hindu figure to satisfy the century-old aspiration to Hinduise society’s power structure, a demagoguery to excite voters against the “other” and also a discourse directed at abstract ideas of becoming an economic powerhouse.

The Modi regime brought to the centre stage the twin factors of Hindutva and the personality cult. All other political moves and policy initiatives were subsumed by these two. The BJP has been cut to size in this election. But Modi is unlikely to give up on the personality cult and both he and the BJP are unlikely to give up on Hindutva. This poses an interesting moment of tension. We shall now witness the co-existence of a leader convinced of his divine role and a politics of more routine transactions and concessions. We shall also witness the co-existence of a political project of Hindutva that has tasted popular approval and what I have recently described as Hindutva fatigue. Evidently, a possible third term for the BJP signifies a deeper possibility for the future. It would be tough but tempting for the BJP to continue its assault on institutions and the project of undermining the Constitution.

At the same time, the Opposition will need to understand this outcome with caution. Silent disappointment about economic hardships may have put the BJP on the back foot, but the Opposition would be wrong to declare that the voters have rejected the BJP. This outcome poses a difficult challenge for it. The outward political expressions of hegemony may have been pushed back but the hegemony itself is not undone — the Opposition does not have the ideological wherewithal to counter it. With the BJP’s reduced strength, the politics of isolating it may gain momentum. But the critical question is whether the non-BJP parties — in Opposition or power — have the energy and will to attack the BJP on a front where it is far too strong.

Ten years of the Modi regime have shown that irrespective of how the government handles the economy and the livelihood crisis, irrespective of how it walks roughshod over voices of dissent, a substantial segment of the citizenry continues to endorse the regime’s foundational agenda. That agenda is not merely about the personality cult nor about trampling formal democratic norms. These are instruments of the core agenda of changing the character of the Indian mindset and bringing in a frightening religious and cultural transformation. A setback may not deter the BJP and may not win large segments away from that exclusionary agenda.

The outcome only opens up the possibility of staging a counter. Following its defeat, the BJP will resume its core politics from the next day. Will the non-BJP parties realise that this is not a victory for them but only an opportunity to define their politics sooner rather than later?

The writer, based in Pune, taught political science

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

AKIN TO A DISASTER

THIS REFERS TO the article, ‘Heat proofing the city’ (IE, June 4). With temperatures reaching unprecedented levels, Delhi-NCR is grappling with an environmental crisis. This also poses significant public health risks. While climate change contributes to a rise in temperatures and humidity, factors such as the trapping of heat due to a dense concentration of buildings, paved roads, and other urban setups have been exacerbating heat stress. The frequency and severity of heatwaves will increase unless comprehensive mitigation and adaptation strategies are implemented.
SS Paul, Nadia

THIS REFERS TO the article, ‘Heat proofing the city’ (IE, June 4). While the monsoon has hit the south, large swathes of central and north India are in the grip of a severe heat wave. Local factors cannot be dismissed. There is a need for short- and long-term measures to counter the heat threat. Heat action plans exist in many states but they are not implemented. Heat waves should be treated as natural disasters like floods and cyclones. Short term, there should be issuance of timely alerts, staggering of work hours, and provision of public facilities for water and shelter.
Khokan Das, Kolkata

WORK FOR CITIZENS

THIS REFERS TO the article, ‘The state we need’ (IE, June 4). While attempts to synergise civil bureaucracy by skilling and training through programmes like Mission Karmayogi will enhance the quality of their professional outputs, there is also a need to refine their attitudes. A public servant must be self-motivated. There is also a need to combat rampant corruption. Interference by politicians at various stages of executions must also be eliminated to achieve the state our citizens need and deserve.
Shubhada H, via email

BEYOND ROUTINES

THIS REFERS TO the article, ‘Before we burn out’ (IE, June 4). We pride ourselves on working overtime every day, but does this benefit us? If hard work was the winning formula, then wage labourers would be our rulers. Work-life balance is a joke, with India outpacing the US, UK, and even China. Last year, India was the world’s fourth-most vacation-deprived nation. Shouldn’t Indians enrich themselves by adding recreation and community activities to our day? We need not just a prosperous working class, but also one which looks beyond passive, sedentary routines.
Sanjay Chopra, Mohali

14 BJP & ITS ALLIES



This victory of the NDA is a victory of Modi's public welfare policies and his dedication towards the welfare of the poor. The people of India have immense faith in his leadership

RAJNATH SINGH, Defence Minister

TALKING HEADS

In the last 10 years, under the leadership of the Prime Minister, unprecedented development has taken place in all areas. Our steps moving towards a developed India will continue to serve the country in the future as well.

NITIN GADKARI, Minister of Road Transport & Highways



Naidu and Nitish: Men of the moment as BJP loses majority

DEEPTIMAN TIWARY & SREENIVAS JANYALA
NEW DELHI, HYDERABAD, JUNE 4

WITH THE BJP failing to cross the majority mark by itself, the formation of a new Narendra Modi government will now depend on the support of veteran kingmakers Chandrababu Naidu of the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) and Nitish Kumar of the Janata Dal (United), both of whom are constituents of the BJP-led NDA.

As per Election Commission (EC) trends at 8.15 pm, the BJP was either leading in or had won 240 seats, 32 seats short of the halfway mark. The TDP was leading in or had won 16 seats, all in Andhra Pradesh, and the JD(U) was leading or had won 12 seats, all in Bihar. As a result, Naidu and Nitish are the leaders who will prop up Narendra Modi in New Delhi.

Chandrababu Naidu

Naidu contested the Lok Sabha polls and the Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh in alliance with the BJP and the JanaSena Party (JSP). Leading or having won 134 of Andhra's 175 Assembly seats, Naidu does not need the BJP's support to form the state government but will play a decisive role in forming the next Union government. Naidu's son Nara Lokesh Naidu who is poised to enter the Assembly for the first time — he won from Mangalagiri — told *The Indian Express* that the TDP would stay with the NDA. He said on all other issues they would try to arrive at a consensus with the BJP.

Having made massive gains, the INDIA alliance has also sent feelers to Naidu. The Congress is sending signals to Naidu about granting Andhra Pradesh Special Category Status (SCS) so that it can receive additional funds and give subsidies to bring in investments. Congress leader Jairam Ramesh even tweeted the Congress's manifesto in which it promised SCS for Andhra Pradesh.

Sources in the TDP said there was a strong negative sentiment among the people of Andhra Pradesh towards the Congress, which they blame for the state's bifurcation in 2014. "Even the 10-year gap has not pacified the people as the Congress is not winning a single Assembly or Lok Sabha seat in Andhra Pradesh. It did not win in 2014 or 2019 either. To align with the INDI Alliance means Naidu risks the wrath of the people. JSP chief K Pawan Kalyan who offered unflinching support to Naidu and TDP will also not agree," said a TDP leader.

This is not the first time that Naidu has found himself in this position. In 1996, when



TDP chief Chandrababu Naidu along with his family celebrates the party's victory in Assembly and Parliamentay polls, at their residence in Undavalli, Amaravati, Tuesday. *PTI*

the electorate delivered a fractured mandate in the Lok Sabha polls, Naidu, as the convenor of the United Front, a coalition of parties not aligned with either the Congress or the BJP, propped up the H D Deve Gowda government with outside support from the Congress. He also helped form a government at the Centre with I K Gujaral at the helm during this period.

In 1999, Naidu contested the Lok Sabha polls in alliance with the BJP and notched up 29 seats in united Andhra Pradesh. He supported the then Atal Bihari Vajpayee government that was short of the majority mark. In fact, with 29 seats, the TDP was BJP's biggest ally although it did not join the government.

In 2014 too, Naidu contested in alliance with the BJP and joined the Modi government, only to leave the alliance in 2018 ahead of Assembly polls in Andhra Pradesh over the BJP-led Centre's alleged failure to fulfil any promises made in the AP Reorganisation Act, 2014, including not granting SCS to the state. Sources said

Naidu anticipated that the BJP would be defeated in the 2019 elections. But, the TDP was routed by the YSRCP and since then Naidu started trying to get back into the NDA to keep his party afloat.

The TDP, though formed on a plank of anti-Congressism, has earlier done business with the grand old party. It not only contested the Telangana Assembly polls in alliance with the Congress but even tried to stitch an Opposition alliance with the Congress in the lead ahead of the 2019 polls.

Nitish Kumar

A veteran of social justice politics in Bihar, Nitish Kumar was briefly the Union Minister for Railways and Minister for Surface Transport and, later, the Minister for Agriculture in 1998-'99 in the NDA government of Vajpayee. He again got the portfolio in the Vajpayee government from 2000 to 2004.

For the longest time, Nitish remained the senior partner in the NDA in Bihar and was the BJP's biggest ally in 2009, winning 20

seats in the state when the saffron party did poorly at the national level.

However, of late Nitish's politics has been characterised by a series of flip-flops. In 2014, he broke away from the NDA protesting the rise of Narendra Modi and contested the Bihar Lok Sabha polls alone but won only two seats. Following this, he joined hands with Lalu Yadav for the 2015 Assembly elections and the alliance swept the polls.

Within two years, however, he broke away and joined the NDA again and the alliance swept Bihar Lok Sabha polls winning 39 of the 40 seats. However, after the JD(U) fared poorly in the 2020 Bihar Assembly polls despite the alliance winning the elections, Kumar became increasingly uncomfortable with the BJP and broke the alliance in 2022 to form a government with the RJD. However, this January, Kumar again returned to the NDA. The JD(U)'s better showing than its alliance partner in Bihar in these polls has once again brought Kumar to the centre stage and given a new lease of life to his party.

In Uttar Pradesh, where the BJP has faced a significant setback, the party won or was leading on only three of eight seats in aspirational districts. The Samajwadi Party won or was leading in the remaining five seats in the state's aspirational districts

ASPIRATIONAL DISTRICTS: HOW TOP 3 PARTIES PERFORMED

PARTY	Seats won 2019	Seats won or leading in 2024
BJP	53	46
Congress	9	19
SP	0	5

has taken a hit in these aspirational districts — the party's tally came down from 53 in 2019 to 46 in 2024. The Congress, however,

has been able to increase its tally in these districts. In 2019, Congress had won only nine constituencies in these districts, but this time

Tough fight for BJP in seats reserved for SCs, STs, show results



Congress leader Rahul Gandhi during a press conference on Tuesday. He had raised the issue of a 'threat to the Constitution' throughout the campaign. *Reuters*

LALMANI VERMA & ANJISHNU DAS
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

THE ISSUES of reservation and "saving the Constitution" — which formed the core features in Opposition's campaign for the 2024 Lok Sabha — left an impact on the performance of the BJP and the Congress in 131 seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes (84 seats) and the Scheduled Tribes (47 seats).

Going by the results and the trends, the BJP faced a tough contest from the Opposition alliance on such seats.

The ruling BJP either won or was in leading position on 30 SC-reserved seats in 11 states, recording a decline in its performance on such seats in comparison to 2019 when the party had won 46 of these seats.

The Congress managed to either win or was leading on 19 SC-reserved seats across nine states while the counting of votes was in progress till Tuesday late evening, improving its performance in comparison to 2019 polls when the party had won only six seats.

The Congress leader Rahul Gandhi and his alliance partners from the INDIA bloc had aggressively raised apprehensions of a "threat to the Constitution" and reservation during the Lok Sabha campaign. BJP insiders said the campaign of the Opposition parties for protecting the Constitution "caused damage to the BJP as the apprehension of losing the reservation prevailed in the minds of dalits and tribals".

The Samajwadi Party in Uttar Pradesh which had won none of the SC seats in 2019, was set to win seven such seats in the state where the party was in alliance with the Congress. Out of these seven seats, SP was

set to wrest five seats from BJP, one from each from the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and the Apna Dal (SP).

The Trinamool Congress was set to win six SC seats in West Bengal. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam managed to win all the three reserved seats in Tamil Nadu.

BJP allies Lok Janshakti Party (Ram Vilas) won three SC seats in Bihar and JD(U) won one seat there. The Telugu Desam Party was set to win three seats in Andhra Pradesh.

The BJP was set to win eight seats in Uttar Pradesh, four each in West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, two each in Odisha and Gujarat, and one each in Assam, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand and Rajasthan.

In the 2019 elections, BJP had won 46 SC seats, out of which 14, the biggest chunk, were from UP. The party had won five seats each in West Bengal and Karnataka and four in Madhya Pradesh.

The Congress had at that time won only six such seats scattered in three states of Kerala, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. The Trinamool Congress had won five of those seats in West Bengal. DMK and YSRCP both had bagged four seats each.

Among the 47 ST seats, the BJP was leading on 26 seats, including six in Madhya Pradesh, four each in Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Gujarat, and one in Rajasthan. On the said seats, the BJP recorded a decline in performance as the party had won 31 such seats in 2019. The Congress which had won only four of these seats in 2019, was leading on 12 such seats this time till late Tuesday evening. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha was leading on three such seats in Jharkhand.

In country's most underdeveloped districts, BJP cedes some ground to Congress

HARIKISHAN SHARMA & DAMINI NATH
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

THE BJP has ceded some ground to Congress in some of the most backward districts of the country, shows an analysis of the Lok Sabha election results.

The BJP won or was leading across 46 of the 93 parliamentary constituencies in 112 of these "aspirational districts". And of these 46 seats, eight came from Madhya Pradesh, the highest tally from a single state. The BJP has swept Madhya Pradesh,

winning all 29 seats.

In 2019, the BJP had won the highest ten seats from Jharkhand across all aspirational districts.

In Uttar Pradesh, where the BJP has faced a significant setback, the party won or was leading on only three of eight seats in aspirational districts. The Samajwadi Party won or was leading in the remaining five seats in the state's aspirational districts.

In Odisha's aspirational districts, however, the BJP increased its tally from two in 2019 to six in 2024. In Odisha, too, the BJP has performed well, winning 19 of 20 seats.

Overall, though, the BJP's performance

JANA SENA PARTY IS NOW SECOND LARGEST PARTY IN ANDHRA PRADESH ASSEMBLY

The Pawan Kalyan bet in Andhra Pradesh: Backing the winning horse

SREENIVAS JANYALA
HYDERABAD, JUNE 4

IN OCTOBER last year, a day after Chandrababu Naidu was arrested in the alleged AP Skill Development Corporation scam, actor-turned-politician Konidela Pawan Kalyan put both his political and acting careers on the line when he declared his support to the TDP chief.

The gamble paid off. Not only did Naidu make a spectacular comeback in the state and in the Lok Sabha elections, Pawan Kalyan's Jana Sena Party is set to end up as the second biggest party, with victories in all the 21 seats it contested and pushing the incumbent YSRCP to third position. The JSP, which is in an alliance with the TDP and BJP in the state, is also leading in two Lok Sabha seats. Pawan Kalyan himself won from the Pithapuram Assembly constituency against YSRCP's Vanga Geetha Viswanath.

The clean sweep by the TDP-led alliance

in the 34 Assembly seats in undivided East Godavari and West Godavari districts is an indication that the powerful Kapu community, to which Kalyan belongs and which is a dominant force in the region, may have backed the alliance.

Popularly known as 'Power Star' for his action roles in films, Kalyan launched the JSP in 2014 but stayed away from the elections that year. Few gave him a chance then, with sceptics drawing parallels to his elder brother K Chiranjeevi's failed experiment with the Praja Rajyam Party (PRP), which eventually folded up.

In the 2019 Assembly elections, the JSP fared poorly with Kalyan losing from both Bhimavaram and Gajuwaka Assembly constituencies. The only seat his party won that election was Palacole, but the candidate defected to the YSRCP soon after. The loss not only dented Pawan's image as a politician but also as an actor. Undeterred, Pawan aggressively took on the ruling YSRCP and Chief Minister Y S Jagan Mohan Reddy on various issues.



JanaSena Party chief Pawan Kalyan and wife Anna Lezhneva celebrate the NDA win in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly and Lok Sabha elections. *X/@JanaSenaParty*

In the second half of 2022, Kalyan launched 'Jana Vani', as part of which he held several small public meetings aimed at listening to people's complaints. On October 19, the state government cracked down on one such meeting at Visakhapatnam and arrested JSP cadres. Pawan Kalyan himself was confined to a hotel.

The incident brought TDP chief Naidu and Pawan Kalyan back together at a time when it appeared that the then potential allies were drifting apart. Naidu personally went to Vijayawada to meet Kalyan and declare his support to the JSP leader. Kalyan also maintained cordial relations with the BJP as part of a long-term strategy to take the fight to the YSRCP. "Our aim should be to unite so that we can defeat the YSRCP. If the TDP, JSP and BJP do not unite, the anti-incumbency vote will go to waste," he had said.

Despite being cold-shouldered by the top BJP leadership, Kalyan kept meeting BJP leaders, including Amit Shah and J P Nadda, and kept working towards a TDP-JSP-BJP alliance

until it was finally sealed in March this year, just in time for the elections.

It was Kalyan's extensive tours of the state, besides Naidu's successful public meetings and Nara Lokesh Naidu's Yuva Galam padayatras, which galvanised the alliance leaders into action. In the runup to the elections, Kalyan sharpened his attacks on the YSRCP government, from hitting out at Jagan's three-capital plan to taking on the government on alleged corruption.

Every time he took on the YSRCP, Kalyan did so with a touch of flamboyance. On November 12, 2022, Kalyan appeared on the scenic Kapuluppada-Rushikonda beach in Visakhapatnam, ostensibly to protest against alleged construction violations in the region. The sight of the actor-politician, dressed in a pristine white kurta-pyjama, taking a casual stroll on the beach, in ankle-deep water, was one made for the cameras. JSP sources said the evening stroll on the beach was a message to the government that Kalyan cannot be stopped from doing what he wishes to.



I respect this mandate. The BJP could not even reach the majority mark, which had claimed to win 400 seats in the country. People have given them a befitting reply... Due to the people's support, we won all the reserved seats

CHAMPAI SOREN, JMM leader and Jharkhand Chief Minister

TALKING HEADS

Had Nitish Kumar not joined hands with the BJP, INDIA bloc would have been victorious. BJP also got Chandrababu Naidu... But I still feel Modi ji... is not at ease running an alliance government

PARTAP SINGH BAJWA, Cong leader and LoP in Punjab Assembly



JHARKHAND	{ 14 SEATS }	 BJP 8	2019 11	 JMM 3	2019 1	 INC 2	2019 1	 AJSUP 1	2019 1
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SNIPPETS

Indore creates a NOTA record

Bhopal: The Congress's appeal to people to cast their vote for NOTA in Indore, after its candidate pulled out at the last minute and later joined the BJP, hit home. After counting, NOTA votes in the seat stood at 2.18 lakh. This is the highest-ever NOTA number for any Lok Sabha constituency. The NOTA option was introduced for the first time in the general elections in 2014, and the highest before this was 51,660 votes in Bihar's Gopalganj. Shankar Lalwani, the BJP candidate, however, won comfortably in Indore. In the absence of a Congress candidate, he defeated the Bahujan Samaj Party's Sanjay Solanki by 11.75 lakh votes. **ENS**

Congress one short of 100 seat-mark

New Delhi: The Congress party improved its tally in the Lok Sabha polls, but it missed the three-digit mark by a whisker. The party ended up winning 99 seats, its best performance since 2014 Lok Sabha polls. What was interesting was that two of the seven Independents who secured a win were Congress rebels — Rajesh Ranjan alias Pappu Yadav from Purnia in Bihar and Vishal Patil from Sangli in Maharashtra. Congress sources said both could extend support to the party. **ENS**

Shiv Sena candidate wins by 48 votes

Mumbai: In the closest fight of 2024 Lok Sabha elections, Shiv Sena candidate Ravindra Waikar defeated Shiv Sena (UBT) candidate Amol Kirtikar by 48 votes in Mumbai North West constituency. The contest was a cliffhanger of sorts with the two rival candidates — Amol Kirtikar and Ravindra Waikar — celebrating victories within a few hours. It was, however, on a slender lead of 48 votes — 47 of which were cast through postal ballot — that saw Waikar and his supporters have the last laugh at the NESCO grounds in Goregaon where the counting took place. **ENS**

Bhupender Yadav wins first LS poll

New Delhi: Union Environment Minister Bhupender Yadav, a seasoned politician who has been a Rajya Sabha member since 2012, secured his first Lok Sabha election victory on Tuesday. He defeated Lalit Yadav of the Congress in Alwar by 48,282 votes. Yadav began his political career as a student union leader, and he served as the general secretary of the Akhil Bhartiya Adhivakta Parishad from 2000 to 2009. He was instrumental in the BJP's victories in the 2023 Assembly elections, particularly in his home state of Rajasthan. As the election in-charge of MP, he led efforts to ensure BJP retained power in the key heartland state. **PTI**

Results a moral, political defeat for Modi: Kharge



Congress leaders Rahul Gandhi and Priyanka Gandhi Vadra at the AICC headquarters in New Delhi on Tuesday. *Abhinav Saha*

Fought this election to save governance structure... CBI, ED, half the judiciary...the Constitution, says Rahul

ASAD REHMAN
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

STATING THAT the results of the Lok Sabha elections were a moral and political defeat for Narendra Modi, Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge said the Congress will meet its INDIA bloc partners and discuss whether it will attempt to form government or be in the Opposition.

"We will first speak to our allies and the new partners who are going to join us...If I tell all strategies here, Modiji will become 'hoshiyaar' (smart)," said Kharge who was addressing a press conference at the AICC headquarters in Delhi on Tuesday evening, following the declaration of the Lok Sabha results.

Besides Kharge, Congress MP Rahul Gandhi, former party chief and Rajya Sabha member Sonia Gandhi, general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra and General Secretary in-charge Communications Jairam Ramesh were also present at the press conference.

"The results that have come today are a win for democracy and for the people of

India. This time, people have not given absolute majority to any one party. The strategy of the BJP to seek votes based only on one person has failed and people's mandate has gone against Modiji. This is his political and moral defeat...he has lost a lot on moral grounds," Kharge said.

Targeting the BJP over "capturing constitutional bodies", Kharge said, "The BJP made attempts to slowly capture constitutional bodies in an illegal manner. They used this against Opposition parties, and tried to pressurize leaders, and those who didn't bow down, they split their party and sent them to jail. People believed that if Modiji got another chance, the next attack will be on Constitution and democracy."

Holding a copy of the Constitution, Rahul Gandhi said, "This election was not just fought by the INDIA bloc and Congress against a political party. We fought this election against a political party, to save the Indian institutions, the country's governance structure, intelligence agencies, CBI, ED, half the judiciary...The fight was to save the Constitution."

"When our bank accounts were cancelled and when the CMs were arrested, parties

were broken. In my mind, I had that the Indian people will unitedly fight for the Constitution. This got proven today. I thank the people of the country, our INDIA partners, Congress workers and leaders. You have taken the first and biggest step to save the Constitution," said Rahul Gandhi.

Talking about what worked for the Congress this election, Rahul Gandhi said, "We respected our alliance partners. ...Wherever the alliance fought, we fought like one. The Congress has given a clear vision to the country which is pro-poor, and pro-production. The INDIA bloc has given this. Behind this performance of ours and INDIA bloc is the resolve to protect the Constitution and prevent the repeated attacks on reservation and poverty."

Taking a dig at business tycoon Gautam Adani, Rahul Gandhi said, "Did you see Adani ji's stock? It is very interesting... When Modiji loses, the stock market also gets affected as Adani ji's stocks take a hit, indicating there is a direct relationship between them... The country unanimously and clearly stated it does not like the way Narendra Modi and Amit Shah have run this country or the way they have attacked the Constitution."

Alleging adverse conditions during the polls for the INDIA bloc, the Congress chief said, "You know that the Congress and INDIA bloc fought the elections under adverse conditions. From seizing of bank accounts to campaigns against several leaders, the government created hurdles at every step."

"Despite this, the Congress campaign from the beginning was positive. We discussed key issues such inflation, unemployment, farmers and worker (issues), and democratic institutions being misused by central agencies...People connected with us on these issues. The way Modiji spread lies about the manifesto of the Congress, people caught the real vein," said Gandhi.

Talking of Rahul Gandhi's yatras, Kharge said, "Rahul Gandhi's two yatras saw meetings with lakhs and crores of people. People's problems were heard and solutions were found and that was the basis of our election campaign. It became our five nyay and guarantees."

Kharge thanked the three members of the Gandhi family and also extended his gratitude to INDIA bloc leaders and party workers. "Our fight has not reached a conclusion. We need to continue the fight," he said.



Jharkhand ex-CM Hemant Soren's wife and JMM leader Kalpana Soren hugs her mother-in-law Rupri Soren on Tuesday. *PTI*

Kalpana Soren leads in Gandey bypoll by over 2,500 votes

ABHISHEK ANGAD
RANCHI, JUNE 4

KALPANA MURMU Soren, wife of jailed former Jharkhand chief minister Hemant Soren, was leading from Gandey Assembly constituency, where bypoll was held along with the Lok Sabha elections, by more than 2,500 votes over her nearest rival.

Kalpana had recorded over 50,311 votes at the end of the 12th round counting (out of total 24) against BJP candidate Dilip Kumar Verma's 47,744 votes, according to the EC's website at 1 am.

Although the EC website showed her to be leading, sources claimed she had won by a margin of 27,000 votes.

Kalpana also claimed victory. "I extend heartfelt support to people for their unwavering support...I extend thanks to Disom Guru Shibu Soren Ji (JMM supreme), Hemant Ji...I will work tirelessly for the people. It shows INDIA Bloc unity," she said.

Gandey constituency saw a voter turnout of 61.81 per cent, with more women voting than men.

During her campaign, Kalpana had highlighted the "injustice" meted out to her husband "just for doing his work". Hemant was arrested on January 31 by the Enforcement Directorate in a case linked to alleged land grab.

By the end of her campaigning, Kalpana had visited more than two-thirds of the 66 panchayats in Gandey, which has about 26 per cent tribal population, with OBCs and Muslims accounting for a large chunk of the remaining population.

JMM sources said that even in many villages dominated by upper-caste Rajputs or Bhumihars, Kalpana was able to connect with villagers by talking to them about their issues and promising their resolution.

PARTY FAILED TO MEET HIGH EXPECTATIONS OF PEOPLE WHO SOUGHT A DRASTIC 'BADLAV' ON GROUND

‘Aam Aadmi turned Khas’: In Punjab, why AAP crashed 2 years after landslide

MANRAJ GREWAL SHARMA
CHANDIGARH, JUNE 4

SETTING AN ambitious target in the Lok Sabha elections of bagging 13 seats out of 13 in Punjab, Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) leader and Chief Minister Bhagwant Singh Mann had called the polls a "reality check" for his two-year-old government.

Going by the poll outcome, the people of the state seem to have shown their disappointment with the AAP, which is getting just three out of 13 parliamentary seats. The AAP's arch rival in the state, the Congress, is set to bag seven seats.

The AAP had stormed to power by sweeping the state in the 2022 Assembly polls, winning 92 seats out of 117.

Except for Gurmeet Singh Meet Hayer (Sangrur), all the other four sitting cabinet ministers who were in the fray failed to win their seats, even though Balbir Singh (Patiala) and Kuldeep Singh Dhaliwal (Amritsar) came second in the multi-cornered contests. As per initial estimates, the party's vote share has fallen to 26% from 42%

in 2022.

The poll results are bound to be a dampener for the AAP that was banking heavily on the successful rollout of its free power scheme (300 units a month) besides a host of other welfare programmes — such as the free Aam Aadmi mohalla clinics, revamp of canals, and the establishment of new schools — for its Lok Sabha poll bid in the state.

One of the prime reasons for the party's failure to put up a good show is perceived anti-incumbency against most of its MLAs, who were said to be "inaccessible".

A large section of voters expected the 80-plus first-time AAP legislators to be seen in their constituencies. But people across the Malwa, Majha and Doaba regions complained that once elected, most legislators never returned to even thank them, leave alone redress their grievances. "Aam Aadmi has turned into Khaas (entitled)", was their common refrain across the state.

The AAP did well in seats like Sangrur, CM Mann's home turf, where its candidate Gurmeet Singh Meet Hayer, a minister, won handsomely because some of the party



Congress supporters celebrate the party's lead during vote count in Jalandhar on Tuesday. *INDIA partners AAP and Congress fought separately in Punjab. PTI*

MLAs from the belt, like Aman Arora and minister Harpal Singh Cheema, have been nursing their constituencies. The CM's wife

Gurpreet Kaur also campaigned extensively in his Dhuri Assembly segment that also falls in the Sangrur parliamentary seat.

The AAP also faltered because it "over-promised and under-delivered", thus failing to meet the high expectations of people who sought a drastic "badlav" (change) on the ground, not merely in governance but also in civic amenities, jobs and eradication of drugs.

The promises unfulfilled so far, such as the monthly stipend of Rs 1,000 to women, led to the Opposition attacking the AAP over its alleged "lies". Be it the Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) or the BJP, their leaders accused the AAP of being a "jhooth di pand (a sack of lies)", which caught public imagination.

The AAP also failed to deliver on its promise to ensure the minimum support price (MSP) on crops other than wheat and paddy.

The feeling of insecurity among the trading community in the Malwa belt after some incidents of extortion and a daylight killing led to many of them switching their allegiance from the AAP to the Congress and the BJP.

There was also "resentment" in a section of people living in the countryside over the

state government's "over-reaction" in the Waris Punjab De chief Amritpal Singh case and the lack of action in the case of Pritpal Singh — the farmer who was allegedly picked up from among a group of protesting farmers by the Haryana police from the Khanauri border on February 24 and severely thrashed.

In the Pritpal Singh case, the farmers' leaders like Sarvan Singh Pandher of the Kisan Mazdoor Morcha often complained about how the Mann government had succumbed to pressure from the Centre, holding that it failed to register a case against Haryana's then CM Manohar Lal Khattar and home minister Anil Vij. Even though the Mann government filed a zero FIR in the case and pointed out how it was legally untenable to do anything more, many youths in Punjab took it as a sign of weakness.

However, the AAP could take heart from the point that five of its candidates came second in the current polls. CM Mann, the party's chief campaigner, had told *The Indian Express*: "We have three more years to go, we will continue to learn and work for the people."



The verdict has come, and if (Prime Minister Narendra) Modi ji forms the government now, then he has to come to the Parliament with the support of allies. It will be a good scene to watch

ASADUDDIN OWAISI, AIMIM chief



Though we had resolved to win all 26 seats just like we did in 2014 and 2019, we could not achieve it, maybe because voters were unhappy or we might have committed a mistake...We will find out and try to correct them

C R PAATIL, Gujarat BJP president



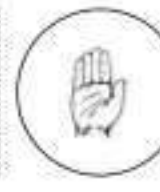
TAMIL NADU

39 SEATS



DMK 22

2019 20



INC 9

2019 9



CPI 2

2019 2



CPI (M) 2

2019 2

OTHERS 4

2019 6

Wins/Leads until 1 am

DMK and allies set for clean sweep in Tamil Nadu



A man stands in front of a poster featuring Prime Minister Narendra Modi and BJP Tamil Nadu chief K Annamalai, in Chennai. Reuters

AIADMK, BJP fail to seize any seat; CM Stalin thanks voters, says the entire state ‘united to defeat Modi’

ARUN JANARDHANAN
CHENNAI, JUNE 4

THE DRAVIDA Munnetra Kazhagam and its allies looked poised for a clean sweep of all 39 Lok Sabha seats in Tamil Nadu, with neither the AIADMK nor the BJP leading in any constituency by Tuesday evening, according to Election Commission data.

DMK stalwarts like Kanimozhi, A Raja, T R Baalu, and Dayanidhi Maran, as well as prominent Dalit leader and VCK chief Thol Thirumavalavan, and senior Congress leader S Jothimani were all on track for victory.

However, BJP state president and fire-brand leader Annamalai, who was seen as one of the party's strongest candidates in the state, was trailing by over 1 lakh votes to the DMK's Ganapathy Rajkumar in Coimbatore.

The DMK and allies had won 38 seats in 2019, when the AIADMK, which was in alliance with the BJP at the time, won one.

On Tuesday, Chief Minister M K Stalin, who is also the president of the DMK, thanked voters, saying: “The whole state of Tamil Nadu has united to defeat (Prime Minister Narendra) Modi. The last time, we won 38 seats, and this time, we got one more

and won all 39.”

“INDIA alliance was formed by secular forces in the country. Thinking that they have no rivals, the BJP believed they can win 400 seats (in the Lok Sabha). But results show that BJP has become a party that can't even form the government. The people have given them a fitting reply and that is the victory of the INDIA alliance. After we get a complete picture of the results, we will continue working towards the efforts to protect India and the Indian Constitution. I submit this victory as an offering to the late Kalaighnar (former CM M Karunanidhi),” Stalin said.

Asked whether he had ambitions to become the Prime Minister, he said, “I repeat what Kalaighnar said many times... ‘I know my heights’.”

The DMK-led alliance in Tamil Nadu has been in place since 2018, and the party's top leadership credits Stalin with maintaining the strong bloc and leading it to victory – from the 2019 Lok Sabha election, through the 2021 Assembly and 2022 local body polls, and now the 2024 Lok Sabha election. The alliance includes the DMK, the Congress, VCK, and the Left parties, among others.

The strength of the DMK alliance was of-

ten bolstered by Stalin's accommodating political arrangements. Notable figures such as Congress leader P Chidambaram and actor-politician Kamal Haasan have been given Rajya Sabha seats under this arrangement. He has also allowed allies such as the VCK and Vaiko's son Durai Vaiko to contest on their own symbols, prioritising alliance unity.

Since the start of counting Tuesday morning, nearly all DMK candidates established early leads, painting a clear picture of the electorate's preference before noon.

The breakup of the AIADMK-BJP alliance last year, and the resilience of the vote bank of Naam Tamilar Katchi – the party of Tamil nationalist leader Seeman – caused a four-way split in the votes in many seats.

Of the top DMK leaders in the fray, Maran was leading with a margin of 2.42 lakhs before the Election Commission formally declared his victory. Baalu was leading by a margin of 4.64 lakh votes, Raja by 2.40 lakh votes, and Kanimozhi by 3.90 lakh votes. VCK's Thirumavalavan, who had won in 2019 by just around 3,200 votes, increased his lead to over 1 lakh this time. Congress's Jothimani had a lead of 1.61 lakh, and Durai Vaiko, who made his electoral debut, se-

cured a substantial lead of 3.11 lakh votes.

The major victories announced so far included Congress candidate S Sasikanth Senthil's win, with a margin of over 5.54 lakhs votes, in Tiruvallur, and CPI(M) man Su. Venkatesan's in the Madurai Lok Sabha constituency by a margin of 2.09 lakh votes. The CPM's R Satchithanatham also won with 4.43 lakh votes in Dindigul.

Congress retains Vilavancode bypoll

Congress retained the Vilavancode assembly constituency in Tamil Nadu's Kanyakumari district defeating the BJP, as per the results of the byelection announced by the Election Commission on Tuesday.

Party candidate Tharahai Cuthbert trounced BJP's V S Nanthini by a margin of 40,174 votes in the bypoll necessitated by the resignation of former Congress legislator S Vijayadharani who joined the BJP days before the Lok Sabha election was announced.

Cuthbert garnered 91,054 votes and reestablished Vilavancode as a Congress bastion. Nanthini polled 50,880 votes.

Tamil nationalist party Naam Tamilar Katchi's candidate R Jemini was relegated to the third position.

Cong's sweet wins: Takes back Amethi from Smriti, Rahul crosses margins of Sonia in Rae Bareli seat

MAULSHREE SETH

RAE BARELI, AMETHI, JUNE 4

IN A major setback for the BJP, Union minister Smriti Irani looked set for a huge loss to the Congress's K L Sharma, who had pulled ahead by 1.66 lakh votes in Amethi as per leads till 6 pm. In neighbouring Rae Bareli, a Congress party bastion for decades, senior leader Rahul Gandhi is leading by 3.90 lakh votes – a number that surpasses his mother Sonia Gandhi's previous margins from the seat.

The Amethi win comes as a big boost to the Congress, with Rahul having lost the seat to Irani in 2019 by 55,000 votes. The loss was a big blow to the Congress, which had won the seat all but once since 1980. In 2014, Rahul had defeated Irani by a margin of 1.03 lakh votes.

Hoping to wrest its bastion back, the Congress fielded Sharma, a Gandhi family loyalist of over three decades in Amethi.

With Sharma leading by a comfortable margin, AICC general secretary Priyanka Gandhi, who had taken charge of the campaign in Rae Bareli and Amethi, said she never had any doubts about his victory.

Alongside an old photograph of her with Sharma, Priyanka wrote on X, “ Kishori bhaiya, I never had any doubts, I was sure from the beginning that you will win. Hearty congratulations to you and my dear brothers and sisters of Amethi.”

Sharma credited his win to the Gandhi family, alliance partner Samajwadi Party and the people of Amethi.

“The credit for my victory goes to the Gandhi family as this is the land of the Gandhi family. I fulfilled the responsibility assigned to me by the Gandhi family,” Sharma said.

“People of Amethi have sent the message that humility will prevail. I express my gratitude to the people of Amethi as well as Gandhi family for this victory,” he told *The Indian Express*.

In Rae Bareli, which was the only seat the Congress won in 2019, Rahul is set to break the record of Sonia Gandhi, who had contested the seat between 2004 and 2019. In 2004, she had won the seat by a margin of about 2.49 lakh votes, while in 2009 she clinched the seat by 3.72 lakh votes. In 2014, she won the seat by a margin of 3.52 lakh votes against the BJP's Ajay Agarwal. Subsequently in 2019, she won the seat by 1.67 lakh votes against the BJP's Dinesh Pratap Singh.

Accepting his defeat, BJP candidate Singh apologised to the people of Rae Bareli.

Equating people of Rae Bareli to “god”, Dinesh wrote on facebook, “I worked for Rae Bareli with humility but still if there was any lacunae in my service or I hurt anyone, then I apologise to the people.”

The news from Amethi and Rae Bareli has provided much needed fuel to the Congress cadre on the ground.

In Jharkhand, BJP wins 8 but Munda loses as Opp rides Soren factor in tribal seats

ABHISHEK ANGAD

RANCHI, JUNE 4

EVEN THOUGH the BJP in Jharkhand won eight of 14 Lok Sabha seats, senior party leader and Union minister Arjun Munda lost by more than one lakh votes from his Khunti constituency, a Scheduled Tribes (ST)- reserved seat.

Arjun Munda was pitted against the Congress's Kalicharan Munda, who polled over 5 lakh votes. Kalicharan is the brother of the BJP's Khunti MLA Neelkanth Singh Munda.

The INDIA bloc – which includes the ruling Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and its allies like the Congress, RJD and Left parties – won five ST-reserved seats of the state – Dumka, Khunti, Lohardaga, Singhbhum and Rajmahal.

It is seen to be riding on the perceived public resentment in these tribal constituencies against the arrest of JMM leader and former chief minister Hemant Soren by the Enforcement Directorate (ED) in an alleged land grabbing case nearly four months ago.

The JMM and the Congress won three and two seats, respectively.

BJP MP Nishikant Dubey won by over

one lakh votes against the Congress's Pradeep Yadav in his Godda constituency. Dubey's campaign projected his role in ensuring an airport, an AIIMS facility and 13 long distance trains for his constituency.

In seven other seats where the BJP won, the margin ranges from more than 47,000 votes in the Chatra seat to as high as 1.77 lakh votes in the Palamu constituency.

The Dumka seat was seen a close contest between BJP candidate Sita Soren,

Congress turncoat Geeta Koda, wife of former CM Madhu Koda, who had won from Singhbhum in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections despite the “Modi wave”, lost by more than 79,000 votes against the JMM's Jobha Manjhi. Geeta Koda had defected to the BJP just ahead of the polls.

In the Lohardaga seat, Congress candidate Sukhdev Bhagat won by more than 1.3 lakh votes against the BJP's Samir Oraon. Former Jharkhand Pradesh Congress Committee president, Bhagat, who had switched to the BJP in 2019, later returned to the Congress.

Rebel JMM leader Chamra Linda, who fought as an Independent from Lohardaga, seems to have failed to make a dent in the INDIA alliance candidate's vote bank as was speculated.

44-YEAR-OLD BECOMES FIRST AND ONLY CONGRESS MP FROM THE STATE IN 10 YEARS

Geniben, giant slayer of Gujarat, who ‘crowd-funded’ her poll campaign

RITU SHARMA
AHMEDABAD, JUNE 4

SLOGANS OF ‘Banas ni ben, Geniben’ filled the air as Congress MLA from Vav began to lead formidably against the BJP candidate from Banaskantha Lok Sabha constituency on Tuesday.

Geniben Thakor (44) went on to defeat Rekhaben Chaudhari, a first-time candidate and a professor of mathematics in the government engineering college in Palanpur, by a margin of 30,406, becoming the only Congress candidate to win a seat in Gujarat this Lok Sabha elections.

Even as the counting was underway, Thakor said it was a victory for the people of Banaskantha. “Satyamev Jayate,” she said in her first reaction after gaining a comfortable lead.

Thakor was among the candidates whose campaign was crowd-funded after the Congress alleged it had “run out of funds”, and could not support its nominees.

In March, Gujarat Congress president Shaktisinh Gohil had told mediapersons that the party does not have money for poll campaigning because the Union government seized Rs 115.321 crore by freezing 11 bank accounts in a seven-year-old Income Tax case.

Speaking to mediapersons on Tuesday, Gohil said, “In Gujarat, BJP said Congress will not get a candidate, then it said BJP will win every seat with a margin of over 5 lakh votes. Barring one or two seats, BJP has not won with a high margin... I thank Gujarat's voters for making Geniben, our ben, desh ki ben”.

In the Vav Assembly constituency, Thakor, an OBC, had earned the reputation of a giant slayer when she defeated BJP can-



SP was leading from Ambedkar Nagar, Amroha, Ghazipur, Ghosi, Bijnor



‘Generation Restoration’ rallying against land degradation, desertification and droughts

The stark realities of land degradation, desertification, and drought loom large globally against the backdrop of a United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) report on facts about the nature crisis stating that around 3.2 billion people, or 40 percent of the global population, are adversely affected by land degradation – presenting some of the most pressing environmental challenges of our time. Around the globe, vast swathes of land are succumbing to these phenomena, with fertile soils turning barren and communities facing severe water shortages on the one hand, while on the other hand, reportedly, 100-300 million people are facing increased risk of floods and hurricanes because of coastal habitat loss. As arable land shrinks and water resources dwindle alongside ecosystems being destroyed, the urgency to address these issues becomes increasingly critical in the race against time. In this context, World Environment Day (WED), organized by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and observed annually on June 5 since its inception in 1973, takes on profound significance.

WED has been instrumental in ushering in positive change as the biggest global platform for raising awareness of various environmental challenges and inspiring action to protect the earth’s environment. Alongside celebrating the power and commitment of individuals, busi-



nesses, and governments in creating a sustainable world through a wide spectrum of environmental initiatives, this global event serves as a rallying cry to focus on critical environmental issues and galvanize collective action to protect and restore the earth.

WED highlights the necessity of safeguarding our planet’s natural resources, by focusing on a theme each year. Land restoration, desertification and drought resilience – the theme of WED 2024 – being hosted by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, turns the spotlight on the urgent need to restore degraded lands, put a stop to desertification, and build drought resilience. The resounding echo of WED’s slogan this year – “Our land. Our future. We are #GenerationRestoration” – serves as a clarion call for millions of people worldwide by presenting them with the momentous opportunity to champion leadership in launching campaigns aimed at addressing desertification, ensuring

land restoration and building resilience against droughts. This gains special significance in light of numerous eye-opening facts that should jolt us into immediate action – human activities have altered drastically 75 per cent of the earth’s land surface, including 85 per cent of wetland areas, and up to 40 per cent of the planet’s land is degraded, directly affecting half of the world’s population. Furthermore, both the duration and number of droughts have gone up by 29 per cent since 2000, which if not redressed without further delay, may result in droughts affecting more than three-quarters of the world’s population by 2050.

Although solutions are scaling worldwide for the protection and revival of ecosystems, the clock is ticking on bending the curve on nature and biodiversity loss. By serving as a crucial reminder of the interconnectedness of our environment and our lives, WED 2024 calls for urgent collective action to restore our lands and secure a sustainable future as the world grapples with the catastrophic consequences of land degradation, desertification, and drought.

By embracing the spirit of – “Our land. Our future. We are #GenerationRestoration” – highlighting everyone’s role in restoring the planet – we can make a meaningful impact and ensure a nature-positive, net-zero future in a habitable planet for generations to come.

World faces unprecedented environmental challenges

M AHATMA Gandhi once said “The Earth provides, but it is up to us to take only what we need and give back in return”. As the world faces unprecedented environmental challenges such as climate change, biodiversity loss, deforestation, and pollution, the importance of World Environment Day has never been greater. Each year 05th June serves as a reminder of the dire need for collective action to safeguard the planet for our future generation. By mobilizing and promoting action at the grass root level, NTPC Dadri has encouraged Miyawaki tree plantation in the station which is in addition to the 30,000 tree plantation

done each year. Further, the station has also ensured water sprinkling on the roads in the vicinity of the project for dust suppression.

By encouraging individuals to adopt eco-friendly practices such as reducing waste, conserving energy, using renewable resources, and adopting sustainable agriculture, the station aims to inspire positive changes that contribute to environmental protection and conservation. In order to reaffirm our commitment to environmental sustainability, we have focused on technologies such as FGD, DSI and SOFA to control the emissions well within the defined norms.

In view of the observance of World En-

vironment Day, we aim to raise awareness and promote action by tree planting campaigns, clean-up drives, educational programs etc. Our employees, vicinity schools etc. are actively involved in organizing events and activities to engage people in environmental conservation efforts.

In conclusion, World Environment Day is a significant global observance that brings attention to environmental issues and mobilizes action for their solution. By raising awareness, promoting sustainable practices, and fostering collaboration, the day serves as a catalyst for positive change towards a healthier and more sustainable planet.

एनटीपीसी दादरी

भावी पीढ़ी के लिए विकास की ऊर्जा

एन टी पी सी लिमिटेड
(भारत सरकार का उद्यम)

भारतीय कोयला: एनटीपीसी भवन, कोर-7 ब्लॉक बॉम्बेस्ट्रीट 7,
इंटरनैशनल एरिया, सोनी रोड न्यू दिल्ली - 110 003
कोई भी नए वायु प्रदूषक नंबर : LA0101DL1975GQ1007996
वेबसाइट : www.ntpc.co.in

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पोस्ट: विद्युत नगर, जिला: गौतम बुद्ध नगर- 201008 (उ०प्र०)

ERF ‘s Mission to Create 1 Million Sustainability Warriors



THE ESG Research Foundation (ERF) is a Not-For-Profit Organization dedicated to promoting the significance of Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) aspects in business operations within the public and private sectors. ERF conducts various activities, collaborates with corporations and regulatory bodies, and supports organizations in implementing their ESG plans. By working together with government bodies, public and private sector businesses, and societies, ERF strives to facilitate the achievement of India’s ESG and climate related goals.

ERF provides comprehensive support throughout an organization’s ESG journey, covering the entire value chain. From initial assessments to policy setting, implementation, and reporting.

Beyond these core services, ERF also endeavors to make a lasting impact through various activities-webinars, conferences, certificate courses, training programs etc. specialized in ESG, fostering capacity building and knowledge sharing among diverse stakeholders.

VISION

Promoting innovations to achieve Sustainable Development in India, and Globally. Advocating towards a Greener and better Future.

MISSION

To spread awareness and educate society about ESG and sustainability related issues and work alongside government bodies, private and public sector businesses and societies to support their transition to more sustainable operations and in turn enable achievement of India’s ESG and climate related goals.



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Last Date for filing Nominations : 20th August 2024

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AS THE Honorary Director of the ESG Research Foundation, with its mission transcending borders in accelerating the creation of an ever-growing community that is committed to championing sustainability globally, we have spearheaded several fruitful endeavors aimed at creating a greener and better future. From launching numerous awareness campaigns in schools, universities, and various organizations spanning diverse sectors to motivating the torchbearers for sustainability, the Sustainability Warriors, by recognizing their unwavering commitment to the cause, we strive to be at the forefront of educating, inspiring and empowering people to embrace positive behavioral changes that safeguard the Earth. I firmly believe that together, we can make a monumental difference in preserving our planet for generations to come.

CA. (Dr.) Atul Kumar Gupta, Founder and Honorary Director, Former President ICAI



ESG Research Foundation confers Prithvi Awards every year recognising Sustainability Icons in the field of ESG and Sustainability. The Global Conference on ESG & Prithvi Awards bring together leaders, experts, and organizations committed to driving sustainable change.

The Prithvi Awards 2024 and Global ESG Conference will be held on 14th Sept, 2024 at The Ashok Hotel, Chanakypuri, New Delhi.

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- Prithvi Awards and Global ESG Conference
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- Sustainability Oath
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- **Launched an Awareness Campaign: Let us Take a Sustainability Oath towards protecting Our Mother Earth. Take an Oath – ESG Research Foundation (esgworldwide.org)**
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- Organising Competitions in Schools to Showcase Talent - Quizzes on Current/relevant issues, Quote/Slogan Writing, Painting/Poster Making etc.
- Awarding Certificates for their support and commitment and recognising them being Sustainability Warriors.
- Sustainability Warriors are inspiring others by creating huge Impact through activities like Planting trees, Launching Campaigns - Save Water, No Use of Plastic, Live Eco- friendly Lifestyles etc.



6 Independents, 10 from non-INDIA, non-NDA parties win elections

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

AT LEAST 16 of the 543 members in the 18th Lok Sabha will be from non-NDA or non-INDIA bloc parties or Independents, including two persons who fought the elections from behind bars – Khalistan separatist Amritpal Singh, who won from Khadoor Sahib in Punjab and Baramulla winner Engineer Rashid, who is jailed in a terror funding case under the UAPA.

In Sangli seat in Maharashtra, independent candidate and Congress rebel Vishal Prakashbapu Patil beat his immediate rival Sanjay (Kaka) Patil of the BJP by over 1 lakh votes.

Amritpal, who is lodged in an Assam jail, won with a margin of 1.97 lakh votes. Another Independent Sarabjeet Singh Khalsa won from Faridkot in Punjab. Notably, jailed J&K leader Rashid won with a huge margin of 2 lakh votes, beating former Jammu and Kashmir chief minister and National Conference candidate Omar Abdullah.

Another Congress rebel Pappu Yadav won from Purnia in Bihar. Two other Independent candidates – Patel Umeshbhai Babubhai from Daman and Diu and Mohmad Naneefa from Ladakh – also won the LS polls.

Among the 10 winning candidates from non-NDA and non-INDIA parties is AIMIM MP Asaduddin Owaisi, who retained his seat, Hyderabad. Aazad Samaj Party (Kanshi Ram) leader Chandrashekhar, the co-founder of the Bhim Army, won from Nagina in Uttar Pradesh with a remarkable margin of 1.51 lakh votes.

Shiromani Akali Dal MP Harsimrat Kaur Badal retained her seat, Bhatinda. The YSRCP won three seats and was leading in one in Andhra Pradesh.

Voice of the People Party candidate Ricky Andrew J Syngkon from Meghalaya with a margin of over 3.71 lakh votes.

The lone LS seat in Mizoram was won by Zoram People's Movement candidate Richard Vanlalhmangaiha.

Results out, CEC counters criticism of Opp parties: ‘Parinaam main hi pramaan hai’

RITIKA CHOPRA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

“PARINAAM MAIN hi pramaan hai (The result itself is the proof),” Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) Rajiv Kumar told *The Indian Express* on Tuesday evening, asserting that the 2024 Lok Sabha results, which saw significant upsets, are all the evidence the Election Commission (EC) needs against the criticism directed at it over the last two months.

“I’m not commenting on the final outcome because I don’t have an opinion on it. But the re-



CEC Rajiv Kumar

sult is a vindication of our impartiality. At the EC, we were always convinced that the result, irrespective of the winner, would reflect the will of the people. Look at the diversity of the mandate

in different states,” he said. Kumar’s comments come against the backdrop of allegations of “faulty” electoral rolls and questions over EVMS, the turnout, and the counting process, directed at the EC by the Opposition parties.

“Any false narrative is an insult to the wisdom of the Indian voter. It is created by those who don’t know how the common man thinks,” he said.

Although unusual for the EC, the Commission has responded sharply to criticism and allegations made against it during the Lok Sabha polls. At a press conference held on Monday, a day

before the results – which in itself was unprecedented – Kumar said the EC “failed to understand” a “pattern” of “mischievous narratives” against it.

A day later, Kumar reiterated his stand on “false narratives”. “We should not forget that democracy in India is very deep-rooted. When you plant seeds of doubt against it, you are doing something very dangerous. You are creating an anarchical situation. It also demoralises the election force that is trying to do its duty honestly on the ground,” he said.

The INDIA bloc parties had raised questions over the alleged

delay in the release of the voter turnout figures for the first two phases of the Lok Sabha elections.

“The conduct of elections in our country is completely democratised with actors drawn from multiple backgrounds. In fact, the country’s mosaic is also reflected in the election machinery or personnel at work. There is no conspiracy,” Kumar said.

A total of 64.2 crore voters cast their votes in the 2024 elections, of which 31.2 crore were women. Although the EC hasn’t released the final voter turnout, it is expected to be around 66%, a dip from 67.4% in 2019.

Mauritius, Bhutan leaders first to laud Modi; Meloni only one from G20 so far

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

MAURITIUS PRIME Minister Pravind Kumar Jugnauth was the first foreign leader to congratulate Prime Minister Narendra Modi on BJP-led NDA’s election victory. Maldives Prseident Mohamed Muizzu, Bhutan Prime Minister Tshering Tobgay, Nepal PM Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda and Sri Lankan President Ranil Wickremesinghe also congratulated Modi.

Giorgia Meloni, however, the Prime Minister of Italy was the only G20 leader so far to laud PM Modi. She said, “Congratulations to @narendramodi on the new electoral victory and my warmest wishes for good work. Certain that we will continue to work together to strengthen the friendship that unites Italy and India...” in a post on X in Italian.

At 8.12 pm, Jugnauth said on X, “Congratulations Prime Minister Modi ji @narendramodi on your laudable victory for a historic third term. Under your helm, the largest democracy will continue to achieve remarkable

progress. Long live the Mauritius-India special relationship.”

Two minutes later, Bhutan PM Tshering Tobgay said, “Congratulations to my friend PM @narendramodi ji and NDA for the historic 3rd consecutive win in the world’s biggest elections. As he continues to lead Bharat to great heights, I look forward to working closely with him to further strengthen the relations between our 2 countries.”

And Nepal Prime Minister Prachanda said, “Congratulations to PM @narendramodi on the electoral success of BJP and NDA in the Lok Sabha elections for the third consecutive term.”

Sri Lankan President Ranil Wickremesinghe said, “I extend my warmest felicitations to the @BJP4India led NDA... As the closest neighbour Sri Lanka looks forward to further strengthening the partnership with India.”

Maldives Prseident Mohamed Muizzu wrote on X, “Congratulations to Prime Minister @narendramodi, and the BJP and BJP-led NDA... I look forward to working together to advance our shared interests...”

BOTH CONTESTED LS POLLS AS INDEPENDENTS

Punjab elects radical preacher Amritpal & Indira assassin son

RAAKHI JAGGA,
KAMALDEEP SINGH BRAR
LUDHIANA, AMRITSAR, JUNE 4

THE RESULTS of the Lok Sabha elections threw up two surprises in Punjab with voters electing jailed radical Sikh preacher Amritpal Singh and Sarabjeet Singh Khalsa, the son of one of the assassins of Indira Gandhi, to the Parliament.

Amritpal won from the panthic seat of Khadoor Sahib by a margin of 1,97,120 votes over his nearest rival and Congress candidate Kulbuir Singh Zira while Khalsa won from Faridkot with a margin 70,053 over AAP’s Karamjit Singh Annol. Both contested the polls as Independents.

Just about 14 months ago Amritpal, self-styled chief of the Waris Punjab De, was a wanted fugitive as the Aam Aadmi Party government launched a crackdown on his organisation with the help of the Centre. He was arrested in Moga’s Rode village on April 23 last year following an over a month-long manhunt. He and his associates were booked



Amritpal Singh and Sarabjeet Singh Khalsa

under several criminal cases related to spreading disharmony among classes, attempt to murder, attack on police personnel and creating obstructions in the lawful discharge of duty by public servants. They were later shifted to Dibrugarh jail in Assam.

Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) head Simranjit Singh Mann had extended his party’s support to Amritpal and did not field any candidate from the Khadoor Sahib seat.

His father Tarsem Singh Tuesday thanked the Almighty and expressed gratitude to the ‘sangat’ (community) for their overwhelming support.

Meanwhile, Khalsa, the son of Beant Singh – one of the two

assassins of late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi – on April 11 had announced that he will be contesting from Faridkot – a district to which he had never been till then. Beant Singh and Satwant Singh, who were the bodyguards of the then Prime Minister, killed Gandhi on October 31, 1984 at her residence.

“It is the ‘sangat’ of Faridkot which approached me to fight the polls,” Khalsa, who is based in Mohali, had said earlier.

During the campaign, Khalsa questioned lack of action in the 2015 sacrilege incidents, issue of ‘Bandi Singhs’ (Sikh prisoners who completed their jail terms), drug menace, river water sharing, and farmers’ demand for legal guarantee to minimum support price. “No celebrations will happen till June 6 (the anniversary of Operation Blue Star is observed from June 1-6). No one will distribute anything sweet,” Sarabjeet said. “I will pay obeisance at Golden Temple on Wednesday. I am thankful to all who voted for me,” he added.

He had unsuccessfully contested the 2004 LS polls.

We read UP wrong: Pollsters on their exit poll projections

Exit polls were done to influence stock market, says Sitaram Yechury

DIVYAA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

EVEN AS most exit polls had predicted a resounding win for the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) on Saturday, the actual results on Tuesday came as a shocker.

Most pollsters admitted to having got the state of Uttar Pradesh wrong, where Akhilesh Yadav’s Samajwadi Party bagged 37 seats, and almost an equal number went to the BJP, even as it remained way below the exit poll projections of 60 seats for the saffron party.

Incidentally, the BJP also lost the Ayodhya (Faizabad) seat to SP’s Awadesh Prasad.

India Today-Axis My India had predicted between 361 and 401 seats to NDA, and 131-166 seats for the INDIA bloc. Talking to *The Indian Express*, Pradeep Gupta, Chairman & MD, Axis My India, said, “The NDA alliance seems to be getting close to 295 seats, 60 less than our projected range, largely because we could not get three big states – Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal – right,” he said, adding, “we could not fathom which direction the Dalit votes were going. Even in the case of West Bengal and Maharashtra, we missed the mark by 14 and 10 seats, respectively.”

Bhawesh Jha, Director of CNX, whose India TV-CNX poll had predicted 371 to 401 for the NDA, says they were yet to ascertain why they got UP wrong, even as all other states were close to the mark.

While Congress leader Rahul Gandhi had dismissed exit polls as “Modi fantasy polls”, on Tuesday, as the results came out, CPM general secretary Sitaram Yechury alleged that exit polls were done to influence the stock market and help those who wanted to make money. “Exit poll was done to influ-

ence the share market and those who wanted to make money in the share market yesterday made money. Now, the reality is coming in front of you. Now let the full results come, after that, we will tell you...INDIA alliance is doing well,” he said.

However, pollsters and psephologists continued to defend themselves, saying they got UP wrong and failed to read the quiet swing in the crucial state. Yashwant Deshmukh of C Voter said, “In terms of state-wise projection, it was only UP that we got wrong. We had already projected that West Bengal and Maharashtra will go down the drain, but somehow in the case of UP, the projection and results were very different.”

ABP News – Cvoter had predicted 353-383 seats for NDA, and 152-182 for INDIA alliance.

Deshmukh added that their methodology has been the same over the years – it gives you the vote share and then you extrapolate the seatshare. “Maybe, a lot of polarisation happened after the last Assembly election. Also, the baseline for our calculation was the 2019 numbers when SP and BSP contested together. So maybe this time, we didn’t have the correct baseline for around 40 seats, and that could have been the reason mathematically, it didn’t come together. However, we got the vote share for UP more or less right,” he added.

Pradeep Bhandari of Jan Ki Baat, which gave 362-392 to the ruling alliance, as opposed to 141-161 for the Opposition alliance, said, “As far as I understand, projections have been off the mark this time because in UP, we failed to understand the anti-incumbency and also the caste factor... it was a Black Swan event. After all, it is based on scientific analysis of data, and the impact of caste factor in UP could not be ascertained to this extent.”

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UTTAR PRADESH

VERDICT 2024



Kishori (Lal Sharma) bhaiya... mujhe shuru se yakeen tha ki aap jeetenge. Aapko aur Amethi ke mere pyaare bhaaiyon aur beheno ko hardik badhaai. (Brother Kishori... I always believed you will win. Congratulations to you and brothers and sisters from Amethi — PRIYANKA GANDHI VADRA, Congress leader

TALKING HEADS

I express my gratitude to BJP party workers and supporters, those who have worked in the service of the constituency and the party with utmost dedication, fidelity. I am grateful to PM Narendra Modi and CM Yogi Adityanath. I congratulate those who win — SMRITI IRANI, BJP leader



UTTAR PRADESH

80 SEATS

 **BJP 33**
2019: 62

 **SP 37**
2019: 5

 **CONG 6**
2019: 1

 **BSP 0**
2019: 10

 **RLD 2**
2019: 0

 **AD(S) 1**
2019: 2
Aazad Samaj Party (Kanshi Ram) : 1

Source: EC

How Akhilesh's PDA plank powered SP surge

SP chief coined a new slogan 'Pichde, Dalits, Alpasankhyak' with an eye on vote base

ASAD REHMAN & LALMANI VERMA
LUCKNOW, JUNE 4

THE AKHILESH Yadav-led Samajwadi Party (SP) has fuelled the Opposition INDIA bloc's surge in Uttar Pradesh, ensuring a setback for the ruling BJP.

Belying various projections, the SP has emerged as a formidable challenger to the BJP as they are locked in a neck-and-neck race. As per the initial trends, the INDIA bloc, including the Congress, has managed to edge out the BJP in the crucial heartland state.

In the 2019 Lok Sabha polls, the SP had managed to win just 5 seats in UP as it had then contested 37 out of the state's 80 seats as part of an alliance with the BSP. The BJP had then swept the polls, bagging 62 seats, with the BSP getting 10.

This time, the SP contested 62 seats while its INDIA partner Congress fought from 17 constituencies. Confident of retaining its core Muslim-Yadav voter base and seeking to make inroads into the votes of non-Yadav OBCs, who were seen to be consolidated in favour of the BJP, the SP fielded only five candidates from the Yadav community in its 62 seats.

Incidentally, all five are from party founder Mulayam Singh Yadav's family.

In 2019, the SP fielded 10 Yadav faces out of 37 candidates. In 2014, it contested 78 seats and nominated 12 Yadav candidates, including four from the "first family", that is Mulayam's clan.

"The Muslims and Yadavs are firmly behind us. The party's vote share increased when it joined hands with smaller parties, who draw the support of non-Yadav OBCs. The party has accommodated candidates from other communities to reach out to voters of other OBC groups and upper castes," an SP leader said.

Akhilesh, in fact, coined a new slogan for the vote base he banked on this time, expanding from "M-Y" or Muslim-Yadav to "PDA" or "Pichde (backward classes or OBCs), Dalits, Alpasankhyak (minorities)".

So, while five SP tickets went to Yadavs, it fielded 27 candidates belonging to other OBCs, 11 upper castes (including four Brahmins, two Thakurs, two Vaishyas and one Khatri) and four Muslims. It nominated 15 Dalit candidates in SC-reserved seats.

Of the Yadav candidates, SP chief Akhilesh contested from Kannauj; his wife Dimple Yadav, who lost in 2019 from Kannauj, fought from Mainpuri; while Akhilesh's cousins Dharmendra Yadav, Akshay Yadav and Aditya Yadav are the nominees from Azamgarh, Firozabad and Badaun, respectively.

PDA factor

In the run-up to the polls, Akhilesh had said that most of the backward people, Dalits and minorities would unitedly back the SP's PDA plank due to which the BJP's "equations and previous formulas" would fail this time.

In post in Hindi on X then, Akhilesh said: "Survey of those who believe in PDA: Overall 90% say – 49% backward people have faith in PDA, 16% Dalits have faith in PDA, 21% minori-



CYCLE OF CHANGE

Samajwadi Party workers celebrate during the counting of votes in Lucknow on Tuesday. Vishal Srivastav

ties (Muslims + Sikhs + Buddhists+ Christians+ Jains and others+tribals) believe in PDA, 4% backwards of the upper castes have confidence in PDA. (All the above include 'aadhi abadi' i.e. women). Most of these 90% will vote unitedly for PDA this time."

Akhilesh also claimed, "Due to this (PDA factor), the BJP is neither able to do any math nor make any equation. This is why all the previous formulas of the BJP have failed this time and the BJP has lagged far behind in the selection of candidates. The BJP is not getting candidates at all. No one wants to fight to lose by taking the BJP ticket." Akhilesh also gave a slogan, saying "Li hai PDA ne angdai, Bhajpa ki shamat aayi (PDA has set off, end of BJP has come)".

What is PDA?

The PDA acronym was first used by Akhilesh in June 2023. He floated this formula as a counter to the NDA, claiming on multiple occasions that "PDA hi NDA ko harayega (It will be the PDA which will defeat the NDA)". The SP's core vote bank has traditionally comprised Yadavs and Muslims in UP. The party has however been losing the elections in the state since 2014 – the 2014 Lok Sabha polls (got five out of 80 seats), 2017 Assembly polls (won 47 out of 403 seats), 2019 Lok Sabha polls (got five seats) and 2022 Assembly polls (won 111 seats).

Behind SP, Cong show: Choice of candidates to focus on local meets

ASAD REHMAN
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

BEHIND THE remarkable turnaround for the SP and Congress in Uttar Pradesh where the INDIA bloc had won in 45 of the total 80 Lok Sabha seats, some fascinating factors may have given them an upper hand over the BJP. One of the factors that may have worked in favour of the SP, which is leading in 38 seats, is its ticket-distribution strategy. Unlike previous elections, the SP ticket distribution focused on non-Yadav OBCs. While the SP fielded only five Yadavs – all from the family of party chief Akhilesh Yadav – it gave 27 tickets to non-Yadav OBCs; 11 to upper castes, including four Brahmins, two Thakurs, two Vaishyas, and one Khatri; and four to Muslims, besides 15 Dalit candidates in the SC-reserved constituencies.

"Our party was sure of the support from the Yadavs and Muslims. But we wanted to expand our base beyond these two communities and reach out to non-Yadav OBCs and



SP chief Akhilesh Yadav. X

Dalits, which seems to have happened now," said a senior SP leader as trends showed the party winning more seats than expected.

Also, the SP changed candidates in several constituencies, depending on feedback

from local cadre and local caste equation.

In contrast, this time the BJP, which contested 75 seats in UP, has fielded 34 upper castes (16 Brahmins, 13 Thakurs, 2 Vaishyas and 3 belonging to other upper castes), and 25 OBCs, including one Yadav (Dinesh Lala Yadav in Azamgarh). The remaining 16 were on SC-reserved seats.

There was also a stark difference in the campaign style of the BJP-led NDA and INDIA bloc in UP. Unlike the BJP, which focused on holding grand rallies, the poll campaign of the SP-Congress combine laid less emphasis on scale and instead focused on reaching out to local communities. Congress general secretary Priyanka Gandhi Vadra, who campaigned intensively in Rae Bareilly and Amethi constituencies, didn't hold many big rallies. Instead, she held over 20 nukkad sabhas daily, from morning to late evening.

The BJP's campaign relied on big rallies of PM Narendra Modi, CM Yogi Adityanath, and Home Minister Amit Shah. SP has gained seats across UP, by winning seats in western, central and eastern parts of the state.

Amid eclipse of BSP, a new star rises: Bhim Army's Azad

LALMANI VERMA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

WHILE THE BSP's decline in Uttar Pradesh continues, the party now has a new challenger to contend with: young Dalit leader Chandrashekhar Azad, who won from the Nagina Scheduled Caste-reserved constituency of western UP by a margin of over 1.51 lakh votes.

Azad, who did not join the INDIA bloc, contested under his own party's banner – Aazad Samaj Party (Kanshi Ram) – defeating the BJP's Om Kumar by securing 51.19% of the votes. The BJP share fell to 36%.

The BSP's Surendra Pal Singh got only 1.33% of the votes, way behind even the SP's Manoj Kumar, whose vote share was 10.22%. In 2019, the BSP's Girish Chandra had defeated the BJP's Yashwant Singh by a margin of 1.66 lakh votes.

While the Dalits (mostly Jatavs, the BSP's

main support base) comprise around 20% of the population in Nagina, Muslims are about 40%. The rest include Thakurs, Jats, Chauhan Rajputs, Tyagis and Banias.

Though Muslims are seen to have rallied behind the SP-Congress alliance across the state, with the BSP's

base considered shrunk but still strong among the Jatavs, in Nagina, Azad seems to have garnered votes from both.

"The BSP has no member in the Lok Sabha now. It is Azad who will raise the issues of Dalits and Muslims in the House. That will help him rise as the leader of Dalits and certainly emerge as an alternative to Mayawati," said a leader of the Aazad Samaj Party (Kanshi Ram) or ASP.

Azad's victory from Nagina is significant for two more reasons. It is because of his insistence on getting this Lok Sabha constituency that alliance talks between the ASP and SP fell through this time. Following this, the ASP decided to go alone in the polls and Azad then ran a door-to-door campaign in Nagina.

Another significance of the victory lies in its symbolism. In 1989, Mayawati had contested and won from the Bijnor constituency, which falls in Nagina now following the 2008 delimitation.

Azad first emerged in the spotlight as chief of the Bhim Army, and was noticed in political circles for raising the voice of Dalits arrested in connection with clashes with the Thakur community in Shabbirpur village of Saharanpur district in 2017.

Arrested soon after, Chandrashekhar spent a long time in jail after the BJP government in UP invoked the stringent National Security Act against him. He was released in September 2018, after the Act was revoked. His incarceration in jail as well as his participation in the anti-CAA protests further cemented his position among Dalits and minorities.

her nor will I say anything now. I am grateful to the Gandhi family for trusting me and to the people of Amethi for expressing their faith... For me, humility and service to the people come foremost and I will continue to do that.

In 1996, you took charge of campaigning in Amethi along with a young Priyanka Gandhi, when Sonia Gandhi first contested. In this election, Priyanka took charge of your campaign. Do you feel the alliance with SP also worked in your favour?

It was her (Priyanka) greatness. She took charge of this constituency along with Rae Bareilly. Rahul (Gandhi) ji also came to campaign for me. Even Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge came. I am grateful I received support from all ends. The SP also played a big role in the victory as its cadre walked shoulder to shoulder with me during the campaign for which I had little time as my candidature was declared at the last moment.



Kishori Lal Sharma

all the time for them. There will be no difference in what I say and what I do. I will make time so that anyone can visit me during that time. I will keep my gates open for them.

Although you didn't mention Irani in your campaign, you did say after winning that humility, not arrogance, will prevail in Amethi. Any message for your opponent?

She is a woman and the Congress, as well as I personally, respect women. In my entire campaign, I did not make any comment on

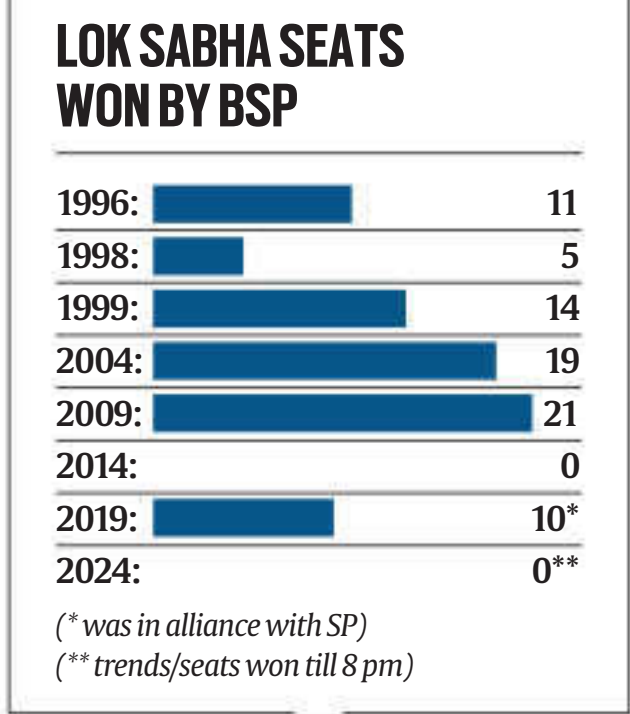
LALMANI VERMA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

THE DECLINE of Mayawati's BSP in the political landscape of Uttar Pradesh and the country continued in this Lok Sabha election as the party failed to lead in a single seat. The BSP had fielded candidates in 424 Lok Sabha seats across the country, including 79 in UP.

In Uttar Pradesh, where it had won 10 seats in the last Lok Sabha elections in alliance with the SP and RLD, the party was trailing at third or fourth position on most of the seats.

At 6 pm, the BSP's vote share nationally stood at roughly 2%, almost half of its 2019 share. In UP, the BSP's vote share dropped to 9.38% – a drop of over 3 percentage points as compared to its 2022 Assembly elections vote share of 12.88%. The party had won only one Assembly seat.

This is the second time in the past three decades when the BSP has not won a single



seat in a Lok Sabha election. In 2014, too, the party could not win a seat. The BSP had won 21 seats in 2009, 19 seats in 2004, 14 seats in 1999, five seats in 1998 and 11 seats in 1996.

This is the second time that the BSP's bid to engineer a vote bank equation of Muslims and Dalits has failed. In the 2022 UP Assembly elections, the BSP had fielded a maximum number of Muslim candidates, but not a single one of them managed to win. The party ended up winning a single Assembly seat that year.

In this Lok Sabha election, the BSP once again fielded the most number of Muslim candidates in UP, 35. This led the Opposition alliance of SP and Congress to accuse BSP of being the "B-team" of BJP as they feared that by fielding Muslim candidates, Mayawati would make a dent in INDIA bloc's vote share, thereby benefitting the BJP. But the trends suggested the party again failed to garner Muslim votes.

Over 2 months Mayawati addressed over 40 rallies in the country. She also engaged her nephew Akash Anand, whom she had declared as her successor, for campaigning. But the campaign suffered a jolt last month when she removed Akash as the party national coordinator and her political successor.

"I JUST have a certain style of functioning and I will not change that. For me, humility and service to people come first and I will continue to do that," Congress leader **KISHORI LAL SHARMA** tells **MAULSHREE SETHI** after defeating Smriti Irani from Amethi.

What are first reactions to your victory?

I see this victory as one earned by the Gandhi family and the people of Amethi. This is the Gandhi family's seat. I am thankful they placed their trust in me and the people of Amethi supported me... never in my life or dreams had I thought that one day I would become an MP from this seat.

Will you now stay back in Amethi or make periodic visits as before?

I have worked in Amethi for four decades. I have been here and will stay here. Not only will my office be open for the people of my constituency but I will get down to the field for them in their time of need. I will be here



20 MAHARASHTRA



I am thankful to the people of Baramati. After the victory, our collective responsibilities have increased. Let bygones be bygones. Whatever happened during the elections did not befit Maharashtra's politics and it should be avoided in the upcoming state elections— **SUPRIYA SULE**, NCP (SP) candidate

TALKING HEADS

The unfortunate outcome of results is that the Opposition attempted to win through its propaganda that we would change the Constitution. But...people's mandate has to be accepted. We will... recover our loss in the next Assembly elections win — **DEVENDRA FADNAVIS**, Maharashtra Deputy CM



MAHARASHTRA

48 SEATS



BJP
9
2019: 23



SHIV SENA
7
2019*: 18



CONG
13
2019: 1



NCP
1
2019*: 4



SHIV SENA (UBT)
9



NCP (SP)
8

Independent: 1

Source: EC, * 2019 figures are for undivided Shiv Sena and NCP; wins/leads till 1 am

Why BJP fell from 23 to 9 in Maharashtra

BJP faced blowback over Maratha quota anger, sympathy for Uddhav and Sharad

SHUBHANGI KHAPRE
MUMBAI, JUNE 4

MAHARASHTRA WAS considered a state which might make or break the BJP's fortunes in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections. And it held true to that, bringing down the party to 9 seats from 23 in 2019, and stopping it well short of a majority in Parliament.

The BJP's Mahayuti allies also performed poorly, with the Eknath Shinde-led Shiv Sena getting seven seats and Ajit Pawar's NCP just 1. The NDA thus was reduced to 18 seats out of 48 in the state. In 2014, with the united Sena an ally, the NDA had won 43 seats.

Some factors behind this result:

Sympathy for Uddhav Thackeray, Sharad Pawar

The state never settled down courtesy the BJP after the party failed to secure a majority in the 2019 Assembly elections. However, while it may have come back into power by breaking first the Shiv Sena and the NCP, the BJP left the voters unimpressed.

Instead, the sympathy factor seems to have benefited the original leaders of the Sena and NCP — Uddhav Thackeray and Sharad Pawar, respectively. Uddhav, who was projected as the face of MVA coalition — or INDIA — in Maharashtra, won nine of the 21 seats it contested. This was two more than the Shinde-led Sena, which contested 15 seats and won seven.

In the split, the Shinde Sena had got both the name of the party and its symbol. Still, that didn't come in the Uddhav faction's way.

Similar was the case with the Ajit Pawar-led NCP, which won the name and the symbol after breaking away from the party created and bred by Sharad Pawar. While Pawar Senior again came up on top, with an impressive strike rate of winning seven of 10 seats it contested, Ajit's NCP could win just 1 of 5 seats it fought.

OBCs versus Marathas

Ultimately, Marathwada with eight seats proved the albatross around the BJP's neck, with the party paying a price for the poor management of the Maratha quota agitation by the state government. The BJP failed to win any of the seats in Marathwada.

The government's flip-flop on the issue was seen as driven by essentially the BJP, with other two partners in power, Sena and NCP, led by Maratha leaders Shinde and Ajit, respectively. While the aggressive campaign by activist Manoj Jarange Patil forced the BJP to eventually bring in a 10% quota for Marathas, the delay was seen by many as a cynical move by party to consolidate the OBCs behind it in a case of reverse polarisation. Eventually, even that didn't happen, despite OBCs previously proving a solid BJP vote bank. The BJP wooed Congress leader and former CM Ashok Chavan into its fold, in a move to bolster its Maratha credentials. But that too failed.

Dalit drift

In 2014 and 2019 LS polls, BJP's perform-



SON SHINES

Shiv Sena supporters celebrate the victory of Maharashtra CM Eknath Shinde's son Shrikant Shinde from Kalyan Lok Sabha seat, Tuesday. *Deepak Joshi*

ance rested to some extent on its ability to win over Dalits. However, this time, the INDIA bloc's narrative of an overwhelming BJP majority government being a threat to the Constitution seems to have struck home. Voices were heard from Dalit settlements about alterations in the statute created by Dr B R Ambedkar.

At 10.5%, Dalits are a formidable vote bank in Maharashtra and their apprehension regarding the BJP seems to have found reflection in the party's performance in Vidarbha, Marathwada and Mumbai. The BJP tried to debunk this narrative. But in an admission that the party did not succeed, its Deputy CM Devendra Fadnis said: "Unfortunately, the Opposition set a false narrative to mislead the people." In its strong-

hold Vidarbha region, the BJP won only 2 of 7 it contested, while Shinde Sena lost in all three.

With 55% of state rural, agriculture has always driven the politics of Maharashtra. It is not for no reason Sharad Pawar ensured he held the Agriculture portfolio in his stints as Union minister. If there is the sugarcane belt in western Maharashtra, soyabean and cotton are predominant in Vidarbha and Marathwada region, and onion in North Maharashtra. Across these regions, farmer angst was evident. Vagaries of climate, coupled with flip flop on agriculture policies, had left the farmers angry.

Brand Thackeray reigns supreme in Mumbai

ALOK DESHPANDE
MUMBAI, JUNE 4

THE UDDHAV Thackeray-led Shiv Sena (UBT) on Tuesday emerged victorious in three of the four seats it contested in Mumbai and helped ally Congress to win one, reaffirming that the Thackeray brand continues to rule be a strong vote-puller in Mumbai, despite a split in the party, countless allegations and central agency probes and perennial flow of turncoats. Out of the six seats in Mumbai, the ruling alliance won two seats with Shiv Sena's Ravindra Waikar emerging as winner in a nail biting finish emerging triumphant with 48 votes from Mumbai North West. The BJP's Piyush Goyal won the second seat from Mumbai North.

Among BJP's tall claims of the ruling alliance winning all seats, a roadshow and a public rally held at Shivaji Park by the Prime Minister and the ensured support of Raj Thackeray — led Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS), the ruling alliance seemed plenty confident of an overwhelming victory. However, that was not the case with the ruling side suffering losses in five out of



Sena (UBT) chief Uddhav Thackeray. *File*

six seats.

The opposition Maha Vikas Aghadi (MVA) scored victories in four out of six seats in the country's financial capital, which has been the fiefdom of united Shiv Sena for over three decades now. After the split in the party, orchestrated by Chief Minister Eknath Shinde, Thackeray had to give up on the party name and election symbol.

Faced with the allegations of fraud in the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation

(BMC), which it ran for two decades, the Thackerays were grilled with a series of inquiries announced by the Shinde-led state government. Central agencies began probing the alleged scam in the Covid-19 related relief work, targeting Thackeray's tenure as the Chief Minister. Close aides of Thackerays were jailed, including Rajya Sabha MP Sanjay Raut — who was later released on bail. With no local body elections, the BMC was controlled by the state government appointed administrator. Several corporators in Mumbai from Thackeray's side joined Shinde led Sena over the past one year.

Since 2004, Mumbai has been voting convincingly in favour of a single side. Congress had won five seats in 2004 and 2009 while united Sena and NCP had won one seat each. In 2014 and 2019, the saffron-alliance of the United Sena and BJP won three seats each. The party winning most seats has been part of the central government since 2004.

In a changed political situation in 2024, Thackeray led Sena contested four and a new ally in the Congress, fought on two. Out of its four, the SS-UBT fought against Shinde Sena on three seats and against the BJP on one seat.

The party won Mumbai South—contested by Arvind Sawant, Mumbai South Central—contested by Anil Desai, Mumbai North East—contested by Sanjay Dina Patil. The Thackeray Sena's vital support to Mumbai Congress chief Varsha Gaikwad in Mumbai North Central also led her to victory in a tightly contested battle against BJP's Ujjwal Nikam.

The Eknath Shinde-led Sena lost two of the three seats contested, stressing that despite the leaders shifting loyalties, the workers have remained with the Thackerays.

For Congress, its Mumbai unit chief Varsha Gaikwad scoring a victory in Mumbai North Central is an opportunity to revive the party in the city, especially ahead of upcoming assembly and local body elections. According to sources, the Marathi and Muslim vote unity aided by north Indian votes in certain pockets has helped the opposition front secure victories.

The BJP is left with only one seat, Mumbai North, where Union minister Piyush Goyal won with a large margin of over 3.50 lakh votes. However, despite the strong force of MLAs and resources, two of its candidates from Mumbai North east and Mumbai North Central faced defeat.

BJP STATE CHIEF SAYS INTERFERENCE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS COST US IN SOUTH GOA

BJP wins North Goa stronghold, Congress retains South Goa

PAVNEET SINGH CHADHA
PANAJI, JUNE 4

THE CONGRESS and the BJP Tuesday retained their respective strongholds of South Goa and North Goa Lok Sabha constituencies.

In South Goa, Congress's Captain Viriato Fernandes got 2,17,836 votes while BJP's Pallavi Dempo received 2,04,301 — a margin of 13,535 votes.

In the run-up to the elections, Fernandes, a Kargil War veteran, had stirred controversy after allegedly claiming that the Constitution was "forced" on Goans. Referring to his remarks, Prime Minister Narendra Modi had slammed the Congress for "insulting the Constitution" and termed it a "calculated move to break the nation".

On Tuesday, Fernandes said: "The people of Goa have voted against unemployment, religious discrimination and abuse of power

by the ruling party. I thank the people who have voted for me and the alliance partners for ensuring my victory. In the Assembly segment where the PM held a rally, the Congress got a lead of 3,000 votes." Fernandes was also backed by AAP and Goa Forward Party, which are part of the INDIA bloc.

Meanwhile, BJP's Shripad Naik, the incumbent North Goa MP and outgoing Union MoS for Tourism, won the North Goa constituency for a record sixth time, defeating his "friend" and former Union Law Minister Ramakant Khalap of the Congress by a comfortable margin of over 1.16 lakh votes.

Despite concerns of anti-incumbency, Naik, who claimed in the run-up to the polls that this would be his last parliamentary election, received over 2.57 lakh votes against Khalap's over 1.41 lakh votes.

In 2019, Congress's Francisco Sardinha had defeated BJP's Narendra Sawaiakar by 9,755 votes in South Goa. In North Goa, Naik



BJP's North Goa candidate Shripad Naik won for the record sixth time from the seat, in Panaji, Tuesday. *ANI*

had defeated Congress's Girish Chodankar by over 80,000 votes.

In South Goa, one taluka makes the difference

The fight for South Goa essentially narrowed down to Salcete, the constituency's most populous taluka, which has a majority Christian population and accounts for more than 40 per cent of the seat's voters.

The same taluka had stalled the BJP march in South Goa in 2019 as well.

This time, the party polled fewer votes than the Congress in 7 (Nuvem, Fatorda, Curtorim, Benaulim, Navelim, Velim and Cuncolim) of the taluka's eight assembly segments and managed only a small lead in Margao. In those eight Assembly segments, the Congress opened a gap of more than 62,000 votes over the BJP, which proved decisive.

Tuesday evening, BJP state chief

Sadanand Shet Tanavade said: "There was interference from *dharma gurus* (religious leaders) which led to people voting for the Congress in South Goa. But we accept the mandate of the people."

"We had not said this in the past. But it is a fact that religious leaders played role in swinging the vote towards a particular party in South Goa," he said.

This was likely a reference to a circular by Filipe Neri Cardinal Ferrao, the Archbishop of Goa and Daman, that urged Catholics to vote for candidates with secular credentials who are "committed to upholding the values enshrined in the Constitution".

The Archbishop had also appealed to Catholics to exercise their vote rather than going to Velankanni, a prominent pilgrimage site in Tamil Nadu, on the eve of the election in Goa on May 7. The circular was issued after rumours surfaced on social media about a "conspiracy" to ensure Catholics miss

the voting due to the pilgrimage. After the polling, some BJP leaders in the coastal state had criticised certain priests for "urging" people to vote for the Congress.

The BJP had been hoping that with defection of some former Congress leaders to its fold, it would be able to convert a sizable number of votes in South Goa, but this did not materialise.

In September 2022, eight MLAs switched to the ruling BJP from the Congress, including former chief minister and Margao MLA Digambar Kamat, Nuvem MLA Aleixo Sequeira and Mormugao legislator Sankalp Amonkar.

Goa CM Pramod Sawant said: "We have won one seat, lost one seat... People helped us win in North Goa by a margin of more than one lakh votes. We tried our best to win [in South Goa]. Whatever the results, we accept it. BJP will once again form the government at the Centre and Narendra Modi will take oath as PM for the third time."

21 ASSEMBLY

VERDICT 2024



We fail to understand the debacle of the party in the assembly polls. I am ready to face the challenges. All the very best to the people (parties) who came to power. YSR Congress Party will act as the voice of the voiceless

JAGAN MOHAN REDDY, YSRCP chief

TALKING HEADS

Thanks to Lord Jagannath's blessings, 4.5 crore people of Odisha have trusted PM Modi and this is a big achievement. The BJP will form a double-engine government in the state

DHARMENDRA PRADHAN, BJP LS candidate from Sambalpur



ANDHRA PRADESH

175 SEATS

TDP 135

YSRCP 11

JNP 21

BJP: 8

ODISHA

147 SEATS

BJP 78

BJD 51

INC 14

CPI(M): 1, IND: 3

Two neighbours, one story: Change is here



TDP-led alliance set for big win in Andhra as tide turns in favour of Chandrababu Naidu



CELEBRATIONS BEGIN

BJP's Odisha unit celebrates as the party wins big in both Assembly and parliamentary elections. *Express*

TDP supporters celebrate the party's lead in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly and Lok Sabha polls, in Hyderabad, on Tuesday. *PTI*

BJP rides on Odia pride to break BJD's 'invincible' record, Naveen loses power after 24 yrs in Odisha

SUJIT BISOI
BHUBANESWAR, JUNE 4

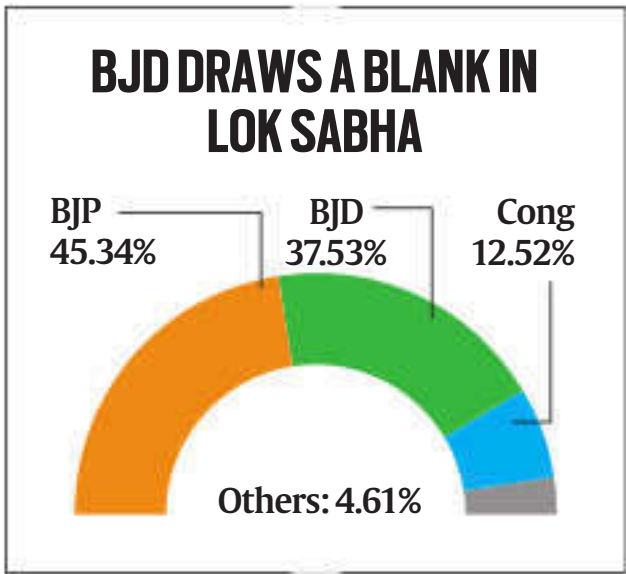
POWERED BY an aggressive campaign over an emotional narrative of Odia Asmita (pride), the BJP Tuesday stopped its former ally BJD from taking reins of Odisha for a record sixth straight term.

In the Assembly elections, which were held simultaneously with the LS elections in the state, the BJP registered a thumping victory, setting the platform to form its first full-majority government in the state. Of 147 Assembly seats, the BJP won 78, pushing the BJD, which has been in power since 2000, to finish with 51 seats — its worst-ever performance.

The saffron surge also swept the LS polls with the BJP bagging 20 of the 21 seats, and leaving the Congress with one seat. The BJD drew a blank in the LS polls for the first time since its formation.

PM Narendra Modi said in a post on X: “Thank you Odisha! It's a resounding victory for good governance and celebrating Odisha's unique culture. BJP will leave no stone unturned in fulfilling the dreams of people and taking Odisha to new heights of progress.”

“I am very proud of all our hard working Party Karyakartas for their efforts,” he said. The vote share of the BJD and BJP in the Assembly poll was 40.18% and 39.96%, respectively, according to preliminary estimates. In the LS elec-



tion, the BJP secured 45.51% vote share against the BJD's 37.50%. Final figures were still awaited.

In 2019, the BJD's vote share was 45.2% (with 112 seats) against BJP's 32.8% (23 seats). In the Lok Sabha, it was 43.3% (12 seats) for the BJD and 38.9% (eight seats) for the BJP.

CM Naveen Patnaik tasted electoral defeat for the first time, losing in Kantabanji to BJP's Laxman Bag by 16,344 votes. Patnaik, who chose Kantabanji as his second seat, won from his traditional seat Hinjili by 4,636 votes. The idea to field Patnaik from a western Odisha seat was to check BJP's growth in the region, a strategy which worked in the BJD's favour in 2019. Talking to X, Patnaik greeted all the winning candidates irrespective of party affiliations.

The BJD's defeat also prevented Patnaik from becoming the longest serving Chief

Minister. Patnaik, who is expected to resign Wednesday, fell short by 74 days against former Sikkim CM Pawan Kumar Chamling's record of 24 years and 165 days.

Even before the final results were announced, Union Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan flanked by senior party leaders, including Baijayant Panda and Bhupender Yadav, addressed party workers at the BJP office in Bhubaneswar.

“It's a day of pride for our state, Odias and the country. I express my gratitude to the 4.5 crore people of Odisha for reposing their faith on the words of PM Modi. I express my gratitude to the PM,” he said. Boasting about Odia pride — the BJP's campaign theme that targeted the CM's aide V K Pandian, a former bureaucrat with Tamil Nadu roots — Pradhan played a song of celebrated poet Godabarish Mohapatra on his mobile that appealed to the people to wake up and bask in the past glory of the state. Pradhan, who returned to direct electoral fight after 15 years, won the Sambalpur LS seat by defeating senior BJD leader Pranab Prakash Das by a margin of 1.17 lakh.

The strong wave in favour of the BJP breached the coastal and interior pockets known to be BJD strongholds. The BJD was wiped out in Ganjam, the CM's home district and party stronghold, as it lost 11 of the 13 seats in the district. In 2019, the BJD had bagged 12 seats from Ganjam. In the high-profile Aska LS seat, the BJD faced its maiden

defeat. The BJP's Anita Subhadarshini won the seat by around 1 lakh votes.

In Berhampur, another LS seat in Ganjam, Patnaik's former close aide Pradeep Panigrahy, who was sacked from the party in November 2020, won for the BJP by a margin of over 1.6 lakh votes. BJD spokesperson Sasmit Patra, who addressed a joint press conference along with Manas Mangaraj and Sulata Deo after the party's defeat, said the regional party was indebted to the people of Odisha for allowing it to serve the state for uninterrupted 24 years. Patra said the party would continue to serve the people of Odisha.

As many as 11 ministers of Patnaik's cabinet and several BJD heavyweights faced humiliating defeats in the Assembly and LS polls.

Prominent BJP faces who won the LS polls included Baijayant Panda (Kendrapada), Sambit Patra (Puri), Aparajita Sarangi (Bhubaneswar), former Union minister Pratap Sarangi (Balasore), BJP's tribal face Jual Oram (Sundargarh) and BJD turmcoat Bhartruhari Mahtab (Cuttack). However, BJP state president Manmohan Samal lost in Chandabali Assembly seat by a margin of 1,916 votes to BJD's Byomkesh Ray.

Despite facing issues like fund constraints and lack of focus on Odisha by its central leaders, the Congress retained the Koraput Lok Sabha seat. In the Assembly election, the party slightly improved its performance, winning 14 seats as compared to just nine in 2019.

SREENIVAS JANYALA & RAHUL V PISHARODY
HYDERABAD, JUNE 4

THE TELUGU Desam Party-led alliance looked to be heading towards a comprehensive victory in the Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh has won 135 out of 175 seats. The party has won 16 out of the 25 Lok Sabha seats in the state.

This is likely to bring TDP chief N Chandrababu Naidu back as chief minister, just months after he was arrested by the Andhra Pradesh CID in connection with an alleged scam in the AP Skill Development Corporation during his last tenure.

His party's performance in the Lok Sabha elections will also make him an important player nationally at a time when the BJP looks unlikely to cross the majority mark by itself for the Lok Sabha.

Andhra Pradesh's ruling YSRCP, which had won the 2019 Assembly polls by a landslide with 151 seats, is currently leading in only 11, with most of its ministers trailing. Chief Minister Y S Jagan Mohan Reddy, however, was leading in Pulivendula.

The TDP, which had won only 23 seats last time, is currently leading in 135 seats on its own. Its ally Jana Sena Party, which only had one seat last time, has won all 21 seats it contested. The BJP, which is also part of the alliance, won eight of the 10 seats it fought from. TDP's Naidu is leading in Kuppam, while JSP chief K Pawan Kalyan is leading in Pithapuram.

The headquarters of the ruling YSRCP at Tadepalle wore a deserted look Tuesday after the supporters who had gathered there gradually left as the trends came in.

Except for Prakasam district, where the YSRCP was leading in eight of the 12 Assembly seats, the TDP was dominating in all the remaining districts, including the 34 seats in East Godavari and West Godavari districts combined, and 52 seats in the Rayalaseema region.

By afternoon, TDP-BJP-JSP cadres and supporters started celebrations across the state, taking to the streets and bursting crackers. While initial trends had indicated a fight between YSRCP and TDP in rural constituencies, the tide eventually turned in favour of the TDP-led alliance as the counting progressed.

Several YSRCP candidates and supporters said CM Jagan's electoral focus being solely on welfare schemes was what brought the party down. However, political observers also pointed to the arrest of Naidu, the lack of new projects or industries coming up in the state during the YSRCP regime, and general anti-incumbency against the ruling party.

While the YSRCP had seemed to be on strong ground until March, the TDP and JSP, who had been strengthening their grassroots in the background, got a boost when the BJP joined their alliance just as the elections were announced.

While Naidu was arrested on September 9 last year, it seemed to have helped his party with a general feeling among the public that it showed the highhandedness of Jagan.

SAFFRON PARTY'S ENTIRE CAMPAIGN REVOLVED AROUND CM'S CLOSE AIDE PANDIAN, HIS TAMIL ORIGIN

Stage set for Naveen's exit: What worked in the BJP's favour in Odisha?

SUJIT BISOI
BHUBANESWAR, JUNE 4

THE BJP is set to form its first full-majority government in Odisha with the party leading in around 80 seats, six more than the majority mark in the 147-member Assembly.

The Biju Janata Dal (BJD), which ruled the state for 24 years (since March 2000), was struggling to cross the 50-seat mark, while the Congress slightly improved its tally — it had won nine Assembly seats in 2019 — by maintaining a lead in around 14 seats.

Odisha also witnessed a saffron surge in the Lok Sabha polls, with the BJP set to win 19 of the 21 seats, leaving one each for the BJD and the Congress.



Naveen Patnaik and V K Pandian. *File*

What helped the BJP turn the tide in Odisha?

Amid talks of a possible alliance with the BJD in the run-up to the general elections, even the BJP cadres in Odisha were confused about the party's strategy in the state.

However, after the seat-sharing talks with the BJD failed, the saffron party tried to build a narrative of “Odia Asmita (pride)”, questioning the growing influence of former IAS officer and Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik's close aide V K Pandian, who is now in the BJD.

BJP launched an aggressive campaign for around a month, with PM Modi leading from the front.

What did the BJP do differently this time?

The saffron party's entire campaign revolved around Pandian and his Tamil origin. From the feedback it gathered from different sources, the party sensed an anger against Pandian among the people.

To target the Tamil Nadu-born former IAS officer, the BJP harped on issues such as the “missing” keys of the Ratna Bhandar at Puri's

Jagannath Temple and the reins of power in the state being in the “hands of an outsider”.

Where did the BJD go wrong?

The BJD's success in Odisha over the years is attributed to the “charismatic leadership” of CM Patnaik, his “clean image” and perceived “good governance”. Post-Covid-19 pandemic, the 77-year-old CM had largely confined himself to Naveen Niwas, his residence. There came Pandian's emergence both in the corridors of power and in the BJD circle, which didn't go down well with a large section of people, especially the informed voters.

The party announced the names of many senior leaders as star campaigners, but they were conspicuous by their absence from the campaign. BJD insiders said Pandian's style of campaign might have backfired for the party.

What hurt Naveen most?

The CM, it seems, failed to maintain his image of a “non-corrupt” leader. There was palpable anger among the people over “petty corruption” at the block, tehsil and police station level. Despite people liking Naveen and his style of governance, they were clearly upset with local BJD leaders “demanding bribes” for works like granting a house under the rural housing scheme, enrolling name in old age schemes or issuing a ration card.

Did BJD falter in candidate selection?

The BJD's ticket distribution was a big blunder; the party repeated most of its MLAs despite strong anti-incumbency against them on the ground. Many MLAs, who were facing

serious corruption charges, were repeated, and some of the popular legislators like Samir Ranjan Dash (Nimapara) and Amar Prasad Satpathy (Barachana) were denied tickets. While Dash joined the BJP, Satpathy remained silent; their absence from the party's campaign cost the BJD dearly in the two seats. BJP candidates Amar Kumar Nayak and Pravati Parida won the Barachana and Nimapara seats respectively.

Did the Congress hurt the BJD's prospects?

In the past, the BJD had taken advantage of a triangular contest, with the Congress cutting into the BJP's vote share. However, this time it was largely a bipolar contest between the BJD and the BJP as the Congress was nowhere in the picture on most seats.



I am happy. INDIA wins, Modi lost. He should resign. He said, BJP will cross 400 seats... but he did not get a majority. I am happy... Now they cannot pass any law on their wish. They cannot use Central agencies

— **MAMATA BANERJEE**, West Bengal Chief Minister and TMC leader

TALKING
HEADS

Yes, our (BJP's) result was not as expected. We accept the mandate of the people of Bengal. We will self-introspect. But our vote share has definitely increased compared to that in 2019.

— **SAMIK BHATTACHARYA**, BJP state spokesperson

WEST
BENGAL

{ 42
SEATS }



AITC

29



BJP

12



CONG

1

Mamata holds her ground, dents BJP share

Trinamool Congress wins two-thirds seats in West Bengal, BJP loses vote share gains it made in 2019 elections

RAVIK BHATTACHARYA
& ATRI MITRA
KOLKATA, JUNE 4

NOT ONLY did Trinamool Congress (TMC) supremo Mamata Banerjee hold her ground in West Bengal, but her party also made major gains, thereby puncturing the BJP's plan to breach the TMC's fortress once again.

The TMC won 29, two-thirds of the 42 Lok Sabha seats in the state, an increase of seven seats from 2019 when the BJP had performed impressively winning 18 seats.

This time though the TMC was a part of the Opposition INDIA bloc nationally, it fought alone in West Bengal, contesting all the 42 Lok Sabha seats. Despite being besieged by a series of corruption cases since the 2021 Assembly polls, the TMC fought the election on welfare schemes of the state government like Lakshmir Bhandar, the direct transfer benefit scheme for women, and harped on the "BJP is anti-Bengali" campaign.

The TMC vote share also jumped from 43.3 percent in 2019 to 46.01 per cent. Simultaneously, the BJP's vote shrunk by 2.5 percentage points -- from 40.70 per cent to 38.73 per cent.

For the Congress and the CPI(M)-led Left Front, which had a seat-sharing agreement, unlike the last Lok Sabha polls, their overall vote share remained almost the same -- 12 per cent in 2019 and 11 per cent now. While the Congress won only one seat -- Malda Dakshin, down from two in 2019; the Left failed to open its account like in the previous election.

However, in at least 12 Lok Sabha constituencies, the vote share of the Congress and CPI(M) ranged from 17 per cent to above 20 per cent, which observers believe was chipped away from the BJP's share, thereby reducing the latter's seats.

In the 2021 Assembly elections, TMC had secured 48.02 per cent of votes, while the BJP and Left-Congress got 38.15 per cent and 7.66 per cent of votes, respectively.

TMC national general secretary and Number 2 in the party, Abhishek Banerjee, broke all previous records, by winning Diamond Harbour seat with a margin of 7,10,930 votes.

Former cricketer Yusuf Pathan, who made his electoral debut on a TMC ticket, turned out to be a giant killer by defeating the five-time MP and state Congress unit president, Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury, in Baharampur.

TMC's Mahua Moitra, who was disqualified from Lok Sabha by a parliamentary panel over the alleged "cash for query", was re-elected from Krishnanagar. Senior TMC leader Kalyan Banerjee won from Sreerampur, Sudip Bandopadhyay from Kolkata-Uttar and Kakali Ghosh Dastidar from Barasat. Actor-politician Shatrughan Sinha retained the Asansol seat for the party, defeating BJP's SS Ahluwalia.

On Tuesday evening as the party workers celebrated the victory, Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee said: "I am happy. INDIA has won, (PM Narendra) Modi has lost. He has lost all credibility, and should immedi-



THE WINNING COMBINATION

West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee with TMC leader Abhishek Banerjee in Kolkata, Tuesday. Partha Paul

ately resign. He said, BJP will get charso paar (cross 400 seats)... but he did not get a majority. The PM broke many parties and now people have broken his morale. Modi is now falling at the feet of TDP and (JD(U) chief Nitish (Kumar) to form the government."

"Now, they cannot pass any law as per their wish. They cannot misuse Central agencies. Now, if they try, we will protest unitedly. We will not spare the BJP, which used to intimidate us using central agencies and the two-thirds majority in Parliament. Neither will we forgive them, nor will the other parties of the INDIA bloc," she added.

She said her nephew Abhishek Banerjee, the TMC's national general secretary, would attend the INDIA bloc meeting in New Delhi on Wednesday but said that her party has not been informed about it yet. "We are yet to get an invitation. However, I cannot go right now. Abhishek will attend the meeting. I will certainly help INDIA. I always try to see Modi out. I think INDIA has the capacity

to oust Modi."

"I have texted Rahul (congratulating him). Maybe they were busy. They haven't contacted us yet, but it doesn't matter if they do or they don't... I always said they (Congress) will not win more than two (seats in Bengal). What happened we all saw," she said.

Major losses by BJP

Meanwhile, the BJP faced a major setback with its two Union ministers losing their seats -- Nisith Pramanik lost to TMC's Jagadish Prasad Basunia in Cooch Behar, and Subhas Sarkar lost to Arup Chakraborty in Bankura. Former state BJP president Dilip Ghosh lost to cricketer-turned-politician Kirti Azad in Bardhaman-Durgapur. Locket Chatterjee lost from Hooghly to television personality Rachana Banerjee, who was fielded by the TMC.

Another Union Minister Shantanu Thakur, however, won from Bongaon with

a margin of 73,000 votes.

The BJP had made corruption and Sandeshkhali incident its major poll plank, accusing the TMC government in the state of exploiting people. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, campaigning for the BJP, had hit out at TMC on the Sandeshkhali issue, calling the party "anti-women" in every public meeting. The party also fielded one of the alleged victims of Sandeshkhali, Rekha Patra, who lost to TMC's Haji Nurul Islam by a margin of over 3 lakh votes in Basirhat.

Zero-sum game for Left-Congress alliance

The Left-Congress alliance did not perform as per its expectations, winning only one seat -- Isha Khan Chowdhury from Malda Dakshin. In 2019, the Congress had won two seats. However, the Left-Congress alliance was instrumental in cutting votes from the BJP in at least a dozen seats. For in-

stance, BJP lost seats like Bankura, Dum Dum, Krishnanagar, Howrah, Sreerampur, Burdwan-Durgapur, Burdwan Purba, Asansol, Purulia, where the vote share of the Left and Congress went up from the previous election.

Speaking to mediapersons, state Congress chief Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury said: "There was an effect of polarisation in Baharampur seat. The BJP made gains here and that was the danger."

"We have to introspect. We did not perform as we had expected to do," said Md Salim, CPI(M) state secretary who lost from Murshidabad.

"People chose whom they will vote for. They thought Laksmir Bhandar was more important than the future of their children. We have to respect that and work more," said Dipsita Dhar, CPI(M) candidate from Sreerampur. Dipsita was among the youth faces CPI(M) had fielded this time. She secured 14 per cent of the votes in Sreerampur.

Sandeshkhali voters say it's time to 'accept & move on'

SWEETY KUMARI
SANDESHKHALI, JUNE 4

SHOPS WITH shutters down, doors of houses firmly bolted and deserted roads -- the scene in Patra area of Sandeshkhali on Tuesday, the day of counting of votes for the Lok Sabha elections, is devoid of the charged energy that the town saw a few months back in February when local residents had protested for weeks over land theft and sexual harassment allegations against local TMC leader Shahjahan Sheikh and his aides. The protests hit national headlines and stopped only after Sheikh was arrested after being on the run for over two months.

Located in West Bengal's North 24 Parganas district, Basirhat, under which Sandeshkhali falls, went to polls during the seventh phase of the Lok Sabha elections on June 1. The TMC decided to field Sk Nurul Islam from the seat, while the BJP announced the candidature Rekha Patra -- one of the women from Sandeshkhali who protested against Sheikh. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) had announced Nirapada Sardar as its nominee.

With Muslims forming over 50 per cent of the population, Basirhat has traditionally been a TMC bastion. However, many TMC leaders had feared that the recent protests and the resentment among local residents might dent the party's performance in the seat.

The quiet on the roads was interrupted around 4 pm after the ninth round of counting of votes when Islam was declared to be leading by 57,856 votes ahead of Patra. TMC workers started celebrating by playing with green *gulaal* and bursting crackers.

A few metres away, at Patra's home, her mother-in-law Anupama was glued to the television screen watching the election results. "We have no political background and Rekha was chosen to fight on a BJP ticket. There were many who supported the protest here, but after Shahjahan Sheikh's arrest, the entire picture changed. We will go back to my son, who works in Tamil Nadu," she said.

Around a kilometer away, a resident of Nakashipara, on condition of anonymity said, "The TMC has won by large numbers and we have nothing to say. We have been already identified as BJP supporters, now if we talk we will be in trouble. Forget Basirhat there are seats everyone thought BJP would win from but even those went to TMC."

On the other side of the river in Sandeshkhali, a bunch of toto drivers, looked disheartened with the elections results. "We had high hopes this time. Sandeshkhali remained in the news for months but now that TMC has won, we have to accept it and move on. If we don't celebrate it will give a message that we are BJP supporters, why invite such trouble?," said toto drivers Ram Prashad Kandari and Abani Raftan.

CONGRESS, NON-NDA REGIONAL PARTIES WIN BOTH SEATS IN MEGHALAYA & MANIPUR, AND LONE SEATS IN NAGALAND & MIZORAM

Suffering setbacks in four states, NDA unravels in the Northeast

SUKRITA BARUAH
GUWAHATI, JUNE 4

THE BJP'S regional partners have lost all the seats that they contested in the Northeast, meaning that except in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, the NDA has lost its hold in all other tribal-majority hill states in the region.

The Congress and non-NDA regional parties have won both seats in Meghalaya and Manipur, and the lone seats in Nagaland and Mizoram. This will result in a considerable change in the power map of the region. In 2019, both seats in Arunachal Pradesh had been won by the BJP; the lone Nagaland seat had been won by NDA partner Nationalist Democratic People's Party; the lone Mizoram seat had been won by NDA partner Mizo National Front; the Tura seat in Meghalaya had been won by NDA partner National People's Party; the Shillong seat in Meghalaya had been won by the Congress; the Inner Manipur seat had been won by the BJP; and the Outer Manipur seat by NDA partner Naga People's Front.

This time around as well, the NDA had consolidated its alliances in the region. Apart from Mizoram, where the BJP and the MNF -- which have a fraying relationship -- both contested, the NDA partners consolidated in all other seats. This includes the NPP contesting from both Meghalaya seats, the NDPP in Nagaland, the BJP in Arunachal Pradesh, the NPF in the Outer Manipur seat, and the BJP in the Inner Manipur seat.

Both seats in Manipur have been lost by the NDA, ostensibly in a wave of resentment against the handling of the ongoing ethnic crisis in the state, with the Congress winning both. The alliance's reversals in the other seats are major upsets and signal a change in the sentiment in the region with the emergence of new regional forces and the Congress gaining significant ground.

In Meghalaya's Shillong seat, the recently formed Voice of the People's Party (VPP) has emerged as a major regional force by sweeping the seat with a margin of 3.7 lakh votes in their Lok Sabha debut. Their candidate defeated three-time MP Vincent Pala from the Congress, who has held the seat since 2009. A close third was the rul-



Outside a counting centre in Tura, Meghalaya, Tuesday. Congress's Saleng Sangma defeated the NPP's Agatha Sangma by 1.5 lakh votes in Tura. PTI

ing NPP's Ampareen Lyngdoh, a state cabinet minister who was also seen as a major contender. The VPP is a regionalist party and its manifesto emphasised the implementation of an Inner Line Permit regime in

Meghalaya and bringing the state under Article 371 of the Constitution to "protect it from Central laws affecting the traditions and customs of the people".

However, party chief Ardent

Basaawmoit told reporters after the victory on Tuesday that the prime emphasis of the party is on addressing corruption in the state.

The outcome in the other Meghalaya seat, Tura, is also a major upset. Congress's Saleng Sangma defeated the incumbent, NPP's Agatha Sangma, by a margin of 1.5 lakh votes. Apart from a two-year gap between 1989 and 1991, this has been held by members of Agatha Sangma's family -- her father P A Sangma, her brother and current Chief Minister Conrad Sangma, and her.

The Congress also pulled off a reversal in electoral patterns in Nagaland, where it emerged in front despite having drawn a blank in the last two assembly elections and having lost won the Lok Sabha seat in 1998. Here too the state government is led by a NDPP-BJP-NDA coalition government.

AICC in-charge of Nagaland Ranajit Mukherjee attributed the victory to disillusionment among voters in the state with the "opposition-less governments" in Nagaland. MLAs from other parties who were elected to the Nagaland assembly such as the NCP, NPP and NPF all support the current government, effectively mean-

ing that there is not a single Opposition MLA in the assembly.

"Because of what has been happening in the assembly, we became the only opposition party in Nagaland and all the others lost legitimacy before the people... People are genuinely worried about secularism, constitutional values, and that their tribal rights will be taken away. There's a lot of churning in Naga society that the whole value system of the Christian society is being threatened by the BJP," he said. There has also been mounting discontent in the state over the continuing impasse over the agreements to the Naga political problem, which Mukherjee said that "everyone wants to move on from".

In Mizoram, the Zoram People's Movement, whose fortunes have been in consistent ascendancy in the last few years, swept the lone seat. The party, fresh off a resounding victory in the last November-December state assembly polls, has further stamped its current dominance in Mizo politics after years of political power in the state being concentrated either with the Congress or the MNF.



The NDA has bettered its overall vote share to nearly 46 per cent, a huge jump from the 39 per cent in the 2019 Lok Sabha and 44 per cent in the 2021 Assembly elections. This we have achieved despite the 40 per cent minority population in our state.

— HIMANTA BISWA SARMA, BJP leader and Assam Chief Minister

TALKING
HEADS

In Assam, we were fighting against two communal forces — BJP and AIUDF — and we have a moral victory by defeating the AIUDF in all seats it contested in. Jorhat was a major prestige battle and the people of Upper Assam have given a message there.

— BHUPEN BORAH, Assam Congress chief

BIHAR

40
SEATS



JD(U)
12



BJP
12



LJP(RV)
5



RJD
4



CONG
3

CPI(ML): 2, IND: 1

Modi factor, Nitish base help NDA in Bihar

RJD and its allies dealt a blow to NDA in Shahabad-Magadh region, even as CPI(ML) emerged giant-killers in Arrah and Karakat

SANTOSH SINGH
PATNA, JUNE 4

WHILE THE NDA in Bihar maintained its supremacy in the Lok Sabha polls by winning 30 seats out of 40, the INDIA bloc managed to win 9 seats in the crucial heartland state as compared to just one seat that the Opposition alliance had won in the 2019 polls.

The election outcome however saw the BJP losing five of 17 seats it contested as compared to its victory in all 17 constituencies it had contested in 2019.

The NDA's key ally JD(U), which had won 16 seats in 2019, bagged 12 seats this time. The JD(U)'s victory was even more impressive given that party president and chief minister Nitish Kumar was said to be ailing and losing his touch.

The NDA's victory has been attributed to the Narendra Modi factor besides the point that Nitish's constituency of Extreme Backward Classes (EBCs) and Mahadalits largely remained intact.

With both the JD(U) and the BJP winning 12 seats each, the former again emerged as a significant player in state and national politics.

Another NDA ally, Lok Janshakti Party (Ram Vilas) led by Chirag Paswan, won all five seats it contested. The party had also won all six seats it contested in the 2019 polls. LJP (RV) chief Chirag Paswan won with a huge margin from the Hajipur constituency, which had been represented in the past by his father and ex-Union minister late Ram Vilas Paswan.

Hindustani Awam Morcha (Secular) candidate and ex-CM Jitan Ram Manjhi, also an NDA ally, won from the Gaya seat, defeating the RJD's Kumar Sarvjeet.

In a setback for the NDA, Rashtriya Lok Morcha (RLM) chief and ex-Union minister Upendra Kushwaha lost from Karakat to the CPI (ML)'s Raja Ram Singh with Bhojpuri singer-actor and BJP rebel Pawan Singh playing the spoilsport for the ruling alliance. Kushwaha would be now forced to revisit his strategy to stay afloat in state politics.

In the INDIA camp, the RJD could manage to win only four seats out of 23 it contested. The party, whose campaign was spearheaded by Tejashwi Yadav, son of party chief Lalu Prasad, would however take heart from registering its presence in the Lok Sabha after a gap of five years. It had drawn a blank in 2019.

Lalu had mixed emotions over the poll results, more so with his eldest daughter Misa Bharti winning from Pataliputra and younger daughter Rohini Acharya losing from the Saran seat with a narrow margin at the hands of the BJP's Rajiv Pratap Rudy.

Misa's victory assumes significance as the party has now won the Pataliputra seat for the first time since it came into existence following delimitation in 2008. While Lalu had lost from the seat to the JD(U)'s Ranjan Prasad Yadav in 2009, Misa had lost it to the BJP's Ram Kripal



Bihar Deputy CM Samrat Chaudhary of the BJP in Patna on Tuesday. ANI

Yadav in 2014 and 2019, whom she defeated this time.

One major reason for Misa's victory was her outreach beyond the RJD's traditional Muslim-Yadav vote base. While Lalu had been busy doing micro management for Rohini at Saran, Misa raised anti-incumbency pitch against Ramkripal even as she raked up local as well as national issues.

The RJD broke through the BJP's prestigious citadel of Buxar, known as "mini Kashi" because of its proximity to Varanasi. RJD candidate Sudhakar Singh, Rajput leader and son of Jagdanand Singh, state RJD chief and ex-Buxar MP, was able to split the NDA's upper caste votes because of his pro-farmer image, defeating BJP candidate Mithilesh Tiwari.

The RJD and its allies, Congress and CPI (ML), dealt a blow to the NDA in the Shahabad-Magadh region by winning several seats. In an upset, BJP leader and Union minister R K Singh lost to the CPI (ML)'s Sudama Prasad in the Arrah seat.

Two-time BJP MP Sushil Kumar Singh also lost his Aurangabad seat to the RJD's Abhay Kushwaha. The Opposition bloc's move to allot tickets to seven Kushwaha faces paid off with two of them emerging victorious.

One of the highlights of the polls in Bihar is the emergence of the CPI (ML), whose candidates Sudama Prasad and Raja Ram Singh became giant-killers in Arrah and Karakat respectively.

The Congress, which had won just one Lok Sabha seat Kishanganj in 2019, also improved its tally to three seats now. It wrested the Katiहार seat with senior party leader Tariq Anwar defeating the sitting JD (U) MP Dulalchand Goswami. The Congress also wrested the Sasaram seat from the BJP.

In a jolt to both the JD(U) and the RJD, Independent candidate Rajesh Ranjan alias Pappu Yadav won the Purnia seat. Ranjan is with the Congress, which however declined to give him ticket in view of the Mahagathbandhan's seat-sharing pact under which Purnia was given to the RJD.



THE TASTE OF SUCCESS

Janata Dal (United) supporters offer sweets to a cut-out of Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar in Patna on Tuesday. ANI

JD(U) gets voice back: 'Restoration of respectability for Nitish'

Party wins as many as BJP, carefully cultivated caste-plus-women constituency seems to have stood by it

SANTOSH SINGH
PATNA, JUNE 4

NITISH KUMAR'S string of flip-flops, combined with the decline in its electoral performance, had prompted many to see the JD(U) as a spent and desperate force in Bihar. So, when the results showed the JD(U) shoulder to shoulder with the BJP, at top of the tally in Bihar, with 12 of the 16 seats it contested in its kitty, the party was clear: it was "the end of isolation and restoration of respectability" for its leader Nitish.

The icing on the cake was that with the BJP falling short of a majority in Parliament, Nitish was back where he loves best: in the role of a kingmaker. JD(U) advisor and national spokesperson KC Tyagi said the party expected its ties with the BJP to bear "the reflection of Atal Behari Vajpayee and L K Advani era" in terms of practising "cohesive coalition politics".

As a next step, the JD(U) will be attending an NDA meeting called in Delhi Wednesday and, Tyagi said, join the Union Cabinet if invited.

The JD(U) held its ground despite Nitish failing to draw good crowds during the election campaign. There was much talk of the party "hiding behind Narendra Modi" to fight anti-incumbency against its candidates.

But eventually, Nitish's carefully cultivated constituency — a good chunk of EBCs and Scheduled Caste Mahadalits, besides the caste-neutral constituency of women — held its faith in the man who has now been the CM of Bihar for 22 years. CM Nitish's push for a caste survey, forcing even the state BJP, when it was not a JD(U) ally, to fall behind it, also appears to have paid off at a time when the Opposition was busy making a case for caste census.

A senior JD(U) leader in Bihar said the alliance with the BJP paid off. "One must not forget that when we had contested alone in

the 2014 polls, we had got over 15% votes. When our votes combine with the BJP's, we become almost unbeatable. Wherever we lost, it was because of anti-incumbency and deft social engineering by our opponents."

Together, the two parties stood at 40% of the votes at the end of counting Tuesday. Both saw a loss in seats though, with the BJP having won 17 in 2019 and the JD(U) 16.

Tyagi told The Indian Express: "First, we congratulate Prime Minister Narendra Modi for scoring a hat-trick. As for us, the JD(U) winning 12 seats means the end of isolation and restoration of respectability of our leader Nitish Kumar, who faced attacks from different quarters during the election campaign."

Asked if the JD(U) would join a Modi government at the Centre, Tyagi confirmed attending the NDA meeting in Delhi but said "the final call on joining the Cabinet or not would be taken by Nitish Kumar".

Incidentally, the positive news for the JD(U) came a day after the party reiterated

its wish for early Assembly polls in Bihar. The party was seen as keen on pressing its advantage while the momentum of the Lok Sabha performance was with it.

Asked about this Tuesday after the results, Tyagi said this stand was in line with the JD(U)'s support for "one nation, one election", as a good move to cut expenditure on elections. "It is up to the Centre and Bihar government to decide the schedule of Assembly polls in Bihar. But it is not a priority, our top priority is formation of the next government," he said.

Pressed on whether being in a government with the BJP at the Centre meant the JD(U) would be willing to go along on contentious issues such as the Kashi and Mathura temple disputes, JD(U) leaders said they would go by courts' decision, as they have always done. Tyagi also played safe on the Uniform Civil Code, saying the party was in favour of "reformist elements" of it, while showing consideration on "sensitive" religious issues.

NDA gets 11 of 14 in Assam; Gaurav Gogoi's constituency among three wins for Congress

SUKRITA BARUAH
GUWAHATI, JUNE 4

WITH 11 victories for the NDA and three for the Congress, the distribution of Lok Sabha seats in Assam this time remained similar to that in 2019 despite the considerable changes in the boundaries and demographics of the constituencies owing to last year's delimitation exercise.

While the NDA bagged the majority of seats — the BJP is set to win nine, and its regional partners United People's Party Liberal and Asom Gana Parishad are poised for victory in Kokrajhar and Barpeta respectively — the Congress's wins will be a major morale boost for the party in a state where it has been beset by multiple setbacks.

The most significant victory for the Congress emerged from the most keenly watched contest in the state — the Upper Assam Jorhat seat, where the Congress's Gaurav Gogoi went up against the incumbent BJP MP Tapan Gogoi. Gaurav Gogoi contested in Jorhat after the seat he represented twice and his family's pocket borough — Kalibor — was drastically transformed in the delimitation exercise, and the BJP ran a particularly vigorous campaign there, led by Assam Chief Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma, who has a history of bad blood with Gogoi.

Gogoi's victory has also opened wide the dissent within a section of the Assam BJP it-



Gaurav Gogoi defeated incumbent BJP MP Tapan Gogoi in Jorhat

self. This was suggested by the fact that BJP MLA Mrinal Saikia congratulated Gogoi for his victory. "The outcome proved that money, big publicity, overdoes of leaders and arrogant speeches do not always help to win elections," Saikia had said.

It was also a Congress candidate who clinched the most resounding victory in the state, with Rakibul Hussain defeating sitting MP and AIUDF chief Badruddin Ajmal by a margin of over 9.8 lakh votes in Dhubri.

The defeat of Badruddin, who has represented the seat since 2009, was a big blow to the AIUDF, which lost all the three seats it contested. Even though the party's primary voter base is among the Bengali Muslim community, Badruddin's loss comes in a seat where Bengali Muslims make up 85 per cent of voters.

This consolidation of Bengali Muslim votes behind the Congress was also seen in another seat, Nagaon, where the incumbent Pradyut Bordoloi secured a comfortable victory despite the constituency seeing a triangular contest between the Congress, the BJP and the AIUDF.

Apart from Jorhat, the BJP retained the other seats it won in 2019. This included "Assamese heartland" seats — Darrang-Udaiguri (earlier known as Mangaldoi), Dibrugarh, Diphu (earlier Autonomous Council), Guwahati, Karimganj, Lakhimpur, Silchar, and Sonitpur (earlier Tezpur). It has additionally also won the new Kaziranga seat, which has been drawn out from the former Kaliabor seat. Despite winning a majority of seats in the state, the BJP has not performed as well as it hoped — its leaders had asserted that the NDA would win 13 out of 14 seats.

The BJP's chief campaigner in Assam, CM Sarma, hailed the outcome, saying: "The NDA has bettered its overall vote share to nearly 46 per cent, a huge jump from the 39 per cent in the 2019 Lok Sabha and 44 per cent in the 2021 Assembly elections. This we have achieved despite the 40 per cent minority population in our state."

Assam Congress chief Bhupen Borah said, "In Assam, we were fighting against two communal forces — BJP and AIUDF — and we have a moral victory by defeating the AIUDF in all seats it contested in. Jorhat was a major prestige battle and the people of Upper Assam have given a message there."

SUKRITA BARUAH
GUWAHATI, JUNE 4

THE TWO seats of Manipur do not have any major influence in shaping national outcomes in the Lok Sabha polls. However, the Congress winning these seats, both of which were formerly held by the National Democratic Alliance, is a significant political consequence of the ongoing ethnic conflict in the state.

The two seats of Manipur voted in two phases on 19 and 26 April. The voting took place days before the state marked a full year since ethnic clashes first began, killing over 200 people and displacing over 50,000.

For the state, the conflict between Meiteis — who make up most of the electorate in the Inner Manipur seat, and the Kuki-Zomis who, along with the Nagas, make up for a significant portion of the voters in the Outer Manipur seat reserved for tribal — became the focus of this election.

Both groups involved in the conflict appear to have consolidated behind the Congress owing to the widespread resentment against the BJP-led Centre and state governments' handling of the conflict.

In the Inner Manipur seat, Jawaharlal Nehru University associate professor A. Bimol Akoijam, who made his political debut this election on a Congress ticket, won by a margin of one lakh votes against the BJP's Th. Basanta Kumar Singh, a minister in the state's Biren



A year after ethnic clashes broke out in the state, Congress won both Inner and Outer Manipur seats. File

Singh cabinet.

In 2019, the seat had been won by the BJP's R.K. Ranjan Singh.

Speaking to reporters after his win, Akoijam said that the victory signified "a clear message — don't take the people of this state for granted".

"I'm here for my state. I have fought this election in the name of my state... We have a crisis. My priority is that the people (who) have been homeless for one year should go back and live a normal dignified life. This must be done. (Doing that) will be my first priority," he said.

The election campaign in Inner Manipur was largely a muted affair given the overwhelming public sentiment against it until the resolution of the ongoing crisis.

The only major public meeting for the seat was held by Union Home Minister Amit Shah. In the Outer Manipur seat, meanwhile, there were no Kuki-Zomi candidates. This was in line with the calls against contesting in the

election, given by influential Kuki-Zomi groups. As a result, all candidates in the fray were Nagas, with the two main contenders being the BJP-backed Naga People's Front's Timothy Zimik and the Congress' Alfred K. Arthur.

The Naga People's Front had won the seat in 2019.

While there was no campaigning in the Kuki-Zomi majority areas, community leaders called their voters to rally behind Alfred K. Arthur as a consensus candidate "to best represent the community". In a public statement it issued Tuesday, the umbrella group Zo United said that the election has thrown up "positive result to our favour and our participation in the largest democratic election of the world is a prove [sic] that we are true citizens of India".

"The recent election was a platform for raising one voice by Kuki-Zo community whereby we have explicitly expressed our displeasure against Manipur government," the statement goes on to add.



Congratulations @ncbn garu and @JaiTDP for the resounding victory in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly elections! May your leadership bring prosperity and progress to Andhra Pradesh...

M K STALIN, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister and DMK president

TALKING
HEADS

I have decided to stay away from contesting elections anymore... because I have lost the mood to contest polls. My decision is to stay away from public life itself for some time

CONGRESS LEADER K MURALEEDHARAN AFTER LOSING FROM THRISSUR



Congress increases vote share in Karnataka, but falls short of double digit expectations

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
BENGALURU, JUNE 4

THE RULING Congress in Karnataka even though significantly improved its vote share in the state in the 2024 Lok Sabha polls compared to its performance in the 2019 polls but the party fell short of its own expectations of winning double digits.

The Congress ended up winning nine of the total 28 Lok Sabha seats in the state — an improvement of eight seats over the 2019 results — at the cost of the BJP which dropped from 25 to 17 seats over the 2019 numbers.

The BJP's NDA ally the Janata Dal Secular won two of the three seats it contested but lost the Hassan seat — the family borough of JDS leader and former PM H D Deve Gowda — after the sitting MP and Gowda grandson, Prajwal Revanna, lost to the Congress candidate.

A controversy over alleged sexual assaults of women in the constituency by the Hassan JDS MP had emerged on the eve of polls and is widely believed to have played a role in his defeat. Revanna lost to the Congress candidate Shreyas M Patel by a margin of 42,649 votes. In 2019, Revanna had won the seat by a margin of 1.41 lakh votes under a JDS-Congress alliance.

After all the results were declared by the Election Commission, the final tally of the BJP stood at 17, its ally the JDS at 2 and the Congress at nine, in Karnataka.

The Congress registered an increase of 13.32 percentage points in its vote share in Karnataka in the 2024 Lok Sabha polls which rose from 32.11 percent in 2019 to 45.43 percent this time.

The BJP which registered 51.75 percent in 2019 saw a dip in vote share to 46.06 percent while the JDS which contested only three seats in 2024 registered 5.60 percent votes compared to the 9.74 percent votes in 2019 when it contested seven seats.

The vote share numbers for the Congress in the 2024 polls was also a three percent spike from the 42.88 percent it got in the state polls last year while the BJP improved its vote share by 10 percent from the assembly poll number of 36 percent.

Among the significant results in Karnataka was the defeat of D K Suresh, the two term MP from the Bengaluru Rural seat and brother of the state Congress president



JDS leader H D Kumaraswamy celebrates with supporters after he won the Lok Sabha election from Mandya constituency, in Bengaluru on Tuesday. PTI

and Deputy Chief Minister D K Shivakumar by the first time BJP candidate Dr C N Manjunath, the son-in-law of former PM and JDS leader H D Deve Gowda by a margin of 2.69 lakh votes.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

One of the key takeaways from the Lok Sabha polls in the state was the effective working of the JDS-BJP alliance in south Karnataka which facilitated big wins for the alliance in most seats other than the Hassan and the Chamarajanagar (SC reserved) seat.

The results also indicated a consolidation of votes of the dominant Vokkaliga community in favour of the NDA alliance in the old Mysore region on account of the JDS presence compared to the state polls when the community's votes consolidated for the Congress.

While the JDS president H D Kumaraswamy won the Mandya seat by 2.84 lakh margin, the JDS candidate Mallesh Babu won the Kolar (SC reserved) seat by 71,388 votes.

"One of the reasons for the loss (in south Karnataka) is the alliance of the BJP and JDS

in old Mysore. We did not get the seats as per our expectations. We thought we would win in Mysore and Bangalore Central and Chitradurga," Karnataka Chief Minister Siddaramaiah said.

"In Old Mysore there is a difference in the verdict from the assembly polls to the Lok Sabha polls. This used to happen earlier as well. Despite being in power there have been instances where we have had losses in the region in the past. We were hopeful of changing the situation but we could not do it," the state Congress chief D K Shivakumar said.

In what is seen as a possible reflection of the working of the Congress guarantees in Karnataka, the party won the entire chunk of five seats in the backward and impoverished Hyderabad Karnataka (Kalyana-Karnataka) region — a traditional stronghold of the party that was lost in 2019.

The victory of AICC president Mallikarjun Kharge's son-in-law Radhakrishna Doddamani in the Kharge family borough of Gulbarga by 27,205 votes was among the narrowest win margins for the Congress.

The win in Hyderabad-Karnataka for the Congress suggests a consolidation of its vote

base among the backward castes, dalits and minorities and a swing vote from women cutting across communities due to the guarantee schemes of the state government.

The party won a lone seat in the Mumbai Karnataka region in Chikkodi where the state minister Sathish Jarkiholi's daughter Priyanka defeated the sitting BJP MP Annasaheb Jolle by a margin of 90,834 votes. The BJP however prevailed again in the majority of the six seats in the Lingayat community dominated Mumbai Karnataka region.

In Bengaluru the BJP won all the three city seats like in 2019 - with Tejasvi Surya and Shobha Karandlaje registering wins with margins in excess of two lakh in Bangalore South and Bangalore Rural while P C Mohan managed a fourth term in the Lok Sabha by a narrow margin of 32,707 votes over the lone Congress Muslim candidate Mansoor Ali Khan - who was leading by over 30,000 votes until the last rounds of counting.

The BJP won two of the three seats in central Karnataka including Shimoga which re-elected former Karnataka CM B S Yediyurappa's son B Y Raghavendra by a margin of 2.43 lakh votes.

The party's performance in the Lok Sabha polls is expected to stabilize the position of CM Siddaramaiah - especially on account of DK Shivakumar's brother D K Suresh losing the Bangalore Rural seat. The increase in vote percentage and seats is likely to help the chief minister ward off any mid-term challenge for the CM's post by the party chief.

"There is no change in equations. We were expecting more seats but we have nine seats. The loss in Bengaluru Rural was unexpected. We thought we would overcome the combined strength of the BJP and JDS to win by a small margin but the margin is too high. I do not give credit to the party but to the candidate," Shivakumar said Tuesday on Congress equations.

"The voting percentage for the Congress has increased and for the BJP it has decreased. We are strong in all parts of the state that is why we have seen an increase in vote share," Siddaramaiah said after the results.

"At first glance the guarantees have worked but we have to analyse it further," he said. Targeting the BJP over their "moral loss", the CM said: "The votes were being sought in Modi's name so it is a moral defeat for BJP. I am not saying that we have done very well but it is a moral loss for the BJP."

Prajwal Revanna bites the dust, JD(S) loses family bastion for the first time in 20 years

KIRAN PARASHAR
BENGALURU, JUNE 4

FOR THE first time in 20 years, the JD(S) lost from its stronghold of Hassan with Prajwal Revanna, the sitting MP who is under arrest over cases of sexual assault, losing to Congress candidate Shreyas M Patil by 43,738 votes.

Prajwal, grandson of prime minister H D Deve Gowda and the son of former PWD minister and Holenarasipura MLA H D Revanna, was arrested on May 31 and is in the custody of the Special Investigation Team (SIT) until June 6. He had left the country on April 27, a day after Hassan voted. Two days before the voting, hundreds of pen drives had been distributed across Hassan containing more than 2,900 sex videos, allegedly recorded by the MP himself.

A police officer said Prajwal was allowed to watch television for news of the results, but walked out as his defeat appeared imminent. "Until the 10th round, there was a tight contest but after that, when it became clear that Shreyas Patil was winning, Prajwal walked out," the officer said.

While a local leader JD(S) attributed the defeat to anti-incumbency, others say the circulation of the pen drives may have had an impact on the results.

In the 2019 Lok Sabha polls, which the JD(S) contested on its own, Prajwal defeated A Manju of the BJP. A JD(S) leader in Hasan said, "Despite the BJP wave in the last Lok Sabha elections, Prajwal won by a margin of 1.41 lakh votes and he was the only JD(S) MP from the state and now, he has lost by a margin of more than 40,000 votes."

Speaking to The Indian Express, a family member of one of the rape victims said they



The MP is under arrest over cases of sexual assault

were happy with the results. "We all are happy that Prajwal Revanna lost the elections. He should also be punished for the crimes that he has committed. We don't know if we will ever be able to lead normal lives, but he should pay for the cruelty he has committed," the family member said.

Prajwal faces three sexual assault cases. His father Revanna is out on bail in a kidnap case while his mother Bhavani Revanna is absconding. Hasan has remained a JD(S) turf for over three decades, with Devegowda representing the seat since 1991, losing just once, in 1991. In 1996, Rudresh Gowda contested on a JD(S) ticket and won.

After his win on Tuesday, Congress's Shreyas M Patel, 31, told reporters, "From now on, Hassan is not the JD(S)'s bastion but the Congress. We will ensure that we will win all the seats in the next Assembly elections," said Patel, who is the grandson of the late Congress leader from Hassan, G Puttaswamy Gowda.

S Devegowda, Hassan city JD(S) president attributed the loss to the popularity of the Congress government schemes. "The pen drive issue came much after the elections. I think the guarantee schemes of the government spoiled our chances," he said. Prajwal's uncle and former CM H D Kumaraswamy said, "I can't tell you the reasons openly but in the coming days, we will rectify the problems in Hassan."

THE KERALA STORY

Cong-led United Democratic Front sweeps state but BJP scripts history

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, JUNE 4

THE CONGRESS-LED United Democratic Front in Kerala may have retained 18 out of 20 Lok Sabha seats but it was the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) that scripted history by winning its first ever Lok Sabha seat in the state.

Ruling CPI(M), which hoped to cash in on the BJP scare created among minorities, could win only a seat. Meanwhile, the Left could not wrest back many of its traditional strongholds which Congress had conquered in the 2019 elections.

In a major upset, BJP candidate and former Rajya Sabha member Suresh Gopi won Thrissur with a margin of 74,000 votes, beating his two heavyweight rivals — senior Congress leader K. Muraliedharan and CPI's V.S. Sunil Kumar. This is the first time that the BJP has secured a seat in the state, which has traditionally seen a two-way fight between the UDF and the LDF.

For the CPI(M), the only saving grace came from Alathur, which its senior leader and former state minister K. Radhakrishnan wrested from sitting Congress MP Ramya Haridas. CPI(M)'s lone sitting MP A.M. Ariff too lost Alappuzha to Congress general secretary K.C. Venugopal. Within the UDF, Congress allies Indian Union Muslim League (IUML), regional Christian party Kerala Congress and Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) also managed to win seats. While the IUML fought, and won, two seats while both Kerala Congress and the RSP scored a seat each.

In contrast, CPI (M)'s allies CPI and Kerala Congress (M) drew a blank.



Congress leader and UDF candidate from Thiruvananthapuram constituency Shashi Tharoor celebrates after winning the Lok Sabha elections on Tuesday. PTI

One of the most closely watched contests in the state was in Thiruvananthapuram, where, although he lost his maiden election, Union minister Rajeev Chandrasekhar reduced sitting MP Shashi Tharoor's victory margin to 15,000 votes from 99,000 in 2019.

In Attingal, another Union minister, V. Muraliedharan, lost the race to Congress sitting MP Adoor Prakash. Despite the defeat, however, the BJP's vote share went up this election, going to 3.11 lakh from 2.48 lakh in 2019. Other prominent winners from Kerala include former Congress president Rahul Gandhi (Wayanad), K. Sudhakaran (Kannur), Kodikunnil Suresh (Mavelikara), and N. K. Premachandran (Kollam).

Significant among those who lost are CPI(M) politburo member A. Vijayaraghavan (Palakkad), central committee members Elamaram Kareem (Kozhikode), Thomas Isaac (Pathanamthitta) and K.K. Shailaja (Vadakara). Most UDF winners have been able to either retain their earlier victory margin or increase their lead, indicating it was a landslide mandate on the ground. In the Left bastion of Vadakara, Congress' Shafi Parambil won the seat by a margin of 1.14 lakh votes.

The only exception to this was in Wayanad, where Congress leader Rahul Gandhi's margin came down to 3.64 lakh from 4.31 lakh in 2019. Despite this, Gandhi secured 59.69 percent of the votes polled.

As BJP breaches Kerala bastion, who is Suresh Gopi, party's Thrissur nominee?

SHAJU PHILIP
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, JUNE 4

THRISSUR NJAN edukkuva (I am taking Thrissur), Enikku venom Thriissur (I want Thrissur). That's the slogan with which BJP's Thrissur candidate, actor-politician Suresh Gopi, led his election campaign this time. And it appears to have worked.

Gopi, a Malayalam movie star, registered victory in Kerala's Thrissur constituency by gathering 4,12,338 votes. Gopi defeated VS Sunilkumar of the Communist Party of India by 74,686 votes.

This is the first time that the BJP could clinch a Lok Sabha seat in Kerala, a state thus far elusive to the party. Thrissur is one of the seats that the BJP has been focusing on this election.

For 65-year-old Gopi too, this win is significant: not only did he lose the parliamentary seat to Congress's T. N. Prathapan in the 2019 Lok Sabha, but he also unsuccessfully fought the 2021 Kerala assembly polls from here.

It was in October 2016 — months after he joined the BJP — that the party nominated Gopi to Rajya Sabha. Since then, Gopi had been one of the party's star campaigners in Kerala and could attract huge crowds due to his tinsel-town image.

As a result, despite having finished the 2019 polls third behind the Congress-led United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Left Democratic Front, he created ripples in that election.

Thrissur is one of the few seats in Kerala



BJP candidate from Thrissur Suresh Gopi won with 4,12,338 votes.

where the BJP was hoping for a three-cornered contest in the state's otherwise bipolar politics.

This was because, in 2019, Gopi secured 8.2 percent vote share — a significant increase from the 11.15 percent that senior BJP leader K. P. Sreesan secured in 2014, showing that his "star" status could help the party consolidate votes.

In 2021 assembly polls, too, Gopi showed similar promise — although he finished third, he scored 31.3 per cent of votes, up from 19.46 percent the party managed in 2016.

For Gopi, the victory in the Lok Sabha polls comes on the back of his relentless vote outreach programmes. The BJP is also

It was in October 2016 — months after he joined the BJP — that the party nominated Gopi to Rajya Sabha. Since then, he had been one of BJP's star campaigners in Kerala and could attract crowds due to his tinsel-town image

banking on the constituency's significant Christian votes in Thrissur, which are estimated to be just over 24 percent of the total electorate, and Prime Minister Narendra Modi's several public events and roadshows to push them over the finish line.

Gopi got his first break in the Malayalam film industry as a child artiste in the 1965 movie 'Odayil Ninnu'. As an adult, he gained attention by playing a minor character in the 1986 movie 'T. P. Balagopalan M' before eventually becoming one of the Malayalam industry's action stars in the 1990s.

He's done 250-odd films during his career, mainly in Malayalam.

In September 2023, Gopi was nominated as the president of Kolkata-based Satyajit Ray Film & Television Institute (SRFTI) and chairman of its governing council.

A month later, he was booked for sexual harassment after a female journalist accused him of putting his hand on her shoulder while answering a question during a media interaction in Kozhikode.





The situation (result) is surprising. We never imagined that the outcome of the elections would be like this. We will accept people's verdict and will always be with the people to do good

JAGAN MOHAN REDDY, YSRCP chief and outgoing Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister

TALKING
HEADS

It was a tight fight till the very end. I must congratulate both Rajeev Chandrasekhar and Pannian Ravindran on having fought such a good battle and having improved their parties' performance so strongly here

SHASHI THAROOR, Congress leader and Thiruvananthapuram MP



ANDHRA
PRADESH

25
SEATS



TDP
16



BJP
3



YSRCP
4

JANASENA PARTY: 2

TELANGANA

17
SEATS



BJP
8



CONG
8



AIMIM
1

Congress, BJP share Telangana honours, BRS out of Lok Sabha

The BJP doubled its tally to 8 while Congress rose from 3 to 8; AIMIM retains Hyderabad with a huge majority

REENIVAS JANYALA
HYDERABAD, JUNE 4

BAD NEWS continued to roll in for the Bharat Rashtra Samithi (BRS) in Telangana barely five months after the shock loss in the Assembly elections as the party drew a blank in the Lok Sabha polls even as the BJP seemingly occupied its space in the state's political landscape.

The honours for the state's 17 Lok Sabha seats were shared between the Congress and BJP, which won eight seats each while the Asaduddin Owaisi-led AIMIM retained its bastion of Hyderabad.

The BRS, which had been in power in Telangana for the last decade before the Congress defeated it in Assembly elections in November 2023, had won nine Lok Sabha seats in 2019, when the BJP won four and the Congress three in the state. The AIMIM had also won one seat.

In November's Assembly elections, the BRS's seats in the Assembly went down from 104 to 39. It also lost several of its senior leaders, including sitting MPs, who jumped ship.

The BJP, which won four seats (Adilabad, Karimnagar, Nizamabad and Secunderabad) in 2019 not only retained them but doubled its tally by adding Malkajgiri, Chevella, Medak and Mahabubnagar (currently BJP candidate D K Aruna leading by 4,500 votes).

Four BJP leaders who lost last year's Assembly polls won their respective Lok Sabha seats. Sitting Karimnagar MP Bandi Sanjay, who unsuccessfully contested the Assembly polls from the Karimnagar City seat, retained his seat with a over 2 lakh margin while Dharmapuri Aravind, who lost the Korutla Assembly polls, retained the



Women supporters celebrate BJP's victory in Telanagana on Tuesday. PTI

Nizamabad Lok Sabha seat. Former BJP MLA M Raghunandan Rao, who lost the Assembly polls from Dubbak, won the Medak Lok Sabha seat, considered to be a BRS bastion.

Etala Rajender, who lost the Assembly polls from Huzurabad and Gajwel, won by 3.91 lakh votes from Malkajgiri, a seat which was vacated by Chief Minister A Revanth Reddy upon his election as MLA. He defeated his nearest rival Patnam Sunitha Reddy of the Congress. Meanwhile, BRS turncoat Godam Nagesh retained the Adilabad seat for the BJP,

which had replaced sitting MP Soyam Babu Rao. Similarly, another former BRS leader K Vishveshwar Reddy, who is one of the richest candidates in India and contested on a BJP ticket, won the Chevella seat beating sitting MP G Ranjit Reddy.

A neck and neck contest was going on between BJP's D K Aruna and Congress' C Vamshichand Reddy in Mahbubnagar.

The Congress, which had unseated the BRS in the Assembly elections winning 64 of the 119 seats, too improved its tally to eight

from three in 2019. Its candidate in Nalgonda K Raghuvver won by a margin of over 5 lakh votes while the party retained the Bhongir Lok Sabha seat. It wrested the seats of Zahirabad, Nagarkurnool, Warangal, Mahabubabad and Khammam from the BRS.

The Congress's good show is being perceived as a shot in the arm for the CM, who switched from the TDP only around six years ago, as he faces hurdles arising out of the many "power centres" within the party. The Congress's good show in the state is likely to

make him more powerful and fortify his position within the party.

Meanwhile, Owaisi retained the Hyderabad seat for the fifth consecutive time defeating nearest rival K Madhavi Latha of the BJP by over 3.3 lakh votes. The contest hogged the limelight after Latha drew attention, especially on social media, but she landed in a row in April after a video showed her symbolically aiming an arrow in the direction of a mosque. She later apologised and claimed an incomplete video was circulated.

TDP leads NDA's decimation of Jagan Reddy-led YSRCP

REENIVAS JANYALA
HYDERABAD, JUNE 4

FROM BEING almost written off months before the polls, the Telugu Desam Party (TDP)-led alliance, comprising Pawan Kalyan's Jana Sena Party (JSP) and BJP, on Tuesday handed the ruling YSR Congress (YSRCP) a drubbing, restricting it to 11 seats, down from the 151 it won in 2019.

While the TDP won 136 Assembly seats, the JSP and BJP emerged victorious in 21 and eight seats respectively. The Jagan Mohan Reddy-led YSRCP also put up a poor show in the Lok Sabha polls, which were held simultaneously with the Assembly polls, winning only four (Kadapa, Araku, Tirupati and Rajampet) of the 25 seats on offer. The TDP on the other hand won 16 seats while its allies won three (BJP) and two (JSP) respectively.

The anti-incumbency was evident in the results as Jagan was the only Cabinet member who managed to retain his seat in Pulivendla even as 26 of his ministers tasted defeat.

In Kuppam, TDP supremo Chandrababu Naidu secured a comfortable victory while Kalyan defeated sitting Kakinada MP Vanga Geetha by over 70,000 votes. Naidu's son and TDP general secretary Nara Lokesh, who is credited with reviving the party with his Yuva Galam padyatra, won the Mangalagiri seat, which he had lost in 2019.

In the Amalapuram Lok Sabha seat, G Harish Balayogi, the son of former Lok Sabha Speaker G M C Balayogi, defeated nearest rival Rapaka Varaprasada Rao of the YSRCP while K Ram Mohan Naidu retained his Sriakulam seat. In the battle of siblings in Vijayawada, Kesineni Sivanath (Chinni) trumped his older brother Kesineni Srinivas (Nani).

The YSRCP headquarters in Tadepalle on the outskirts of Vijayawada wore a deserted look as supporters who had gathered there began to leave gradually as the trends started trickling in and showed the TDP's dominance in all districts. The party secured leads in 42 of the 54 Assembly segments in the



TDP supporters celebrate amid counting in Hyderabad on Tuesday. PTI

Royalaseema region, seen to be a bastion of the YSRCP.

On the other hand, NDA cadres and supporters broke out into celebrations, taking to the streets and bursting crackers. Naidu, who arrived at the TDP headquarters in Mangalagiri in the evening, received a rapturous welcome.

Late in the evening, Jagan conceded defeat and said the results came as a surprise. "My government gave funds to mothers to encourage them to keep kids in schools. We took care of lakhs of elderly and physically disabled people but they too appear to have ditched us. I have implemented the manifesto and poll promises like no one has ever before. We have tried to empower women and ensure social justice. In spite of giving so many benefits to crores of people, we have been reduced to this. I do not know what happened, only God knows. I will al-

ways be there to do good for the people, be a voice for the voiceless and will remain in touch with the poor and needy. I congratulate Chandrababu Naidu and Pawan Kalyan," he said in a statement.

Even as YSRCP insiders attributed the crushing defeat to Jagan's excessive focus on welfare schemes and neglect of governance, political observers pointed out that Naidu's arrest (in September last year), the lack of industries and investments brought to the state during Jagan's tenure led to his downfall.

The TDP and JSP, which had announced an alliance, following the TDP chief's arrest and had been working towards strengthening their grassroots connections, received a boost when the BJP joined their alliance earlier this year. Naidu's arrest also seemed to generate sympathy among the people and showcased Jagan's "high-handedness".

How tide turned in Naidu favour

REENIVAS JANYALA
HYDERABAD, JUNE 4

THE TELUGU Desam Party (TDP) and its allies, the JanaSena Party (JSP) of Pawan Kalyan and BJP, are headed for a landslide in Andhra Pradesh, in what is a complete reversal of the 2019 results. This is quite a turnaround for the TDP-led alliance, which was almost written off months before the elections after its chief N Chandrababu Naidu's arrest.

Why has YSRCP been decimated?

Jagan seemed to have lost focus on governance issues in trying to implement his nine welfare schemes, dubbed Navaratnalu (nine gems), which he had promised during his padyatra ahead of the 2019 polls.

In doing so, the CM seems to have overlooked the demands of the large majority of the population, who sought employment, civic infrastructure and development. In its five years in power, the YSRCP government failed to draw any big investments or initiate new projects in the state.

What worked for the NDA?

Jagan preferring welfare scheme implementation over governance resulted in massive dissent against local elected representatives of the YSRCP, which was seemingly exploited by the alliance. Naidu and Kalyan addressed dozens of public meetings while assuring people that they would tackle unemployment and the lack of industrial development. Naidu went to the extent of telling people that he wanted welfare plus development for the state.

The alliance also seems to have bridged the Kamma-Kapu divide and consolidate votes of the traditional rivals in its favour.

What other factors dented the YSRCP?

The non-existence of a capital, 10 years af-



TDP supporters celebrate amid counting in Hyderabad on Tuesday. PTI

ter the state was bifurcated, seems to have played on the minds of the voters.

In a bid to take the credit away from Naidu, who in 2014 had announced Amaravati as truncated Andhra Pradesh's capital, Jagan floated the three-capital theory but failed to make headway in implementing the proposal.

The attitude of the volunteers, who were recruited by the YSRCP government to ensure doorstep delivery of the state government's welfare schemes, was another factor at play with several complaints of high-handedness against them. Some volunteers allegedly threatened people of losing benefits if they did not swear allegiance to the YSRCP.

Did beneficiaries not vote for Jagan?

Several reports emerged of beneficiaries receiving lesser benefits than they were entitled to and a few others being left out completely. Also a section of the voters who had

chosen Jagan in 2019 out of sympathy seem to have ditched him this time.

The underlying sentiment that a majority of the state's funds were being spent to dole out cash benefits also seems to have worked against Jagan, who had several times in rallies said his government had rolled out Rs 3.5 lakh crore for DBT. The eligible beneficiaries who did not get the benefits were left wondering where the money had gone.

What is the road ahead for the TDP and Andhra?

Naidu's immediate tasks would include taking stock of the state's fiscal situation and initiating appropriate measures to bring it back on track. He also needs to ensure funds for the schemes – "Babu Super Six" – which he has promised in the manifesto.

The rebuilding of the capital in Amaravati will also be one of the priorities of the TDP-led government.



People of the country have voted for an NDA government headed by Narendra Modi as the prime minister once again due to unprecedented development carried out during the last ten years. He has given a strong and stable government

PUSHKAR SINGH DHAMI, Uttarakhand Chief Minister

TALKING
HEADS

People are God to me, and serving them is like ‘puja’. They have given me so much love... I will keep serving people till I am alive. This is an expression of admiration and belief of people in PM Modi

SHIVRAJ SINGH CHOUHAN, Former CM and BJP LS candidate from Vidisha



UTTARAKHAND

{ 5
SEATS



BJP
5



CONG
0

MADHYA
PRADESH

{ 29
SEATS



BJP
29



INC
0



BSP
0

CPI(M): 1, IND: 3

Anil Baluni among winners as BJP bags all five seats in Uttarakhand

The performance comes despite problems such as unemployment, migration and Agnipath scheme

AVANEESH MISHRA
DEHRADUN, JUNE 4

UNLIKE ITS performance on the national level, the BJP swept Uttarakhand by winning all five seats, mirroring its stellar own performance from the 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections.

For the BJP, its Uttarakhand performance comes as a silver lining. The party, which is aiming to secure an ambitious third term under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has won 240 — notably shy of a simple majority mark of 272.

The Uttarakhand performance also comes despite problems such as unemployment, migration, paper leaks, and the controversial Agnipath scheme dominating the state's political discourse this election season.

BJP's sitting MP Mala Rajya Laxmi Shah won Tehri Garhwal 4.62 lakh votes against the Congress's Jot Singh Gunsola. This was the sitting MP's third consecutive win. In 2019, Shah, a member of the erstwhile Garhwal Kingdom, beat senior Congress leader Pritam Singh by over 3 lakh votes.

Meanwhile, after a brief lead in the early trends, independent candidate Bobby Panwar is now trailing in the third place.

In Garhwal, BJP national chief spokesperson Anil Baluni, who contested his first Lok Sabha election, defeated former Congress state president Ganesh Godiyal by over 4.32 lakh votes. In 2019, Uttarakhand's ex-chief minister Tirath Singh Rawat won the seat for the BJP by beating the Congress leader Manish Khanduri. Khanduri joined the BJP in March, just before the general election was



In Garhwal, BJP national chief spokesperson Anil Baluni contested his first Lok Sabha election. *File*

announced.

In Almora, sitting BJP MP Ajay Tamta defeated Congress's Pradeep Tamta by over 4.29 lakh votes. In 2019, Ajay defeated Pradeep by a margin of over 2.32 lakh votes.

Likewise, BJP's sitting MP Ajay Bhatt, who beat former CM Harish Rawat in 2019, won Nainital's Uddham Singh Nagar seat by over 3.34 lakh votes. He defeated Congress's former national secretary Prakash Joshi.

In Haridwar, former CM Trivendra Singh Rawat defeated Harish Rawat's son Virendra by over 6.53 lakh votes. In 2019, former CM Ramesh Pokhriyal 'Nishank' won this seat for the BJP.

Congress's state media in-charge Garima Mehra Dasauni, another factor was that senior party leaders like Harish Rawat, Pritam Singh, and Yashpal Arya sat out the election.

Significantly, although the state's Congress unit had been pushing Harish Rawat to contest the polls from Haridwar, the

former chief minister recommended his son's name for the seat.

"The early phase of the elections worked against us because momentum started shifting in our favour only in the later phases. Our manifesto and guarantees also took some time to reach the public," Dasauni told The Indian Express.

The BJP, meanwhile, credited the victory in part to the strategy drawn up by its state president Mahendra Bhatt. "This big victory has great significance in the interest of the state. Uninterrupted development works will gain momentum in the state and Uttarakhand will become the best state in the country under the leadership of Chief Minister Pushkar Singh Dhami," the party media in-charge Manveer Singh Chauhan said.

'Narrowed margins'

According to data from the Election

Commission of India, the BJP secured 56.81% of votes — a slight decline from the 61.01% votes it secured in 2019. Meanwhile, the Congress's vote share went up marginally to 32.83% votes from 31.4% in 2019.

Congress state president Karan Mahara said the outcome would have been different if the election had been held later and if senior leaders of the party had contested. "Yashpal Arya ji should have contested from the Almora seat, Pritam Singh from Tehri Garhwal, and either Harak Singh Rawat, Harish Rawat, or I should have contested from Haridwar. If that had happened, the results would have been different," he said.

While addressing party workers, Chief Minister Pushkar Singh Dhami called the NDA's performance "historic" and said people of the country had given it a record third mandate. "The people of Uttarakhand had previously dispelled the myth of frequent government changes. Now, for the third time,



Madhya Pradesh CM Mohan Yadav, former CM Shivraj Singh Chouhan, and others celebrate the BJP's victory in the elections, in Bhopal on Tuesday. *PTI*

MADHYA PRADESH

Demolishing Congress's stronghold, BJP scripts clean sweep with win in 29/29 seats

ANAND MOHAN J
BHOPAL, JUNE 4

THE BJP not only made a clean sweep in all the 29 Lok Sabha seats in Madhya Pradesh, it even wrested former Chief Minister and senior Congress leader Kamal Nath's stronghold, Chhindwara, which has remained elusive for the ruling party for decades.

The BJP's win in the 2023 assembly elections when it got a landslide majority of 163 seats was a shot in the arm for the party's political prospects in the state.

The BJP did not allow the Congress, now steered by state president Jitu Patwari, any breathing space as it went onto induct several thousand leaders to its fold stitching the narrative of the opposition party boycotting the Ram Mandir consecration ceremony, a move seen as a disaster by many Congress leaders considering the state mostly comprises socially conservative voters.

Reacting to the party's defeat, Congress President Jitu Patwari told The Indian Express, "It was natural that we would find it difficult to give a strong challenge (to the BJP). We are working towards building our organisation."

The BJP while focusing on strengthening its hold over tribal seats with the help of its welfare schemes also didn't shy away from playing the identity politics card, celebrating tribal icons and renaming important infrastructure and universities after them.

The massive beneficiary outreach programmes helped the BJP win the tribal-dominated seats such as Shahdol, Mandla, Balaghat, Chhindwara and Betul by the margins of over

1 lakh votes.

One of the main seats where the Congress will feel the pinch of defeat is Chhindwara from where party veteran Kamal Nath's son Nakul Nath lost to BJP's Bunty Vivek Sahu by a margin of 1,13,618 votes.

In the north of the state, Union Civil Aviation Minister Jyotiraditya Scindia won back his family seat of Guna. In 2019, Scindia had lost to his former loyalist and the BJP candidate KP Yadav, by a margin of 1,25,549 votes. This set off a series of events which resulted in the royal scion eventually leaving the Congress and defecting to the BJP with 22 MLAs, bringing down the Kamal Nath-led Congress. With Scindia winning by a margin of 5,40,929 votes and also helping the party hold on its own in the assembly elections in the politically crucial Gwalior-Chambal region, Scindia's loyalists expect him to further rise in the BJP ranks.

Meanwhile, the principal opponent of the Gwalior royal family— the Raghogarh royal family and its royal scion, Digvijaya Singh (77) lost his last election. Singh contested in this election on an emotional platform pegging this as his last one. Now, his son and Raghogarh MLA Jaivardhan Singh is expected to take over the reins as the state politics may have seen the last of Kamal Nath and Digvijaya Singh era.

In the central regions of the state, former Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chouhan won by a margin of over 8 lakh votes from his home base in Vidisha. Singh, the longest serving CM of the state, was promised by Prime Minister Narendra Modi that he wanted to take Chouhan with him to Delhi. With the BJP now depending on its allies, all eyes will be on Delhi to see how Chouhan will be accommodated.

Personal phone calls from CM, booth planning: How BJP won Chhindwara

The bastion of veteran Congress leader Kamal Nath was the only seat not won by BJP last time in MP

ANAND MOHAN J
BHOPAL, JUNE 4

THE BJP bettered its sweep of Madhya Pradesh in 2019 by picking up the sole seat it had lost in 2019, the bastion of former chief minister and veteran Congress leader Kamal Nath. His son Nakul Nath lost from Chhindwara to the BJP's Bunty Vivek Sahu by a margin of over 1 lakh votes.

After holding a meeting with state Congress president Jitu Patwari, Nath stated that he accepted the "decision of the people".

Sahu ran the election on the plank of 'Chhindwara ka Beta' vs 'Kamal Nath ka Beta'.

Nath had won nine times from Chhindwara — his family turf — between 1980 and 2019, when Nakul won the seat. The BJP had won 28 of the Lok Sabha seats in Madhya Pradesh, losing Chhindwara by 37,536 votes.

On the face of it, the last-minute resignation of the three-time tribal MLA from Amarwara, Kamlesh Shah, and the subsequent dent in the tribal votes, was a major factor behind the loss of Nakul.

However, beneath the surface was a BJP machinery that kept humming even after its landslide victory in the recent Assembly elections when the party ended up with 163 seats in the state. This included effective booth management, feedback teams, nukkad sabhas, personal phone calls from Chief Minister Mohan Yadav, and disseminating the party's message with the help of

women callers helped turn the tide in BJP's favor.

Reacting to the win, BJP state secretary and state in-charge booth management Rajneesh Agrawal told The Indian Express, "We won Chhindwara because we have been working hard there for decades. Finally our day has come. We won the seat through effective booth management and by setting up supervisory and feedback teams. Also, the central leadership personally intervened and took stock of the monthly targets."

The beneficiaries of government schemes were the biggest target of the state BJP across the 64,523 booths in Madhya Pradesh.

"Each booth level worker was asked to work for 2 hours for 10 days in a single booth. Regular meetings of booth committees and resident workers' representatives at booth level were also held to discuss strategies, induct new members, maintain contact with the SC, ST and OBC community," Agarwal said. As part of the village visits campaign, party leaders said a strategy was made for 4,866 villages deemed weak where "more than 5,300 social meetings of different societies" were held and the senior BJP leaders were in direct touch with "more than 6 lakh people".

Another arsenal with the BJP was its call centers set up in 21 places at the Lok Sabha level in the state. According to the BJP, "1 crore 64 lakh 85 thousand 560 phone calls were made through the entire system of Lok Sabha dialogue centers." A total of 2,175 complaints were received which were resolved.

Lotus blooms in Himachal as BJP wins all 4 LS seats

SAURABH PARASHAR
SHIMLA, JUNE 4

REPEATING ITS 2019 performance in the parliamentary polls, the BJP Tuesday won all four Lok Sabha seats of Himachal Pradesh.

The BJP's Kangana Ranaut, who made her debut in the electoral politics, won Mandi parliamentary seat with a margin of 74,755 votes, defeating state PWD minister and sitting MLA from Shimla (Rural) Vikramaditya Singh.

Interestingly, Kangana took the lead from round number 1 which started with the vote count in Rampur (SC) Assembly, which is considered the bastion of royal family of Rampur Bushahr. Kanagna bagged 5,37,022 votes while Vikramaditya got 4,62,267 votes. In 2019, the Mandi seat was won by BJP candidate Ram Swaroop Sharma, who died in 2021, leading to bypoll which was won by Pratibha Singh, mother of Vikramaditya Singh and wife of six-time chief minister Virbhadra Singh, with a margin of 8,766 votes.

Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting Anurag Thakur won Hamirpur parliamentary seat for a consecutive fifth time with a margin of 1,82,357 votes. He secured 6,07,068 votes which were 75,244 votes less than last time. In 2019, he had received 6,82,292 votes. Congress candidate Satpal Raizada, who fought against Anurag Thakur, got 4,24,711 votes.

Former Union minister and four-time Rajya Sabha member Anand Sharma lost to the BJP's Dr Rajeev Bhardwaj by a margin of 2,51,895 from Kangra parliamentary seat. Dr Bhardwaj received 6,32,793 votes while Sharma got 3,80,898 votes.

Congress's Vinod Sultanpuri from Shimla (SC) lost to the BJP's Suresh Kumar Kashyap by 90,548 votes. Vinod Sultanpuri is a sitting MLA from Kasauli Assembly seat. He is the son of six-time MP from Shimla (SC) KD Sultanpuri.

State BJP president Dr Rajeev Bindal congratulated all the winning candidates. He said, "Today again Congress's Chief Minister Sukhvinder Singh Sukhu was defeated. The credit of this landslide victory goes to PM Narendra Modi. We will soon form the government in the state too."

Baghel, 3 former ministers lose as Cong claims just 1 of 11 seats in Chhattisgarh

JAYPRAKASH S NAIDU
RAIPUR, JUNE 4

THE BJP in Chhattisgarh won 10 of the 11 Lok Sabha seats, while the Congress secured just one seat as the former bettered its performance from the 2019 parliamentary elections when it had won nine seats. Among the winners three are women.

Former chief minister Bhupesh Baghel was among the Congress heavyweights who lost, with sitting BJP MP Santosh Pandey retaining his seat by nearly 44,411 votes in the Rajnandgaon seat.

However, Baghel who lost his third Lok Sabha election, brought down the vote gap between the two parties which was 1.11 lakh in 2019 in Rajnandgaon.

Also, three former minister Tamradhwaj Sahu, Kawasi Lakhma and Shivkumar Dahariya lost the election.

The only reprieve for the party came when sitting MP Jyotsana Mahant, wife of former Union Minister and present leader of opposition in assembly Charan Das Mahant, retained her Korba seat, winning by 43,283 votes against BJP's heavyweight Saroj Pandey, a vice president in the party and a former parliamentarian in both the Houses.

In Korba, one of the factors which worked for the Congress is said to be a narrative that Pandey is an "outsider" while Mahant family has roots in the constituency.

Chintamani Maharaj who won from Sarguja was a two-time Congress MLA who joined the BJP last year after being denied an assembly ticket.

Chief Minister Vishnu Deo Sai expressed his happiness at the BJP's performance in the state. "The counting is underway, so let it end first... our performance in some states has been a bit bad but, in other states like Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, and Telangana, it has been good... Several of our leaders campaigned in Odisha, and the magic of (Prime Minister Narendra) Modi's guarantee and our manifesto worked in our favour," he said.

The INDIA bloc, he said, "relied on lies like 'reservation will end (if BJP comes to power) and the Constitution is under threat'. I feel



Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Vishnu Deo Sai with other leaders as the party celebrates its victory. *X/@BJP4CGState*

their lies had some effect (on the result)."

The BJP, riding high on their recent Assembly polls victory in December 2023, won all the four tribal-reserved seats of Sarguja, Raigarh, Kanker and Bastar and also won the one Scheduled Caste reserved seat, Janjgir-Champa.

The BJP's victory margins were also big in most of the seats, with the party's leader Brijmohan Agrawal creating a state wide record of winning by highest margin of over 5.75 lakh in Raipur.

Similarly, the BJP got 4.38 lakh votes in Durg, 2.4 lakh in Raigarh, 1.64 lakh in Bilaspur, and 1.45 lakh in Mahasamund. Even in Janjgir-Champa seat, despite the Congress winning all eight Assembly segments there last year, the BJP was comfortably won by a margin of 60,000 votes.

On the other hand, in Kanker, the BJP's Bhojraj Nag won by a wafer-thin margin of 1,884 votes against Brijesh Thakur who had lost the seat in 2019 by 6,914 votes.

Like in Kanker, similar spoilsport was

seen in Korba where Gondwana Ganatantra Party (GGP) a tribal party polled 48,567 votes more than Congress lead of 43,263.

Similarly in Bastar, where BJP lead by 55,245 votes, about 35,887 people voted for Communist Party of India (CPI) and another 36,758 voted for NOTA option and 19,647 voted for BSP.

Since its formation in 2000, Chhattisgarh has seen a bipolar contest between the BJP and the Congress, with the BJP winning 10 of the 11 seats in three consecutive Lok Sabha polls between 2004 and 2014, while in 2019 the BJP won nine despite facing a massive defeat in the 2018 Assembly elections, in which it won just 15 of the 90 seats.

The ten winners from BJP are Pandey from Rajnandgaon, Chintamani Maharaj from Sarguja, Kamlesh Jangde from Janjgir Champa, Vijay Baghel from Durg, Mahesh Kashyap from Bastar, Radheshyam Rathia from Raigarh, Roop Kumar Choudhary from Mahasamund, Agrawal from Raipur and BJP's Tokhan Sahu from Bilaspur.



We accept the 'lok fatwa' given by the Punjabis in Lok Sabha elections...Public service and development works will continue

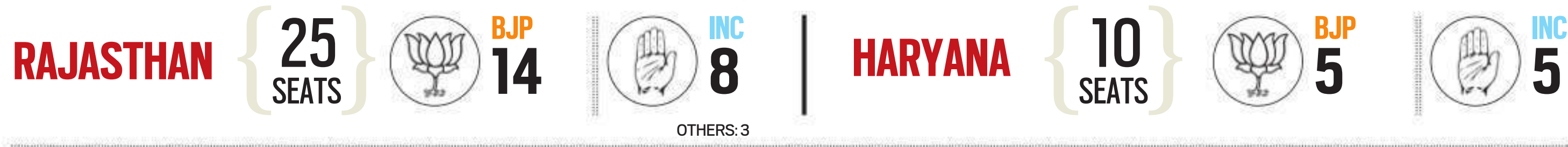
BHAGWANT MANN, Punjab Chief Minister

TALKING HEADS

Dear family members of Karnal, This is the victory of all of you, this is the victory of your resolve, your dreams and your conviction. I am overwhelmed by the love and blessings you have showered on me

MANOHAR LAL KHATTAR, former chief minister, BJP leader





Congress back from brink in Rajasthan

HAMZA KHAN
JAIPUR, JUNE 4

AFTER BEING wiped out from Rajasthan in two straight Lok Sabha elections, the Congress has breached the BJP stronghold and surpassed its own expectations in the process.

Rajasthan had given all 25 Lok Sabha seats to the BJP and the NDA in 2014 and 2019, respectively. This time, Congress won eight seats and its three alliance partners were victorious in a seat each. The BJP swept up the remaining 14. The last time Congress won a Lok Sabha seat in Rajasthan was in 2009, when it won 20 seats and the party formed the second UPA government under Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. While the official stance of the Congress was that it would win 12-13 seats, its leaders were hopeful of winning 5-6 seats. Poll punters, too, were willing to give Congress a maximum of seven seats on its own.

Although final figures were yet to come in, compared to 2019, BJP registered a vote share dip of around 9 per cent, with Congress and its three allies gaining about a similar percentage. The BJP was banking on Prime Minister Narendra Modi's appeal, the Ram Temple construction, removal of Article 370 from Jammu and Kashmir, a perception about India's "powerful" image abroad, rallies by party heavyweights and a consolidation of its power through inductions from other parties.

The Congress, meanwhile, was relying on Jat anger against BJP, anti-incumbency and coalitions to dent BJP's aim to win all 25 seats from the state for the third time.

Apart from the Jat-dominated Shekhawati region, the Congress performed well in the eastern Rajasthan pockets dominated by the Gujar-Meena communities and Scheduled Castes (SC). In Shekhawati, the Congress wasted no time in fielding BJP rebel Rahul Kaswan, a Jat, from Churu. The sitting MP had been denied a ticket by the BJP.

As BJP's seven-term former MLA Rajendra Rathore, a Rajput, made it a battle of prestige here, the election was sharply di-



Rajasthan Congress chief Govind Singh Dotasra with party leaders in Jaipur, on Tuesday. Rohit Jain Paras

vided along caste lines in the region and had reverberations beyond: In Barmer, Congress's Ummeda Ram, a Jat, won against Ravindra Bhati, a Rajput, even though Jat vote was divided between Ummeda Ram and BJP's sitting Union Minister Kailash Choudhary. Five of the Congress-led alliance's winning candidates are Jats, while three each are from Scheduled Tribes (STs) and SCs. Moreover, Congress state chief Govind Singh Dotasra—who hails from Sikar in the Jat heartland—has carved out his own image over the last year or so, separate from former chief minister Ashok Gehlot.

A number of additional factors, too,

seemed to have worked for Congress—unrest among farmers, the anger over the Agniveer scheme, the denial of CM or deputy CM post to a Jat leader and the sidelining of "Jat ki bahu" Vasundhara Raje as well as former BJP state chief Satish Poonia, the party's first and only Jat state president. As a result, the Opposition party was comfortable in Sikar, Churu, Jhunjhunu and Nagaur seats.

In eastern Rajasthan, the Gujar-Meena combine again worked in favour of the Congress after more than five years. In the 2023 Assembly polls, too, the Congress had performed fairly well in the region but nowhere close to 2018, when the BJP was al-

most swept away from the region.

On Tuesday, Congress's Harish Chandra Meena won from Tonk-Sawai Madhopur, Murari Lal Meena from Dausa, Bhajan Lal Jatav from Karauli-Dholpur and Sanjana Jatav from Bharatpur. The region is considered a stronghold of Sachin Pilot and BJP cabinet minister Kirodi Lal Meena. Much was at stake for both leaders, with Meena even stating that he would resign if BJP loses Dausa.

Later, he said that if the BJP lost any of the seven seats in eastern Rajasthan he would resign. With Congress winning four of these, Meena hinted on social media site X that he would indeed resign.

'We took up people's issues, got rewarded'

SACHIN PILOT speaks to **MANOJ CG** about what worked for his Congress party and what did not for the BJP which kept talking about *mandir, masjid* and *mangalsutra* and how opinion polls did not reflect the reality on the ground. Excerpts:

Let's all wait for the last vote to be counted and then come to some kind of conclusion. But it is very clear that this is a vote against the government. The perception, the wind, the mood, the atmosphere are all certainly against the ruling dispensation.

There seems to be a message in the mandate for the BJP. But the people still chose the NDA perhaps because of a lack of credible alternative. Do you agree?

First you have to give credit to the enhanced numbers that the Congress and its allies have got. The complacency and the kind of functioning of the government...it was a vote against that. They were seeking a vote on the basis of two terms of performance. Their numbers have come down, the numbers of their allies have come down. The tall claims that they had made...370 and 400 paar...they are nowhere near that. In terms of alternative...in politics everything is possible.

The Congress was routed in Rajasthan some months ago. The party has won eight seats and its allies have won three. And most of the gains have come in eastern Rajasthan. What has changed?

Our candidates were better, our campaign was better and clearly the government of the day, the current BJP government has not been able to leave any impact amongst the people even in their so-called honeymoon period...they were not able to retain their vote. In Dausa seat, we won by more than two lakh votes. So, I think our candidate selection, our strategy, our campaign itself was far more rigorous and better received than the BJP. The new government really has left no impression, no mark on the

people. It is also clearly a reflection of the state government. This is a response of the people to the Central government and to the double-engine of the state government.

As AICC general secretary, you are in charge of Chhattisgarh. The party had two seats in the state but could win only one this time.

We were hopeful of increasing the tally. That is something we have to work on. Similarly, in Madhya Pradesh we need to work where we lost the one seat we had. So, these are the states where we have to improve organisationally, our electoral performance has to get better. The results in these states mean there is much more scope to do much better.

Meena, Gurjar combination boost for Cong in East Rajasthan

PARUL KULSHRESTHA
JAIPUR, JUNE 4

MEENA, GURJAR combination in Eastern Rajasthan helped the Congress bag Dausa, Karauli-Dholpur, Tonk-Sawai Madhopur and Bharatpur Lok Sabha seats after continuously losing it to the BJP in the last two elections in 2014 and 2019. In Eastern Rajasthan, BJP was able to save only Alwar where Union Environment Minister Bhupender Yadav, a seasoned politician who has been a Rajya Sabha member since 2012, secured his first Lok Sabha election victory on Tuesday.

He defeated Lalit Yadav of the Congress in 48,282 votes.

The 54-year-old BJP leader from Rajasthan, fighting his first general election after serving as a party office-bearer for over two decades, garnered 6,31,992 votes (50.42 per cent), while Lalit Yadav got 5,83,710 votes.

The Alwar seat, treated as a prestige battle by both the BJP and the Congress, saw the BJP win three times and the Congress 10 times in the past.

Gurjar and Meena are the dominant caste in the eastern Rajasthan districts who have voted for Congress. A major reason for the tilt towards Congress was said to be the point of changing the Constitution and removing reservation. A few BJP leaders had claimed that if they crossed 400, BJP would amend the Constitution. The Congress played up this issue that BJP wants to remove reservation and that impacted the voting pattern here.

Moreover, Sachin Pilot too played a major role in getting these seats for the Congress. Muralil Meena from Dausa, Harish Chandra Meena from Tonk-Sawai Madhopur, Sanjana Jatav from Bharatpur are Pilot's supporters. Being a Gurjar, Pilot was able to woo the Gurjar voters. Tonk is already the Assembly constituency for Pilot while Dausa is his former

constituency where his father won elections. Ironically, the current CM Bhajan Lal Sharma who belongs to Bharatpur district was not able to save the seat for BJP. Congress has been pointing fingers at the CM since it became clear that it was winning the seat.

Congress candidate Bhajanlal Jatav won the Karauli-Dholpur Lok Sabha seat. He defeated BJP's Indu Devi Jatav by over 98,000 votes. Staring at her defeat, as she sensed during the counting of votes, Indu Devi left the counting midway and went home.

In Dausa, Congress candidate Muralil Meena defeated BJP candidate Kanhaiyalal Meena by over 2,37,000 votes. Muralil polled 6,46,266 votes while Kanhaiyalal got 4,08,926 votes. Sonu Dhanka of Bahujan Samaj Party came third.

Cabinet minister Kirodi Lal Meena, had earlier announced that if BJP does not win the Dausa seat he would resign from the post of minister. As it became clear that BJP was los-

ing Dausa, the Rajasthan Congress from its Twitter handle asked Meena to go ahead and keep his promise.

Responding to the tweet, Meena responded on X: *Raghukul reet sada chali aayi, pranjaaye parvachan najaaye* thereby hinting that he would quit soon.

In the evening, the EVM malfunctioned in Dausa after which votes were counted through VVPAT. At 5.15 pm, Muralil Meena was declared the winner.

Taking a dig at CM Sharma, state PCC chief Govind Singh Dotasra tweeted that Sharma should also resign from his post taking responsibility for BJP's loss in his home district Bharatpur. Sharma has not responded to the tweet.

Congress candidate from Bharatpur Lok Sabha seat Sanjana Jatav defeated Ram Swaroop Koli. According to sources, even Congress itself had not expected Sanjana and Bhajan Lal Jatav to win their seats.

Congress resurrection in Haryana: wins 5 of 10 seats

VARINDER BHATIA
CHANDIGARH, JUNE 4

THE CONGRESS staged a remarkable comeback in Haryana, winning five out of the 10 Lok Sabha seats with its vote share increasing to over 43 per cent from 28 per cent in 2019.

In 2014, the party had managed to win one parliamentary seat of Rohtak, while lost all 10 to the BJP in 2019.

The vote share of the BJP, which also won five seats, losing five others to the Congress, slipped from 58 per cent in 2019 to nearly 46 per cent this time. The AAP, contested as part of the INDIA bloc on one seat, failed to open its account in Haryana with nearly 3.94 per cent vote share.

Chief minister Nayab Saini, meanwhile, won the Karnal Assembly bypoll, defeating Congress's Tarlochan Singh by a margin of over 41,540 votes. For the Congress, Deepender Hooda (polled over 7.78 lakh votes) won Rohtak by a margin of over 3.43 lakh votes, defeating BJP's Arvind Sharma (polled over 4.35 lakh votes) and Kumari

Selja won (polled 7.33 lakh votes) in Sirsa by a margin of 2,68,497 votes defeating BJP's Ashok Tanwar (polled 4.65 lakh votes).

In Ambala, Varun Chaudhry (polled over 6.63 lakh votes) defeated BJP's Banto Kataria (polled over 6.14 lakh votes) by a margin of over 49,000 votes, while Jai Prakash (polled over 5.70 lakh votes) defeated BJP's Ranjit Singh (polled over 5.07 lakh votes) in Hisar by a margin of 63,381 votes and newcomer Satpal Brahmchari (polled over 5.48 lakh votes) defeated BJP's Mohan Lal Badoli (polled over 5.26 lakh votes) in Sonapat by a margin of 21,816 votes.

Congress's Kumari Selja and Deepender Hooda maintained a significant lead in their respective constituencies from the first round of counting itself. For the BJP, Manohar Lal Khattar was the only one who maintained a steady lead throughout the counting while Krishan Pal started registering the lead after a few rounds of counting got over.

While the contest on all 10 Lok Sabha seats remained primarily between the BJP and the Congress, the INLD and the JJP's candidates lost their security deposits on all seats they contested.

Big setbacks for Omar, Mehbooba in Kashmir

BASHAARAT MASOOD, ARUN SHARMA & NAVEED IQBAL
SRINAGAR, JAMMU, JUNE 4

WHILE JAMMU returned its two sitting BJP MPs to the Lok Sabha, Kashmir sprung a surprise – not one but two. While jailed Independent candidate Engineer Rashid defeated former chief minister Omar Abdullah, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) president and former chief minister Mehbooba Mufti lost to a National Conference Gujjar leader, Mian Altaf.

The margin of defeat of the two former chief ministers of J&K was also a surprise. While Mufti lost by close to three lakh votes in Anantnag-Rajouri, Rashid defeated Omar by over two lakh votes in Baramulla.

The third Lok Sabha seat in Kashmir, Srinagar, was won by the NC's Aga Ruhullah Mehdi by a comfortable majority.

In Ladakh's Leh Lok Sabha seat, Independent candidate Mohammad Haneefa, a former district president of the NC and seen as the party's proxy, prevailed over BJP and Congress candidates.

Acknowledging their defeat, Mufti and Omar said they "respect the verdict of the people". Mufti posted: "I thank my PDP workers and leaders for their hard work and support



Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (JKNC) candidate Aga Syed Ruhullah Mehdi flashes victory sign outside the counting centre in Srinagar, on Tuesday. ANI

despite all the odds. My deepest gratitude to the people who voted for me. Winning & losing is part of the game & won't deter us from our path. Congratulations to Mian sahab for his victory". While congratulating Rashid, Omar posted on X: "I don't believe his victory will hasten his release from prison nor will the people of North Kashmir get the representa-

tion they have a right to, but the voters have spoken and in a democracy that's all that matters." Rashid is lodged in New Delhi's Tihar Jail since 2019 in an alleged money laundering case related to terror funding.

Omar talked about the scrapping of J&K's special status and statehood, as well as development. But Rashid's campaign, run by

his sons Abrar Rashid (23) and Asrar Rashid (21), revolved around the "oppression" against their father, without making any promises. Rally after rally, they made just one appeal – "Vote for our father as it will help secure his release from jail". In a Valley with no avenues to register their protest since the abrogation of J&K's special status in 2019, followed by a total clampdown, this appears to have resonated with the youth and also appealed to the emotions of women voters.

Rashid came from behind to win a contest that was initially seen as one between Omar and People's Conference's Sajad Lone, with the two weeks of intense campaigning by his sons paying off.

Apart from Omar, the loss is a massive setback for Lone, whose hopes of making it to Parliament ended in a third-place finish. Mufti, who was always seen as facing a tough contest from Anantnag-Rajouri, a seat whose contours saw huge changes after delimitation, trailed behind the NC's Mian Altaf, a spiritual leader of the Gujjars, from the start.

This is another blow to the PDP, which hasn't recovered since its tie-up with the BJP – ended abruptly by the latter – was seen as having paved the way for the 2016 unrest in the Valley, Central rule and eventual abrogation of Article 370.

PVAIDYANATHAN IYER
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

HOW WILL the third Narendra Modi government differ from the two previous ones that came to power in 2014 and 2019? The answer will lie in the composition of the Eighteenth Lok Sabha. Here are a few things that will change.

After a decade, back to days of coalitions at the Centre

For the better part of the last 34 years, India has been governed by a coalition of political parties. It is only in the last 10 years that a single political party — the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) — led a majority government at the Centre, crossing the halfway mark in the Lok Sabha elections of 2014 and 2019. Be that as it may be, the biggest structural reforms and rights-based programmes happened during the last 30-plus years, the seeds of most of which were sown during the coalition era.

The BJP had won or was leading in 240 seats at midnight on Tuesday, short of the majority mark of 272 by a long way. It will have to depend on its pre-poll allies, the top four being the Telugu Desam Party led by Chandrababu Naidu, the Janata Dal (United) led by Nitish Kumar, Shiv Sena led by Eknath Shinde, and Lok Janshakti Party (Ram Vilas) led by Chirag Paswan.

The TDP had won or was leading at 16 seats, the JD(U) had won 12, the Shiv Sena had won 7, and the LJP (Ram Vilas) had won 5 seats. Together, these parties will bring 40 seats to the NDA. The BJP will need all these seats to comfortably go past the half-way mark of 272.

The BJP may be required to revisit its coalition *dharma*. It will have to reset the framework of running a genuine coalition government, and devise mechanisms to accommodate a range of political sensitivities.

The (undivided) Sena and JD(U) were BJP allies earlier too, but with a crucial difference. Their withdrawal of support would not jeopardise the NDA government, given that the BJP on its own had 282 seats in 2014, and an even higher tally of 303 seats in 2019.

So, when Uddhav Thackeray, whose Sena had been a BJP ally with a similar ideology since 1989, and had won 18 seats in the Lok Sabha election of 2019, pulled out of the alliance after the 2019 Assembly polls in Maharashtra, the BJP-led government at the Centre was not affected.

Similarly, the Akali Dal, another long-term BJP ally since 1996, pulling out of the alliance during the farm protests in September 2020 did not matter.

Not anymore. Now, BJP will have to listen to its allies, because they will be key to the stability of the government at the Centre.

Not just that. Given the smaller difference in seat tallies in the new Lok Sabha, the rival INDIA bloc will have a better chance at putting the government under pressure should some NDA allies break ranks and cross over.

Both Rahul Gandhi and Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge did not rule out the possibility of approaching the BJP's pre-poll allies for a shot at forming the government.

The new and old allies will seek Cabinet berths — maybe important ones, that could impinge on the BJP-led government's flexibility in policy-making.

And the BJP may be required to revisit its coalition *dharma*. It will have to call periodic meetings of its allies for temperature checks; it will need to get them on board before deciding on hot button issues such as Uniform Civil Code, delimitation of constituencies, judicial reforms, and 'one-nation, one-election'.

In short, the party will have to reset the framework of running a genuine coalition government, and devise mechanisms to accommodate the sensitivities of other parties with their own ethos and ideologies.

Rise of regional leaders and increased pressure on BJP

From the North to the South, East to West, regional leaders have re-emerged to exert influence in the national polity. Chandrababu Naidu will get to wield clout as the Chief

Minister of Andhra Pradesh, and as a key partner in the BJP-led government at the Centre. Samajwadi Party's Akhilesh Yadav will now be heard loud and clear in not just the Uttar Pradesh Assembly, where his party with 108 seats out of total 403 has a significant presence, but also in Parliament.

The Samajwadi Party (SP) has trumped the BJP in Uttar Pradesh, the state that contributed 72 seats to the party's tally of 282 in 2014. The SP had won or was leading in 37 seats in the state that contributes the largest number of MPs — 80 — to Lok Sabha.

The BJP had won only 33 seats, its strength almost halved from the 62 of 2019. In fact, the SP will be the the third largest party in Parliament after the BJP (240) and the Congress (99).

Mamata Banerjee's Trinamool Congress (29 seats), M K Stalin's Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (22), the Shiv Sena (Uddhav Balasaheb Thackeray) with its 9 seats, and the NCP (Sharadchandra Pawar) with 7 will lend their voice to regional aspirations, and mount pressure on the Central government by speaking up in Parliament.

The Trinamool's performance in the election, winning 7 seats more than in 2019, could mean that Mamata has managed to stall the BJP's juggernaut in West Bengal, at least for now. And the DMK-led alliance has retained all 39 seats in Tamil Nadu.

The verdict in Maharashtra suggests that the people have stood by Sharad Pawar and Uddhav Thackeray, who suffered BJP-supported splits in their parties. The state goes to Assembly polls later this year in October, and the Maha Vikas Aghadi alliance of the Congress, Sharad Pawar's NCP, and the

Uddhav Sena is well placed to make a strong bid for power.

Recalibration of power balance, among BJP-RSS and within BJP

Given that the Lok Sabha elections in 2024 too were centred around Prime Minister Narendra Modi, with a high-decibel '*Modi ki guarantee*' campaign, the burden of a lower tally will inevitably fall on him. Leaders will not speak openly against the Prime Minister, and will continue to rally around him, but it is bound to reflect in the party's power structure.

What has not gone unnoticed is the performance of Shivraj Singh Chouhan, who delivered a clear majority for the BJP in the Assembly elections just six months ago, and has now ensured a clean sweep in Madhya Pradesh with all 29 Lok Sabha seats falling into the BJP basket. Chouhan has won his own seat, Vidisha, by a staggering margin of 8.21 lakh votes.

Modi may not only have to accommodate

but also actively deploy moderate voices to expand his acceptability in the coalition government and in Parliament, which will represent a wider political spectrum than before.

When the new Cabinet is constituted, Modi may not have the kind of free hand he had in 2014 and 2019. RSS, the ideological parent of the BJP, which works quietly on the ground for the party, may put forward its own suggestions.

The BJP, which has grown in strength over the past decade, did not necessarily consult the RSS on government affairs. BJP-RSS relations during the NDA government under Atal Bihari Vajpayee had been starkly different. The RSS claims that it does not seek power, but it has always influenced the political agenda of the party.

Federalism will matter more, expect greater accountability

The oft-repeated slogan of "*double-engine sarkar*" to garner votes during Assembly elections in states has been seen by the oppo-

sition as an affront to federalism, a basic tenet of the Constitution.

For effective and optimal functioning of a state, the same party need not be in power at the Centre as well as in the state. The DMK in Tamil Nadu has a distinct Dravidian ideology or the SP in Uttar Pradesh may seek to actively improve the lives of minorities or backward classes, but the shrill politics of "*double-engine sarkar*" often ended up pitting the Centre against the states, particularly those ruled by the Opposition. In India's immense diversity and federal polity, the imposition of a unitary vision or formula is often unsuitable.

Accountability is likely to increase in all institutions from the judiciary to the auditor, from financial regulators to the election watchdog, and even the investigative agencies. A coalition lends itself to better checks and balances, infuses oxygen into the ecosystem, and gives institutions space to innovate and push back against top-down policies of the political executive.

Complexion of Lok Sabha, representation of Opposition

The Eighteenth Lok Sabha will look quite different from the Seventeenth. Physically, the BJP will occupy one-fifth less space than it did in the second term of the Modi government during 2019-24.

The lower numbers of the BJP will mean greater representation for Lok Sabha members from the opposition in various Parliamentary panels such as the Standing Committees and Select Committees. The opposition benches will have a much larger voice, literally.

In Lok Sabha, speaking time on an issue is divided in proportion to the strength of parties. So, the INDIA bloc with 234 members will be allotted almost 26 minutes if the Speaker decides, for instance, to allocate an hour for discussion on a particular issue.

It may also not be possible for the government to push through Bills without adequate debate and discussion, or to route legislation as a Money Bill, which provides a fast-track option for enactment of laws bypassing Rajya Sabha.

Typically, taxation, the government's financial obligations, consolidated fund, and related issues can be moved as Money Bills. The Speaker has the final say on whether a Bill is a Money Bill or not, and more often than not if a party has a clear majority, the Speaker is from the ruling party.

Challenge of new economic reforms, dealing with partners

Following the economic liberalisation initiated in 1990-91, successive governments have stayed on the reform path, irrespective of which party or coalition has been in power.

Over the last 10 years, the BJP, despite enjoying an absolute majority in Lok Sabha, failed to push through legislation on land and farms. Both met with stiff opposition, and the party had to repeal the laws.

In its first term, the Modi government had to strike down the contentious land acquisition law; in the second term, when the BJP had 303 seats, it had to repeal the three farm laws after a year-long protest by farmer organisations.

The four labour codes passed by Parliament in 2019 and 2020 have remained on the back burner. The labour laws provide greater flexibility to employers, but the government needs to communicate better with other stakeholders to ensure these can be implemented.

While the government did push through the privatisation of Air India, it could hardly make any significant progress in disinvestment or privatisation of at least two banks that it had announced. Structural reforms have always taken time for all stakeholders to be convinced; and coalitions have had a better record.

Illustration: CR Sasikumar

DECODING THE VERDICT

The 2024 election has brought the BJP to power for a third straight term but has diminished the party. The impact will be felt in relationships in the NDA, as well as within the BJP and between the BJP and RSS

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PERSONAL

I, Ravi Sharma, S/O Sh. Ramesh Kumar Sharma, R/O 631, FF, Sector 18, Faridabad, Haryana-121002 My Father's Name Wrongly Mentioned As Ramesh Sharma In My Secondary School Certificate. That Correct Name Of My Father Is Ramesh Kumar Sharma. That Ramesh Sharma & Ramesh Kumar Sharma Is One And The Same Person 0070906422-1

I, Rajni W/o Vikram Arora R/o 795/8 Salara Mohalla Rohtak HR-124001 have changed my name to Rajni Arora for all purposes. 0070906419-1

I, Mohammad Ayyub S/o Abdul Qayyum R/o, B-42, Third Floor, Abul Fazal Enclave, Jamia- Nagar, Delhi-110025, have changed my name to Mohd Ayyub. 0040732181-2

I, Meena Kumari W/O Anil Kumar D/O Gaiini Ram born on 15-02-1978 residing at A-3/6, Third Floor Mianwali Nagar Delhi have changed my name to Meenu vide affidavit dated 01-06- 2024 at Delhi. 0050243199-1

I, Leela Bora W/o Harish chandra Singh R/o 71D, New DDA Janta Flats, Village- Chilla, Mayur Vihar Phase-I, East Delhi- 110091, have changed my name from Leela Bora to Leela. 0040732108-1

I, Jag Raj Singh S/o Maluk Singh R/o 60/6, Dwarika Dham, Sardana, Meerut have changed my name to Jagraj Singh Sirohi. 0070906521-1

I, Harvinder Singh S/o surjeet singh, R/o 9511/A, Multani Dhandha, Pahar Ganj, New Delhi-110055, have changed my name to Harvinder Singh for all purposes. 0040732126-1

I, Harvinder Singh S/o Sh. Gurdit Singh S/o Plot No. 50/ 4 Pratap Nagar New Delhi -110064 have changed my name to Harvinder Singh Lamba for all future purposes. 0050243196-1

I, Bharat S/o Ramesh Chandra R/o B-150, Street-No.2, F-1, West-Vinod Nagar, Shakarpur, Delhi-110092, have changed my name to Bharat Kandpal. 0040732181-6

I, Bhagwan, S/o Babu Singh, R/o F-99, Vijay Vihar, Phase-1, Raja Pur Kalan, Rohini Sector-7, Delhi-110085, have changed my name to Bhagwan Singh, for all purposes. 0040732100-1

I, Asha Rani Sharma, D/O of Sh. Dwarka Nath Sharma, R/O 631 FF Sector 18, Faridabad, Haryana-121002, My Father's Name Wrongly Mentioned As Dwarka Nath In My Secondary School Certificate. That Correct Name Of My Father Is Dwarka Nath Sharma. That Dwarka Nath & Dwarka Nath Sharma Is One And The Same Person 0070906420-1

I, Aruna W/o Anuj Sharma R/o H.No-910, HIG Duplex Sector-9, Vasundhara Ghaziabad U.P.-201012 have changed my name to Aruna Sharma for all future purposes. 0070906529-1

I, Anita Aneja D/o Nand Lal Aneja R/o House No.29, Block-H, Lajpat Nagar-2, New Delhi-24 have changed my name to Kritika Malhotra for all purposes. 0070906512-1

I, Paramjeet Bhati, S/o SHRI CHAND BHATI R/O 193, Mohan Mandir Wali Gali, Greater Noida, Surajpur, PO: I.A. Surajpur, DIST: Gautam Buddha Nagar, Uttar Pradesh -201306 have changed my name to Paramjit Bhati and have changed my date of birth from 10-05-1990 to 11-05-1989 Forever 0070906443-1

I, Paramesh G S/o Chilaganahalli Giriyyappa Govindraju R/o 364/1, Kannada Kasturi Road, Near Standard English School, T Dasarahalli, Mallasandra, Dasarahalli, Bengaluru, Karnataka - 560057, have changed my name to Pamesha G 0070906447-1

I, Mohammad Furkan Shamim S/o Shamim Ahmed R/o, L-54, Second-Floor, Abul-Fazal Enclave-I, Jamia-Nagar, Okhla, New Delhi-110025, have changed my-name to Mohd. Furquan Shamim. 0040732181-3

I, Nitin Johri S/o Gyanesh Chandra Johri, R/o, H.No.550, Block-GH-8, Paschim-Vihar, New Delhi-110087, have changed my-minor son's name Atharv to Atharv Johri. Aged-15-Years. 0040732181-4

I, Neha Kabra W/o Akash Chatterjee R/o C1-B-083, Carlton Estate 1, Club Drive, Dif Phase 5, Sec-53, Gurgaon HR 122003 have changed my name to Neha Ajay Kabra for all purposes. 0040732104-1

I, Namrata Chawla D/o Sh.Vinod Chawla W/o Sh.Gobinda Dhawan R/o 134-D, S.F.S., DDA Flats, Gulabi Bagh, Delhi-110007 have changed my name after marriage to Namrata Chawla Dhawan for all purposes. 0040732096-3

I, Shubhangi Rana D/o Umesh Rana R/o House no -16, Chaura Sadatpur Sector-22, Noida, District Gautam Buddha Nagar U.P.-201301 declare that my name is wrongly as Shubhangi in my all certificate & educational document The actual name of Shubhangi Rana for all future purposes 0070906514-1

I, Meenakshi Arora Werner D/O, Late Nawal Kishore Arora R/o 6/604, East End Apartments, CGHS Mayur Vihar Ph- I Extn, Delhi 110096 have changed my name to Meenakshi Arora. 0040732141-1

I, Lanka Shrivani Nag alias I Shrivani Nag alias Shrivani Nag Lanka D/o Shri Lanka Madhu Nag R/o Flat No.4619, Sector-B, Pocket S&6, Vasant Kunj, Delhi-110070 have changed my name to Shrivani Nag Lanka for all purposes. 0040732096-2

I, Kavita alias Kavita Dahiya D/o Sh.Ram Kumar W/o Sh.Dinesh Dahiya R/o B-5, Police Station Sarai Rohilla, Staff Quarters, Malka Ganj, North Delhi, Delhi-110007 have changed my name to Kavita Dahiya for all purposes. 0040732096-4

I, Kanta Nawalkishore Arora D/O, Late Deshraj Nandlal Verma R/o 6/604, East End Apartments, CGHS Mayur Vihar Ph-I Extn, Delhi 110096 have changed my name to Kanta Arora. 0040732142-1

I, Deepak S/o Sanjay Kumar Garg R/o H.No-B-131, Street No-7, Hardev Puri, Shahdara, North East, Delhi-110093, have changed my name to Deepak Garg 0070906441-1

I, Arshad Ali S/o Sh.Sharafat Ali R/o C-26, Sector-1, Rohini, Delhi-110085 have changed the name of my minor daughter from Rifa to Rifa Ali for all purposes. 0040732096-1

I, Vipasa Kumari W/o Aseem Virmani, R/o H.No.464, Sector-8, Faridabad, have changed my name to Vipasa Virmani after marriage. 0040732129-3

I, Vijay Kumar, S/O-Radha Kishan Aggarwal, R/O-HU-36, Pitam Pura, Delhi-110034, inform that Vijay Goel and Vijay Kumar both are same person. 0040732178-2

I, Vandana Aggarwal, W/O-Vijay Kumar, R/O-HU-36, Pitam Pura, Delhi-110034, inform that Vandana Aggarwal/Agarwal/Agarwal and Vandana Goel both are the same person. 0040732178-3

I, Rajiv Kumar, S/o-Jagdish parsad Tayal, Residing at D-206, 1st floor, Ashok Vihar, Phase-1, Delhi-110052, have changed my name to Rajiv Kumar Tayal. 0040732178-4

I, Vaibhav Ravi Shankar Nigam R/o 415, Sec-28, faridabad-121008, Haryana, have changed my minor son's name from Parth Nigam to Parth Dev Nigam, permanently. 0040732149-2

I, Gurjeet Kaur D/o Sh. Gajinder Singh R/o Plot No. 50/4 Pratap Nagar New Delhi -110064 have changed my name to Gurjeet Kaur Lamba for all future purposes. 0050243195-1

I, Hitherto Known as Ritik, S/o-Sanjay Kumar, R/o H.No-123, Z-Block, New-Roshan-Pura, Najafgarh, South West-Delhi, Delhi-110043, Have Changed My Name and Shall Hereafter be Known as Ritik Sharma. 0040732131-2

Through this public notification, I, Jyoti w/o Karan Singh Garbhal, resident of B6 1901 , Cleo County, Sactor 121 , Noida, hereby declare that I have changed my name from Jyoti to Jyoti Hyankey. Accordingly, I should be known as Jyoti Hyankey instead of Jyoti. 0040732133-1

It is for general information that I, NIRANJAN PARIDA, Son of, ATULYA PARIDA, residing at, Plot.No-14, 2nd Floor, Front-Side, Block-E, Gali.No-1, Bhagwati Garden-Extn.Uttam-Nagar, West Delhi-110059, declare that the name of my mother has been wrongly written as BASANTI LATA PARIDA in my of secondary-school certificate. The actual name of my mother is BASANTI PARIDA respectively, which may be amended accordingly. 0040732151-8

I, Parnamesh G S/o Chilaganahalli Giriyyappa Govindraju R/o 364/1, Kannada Kasturi Road, Near Standard English School, T Dasarahalli, Mallasandra, Dasarahalli, Bengaluru, Karnataka - 560057, have changed my name to Parnamesha G 0070906447-1

I, Mohammad Furkan Shamim S/o Shamim Ahmed R/o, L-54, Second-Floor, Abul-Fazal Enclave-I, Jamia-Nagar, Okhla, New Delhi-110025, have changed my-name to Mohd. Furquan Shamim. 0040732181-3

I, Nitin Johri S/o Gyanesh Chandra Johri, R/o, H.No.550, Block-GH-8, Paschim-Vihar, New Delhi-110087, have changed my-minor son's name Atharv to Atharv Johri. Aged-15-Years. 0040732181-4

I, Neha Kabra W/o Akash Chatterjee R/o C1-B-083, Carlton Estate 1, Club Drive, Dif Phase 5, Sec-53, Gurgaon HR 122003 have changed my name to Neha Ajay Kabra for all purposes. 0040732104-1

I, Namrata Chawla D/o Sh.Vinod Chawla W/o Sh.Gobinda Dhawan R/o 134-D, S.F.S., DDA Flats, Gulabi Bagh, Delhi-110007 have changed my name after marriage to Namrata Chawla Dhawan for all purposes. 0040732096-3

I, Shubhangi Rana D/o Umesh Rana R/o House no -16, Chaura Sadatpur Sector-22, Noida, District Gautam Buddha Nagar U.P.-201301 declare that my name is wrongly as Shubhangi in my all certificate & educational document The actual name of Shubhangi Rana for all future purposes 0070906514-1

I, Shreya Rani, W/o -Amit Kumar Singh, R/o-1402, Tower-O, The Hyde Park, GH-03, Sector-78, NOIDA, have changed my name to Shreya (Given Name) Rani(Surname). 0040732129-4

I, Shamim Ahmed S/o, Shamjad Hussain R/o, L-54, Second-Floor, Abul-Fazal-Enclave-1, Jamal-Nagar, Okhla, New Delhi-110025, have changed my-minor son's name Mohammad Adil Shamim to Mohd Adil Shamim. 0040732181-1

I, Shalu w/o Lalit Dewan, R/o 349 Hem nagar sonipat, have changed my name to Shalu Dewan, for all purposes. 0040732197-3

I, Satyendra Singh, S/O-Surendra Singh, R/O-B202, 2ND Floor, Lincoln B, Grand Omaxe, Sector-93B, Noida, Gautam Budh Nagar, U.P.201301, have changed my name to Satyendra Singh Sengar. 0040732178-1

I, Sanjeev Kumar, S/o Mahkar Singh, R/o Tajupur, Nr Sarkari School, Tajupur, Faridabad have changed my name to Sanjeev Singh. 0040732129-5

I, SURINDER KUMAR JAIN, S/O GYAN CHAND JAIN, R/O 81-SECOND AND THIRD FLOOR, PUSHPANJALI ANAND-VIHAR, DELHI-110092, HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO SURENDER KUMAR JAIN. 0040732129-7

I, SHAILENDRA KUMAR, S/O RAM SEVAK DUBEY, H.NO.177, GALLI.NO.2, SAINIK-ENCLAVE SECTOR-2, NEAR-GANDHI CHOWK MOHAN-GARDEN, DELHI-110059, have changed my name to SHAILENDRA KUMAR DUBEY, for all future. 0040732129-10

I, SAGAR S/O STENDER SINGH R/O C-1-197, GROUND FLOOR MUSKAN APARTMENT SEC-17 ROHINI DELHI-110089, HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO SAGAR SINGH RAWAT. 0040732151-1

I, Yusra Khan W/o Abdul Majid Khan R/o 5441 Kucha Rehman Chandni Chowk Delhi-110006, have changed my name to Usra Khan Permanently 0070906436-1

I, Rohit S/o-Raj Kumar R/o, H.No. 863, Ground Floor, Sector-46, Jharsa, PO.Jharsa, Distt.Gurgaon-122003 (Haryana), have changed my name to Rohit Sangwan, for all Purposes. 0040732131-5

I, Rohit S/o Shri Vinod Kumar, R/O 127, Block G-II, Madangir Ph-II, Dr. Ambedkar Nagar, Delhi-110062, have changed my name to Rohit Bamola, for all purposes. 0040732210-3

I, Rippen Preet Kaur, D/o- Harvinder Singh, W/o Tarun Bhalla, R/o-WZ-32, Street.No-17, Krishna-Park Extn, Tilak-Nagar, Delhi-110018, have changed my name to Rippenpreet Kaur. 0040732129-8

I, Rekha Rani w/o Krishan kumar r/o 86-A Nandwani Nagar Sonipat have changed my name to Rekha, for all purpose's. 0040732197-1

I, Ranbir, S/o-Sita ram, Add-29, poorvi apartment Vasant Vihar ph-1, New Delhi 110057, changed my name to Ranbir Singh 0040732097-2

I, RAJENDER KUMAR S/O HARI SINGH R/O DA-23, SF-55 FLATS, SHAALIMAR BAGH, DELHI-110088, HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO RAJENDER KUMAR.) 0040732151-2

I, Prem Singh, S/o Mr. Rajender Singh, R/O. 159-160A, JP-Block Ranaji-Enclave, Najafgarh New-Delhi-110043, have changed my Daughter's name from RISHIKA to RISHIKA SINGH. 0040732186-4

I, Preeti W/o Rohit Sangwan, R/o H.No.863, Ground-Floor, Sector-46, Jharsa, PO Jharsa, Dist. Gurgaon-122003 (Haryana), have changed my name to Preeti Sangwan. 0040732186-2

I, Parmod S/o Mahavir R/o Baghu, Baghpatt, U.P.250609, have changed my name to Pramod. Parmod and Pramod is one and the same person. 0040732151-3

I, PARVEEN KUMAR, S/O MAUJI RAM, R/O-1756, A-BLOCK SHYAM GALI MOUJPUR DELHI-110053, HAVE CHNGED MY NAME TO PRAVEEN KUMAR. 0040732151-4

I, OM PRAKASH S/O, MOHAN LAL GABA, R/O, D-D-1, GREATER KAILASH ENCLAVE PART-2, NEW DELHI-110048, HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO OM PRAKASH GABA. 0040732131-6

I, Nouratan Singh Rathour, S/O Ujagar Singh Rathour, Vill-Madhamai, Hajipurnera, Mainpuri, U.P., Inform that Nouratan Singh Rathour and Nauratan Singh Rathor both are one and the same person, Have Changed My Name to Nouratan Singh for all legel document I.E. Education-Certificate, Bank-Account, Etc.and All Purpose. 0040732186-6

I, Neha Kalhan D/o, Sanjeev Kalhan R/o, Flat-No.253, Tower-G-3, Indiabulls-Centrum Park, Sector-103, Dwarka-Expressway, Daultabad(53), Gurgaon, Haryana-122006, have changed my-minor daughter's name Samara to Samara Kalhan. 0040732181-5

I, Sanjeev Gupta S/o J.N. Gupta R/o House-No.06, Under Hill-Lane, Civil-Lines, Delhi-110054, have changed my name to Sandeep Gupta. 0040732181-7

I, Mohd.shakeel, S/o Mohd.shahjadal, R/o J/3-A/29-A Khirki extn Malviya nagar-110017, declare that Mohd.Shakeel and Akeel both names belongs to same person. 0040732131-4

I, Mohd Shamim Akhtar, S/o-Laik Ahmad, R/o Z-2/361, JJ colony, welcome seelampur DELHI-110053, have changed my name to Shamim Akhtar 0040732197-8

I, Mohd Laiq, S/o-Nasir Ulla, R/o-Z-2/361 JJ colony, welcome seelampur DELHI-110053, have changed my name to Laik Ahmad 0040732197-9

I, MURLI DHAR BUSWALA S/O BHIM SINGH R/O FLATNO.147, GH-13, PASCHIM VIHAR, DELHI-110043, HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO MURLI DHAR. 0040732129-2

I, MEETA SAXENA D/O MOHAN KISHORE SAXENA, Ex. W/o PRAVEEN KUMAR R/O-38, Manak, VIHAR, Delhi-110092, hereby declare that I got divorce from my husband vide court decree No. HMA No.2059/2014 dated 25/05/2015. Further I declare that the name of mine and my Ex-husband has been wrongly written as MEETA and PRAVEEN KUMAR NIGAM in my minor son namely ADITYA NIGAM aged-15.Years in his School records. The actual name of mine and my Ex-husband is MEETA SAXENA and PRAVEEN KUMAR 0040732149-5

I, MANISH KUMAR LAMBA S/O RAJ KUMAR LAMBA, R/O B-5/393 SECTOR-5, ROHINI, DELHI-110085 HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO MANISH LAMBA. 0040732151-5

I, Lalit Kumar, s/o Lajpat Rai Dewan, R/o 349, Hem Nagar sonipat, have changed my name to Lalit Dewan, for all purposes. 0040732197-4

I, Lajpat Rai Dewan, S/o Tharyia Lal Dewan, R/o-349, Hem nagar sonipat, have changed my name to Lajpat Rai Dewan, for all purposes. 0040732197-5

I, KM Nutan Raj Dabla, W/O Kailash Chand R/O H.NO.005, GOVT.Quarter, Mohammad Pur, Block-H, R.K. Puram, Delhi-110066, Have Changed my Name to Nutan Raj. 0040732097-1

I, KM SHRUTI SINGHAL, W/O SACHIN JINDAL, R/O-382 A-1, UPPER GROUND-FLOOR, NITI-KHAND-1, INDIRAPURAM, GHAZIABAD, U.P.-201014, HAVE CHANGED MY NAME FROM KM SHRUTI SINGHAL TO SHRUTI JINDAL, FOR ALL, FUTURE PURPOSES. 0040732129-9

I, KM GURPREET KOUR, W/O HARPAL SINGH, ADDRESS:-WZ-572/584, GROUND FLOOR, GALLI.No.-20, SHIV NAGAR, NEW DELHI-110058, changed my name to GURPREET KAUR 0040732210-2

I, Jyoti Kumari alias Jyoti Gahlot D/o, Baljit Singh, W/o, Sushil Kumar Gahlot, R/O, 417-A, Kakrola-Village, Dwarka, Sector-16, New Delhi-110078, have changed my name to JYOTI GAHLOT. 0040732181-9

I, ISHA BHATIA W/O ASHISH BHATIA, R/O H.N.-1/C/66 NHIT-FARIDABAD HARYANA-121001, HAVE CHANGED MY MINOR SON 'S NAME NIVAN TO NIVAN BHATIA. 0040732129-6

I, Hansa Solanki, W/o-Praveen Solanki, R/o-BG-3/12-A, Paschim-Vihar, Delhi-110063, Declare that Name of Mine has been Wrongly-Written as Hasna Solanki in My Son Passport(No.55513742), The Actual Name of Mine is Hansa Solanki. 0040732151-7

I, DHARAMVEER SINGH, S/O-DIPENDRA PRASAD SHAH, R/O- PREM KUNJ APARTMENT, FLAT.No-105, BLOCK-B ROAD.No-10, INDRAPURI, A-N-COLLAGE, PANI-TANKI, KESHARI-NAGAR, PATNA-800024, BIHAR , HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO GULSHAN KUMAR. 0040732131-3

I, CHARU TAKKAR, W/o-CHIRAYU SETH, R/O 53/54 RAMJAS ROAD, KAROL BAGH, NEW DELHI-110005, HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO CHARU TAKKAR SETH, FOR ALL, FUTURE PURPOSE. 0040732210-1

I, CHANDRA SHEKHARAM, S/o-JAWAHAR MANDAL, R/O-205, GALLI.No-6, HANUMAN-MAGAR KHERI KALAN-113, FARIDABAD HARYANA-121002, have changed my name to CHANDAN MEHTA, for all, future purposes. 0040732129-1

I, Balwant Kumar s/o Kishan Chand r/o 207, sector-13 Sonipat, have changed my name to Balwant Verma, for all purposes. 0040732197-6

I, CHANDRA SHEKHARAM, S/o-JAWAHAR MANDAL, R/O-205, GALLI.No-6, HANUMAN-MAGAR KHERI KALAN-113, FARIDABAD HARYANA-121002, have changed my name to CHANDAN MEHTA, for all, future purposes. 0040732129-1

I, Prashant s/o Indirjeet singh r/o 643 sector-15 sonipat, have changed my name to Prashant Antil, for all purposes. 0040732197-2

I, S Sankaran S/o Late Ramaswamy Sethuraman R/o B-349, Kendriya Vihar, Sector-51, Noida, Gautam Budh Nagar, U.P.-201301, Have Changed My Name To Sankaran Sethuraman For All Future Purposes 0070906518-1

I, Ria Sharma D/o Anju Sharma R/o H.No-910, HIG Duplex Sector-9, Vasundhara Ghaziabad U.P.201012 have changed my name to Riya Sharma for all future purposes. 0070906535-1

I, hitherto known as MOHAN SAHU son of GOVIND SAHU residing at E-1304 Homes 121, Sector-121, Noida, Gautam Budh Nagar, Uttar Pradesh-201301, have changed my name and shall hereinafter be known as NEEL SAHU. 0040732008-9

CLASSIFIEDS & TENDERS 29

I, Arti Batra W/o Kamal Batra R/o-H-2/1, Second Floor, Krishna Nagar, Delhi-110051, have changed my name to Aarti Batra. 0040732186-1

I, Ahmed Ali S/o Noorul Hooda R/o-G/F 16/3/28/1, Village Pandwala, Khurd Najafgarh Delhi-110043, Have Changed my name to Ali Ahmed Permanantly 0040732149-1

I, Abdul Kayum, S/o-Hazi Allah Banda, R/O-51/9, Main Gali, Nai Basti, Bankner, Narela, Delhi-110040, have changed my name to Haji Hakim Abdul Qayyum, for all purposes. 0040732197-7

I, AMRENDRA KUMAR PATRA/AMORENDRA KUMAR PATRA, S/O DHIRENDRA KUMAR PATRA, R/O C.D.A., SECTOR-06, CUTTACK SALAD, CUTTACK, ODISHA-753014, have changed my name to AMARENDRA KUMAR PATRA. 0040732151-6

I, AKASH S/o RAM BAHADUR, R/o-14, Malikpur, Village, Dr.-Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi-110009, declare that name of my father has been wrongly written as PURAN SINGH in my 10th and 12th educational documents. The actual name of my father is RAM BAHADUR 0040732149-3

I, Tabassum, w/o Shamim Akhtar, R/o-Z-2/361 JJ colony, welcome seelampur DELHI-110053, have changed my name to Tabassum Banu 0040732197-10

I, Suresh (Aadhaar number 826751983048) W/O Jaswant R/O 31 Nasirpur Village South West Delhi, New Delhi-110045 have changed my name to Suresh Devi 0070906532-1

I, Sukhwinder Kaur w/o Harvinder Singh, R/o 9511/A, Multani Dhandha, Pahar Ganj, New Delhi-110055, have changed my name to Sukhwinder Kaur for all purposes. 0040732126-2

I, Sudhir Kumar R/o C1-628, FF, Palam Vihar, Gurgaon-122017 have changed my minor son name from Lakshayveer Dalal to Lakshya Dalal for all purposes. 0070906520-1

I, Sandeep Singh S/o Daljeet Singh Bhatia R/o 5C/22, New Rohatakd Road Karol Bagh, Delhi-110005 have changed my name to Sandeep Singh Bhatia. 0040732111-1

I, Sushil Kumar S/o Late Shri Pati Ram R/o Flat no-49, Panchmahal Apartments, Plot no.-47, I.P. Extension Patparganj, Delhi-110092 inform that Sushil Kumar & Sushil Dandriyal both are one & the same person. 0040732213-2

LOST & FOUND

My original sale deed of registry property of registered as document no -1620 dated 19. 02-2016 Municipal No- 345 first floor, naya katra chandni chowk Delhi-6, have been lost/ misplaced on dated 20-05-2024, FIR Reg. No.1765696/2024 lodged in the police station crime branch delhi dated 27.05.2024. use of this document by any person or company will be illegal. Finder Please contact Rajinder Singh J.27, Vikas puri new delhi. Mobile No. 79646441099 0040732213-1

Lost original Lease Deed of prop.no.3/109, S/5, Ramesh Nagar, New Delhi-110015, favouring Krishan Lal Sehgal s/o H.R.Sehgal, vide Regd.no.4823, Addl.Book No.1, Vol.no.2056, pages 117-119, dt.05.08.1968. Finder contact Nisha Sehgal d/w/o Late Mahinder Sehgal. 0040732128-1

I, Sandeep Singh, S/o-Rajendra Prasad, R/o-D-403, Green Valley Apartments, Bavdhan, Pune-411021, have lost my bag containing documents pertaining to Allotment Letter and Agreement to Sale for my Flat F-1801, Cloud 9 Towers, Vaishali, Ghaziabad. Fin der may contact. 0040732178-5

Lost original Lease Deed of Prop/Shop No-4, Old Rajinder Nagar Market, New Delhi-110060, favouring Ganesh Dass s/o Sham Dass, vide Regd.no.4540, Addl. Book No.1, Vol.no.1550, pages 175-177 dt.22/06/1966. Finder contact Manav Manchanda s/o Late Madan Lal Manchanda, R/o 33/22, Old Rajinder Nagar, New Delhi-110060. 0040732128-2

I, Shivam Kulshrestha S/o Sh.Vishwavar Kulkshrestha, R/O-H.No-C5-100, Gali.No-C5, Shiv-Colony, Sehatpur Road, Palla.No-1, Anarnagar, Faridabad, I inform that my grandmother's Smt.Urmila Sale dead numbers-994 dated-12.05.1993 & 580, dated-21.04.1995 of property Id 1BP898JO situated at palla, Faridabad, have been lost at somewhere finder contact at above Address. 0040732102-1

I, Varadarajan Srinivasan, S/D/W/O P R Srinivasan, Villa G02, West Pavilion Brigade, Orchards Devanahallitak Bangalore, hereby inform to general public that I have a property at 73, Deerwood Chase, Nirvana Colony, Sector 50, Gurgaon and have lost my Allotment Letter, Possession Letter and Possession Certificate. An FIR has been lodged in P.S. Crime Branch, Delhi on 16.05.2024 through LR No.1737812/2024. Use of this deed by any third party will be illegal. Finder may inform to rajan.sv@gmail.com

PUBLIC NOTICE

INFORM THE PUBLIC

This is to inform the public at large that, M. Tarun Kumar S/o Sh. Sudhir Kumar Kapoor R/o 100, Ram Vihar, Delhi-110056, have lost the property documents as follows: (i) Original Parcel Sub-Assess Deed Regd. no. Doc. No.2022, Addl. Book No.1, Vol.No.1575, all pages 180 to 188, dated 29/12/1990, in Sub-Registrar VI, Delhi (2) Original Conveyance Deed Regd. at Doc. No.152, Addl. Book No.1, Vol.No.2576, all pages 08 to 09, dated 1/04/1994, in Sub-Registrar VI, Delhi (3) Original Agreement to Sell alongwith GPA and other documents in favour of Shri Parvati Pwma S/o Sh. S.V. Pwma on dated 20/01/1990, at Delhi (4) Original Agreement to Sell alongwith GPA and other documents of Ground Floor in favour of Titak Rai Kapur S/o Laxmi Chand Kapur on 10/06/1994, at Delhi (5) Original Deed Regd. at Doc. No.3989, Addl. Book No.1, Vol.No.4482, all pages 142 to 144, dated 20/01/2020, in Sub-Registrar VII, Delhi (6) Original Deed Regd. at Doc. No.7526, Addl. Book No.1, Vol.No.4052, all pages 138 to 141, dated 21/09/2010, in the name of Kanojia, in his wife Anshu Shri Sudhir Kumar Kapoor and are not traceable. If anybody found the same, Plz return it to the address mentioned above.

PUBLIC NOTICE

Be it known to the General Public Notice on behalf of my clients Sh. Joginder Bahbar S/o Sh. Jagdish Bahbar, R/o T-49, Road Number-20, Baljeet Nagar, Patel Nagar, S.O. Central Delhi, Delhi-110085, & Smt. Shahu W/o Sh. Joginder Bahbar R/o T-49, Road Number-20, Baljeet Nagar, Patel Nagar, S.O. Central Delhi, Delhi-110085 have served all relations with their son Sh. Saumbar Bahbar S/O Sh. Joginder Bahbar R/o T-49, Road Number-20, Baljeet Nagar, Patel Nagar, S.O. Central Delhi, Delhi-110085 and his wife Smt. Neta Rajput W/o, Saumbar Bahbar R/o T-49, Road Number-20, Baljeet Nagar, Patel Nagar, S.O. Central Delhi, Delhi-110085 have disowned and debarred them from their all movable and immovable properties due to their misconduct, disrespectful conduct toward my client. My clients shall not be responsible for their acts and deeds in any manner anybody dealing with them shall do so at his/her own risk and responsibility.

Sd/-
OM PRAKASH
Advocate
Ch.No. C-83, 1st Floor,
C.E., Joseph Block, Tis Hazrat Courts Delhi-54

PUBLIC NOTICE

My Client, Sudhir Shokeen S/o Shri Krishan Kumar R/o House No.444, Jan Chowk, Kungli, Nitioli, Delhi-110041, do hereby notify for public at large that he is executing the Will deed dated 14/07/2014 of Late Shri Balbir Singh S/o Shri Ram Singh, after his death on 22/03/2011, in favour of Mr. Sudhir Shokeen, any persons have any objection claim (i) interest for the will deed registration of aforesaid Will of Late Shri Balbir Singh, may contact the undersigned within 07 days from the publication of this notice failing which the claim of any such person will be considered to have been waived and abandoned and the Will Deed be registered and application with immediate effect.

Sd/-
MANOJ KUMAR
ADVOCATE
Ch.No. 585,
Lawyer's Chamber Block,
Rohini Court Complex, Delhi-110085

PUBLIC NOTICE

By it known that my client Shri Sultan Singh Yadav alias Sultan Singh Son of Shri Bhai Ram, Resident of 3/136, Sunder Vihar, Paschim Vihar, New Delhi-110077, has Lost his Property Documents (i.e. (i) Original Receipt, Dated 02.07.1987, (ii) Original Will, Dated 02.07.1987, in favour of Raj Rani and (iii) Original Receipt, Dated 18.12.1988 in favour of Sultan Singh) related to 3/136, Sunder Vihar, Paschim Vihar, New Delhi. Finders Pls Contact Adv. Puneet Chugh, Mobile: 09310013613, Address: Chamber No.1, Old SDM Office, Main Rohatk Road, Nangloi, New Delhi-110041.

Sd/-
PUNEET CHUGH (Advocate)
Enrolment No. D-989/04
Chamber No.1, Old SDM Office,
Main Rohatk Road, Nangloi,
New Delhi-110041

PUBLIC NOTICE

My Client, Nirmal Kumar S/o Late Nanomal Vijay R/o Flat no.401, Tower-6, Park View Residency, Sector 3, Palam Vihar, Gurgaon-122017, declare that in his High School Certificate and Service Book, name of his father inductively mentioned as Nanomall, in Election Card and Driving license mentioned as N.M. Vijay and in UID Card, Passport, Pan Card is mentioned as Nanomall Vijay, Shri Nanomall @ N.M. Vijay @ Nanomall Vijay are one and the same person. The actual name of his father is Shri Nanomall Vijay.

Sd/-
R.K. MITTAL
ADVOCATE
Office:-C-105, Sector-15,
ROHINI New Delhi-110089

PUBLIC NOTICE

Be it known to all that my clients Shri Krishan Lal Bhoia and his wife Smt. Rajnati Bhoia R/o 13/74, Gesta Colony, Delhi-110081 have been broken all their connections & relation with their daughter in law namely Smt. Shelly Bhoia and grandniece namely Manvi Bhoia. My clients have debarred their daughter in law namely Smt. Shelly Bhoia and grandniece namely Manvi Bhoia from all their all assets. Moreover, I have debarred them from their all movable/Immovable properties, jewellery and else of my clients. They never take of my clients even they were tortured and humiliated with their acts and deeds. My clients will not be responsible for any acts and deeds of their above named daughter in law and grandniece in any manner.

Sd/-
VIPIN DILAWARI
Advocate
Ch. No. C-188, C.E., Joseph Block,
Tis Hazrat Court, Delhi-110054

PUBLIC NOTICE

I, Sh. Nareesh Kumar (Ex. DFR Army no. 13700458W) S/O Late Sh. Balbir Singh, R/O B-125D, Patel Garden, Kakrola More, South West Delhi, Delhi-110078, declare that in Army Book/records my daughter name is mentioned as "Pooja Singh" whereas in all other testimonials/ documents name of my daughter is "Pooja Panghal". That Pooja Panghal and Pooja is one and same person, therefore wants to change daughter name as "Pooja Panghal" in place of "Pooja" in Army Book/records for all purposes.

Public Notice

it is brought to the knowledge of the public at large that my client Mr. Baraj Malhotra S/o Late Sh. Dharamvir Malhotra R/o C-15, Sector-10, Raja Garden, New Delhi -15 is Class I Legal heir of Late Sh. Dharamvir Malhotra & Late Smt. Sudershan Malhotra and has all rights, title and interest in Property bearing Plot 613, Pocket-2, Block -D, Sec.-28, Rohini, Delhi -85. It has come to my client knowledge that brother of my client, namely Mr. Sandeep Malhotra has attempted to mis-represent to some prospective buyers that he is the sole heir of the concerned Property which is false and incorect the public, at large is hereby warned against entering into any such transaction. My client shall not be responsible for any loss incurred by anyone owing to such fraudulent transaction, whether monetary or otherwise.

Prashant Mehta (Advocate) 018102006

PUBLIC NOTICE

Be It Known that my clients (1) SH. MUNESH KUMAR S/O Sh. Lala Ram (2) SMT. SURMA DEVI W/O Sh. MUNESH KUMAR both R/O-A-87, Gali No. 14, 25 Futa Road, Part-2, Mukund Pur Extn. North West Delhi, Delhi-110042 have disowned and severed all their blood relation with their daughter namely RITA KUMARI W/o Sh Kishan, their son-in-law KISHAN S/o Ranbir and their both sons namely RAGHAV and NITIN debarred them from their movable and immovable properties/ assets during their life time and after death. Anybody dealing with them in financial, civil and criminal matter shall be doing at his/her/hier own risk, cost and responsibility.

Advocate Kum. Chanchal
Enrl No.



FOUR-DAY EU POLLS TO START TOMORROW
TRACTORS RUMBLE IN EUROPE AHEAD OF POLLS

The far-right Flemish Interest party had set up the demonstration in the rolling fields south of Brussels, ahead of the four-day European Union elections which start on Thursday. The goal was clear: Decrying how farmers would lose fertile land to what they see as overbearing environmentalists trying to turn it into a chain of woods, killing off a traditional way of life.

TOP OF THE WORLD



Demilitarized zone separating the Koreans in the South. Reuters

SOUTH KOREA
S Korea to restart military activities on North border

Seoul: South Korea's military on Tuesday said it would resume all military activities along the demarcation line separating the two Koreas and the North West Islands after suspending an inter-Korean military agreement. The suspension of the military agreement with the North, which President Yoon Suk Yeol approved earlier on Tuesday, is in response to North Korea's decision to send hundreds of balloons carrying trash over the border. Under the pact, both agreed to "completely cease all hostile acts against each other".

REUTERS

TURKEY
Military training plane crashes, kills 2 soldiers

Ankara: A Turkish military training plane crashed in the central province of Kayseri on Tuesday, killing two soldiers, the Turkish defence ministry said, confirming video footage seen on local news media. The SF-260 D training aircraft had taken off from an air base in Kayseri with two pilots on board for training exercises, and the reason for its crash wasn't known, the ministry said. Emergency teams were dispatched to the crash site and found that both pilots had been killed, the ministry added.

REUTERS

PHILIPPINES
'Troops did not point arms at Chinese forces'

Manila: Philippine troops stationed on a warship grounded on a disputed South China Sea shoal held on to their weapons after Chinese coast guard boats came very close to the ship but they did not point their guns at them, military officials said Tuesday. Armed Forces of the Philippines Chief of Staff Romeo Brawner disputed an account by China's CCTV of what transpired during a routine resupply mission for Filipino troops on May 19. CCTV had reported at least two Filipino personnel pointed guns at their coast guards amid the confrontation at BRP Sierra Madre, a vessel grounded on Second Thomas Shoal turned into a garrison in 1999.

REUTERS

QATAR SAYS PROPOSAL NOW CLOSER TO POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES

US urges UN Security Council to back Biden's plan for Gaza ceasefire

US envoy to UN circulates draft resolution among council members

ASSOCIATED PRESS
UNITED NATIONS, JUNE 4

THE UNITED STATES urged the UN Security Council on Monday to support the three-phase plan announced by President Joe Biden aimed at ending the nearly eight-month war in Gaza, freeing all hostages and sending massive aid into the devastated territory. US Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield said the United States circulated a draft resolution to the 14 other council members to back the proposal for ending the conflict.

"Numerous leaders and governments, including in the region, have endorsed this plan and we call on the Security Council to join them in calling for implementation of this deal without delay and without further conditions," she said in a statement.

Qatar said Tuesday it delivered an Israeli proposal to Hamas that reflected the positions stated by Biden, adding that the paper was now much closer to the positions of both sides. The brief draft resolution, obtained by *The Associated Press*, would welcome the May 31 deal announced by Biden and call on Hamas "to accept it fully and implement its terms without delay and without condition." It makes no mention of Israeli acceptance of the deal.

When Biden made the announcement he called it an Israeli offer that includes an "enduring cease-fire" and Israeli withdrawal from Gaza if Hamas



Palestinians inspect a vehicle hit in an Israeli strike in Deir Al-Balah in central Gaza on Tuesday. Reuters

releases all hostages it is holding. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's biggest coalition partner said on Tuesday it would support the proposed plan even if it entails an overhaul of Israel's Gaza war strategy. The statement by Shas, an ultra-Orthodox Jewish party that holds 11 of parliament's 120 seats, followed similar remarks on Monday by Yitzhak Goldknopf, leader of the second such party in the coalition, United Torah Judaism, which has seven seats. Netanyahu had told parliament's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee on Monday that Biden gave an outline of the deal but not all the details, and he said there are "gaps."

WITH REUTERS INPUT

Iran Revolutionary Guards general killed in Israeli strikes inside Syria

THE NEW YORK TIMES
JUNE 4

ISRAELI AIRSTRIKES near Aleppo, Syria, in the early hours of Monday killed a general in Iran's Revolutionary Guards Corps who had been deployed to the country as an adviser, according to Iranian media reports.

The Iranian was identified as Gen. Saeed Abyar by Tasnim News agency, a media outlet affiliated with the Revolutionary Guards. He was believed to be the first



Ali Bagheri Kani, Iran interim foreign minister in Damascus on Tuesday. AP

Iranian killed by Israel since the two countries nearly went to war in April. Since then, however, the

two countries stepped back from direct confrontations, facing intense international pressure to not ignite a wider regional war. Iran is now enmeshed in a domestic leadership crisis, making new wave of attacks seem unlikely. His coffin, draped in the Iranian flag with his photograph attached, was taken to the Sayyida Zaynab shrine in Damascus, photographs on social media showed. General Abyar was a member of Iran's Quds Force, a branch of the Revolutionary Guards that operates largely in other countries.



35 YEARS OF TIANANMEN CRACKDOWN

Police patrol in Hong Kong on the 35th anniversary of the crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators at Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989. Security was tight and access restricted to Tiananmen Square Tuesday, as Hong Kong police detained several activists. Cities in Taiwan and elsewhere, meanwhile, prepared to mark the date with vigils. Reuters

Chinese lunar probe lifts off Moon with rock samples from far side

REUTERS
BEIJING, JUNE 4

CHINA'S CHANG'E-6 probe has lifted off from the far side of the moon, starting its journey back towards Earth, China's space agency announced Tuesday.

The probe's successful departure from the moon brings China

closer to becoming the first country to return samples from the far side of the moon, which permanently faces away from Earth.

The probe, which departed the moon at 7:38 am local time (2338 GMT) successfully completed its sample collection from June 2-3. China National Space Administration (CNSA) said in a statement that Chang'e-6 "with-

stood the test of high temperature on the far side of the moon".

Compared with its predecessor Chang'e-5, which retrieved samples from the near side of the moon, Chang'e-6 faced an additional technical challenge of operating without direct communications with ground stations on Earth, according to CNSA.

COMPLETELY ABSURD ACTIVITY: PESKOV

Swiss summit on Ukraine waste of time without Russia: Kremlin

China, Saudi will not attend; Ukraine says over 100 countries will participate

REUTERS
MOSCOW, JUNE 4

THE KREMLIN said on Tuesday it was understandable that some countries were declining to take part in a Swiss-hosted peace summit on Ukraine this month because the gathering lacked clear goals and it was absurd to hold it without Russia.

Ukraine says more than 100 countries and organisations have agreed to attend the summit on June 15-16, to which Moscow has not been invited.

"This is a completely absurd activity, this is an idle pastime," Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov told reporters. He said it was obvious the meeting was not geared towards results, and "that's why many countries don't want to waste time."

In a blow to Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, China has said it will not take part - something Russian parliament speaker Vyacheslav Volodin noted in a Telegram post on Tuesday. He cited press reports saying Saudi Arabia would not go either, although the kingdom has not publicly announced its position on the summit. Peskov said it was Saudi Arabia's sovereign matter.

The meeting is taking place at a crucial point in the third year of the war in Ukraine, where Russian forces have recorded a series of gradual gains since February.



Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov

RUSSIA LAUDS TURKEY 'DESIRE' TO JOIN BRICS

Moscow: Russia welcomes Turkey's reported desire to become part of the BRICS group of nations, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov said Tuesday, saying the subject would be on the agenda of the organisation's next summit. It was not immediately clear if Ankara would take steps to join the BRICS, as it has not previously stated its desire to join.

REUTERS

In recent weeks a number of NATO countries have said they will allow Ukraine to strike targets inside Russia with weapons they have supplied to Kyiv, something that President Vladimir Putin has warned could escalate the war into a global conflict.

Russia says it is open to dialogue on the basis of the "new realities" it has created on ground, where its forces control about 18% of Ukraine. Kyiv says peace can only be based on a full withdrawal of all Russian forces and the restoration of territorial integrity.

SEALED OVER 'VIOLATION OF BUILDING LAWS'

Pakistan High Court orders officials to de-seal Imran party office in Islamabad

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
ISLAMABAD, JUNE 4

THE ISLAMABAD High Court on Tuesday ordered authorities here to de-seal the Central Secretariat building of jailed ex-prime minister Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, providing a major relief to the beleaguered party.

The Capital Development Authority (CDA) on May 24 raided the office of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) in Islamabad and sealed the building, alleging that it was built by violating laws.

The party had challenged the action in the Islamabad High Court (IHC) where Justice Saman Rizvi on Monday reserved judgement after concluding the hearing. Announcing the verdict on Tuesday, the court ordered the CDA to de-seal the PTI central secretariat. "CDA may take action strictly in accordance with law in case of any non-conformity or violation of the applicable laws," IHC's Justice Saman Rafat Imtiaz said in a six-page written order.

The court, in its order, also said

PM SHARIF EMBARKS ON VISIT TO BEIJING

Islamabad: 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. Sharif will be in China from June 4 to 8.

PTI

that no receipt of such notice or show cause notice is on record. Moreover, the CDA did not issue a prior notice to the PTI before. The order also said the sealing order was neither addressed nor copied to the petitioner let alone any evidence of service of the same.

The development comes a day after PTI founder Khan was acquitted in three high-profile cases, including the cipher case, in a relief to the former prime minister.

'ERASED: WW2'S HEROES OF COLOR' PICTURISES TALES OF RETURN OF INDIANS TO COLONISATION & BLACK AMERICANS TO RACISM

Idris Elba helps uncover WWII soldiers of colour who never got their due

MARK KENNEDY
NEW YORK, JUNE 4

ONE OF Idris Elba's grandfathers fought in World War II, but he doesn't know what he endured. No pictures or stories survive. "That part of my family's history has been erased," says Elba.

That helped fuel the actor's push to narrate and executive produce the four-part National Geographic docuseries "Erased: WW2's Heroes of Color", which premiered Monday, days ahead of the 80th anniversary of D-Day, when the Allies landed on the

coast of France, on June 6. Episodes will also later be available on Disney+ and Hulu.

More than 8 million people of colour served with the Allies, and the series digs deep to focus on how some fared at D-Day, Dunkirk, Pearl Harbor and the Battle of the Bulge. It tells the story of the 320th Barrage Balloon Battalion, the only all-Black combat unit to fight on the D-Day beaches, and Force KG, a little-known Indian regiment of mule handlers from the British army trying to evacuate at Dunkirk.

The series uses archival footage, descendant interviews,

soldier journals and actor portrayals — a mix that Elba says he found visceral and moving.

"It really did actually impact me just in the narration booth... wondering about my own personal connect. Could my grandfather be one of the people in one of the pieces... So, it did definitely resonate with me." It also highlights stories like that of Doris Miller, a mess attendant aboard the USS West Virginia who after the attack at Pearl Harbor fired an unattended anti-aircraft gun.

He had never been trained to use the gun because Black sailors serving in the segregated stew-



Actor Francesco di Russo portrays combat medic Waverly Woodson Jr. in a scene from the miniseries. AP

ard's branch of the Navy were not given the training received by white sailors. Miller's bravery earned him the Navy Cross.

"It just feels like a privilege and an honour to be able to shed some light on their stories," says director Shianne Brown, who helmed the D-Day episode. Her episode highlighted Waverly Woodson, Jr., a medic who was wounded by shrapnel during the landing but nevertheless spent the next 30 hours treating the wounded and the dying on Omaha Beach. He would note: "There's no such thing as a color barrier in action." Brown says that observation proved so

powerful. "If your leg has just been blown off, you need a medic to help you. At that moment, you're not going to say to Waverly, 'No, I don't want you to treat me.'"

The series points out that many soldiers of color who fought the Nazis in Europe went home — the Indians back to British colonization and Black Americans to bitter racism — and began agitating for change because of what they'd witnessed and earned. Civil rights icon Medgar Evers, after all, was at D-Day.

"A lot of these men and women never felt like they were human before going to Europe

and then being treated like a normal human being by the white population," says Brown. "I can't even imagine how that would have felt for them. You've been fighting against Hitler and the Nazis and against fascism and hate, and you go home and you experience racial terror." The filmmakers found very little footage of non-white soldiers in the archives and so were moved when they finally came across images of a Black unit marching in central England before D-Day. "It was just very odd to see a Black man in Nazi Germany," says Elba.

AP

SC quashes
Sisodia bail plea
as ED assures
chargesheet
by July 3

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

THE SUPREME Court on Tuesday declined to entertain former Delhi Deputy Chief Minister Manish Sisodia's bail plea in the excise policy scam case as the Enforcement Directorate (ED) assured that it will file the final chargesheet against him by July 3.

Noting the assurance, a vacation bench of Justices Aravind Kumar and Sandeep Mehta disposed of the bail plea and said Sisodia can revive it once the chargesheet is filed. The court was hearing the plea against the Delhi HC order dismissing his bail plea.

Senior Advocate A M Singhvi told the bench that Sisodia who was arrested in February 2023, had already spent about 15 months in jail but the trial in the case is yet to start. Solicitor General Tushar Mehta said Sisodia was delaying framing of charges by filing different applications for supplying digital evidence even though those were supplied. Singhvi said the agencies were delaying trial by continuing probe for 2 years, filing supplementary chargesheets and making other arrests.

Justice Kumar told SG Mehta that from Singhvi's submissions, it is seen that there is no delay attributable to Sisodia and sought to know when the trial will begin. Justice Mehta said that in such cases, the delay may not be attributable to either side and it may be inevitable given the sheer volume of evidence.

Congress hits bypoll boundary, Sukhu says BJP's 'Operation Lotus' failed in Himachal

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
SHIMLA, JUNE 4

THE CONGRESS Tuesday won four out of six seats in Assembly bypolls, gaining a comfortable majority in the 68-member House, whose actual strength came down to 65 after resignations of three Independents were accepted on Monday.

The Congress grabbed four seats of Sujampur, Gagret, Kutlehar, and Lahaul and Spiti. In Sujampur, Capt Ranjeet Singh defeated the BJP's Rajinder Rana with a margin of 2,440 votes. Rakesh Kalia won Gagret Assembly seat with a margin of 8,487 votes, defeating the BJP's Chaitanya Sharma. Anuradha Rana defeated the BJP's Ravi Thakkur in Lahaul and Spiti with a margin of 1,960 votes. Vivek Sharma won from Kutlehar, defeating the BJP's Davinder Kumar Bhutto by 4,272 votes.

For the BJP, Inder Dutt Lakhnarpal defeated the Congress's Subhash Chand in Barsar by 2,125 votes and Sudhir Sharma trounced the Congress's Devinder Jaggi by 5,526 votes in Dharamshala.

With the four seats, the Congress tally has gone up from 34 to 38. The two new seats has taken the BJP tally up from 25 to 27. The bypoll victory has come as a shot in the arm of Chief Minister Sukhvinder Singh Sukhu whose government had faced rebellion and instability in February this year after the Rajya Sabha election in which six Congress MLAs had voted for the BJP.

Reacting to the results, CM

Sukhu said, "BJP's Operation Lotus has failed in Himachal Pradesh. Indeed, we lost four parliamentary seats but we were assured of our victory in the bypolls on six seats. It is the reason why we fielded our two young MLAs — Vikramaditya Singh and Vinod Sultanpuri — in parliamentary elections. As 97 per cent population of Himachal Pradesh is Hindu and it is a dev pradhan samaj, national issues, including Ram Temple, played a significant role. But the same people favoured Congress in the bypolls."

Sukhu, at a media conference in the presence of Vikramaditya Singh and Pratibha Singh, said, "Vikramaditya Singh was once not ready to contest Lok Sabha election. He was of the view that we would lose Assembly seats. But I personally urged him to contest." Repeating "dhanbal harega, janbal jeetega (people's mandate will defeat money power)" during campaigning, Sukhu largely attacked six Congress rebels, especially Rajinder Rana of Sujampur, Sudhir Sharma of Dharamshala and Davinder Kumar Bhutto of Kutlehar, for accepting money for switching sides.

Two seats each for SP, BJP in UP Assembly bypolls

Lucknow: The by-election for four Assembly seats in Uttar Pradesh, held without much hype, saw the ruling BJP winning two seats comfortably as the results were announced on Tuesday. The contested seats were Dadraul, Lucknow East, Gainsari and Duddhi. The BJP and the SP won two seats each in the bypoll.

In two of these seats, the sons of deceased legislators were contesting the election, where they saw victory. Dadraul, vacated after the death of BJP MLA Manvendra Singh saw his son Arvind Kumar Singh winning. SP's Rakesh Kumar Yadav, who contested in Gainsari after the death of his father Shiv Pratap Yadav, too saw victory. The Duddhi seat, where polls were held after the conviction of BJP MLA, Ramdular Gond, went to SP's Vijay Kumar Singh. BJP also won Lucknow East seat, with the victory of O P Srivastava. ENS

PUBLIC NOTICE

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that our client intends to enter into a transaction in respect of lands admeasuring 13 Bigha 8 Biswa 11 Biswansi i.e. 8.3922 Acres situated at Village Gadoli Kalan, Tehsil Kadipur, District Gurugram, Haryana (hereinafter referred to as the "Said Land") with its current owners, and under our client's instructions we are investigating the rights, title and interests over the Said Land. The description and current ownership of Said Land is detailed in **Schedule**.

Any entity (including any bank or financial institution) / person having or claiming any right, title, claim, benefit, demand, possession or interest of any nature in and over with respect to the Said Land or having any objection to the intended transaction or if any entity / person has any knowledge of or is party to any sale, agreement, exchange, assignment, charge, gift, license, tenancy, inheritance, lien, mortgage, hypothecation, encumbrance, pending litigation, possession, contract/agreement, development rights, partnership, family arrangement/ settlement, decree or order of any Court, acquisition by Government or any other entity, prohibition or any other impediment with respect to the Said Land, then such entity / person should inform us in writing with documentary proof on the address mentioned below within a period of 15 (Fifteen) days from the date of publication of this notice, failing which it shall be deemed and presumed that no adverse right, title, interest, share, claim or demand of any nature whatsoever exists in or upon or in respect of the Said Land.

SCHEDULE

S. No.	LAND DESCRIPTION	LAND OWNERS
1	Khasra No. 117min (17 Biswa 3 Biswansi), 118min (2 Bigha 1 Biswa 2 Biswansi), 119/1 (1 Bigha 15 Biswa) situated at Village Gadoli Kalan, Tehsil Kadipur, District Gurugram, Haryana	Ramprastha Promoters and Developers Private Limited (544/2845 share) S.A. Infracon Private Limited (556/2845 share) Ramprastha Township Private Limited (1745/2845 share)
2	Khasra No. 121 (3 Bigha 6 Biswa) situated at Village Gadoli Kalan, Tehsil Kadipur, District Gurugram, Haryana	Ramprastha Realtors Private Limited (1/9 share) Ramprastha Developers Private Limited (5/6 share) BSY Developers Private Limited (1/18 share)
3	Khasra No. 122 (3 Bigha 4 Biswa) situated at Village Gadoli Kalan, Tehsil Kadipur, District Gurugram, Haryana	BSY Infrastructure Private Limited
4	Khasra No. 123/1 (2 Bigha 5 Biswa 6 Biswansi) situated at Village Gadoli Kalan, Tehsil Kadipur, District Gurugram, Haryana	S.A. Infracon Private Limited

Sachit Mathur & Ajay Bhadu (Advocates)
Emerald Law Offices
E-Mail: publicnotice@emeraldlaw.in
G-2, Ground Floor, Anand Niketan, New Delhi- 110021

**Institute of Infrastructure, Technology, Research And Management (IITRAM)**
(An Autonomous University established by Government of Gujarat)
Website: www.iitram.ac.in

Applications are invited for the post of Director General

IITRAM is established by Government of Gujarat Act 5/2013 in Ahmedabad as a University for imparting knowledge and offers courses with specialization in Infrastructure, Technology and Management of Infrastructure in particular and to create centre of excellences in the related areas. The Institute is seeking applications and/or nominations for the position of its **Director General**.
For further details, please refer www.iitram.ac.in
The last date of online application is **30 June 2024**.

Advt-3/2024 Date 03/06/2024

**Ministry of Culture**
Government of India

Prime Ministers Museum and Library
cordially invites you to a **Talk** on
**Recognition of China:
British Influence on Nehru's China Policy in Early 1950s**
by
Dr. Atul Bharadwaj
Fellow, PMML
Thursday, 06 June 2024 at 3:00pm
Venue:
Seminar Room, Library Building
Prime Ministers Museum and Library
Teen Murti House, New Delhi

All are Welcome.
Those wishing to have their names added to the email list may please email us at:
ccs2nmml@gmail.com

CBC-09142/12/0008/2425

**NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE EMPOWERMENT OF PERSONS WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES (DIVYANGJAN)**
Formerly National Institute for the Mentally Handicapped
Department of Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities (Divyangjan)
(Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India)
(An ISO 9001:2015 Institute)

Manovikasnagar, Secunderabad-500 009, Telangana
Tel.No.: 091-40-27751741-745; Fax No. 091-040-27750198; Website: www.niepid.nic.in

EMPLOYMENT NOTICE NO.01/2024

The Institute invites applications from eligible candidates for various Faculty and Non-Faculty posts to be filled on Regular basis at NIEPID, Secunderabad, its RCs and CRC, Davangere.

The Institute also invites applications from eligible candidates to be filled on **contractual basis** including posts for **Cross Disability Early Intervention Centres (CDEIC)** Unit at NIEPID, Headquarters & its Composite Regional Centres located at Nellore, Rajnandgaon and Davangere functioning under the administrative control of NIEPID.

For complete details regarding name of the post, no. of posts, category of the regular posts, details of contractual posts, educational qualifications, experience, age prescribed for the posts, terms and conditions and to download application forms, please visit Institute's website **www.niepid.nic.in**. Last date for submission of applications is 19.07.2024. Any modifications in the above notification will be given in Institute's website only.

DIRECTOR (OFFG.)

NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY
E-TENDER NOTICE
DRM/Electrical, North Western Railway, Jodhpur for & on behalf of the President of India, invites E-tender for the following work:
Tender No.: 04/ 2024-25 1. Complete details of tenders can be seen on Website: <http://www.irops.gov.in> 2. **Date & time of closing of e-tender:** 25.06.2024 up to 15.00 hrs. 3. **Date & time of opening of e-tender:** After 15.00 hrs. on 25.06.2024
Name of Work: Comprehensive Annual maintenance contract for 02 Nos. of escalators of Johnson make for 03 years at Jodhpur Station. **Approx. Cost of the work:** Rs. 17,81,967.92
641-PM/24
Follow us on:    [NWRRailways](https://www.facebook.com/NWRRailways) [NWRRailways](https://www.linkedin.com/company/NWRRailways)

NOTICE
Gaurav Garg (BACPG1173K) is going to surrender his SEBI registration certificate as a **Research Analyst** with registration number **INH000015613**, if anyone has any grievances, they can lodge the grievances at **scores.gov.in**

WESTERN RAILWAY - RAJKOT DIVISION
VARIOUS WORKS FOR COACHES AT VARIOUS C&W DEPOT
Tender Notice No. M-2024-08-PA-O-H-R
Date: 30-05-2024. (1) **Name of work:** General Furnishing Carpentry, plumbing & passenger amenity work of primary secondary & terminating/S&TR maintenance coaches at C&W depot OKHA, HAPA & RAJKOT for the period of 2 years. (2) **Approx. Cost:** ₹ 2,44,56,431.92 (3) **Earnest Money:** ₹ 2,72,300/- (4) **Date and Time for submission and opening of Tender:** Up to 15.00 hrs. on 20-06-2024 and opening of tender at 15.30 hrs. on 20-06-2024. (5) **Address of the office from where the tender form can be purchased, Location of Office Board and Website Particulars:** Divisional Railway Manager, (Mechanical), Western Railway, Kothi Compound, Rajkot-360001. **Website:** www.irops.gov.in **RJT-029**
Follow us on:   [WesternRly](https://www.facebook.com/WesternRly) [twitter.com/WesternRly](https://www.twitter.com/WesternRly)

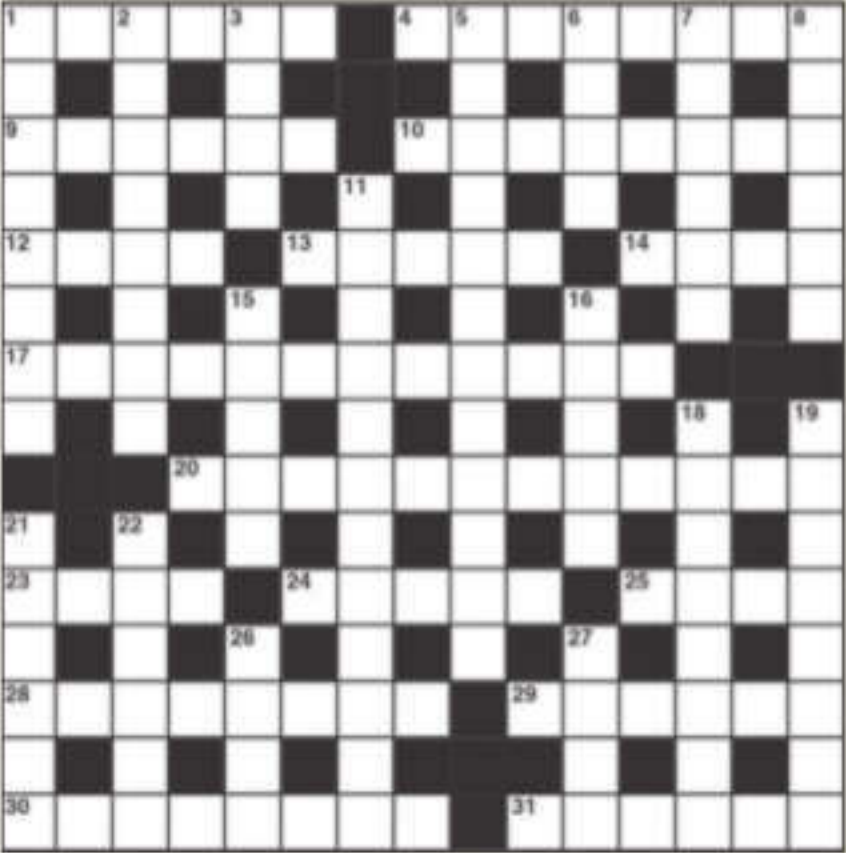
WESTERN RAILWAY - AHMEDABAD DIVISION
ELECTRICAL WORK
E-Tender Notice No. Sr.DEE/ADI/13 (24-25). dt.31-05-2024. **Sr.No.:** 1; **Tender No. EL-50-1-ADI-T-23-2024-25** **Name of Work:** Ahmedabad Division : Electrical work in connection with repairs to existing road, circulating area of officer club and major repair of sports facility at Gandhigram Railway colony, development works at Naroda and Sidhpur Goods shed, shifting of VRF AI-Conditioning plant from CPRS to DRM building and replacement of parts in defective APFC panels. **Estimated cost:** ₹ 1,58,79,071/- **Earnest Money:** ₹ 2,29,400/- **Date and Time of Submission and opening:** Not later than 15.00 Hrs of 27-06-2024 and 27-06-2024 at 15.30 Hrs. (5) **Address of the office and Website details:** Sr. Divisional Electrical Engineer, D.R.M. Office (W.R.), Near Chamunda bridge, Opp. G.C.S. hospital, Naroda road, Amdapura, Ahmedabad-382345. **Website:** www.irops.gov.in **ADI-057**
Follow us on:   [WesternRly](https://www.facebook.com/WesternRly) [twitter.com/WesternRly](https://www.twitter.com/WesternRly)

MUTHOOT FINCORP LTD. | GOLD AUCTION NOTICE

Regd. Office: Muthoot Centre, TC No 27/3022, Punnen Road, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, India - 695001.
CIN : U65929KL1997PLCC011518, Ph: +91 471 4911400, 2331427

Notice is hereby given for the information of all concerned that Gold ornaments pledged with under mentioned branches of the company for the period upto 30.06.2023 & MSGL, SPL-16, One plus, Guide Prepaid, Super value, ADGL and all other 6 months tenure Gold loans up to 30.09.2023 and MSGB, SME Suravama & EMI due up to 31.03.2024 which were overdue for redemption and which have not been redeemed so far in spite of repeated notices, will be auctioned on 12.06.2024 from 10 am onwards:
GHAZIABAD DISTRICT - BHAGEL: 417500006, 417500008, 417500011, 417500013, 417500016, 417500019, 417500024, 417500026, 417500028, 417500029, 417500030, 417500032, 417500033, 417500034, 417500035, 417500036, 417500037, 417500038, 417500039, 417500040, 417500041, 417500042, 417500043, 417500044, 417500045, 417500046, 417500047, 417500048, 417500049, 417500050, 417500051, 417500052, 417500053, 417500054, 417500055, 417500056, 417500057, 417500058, 417500059, 417500060, 417500061, 417500062, 417500063, 417500064, 417500065, 417500066, 417500067, 417500068, 417500069, 417500070, 417500071, 417500072, 417500073, 417500074, 417500075, 417500076, 417500077, 417500078, 417500079, 417500080, 417500081, 417500082, 417500083, 417500084, 417500085, 417500086, 417500087, 417500088, 417500089, 417500090, 417500091, 417500092, 417500093, 417500094, 417500095, 417500096, 417500097, 417500098, 417500099, 417500100, 417500101, 417500102, 417500103, 417500104, 417500105, 417500106, 417500107, 417500108, 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CROSSWORD 5382



- ACROSS**
- 1 Part of the engine to spin round (6)
 - 4 Third party insurance for a girl out socially (8)
 - 9 Foliage left on the edges of the roof (6)
 - 10 Entertainers needing a rest sit out (8)
 - 12 They're often found in a lather (4)
 - 13 Shelter in the street from snow and rain (5)
 - 14 A group involved in patriotic activities (4)
 - 17 The gear to which skilled workers may feel entitled (12)
 - 20 Main subject taken by students (12)
 - 23 Points to a top-class manuscript (4)
 - 24 About to notice, for instance, returning birds (5)
 - 25 Fringe report? (4)
 - 28 Want to put a blemish on a large town (8)
 - 29 Where is seen the outcome of the shooting (6)
 - 30 Shows fish that are left (8)
 - 31 When to tell all? (6)
- DOWN**
- 1 A friend has new ideas for making a fence (8)
 - 2 Knotted soft and loud tie (5,3)
 - 3 Nothing to write, to be frank (4)
 - 5 He gets in the corn (7,5)
 - 6 Duet for piano melody (4)
 - 7 A type of fan club (6)
 - 8 A wise man is in France and not outside (6)
 - 11 False registration made by a burglar (7,5)
 - 15 Cheap variety of fruit (5)
 - 16 The chaplain's home again (5)
 - 18 They have something to say on the radio (8)
 - 19 A singular spectacle? (8)
 - 21 Settles rises in salary (4,2)
 - 22 I'm not one to weaken (6)
 - 26 It's a blemish in anyone's carpet (4)
 - 27 Failing to become a deputy (4)

Solutions Crossword 5381 Across: 1 Utter, 4 Parsley, 8 Una, 9 Dirt track, 10 Element, 11 Appal, 13 Evince, 15 Jetsam, 18 Tango 19 Ailment, 21 Racehorse, 23 Gas, 24 Baby-sit, 25 Eerie Down: 1 Ukulele, 2 Tragedian, 3 Ridge, 4 Pirate, 5 Ratrace, 6 Lea, 7 Yokel, 12 Passenger, 14 Clothes, 16 Matisse, 17 Carrot, 18 Throb, 20 Liege, 22 Cub

OVER THE HEDGE by Michael Fry & T Lewis



CALVIN & HOBBS by Bill Watterson



MARVIN by Tom Armstrong



JUMBLED WORDS

Given below are four jumbled words. Solve the jumbles to make proper words and move them to the respective squares below. Select the letters in the shaded squares and jumble them to get the answer for the given quip.
We carry within us the ___ we seek without us. - Thomas Browne (7)

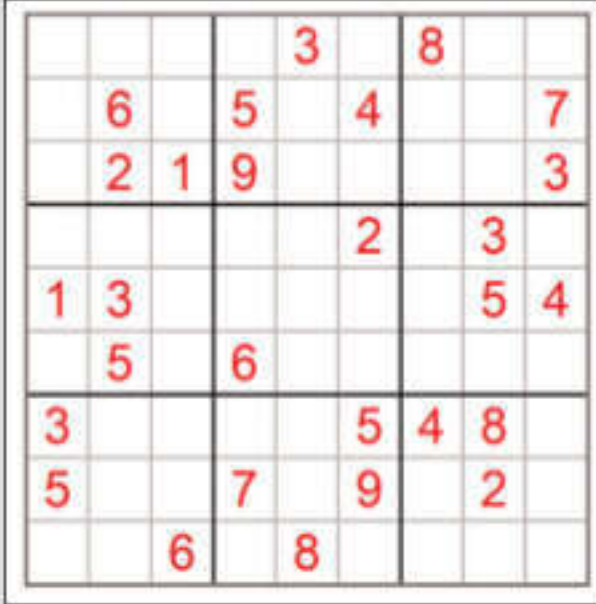
ANVER
■■■■■
NRWOS
■■■■■

IIIVDN
■■■■■
AMPSYW
■■■■■

SOLUTION: ANVERN, DIVINE, SWAMPY
Answer: We carry within us the words we seek without us. - Thomas Browne

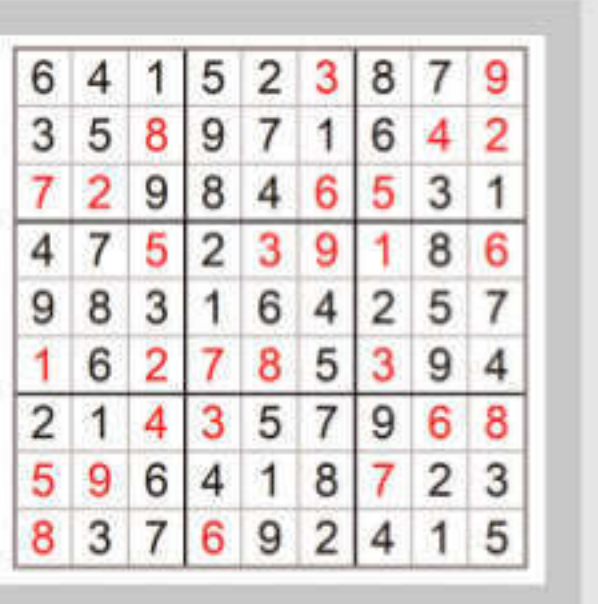
SUDOKU 5582

Difficulty Level 2s
Instructions
To solve a Sudoku puzzle, every digit from 1 to 9 must appear in each of the nine vertical columns, in each of the nine horizontal rows and in each of the nine boxes.



Difficulty Level
1s = Very easy; 2s = Easy; 3s = Medium; 4s = Hard; 5s = Very Hard; 6s = Genius

SOLUTION SUDOKU 5581



DAY TODAY

BY PETER VIDAL

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20)
Several planets are facing up to some of the most sensitive areas of your solar chart, and the tension is increased tenfold by their approach to your sign. If you feel lost or out on a limb, don't worry, but be calm and wait for the moment to pass.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21)
Today's planetary set-up is not perfect, but it's still on your side. Your concern could be whether you would rather spend time with casual friends or close partners. That shouldn't be too much of a problem. If you're making big plans try to look at them from a fresh angle.

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21)
Nothing is ever as certain as you imagine, and even if you think that someone at work holds the key, you are likely to be mistaken. In spite of appearances, they are as likely to be in the dark as you. Could it be a case of the blind leading the blind? You'll soon find out.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23)
You could still be counting the cost of an unwise investment or an unprofitable business association, but what saves you could be someone else's readiness to pick up the tab. There is so much to hope for at the moment that you really must believe in yourself.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23)
You are about to find out just how expensive love can be. You may as well throw caution to the wind and spend as much as is required to buy the emotional rewards you desire and deserve. But have you forgotten all those lessons from the past? Perhaps you have.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23)
The only thing wrong with being completely enthusiastic is that you may either lose touch with reality or with partners' own hopes. Your best chances come from keeping the dialogue going and asking loved ones what they want. You don't have to give way to their every whim, mind you.

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23)
Most of the pieces should now have been fitted into an emotional jigsaw. There may be one or two items still causing some doubt, and if you have any sense you will rely on your experience rather than vague hopes. And that's before you even begin to seek help from those in the know.

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23)
Perhaps more than anything else your feelings have been dominated by difficulties associated with home, some of which may be purely practical, while others seem to be nothing more than memories of what happened long ago. You are now coming out of this period wiser and more experienced.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 22)
The approaching awkward encounter between romantic Venus and passionate Pluto is now pulling you sharply in two directions, and emotional choices are becoming critical. How much longer you can sit on the fence? Probably for a very long time.

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20)
The Moon is on your side, steadying your emotions and endowing you with a sense that you are indeed on the right track. In love, you may express yourself as poetically as you like and with as much originality as you can muster. There is no alternative.

AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19)
If shopping trips are on the agenda, you may go for luxuries rather than necessities, and if investments are looming, aim for the arts as the most lucrative field. Above all, you should take charge of your finances, rather than being swamped by them.

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)
You may be convinced that you're absolutely right, but you really must listen to other people, including close partners at work as well as at home. Don't take criticism personally, but realise that it is well-meant and that there is plenty for you to learn.

RAIL WHEEL FACTORY
YELAHANKA, BENGALURU - 560 064.
Website: www.rwf.indianrailways.gov.in

TENDER NOTICE NO.RWF/S/P/002/2024-25 dt.03.06.24

On behalf of the President of India, Principal Chief Materials Manager invites electronic Tenders from Interested Vendors for supply of the following items on the Indian Railways E-Portal-www.irps.gov.in. The Tender documents and the Compigenda to the Tenders, if any, will be available on the Portal only.

Sl	Tender No	Due date	Short Description	Qty
1	P1232085B	18-06-24	Steel Blooms 300 mm Square R16 as per RWF Specification	39683 MT
2	P1241189	18-06-24	Tin coated spiral machine taps 1"x 8UNC, overall length 130mm. Thread length 32 mm, shank dia 18mm, 14 mm square, material shall be M35	2025 Nos.
3	P1241549	18-06-24	Clay Graphite Tapered Ingate Sleeve conforming to RWF specification and drawing. [1] B21 - 4097 Nos. [2] D17 - 811 Nos. [3] D19 - 597 Nos. [4] D21 - 654 Nos. [5] B2 - 2469 Nos. [6] B3 - 1021 Nos. [7] B4 - 443 Nos.	
4	P1241473	20-06-24	Face Milling Cutter [1] RH - 03 Sets and [2] LH - 03 Sets.	
5	P1241548	20-06-24	Castor Oil conforming to IS-435/1973 of special grade the viscosity within 6.3 to 9.0 stroke.	20800 Kg
6	P1241575	24-06-24	Graphite Mould Blanks 1224 mm DIA X 575 mm HEIGHT (48.2" X 22.6") to RWF specification [Development Tender]	32 Nos.
7	P1241403	24-06-24	Pouring Tube Ceramic as per RWF specification and drawing	1358 Nos.
8	P1232304D	28-06-24	Inserts LNXJ 38 X 22 X 40 P-30 to P-40. [Development Tender]	1000 Nos.
9	P1241617	28-06-24	High Alumina roof set for delta zone of arc furnace as per specification and drawing. [Development Tender]	15 Sets
10	P1241628	01-07-24	Fire Clay Mortar - 1) AL2 O3 = 35-40%, 2) PCE = 28 min., 3) Fe2 O3 = 3% max., 4) Mesh Size = 95% passing through 150 micron sieve	255023 Kg

Principal Chief Materials Manager

APPEAL FOR IDENTIFICATION

General public is hereby informed that an unidentified dead body of male. Name: Unknown, S/o: Unknown, R/o: Unknown, Age: about 60-65 Years, Height: 5'2", Complexion: Shallow, Wearing: Grey color kurta and saffron tehmad. who was found at KM pole No.7/5G to 7/3G GZB to NDLS up Railway Line PF.02, Old Anand Vihar, Delhi In this regard a case DD. No. 45A dated 31.05.2024 has been registered at P.S. Anand Vihar RLY Station, Delhi.

Any person having any information or clue about the deceased may kindly inform to the undersigned on the following address or telephone nos.

Sd/- SHO
P.S.: Anand Vihar RLY Station, Delhi
DP/6771/RLY/2024 Ph. 8750871314

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

See Section 82 CrPC

Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused person (1) Gaurav Sharma @ Bholu, S/o Naval Kishore, R/o H. No. 86, Gali No.-2, Prem Vihar-I, DLF Colony, Loni, Ghaziabad (U.P.) AND (2) Ravi Mishra S/o Sita Ram R/o C-17, G No.-19, Mukund Vihar, Karawal Nagar, Delhi have committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case FIR No. 257/2017, U/s 25/54/59 Arms Act, P.S. Khajuri Khas, Delhi and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused Gaurav Sharma @ Bholu And Ravi Mishra cannot be found, and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused Gaurav Sharma @ Bholu And Ravi Mishra have absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant);

Proclamation is hereby made that the said Gaurav Sharma @ Bholu And Ravi Mishra accused of FIR No. 257/2017, U/s 25/54/59 Arms Act, P.S. Khajuri Khas, Delhi are required to appear before this Court to answer the said complaint on or before 11.07.2024.

By Order
Sh. Sukhjeet Singh
Metropolitan Magistrate-3,
Room No. 22, North East Distt.
Karkardooma Court, Delhi

DP/6738/NE/2024
(Court Matter)

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

See Section 82 Cr.P.C.

Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused person Bichoo S/o Ram Chander R/o Premises Left Hand Side to Plot No. 18, Roshan Garden, Near Santram Dairy, Najafgarh, New Delhi has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence case CT Case No. 1172/2021 u/s 135 Indian Electricity Act, at P.S. Najafgarh, New Delhi and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said Bichoo cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said Bichoo has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant). Proceeding u/s 82 Cr.P.C. has been initiated in the case. Proclamation is hereby made that the said Bichoo accused of CT Case No. 1172/2021 u/s 135 Indian Electricity Act, at P.S. Najafgarh, New Delhi is required to appear before this Court to answer the said complaint on 03.08.2024.

By Order: Sh. Vinod Kumar Meena,
Add. District & Session Judge (South-West)
Special Court (Electricity)
Court No. 609, Dwarka Court, Delhi

DP/6809/DW/2024

SEARCH FOR MISSING

General public is hereby informed that a female namely Shilpa Ahuja W/o Surinder Mohan Ahuja, R/o Thmber (208), Ambala, Haryana has been missing since 28.05.2024 at 12:00 PM from Hotel Pitrashish Premium, 59/37, New Rohtak Road, Delhi. In this regard FIR No. 219/24, U/S 306/34 IPC, Dated 29.05.2024 has been lodged at Police Station DBG Road, Delhi. The description of missing female is as under:

Name: Shilpa Ahuja, Age: 57 Years, Height: 5'5", Complexion: Fair, Wearing: Green Colour Suit & Salwar.

If anyone has any information about this missing female please inform P.S. DBG Road, Delhi.
Web: http://cbi.nic.in, E-mail: cbc@cbi.gov.in
Ph.: 011-24368638/24368641, Fax: 011-24368639

SHO
P. S. DBG Road, Delhi
DP/6837/CD/2024 Ph.: 8750870429, 8447604185

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

See Section 82 CrPC

Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused person RAVI S/o: Manish R/o: Village Nand Nagar, P.S. +Post-Vanshiram, Distt.-Basti, U.P., also at: Begabond ISBT, Kashmere Gate, Bus Adda Foot Path has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case DD No. 38A Dt. 22.05.2021, U/s 103 D.P. Act, P.S. Civil Lines, Delhi, and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused RAVI cannot be found, and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused RAVI has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant);

Proclamation is hereby made that the said RAVI accused of DD No. 38A Dt. 22.05.2021, U/s 103 D.P. Act, P.S. Civil Lines, Delhi, is required to appear before this Court to answer the said complaint on or before 26.07.2024.

By Order
Sh. Gaurav Goyal
Metropolitan Magistrate, Central Distt.,
Room No. 247, Tis Hazari Courts, Delhi

DP/6568/N/2024
(Court Matter)

SEARCH OF MISSING

General public is hereby informed that one male (depicted in the photo), Namely: Jairaj S/o Bir Bhadur, R/o H.No. AB-75, Khirki Extension Malviya Nagar, New Delhi Aged: 41 years, has been missing from the above address In this regard a GD No.53-A Dated 01.02.2024, has been lodged at P.S. Malviya Nagar, New Delhi. His physical description is as under:

Jairaj
Complexion: Shallow, Height: 5'5" Feet, Wearing: Grey Jacket & Blue Jeans.

Any person is having any information/clue about this missing male, may inform to the following at E-mail: cbc@cbi.gov.nic.in or website : http://cbi.nic.in Tele No. :011-24368638 or 24368641 S.H.O

P.S. Malviya Nagar, New Delhi
Ph: 011-26591861,
7065569292, 8750870822

DP/1676/SD/2024

Appeal for Identification

General Public is hereby informed that a male dead body Name: Unknown, S/o: Unknown, R/o: Unknown, Age: 30-35 years Approx., Height: 5'7", Complexion: Shallow, Face: Oval, Build: Thin, Wearing: Check Shirt & Gray Pant was found dead at Ring Road, Infront of Swami Naryan Mandir, Under Loop, Civil Line, Delhi, on 02.06.2024.

In this regard, FIR No. 306/24 dated 02.06.2024 U/S 279/304A IPC has been lodged at PS Civil Line, Delhi. Dead Body preserved in Subzi Mandi Mortuary.

Sincere efforts have been made by local police to trace out information about this dead body but no clue has come to light so far. Any, person having any information or clue about this dead body may kindly inform to the following.

SHO
P.S., Civil Line, Delhi
Ph. : 011-23814543
8750870127, 9999477412

DP/6776/N/2024

APPEAL FOR IDENTIFICATION

General public is hereby informed that this person (depicted in the photo) Name: Unknown, S/o: Unknown, R/o: Unknown, Age: about 30-35 years, Sex: Male, Height: 5'6", Complexion: Shallow, Wearing: Black color Shirt and Black & Yellow Lower, found dead at Plate farm No. 02, Nangloi Railway Station, Delhi on 30.05.2024 under area of P.S. Sarai Rohilla Railway Station, Delhi.

In this regard a DD No. 6A, dated 30.05.2024 has been lodged at P.S. Sarai Rohilla Railway Station, Delhi.

Sincere efforts have been made by local police to trace out information about this person but no clue has come to light so far. If any person having any information or clue about this person may kindly inform to the following.

SHO
P.S. - Sarai Rohilla Railway Station, Delhi
Ph.: 011-28711697, 8750871308

DP/6758/Rly/2024 (UIDB)

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

See Section 82 Cr.P.C.

Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused Bhajan Preet Singh, R/o: CH-102, Abhimanyu Apartment, Vasundhara Enclave, Delhi has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case CT Cases/4769/2019, U/s 138 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, P.S.: Pandav Nagar, East Delhi and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused Bhajan Preet Singh cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused Bhajan Preet Singh has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant). Proclamation is hereby made that the said Bhajan Preet Singh accused of CT Cases/4769/2019, U/s 138 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, P.S.: Pandav Nagar, East Delhi is required to appear before this Court to answer the said complaint on or before 04.07.2024.

By Order
Ms. Shazadi Halima Sadiya
Metropolitan Magistrate
Karkardooma Court, Delhi

DP/6814/ED/2024
(Court Matter)

Appeal for Identification

General public is hereby informed that one person Name: Unknown, S/o: Unknown, R/o: Unknown, Age: About 60-65 Yrs., Height: 5'8", Sex: Male, Complexion: Wheatish, Face: Round, Built: Thin, Wearing : Silver Grey Colour T-Shirt and Black Colour Half Pant, Place of Recovery: Found Dead near Out Gate, ISBT Anand Vihar, Delhi. The dead body of deceased has been preserved in the Mortuary of LBS Hospital for identification.

In this regard DD No. 44A, Dated 02.06.2024 has been lodged at Police Station: Patparganj Industrial Area, East Distt., Delhi. Any clue come to notice please inform undersign.

SHO
P.S.: Patparganj Industrial Area, Delhi
Ph.: 8750870626, 9654963400

DP/6799/ED/2024

No. 26-106 (1)/Rel/2013-LI-P&F
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE
DEPARTMENT OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, DAIRYING & FISHERIES (P&F DIVISION)
Dated : 04.06.2024

NOTICE INVITING TENDER (NIT)

Online tenders are invited on behalf of the President of India for conducting Livestock Insurance during 2024-25 in all districts of Madhya Pradesh. Interested Agencies are requested to quote their rates through online portal to the Managing Director, M.P. State Livestock & Poultry Development Corporation, Bhopal. The tender will be opened on 28.06.2024 at 15:00 hrs. in the presence, if any, of the participating bidders. The schedule, terms and conditions are available on www.mptenders.gov.in and the tender form may be purchased from 06.06.2024 from 10:30 hrs. to 26.06.2024 up 17:30 hrs. after online paying the cost of Rs. 10000/- (portal fee extra) for tender documents.

MANAGING DIRECTOR
Phone : (0) 0755-2776086
Fax : 0755-2776086
M.P. Madhyam/114688/2024 E-mail. mpdpchpl@rediffmail.com

DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONAL INVESTORS PROPPED UP THE MARKET

Foreign portfolio investors stepped up selling in the run-up to elections

GEORGE MATHEW
MUMBAI, JUNE 4

FOREIGN PORTFOLIO investors (FPIs) seemed to have some indication about the outcome of Lok Sabha elections as their selling in stocks intensified since January this year.

With China beckoning them again as an alternative investment destination, foreign players pulled out around Rs 125,000 crore from the cash market (excluding IPO investments) since January this year. However, domestic institutional investors, led by mutual funds and insurance companies, bought stocks worth Rs 300,000 crore during the five-month period, aiding benchmark indices to hit new peaks.

According to stock exchange data, FPIs sold stocks worth Rs 75,000 crore during the March-May period while DIs propped up the market by investing Rs 150,000 crore in the stock market. The FPI action was contrary to the popular perception that NDA will better its 2019 tally, winning over 350 seats.

On Tuesday, FPIs sold a record Rs 12,436.22 crore worth of Indian equities on a net basis.

In fact, FPIs were sellers in the stock market in the last five years by pulling out Rs 3.94 lakh crore from stocks. However, domestic funds came to the rescue of the market by investing Rs 7.83 lakh crore during the five



BSE on Tuesday.

PTI

years, taking the market to new heights.

Market experts said that several classes of investors, including FPIs, had taken short positions in the market and after the exit polls predicted a win for the ruling BJP, the market witnessed short covering of those positions by investors and the Sensex surged 3.39 per cent on June 3.

While FPIs holding long position in the markets had taken some short position to hedge their risk in case of an adverse poll outcome, there were other group of investors who took short position in line with their expectation that the BJP may

not come to power on their own and may need to cobble up an alliance to form the government, they said.

IIFL Securities Lead-Research Jayesh Bhanushali said foreign portfolio managers have been negative on India due to the emerging attractiveness of Chinese stocks and likely election uncertainties. However, the weekend exit polls result made short-sellers cover their positions.

"A trend which was witnessed in 5 months preceding the election results since 2009 was that the FI were net positive in the cash segment. However, in 2024, FIIs have sold

around Rs 1.26 lakh crore worth of stock in the cash segment since January. We believe that the FIIs are likely to stage a comeback in the second half of calendar year 2024 in India due to steady economic growth, stable government, and a favourable macro-economic environment with the expected rate cuts by the central banks," he said.

The main trigger for the FPI selling has been the outperformance of the Chinese stocks. The Hang Seng index boomed 8 per cent in the first half of May triggering selling in India and buying in Chinese stocks, according to V K Vijayakumar,

EXPLAINED FPIs sold, DIs bought

FOREIGN PORTFOLIO investors (FPIs) sold stocks worth Rs 75,000 crore during the March-May period while domestic Institutional Investors (DIs) propped up the market by investing Rs 150,000 crore in the stock market, according to stock exchange data. The FPI action was contrary to the popular perception that NDA will better its 2019 tally, winning over 350 seats.

Chief Investment Strategist, Geojit Financial Services

Another reason was the spike in US bond yields. Whenever the US 10-year bond yields rose above 4.5 per cent, FPIs sold in emerging markets like India and moved money to bonds.

These two factors also prompted the selling of equity in India. FPI activity in June will be crucially influenced by the election results. If the election results ensure political stability, the market is likely to respond positively to that. However, in the medium term, US interest rates will exert more influence on FPI flows.

Amid markets bloodbath, FMCG stocks log gains on consumption boost hopes

AGGAM WALIA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 4

ON A day when both the Sensex and the Nifty 50 tanked by nearly 6 per cent, key FMCG stocks including Dabur, Hindustan Unilever, and Colgate-Palmolive stood out with significant gains.

The incumbent NDA's expected return to power with a slimmer majority than before, coupled with the BJP losing its majority in the Lok Sabha, could force the new government to step up welfare policies that could, in turn, boost consumption, analysts said on the trend.

Among FMCG stocks, Dabur Ltd's share price recorded the highest jump of 6.46 per cent to Rs 580, its highest since July last year. The Hindustan Unilever Ltd's (HUL) stock surged by 5.78 per cent to Rs 2,492.15 and Colgate-Palmolive India Ltd's by 4.53 per cent to Rs 2,809. Britannia Ltd and Nestle India Ltd also closed at over 3 per cent higher than yesterday. Overall, the Nifty FMCG index jumped by 0.95 per cent. ITC Ltd, which carries a weightage of nearly 33 per cent in the index, dropped slightly by 0.71 per cent to Rs 419.85 when markets closed on June 4.

Retail giant Avenue Supermarts Ltd, which operates a chain of supermarkets under DMart, also closed 4 per cent higher to Rs 4,525.

In a report released last month, Bernstein Research forecasted that in the event of the Opposition-led INDIA alliance gaining seats in the recently concluded general elections, consumption stocks could gain in the short-term.

"The role of Government in facilitating orderly capex is high; hence, a return of NDA is favourable for that, while a change will likely deliver haphazard growth with the risk of a shorter upcycle with structural challenges after that for those linked to capex. Conversely, consumption may be more favourable in the case of opposition gaining strength, at least in the near term. The downsides to that will be high inflation and fiscal discipline going off-target," the report said.



Among its four possible scenarios depicting election results, one pegged the BJP to between 240-260 seats and the NDA to 270-290 seats, similar to results released by the ECI today. Under the current scenario, Bernstein expects a shift in focus to "freebies and possibly tax breaks". It also expects private consumption growth to accelerate in the near term.

In recent quarters, rising inflation has affected consumption, especially in rural areas, and the margins of FMCG majors. "The focus shift to freebies or tax breaks will not have a major bearing on inflation, as the government is likely to be prudent in its policies. Any surging food inflation will continue being clamped down by export bans, opening of buffer stocks, etc," the report added.

"Now with election results not being one-sided, we are witnessing profit booking. We believe this profit booking may continue for some more time. Spaces like FMCG and IT may see less damage as defensive buying along with valuation comfort may keep them immune to this correction," said Siddharth Bhamre, head of research at Asit C Mehta Investment Intermediates.

A shift in focus to boosting consumption can bring respite to FMCG majors, which have recently complained of sluggish consumption growth. Rohit Jawa, MD and CEO of Hindustan Unilever, said that while GDP growth has been driven largely by government capex, it has not yet led to a recovery in consumer demand in rural areas.

WITH A SLIMMER MAJORITY, GOVT MAY STEP UP WELFARE

■ The incumbent NDA's expected return to power with a slimmer majority than before, coupled with the BJP losing its majority in the Lok Sabha, could force the new government to step up welfare policies that could, in turn, boost consumption, analysts said on the trend

"The GDP growth is driven a lot by government capex, but also — and that trickle down effect will take time. But if we — if all of those jobs and livelihoods that get created, there is — I mean that money should end up going back to the households more in the mass end, and that should democratise consumption. And we should, in my view, start to see that. And how long it takes? I do not have the ability to forecast, but I think we do see gradual recovery in rural," Jawa told analysts in the Q4 FY24 earnings call on April 24.

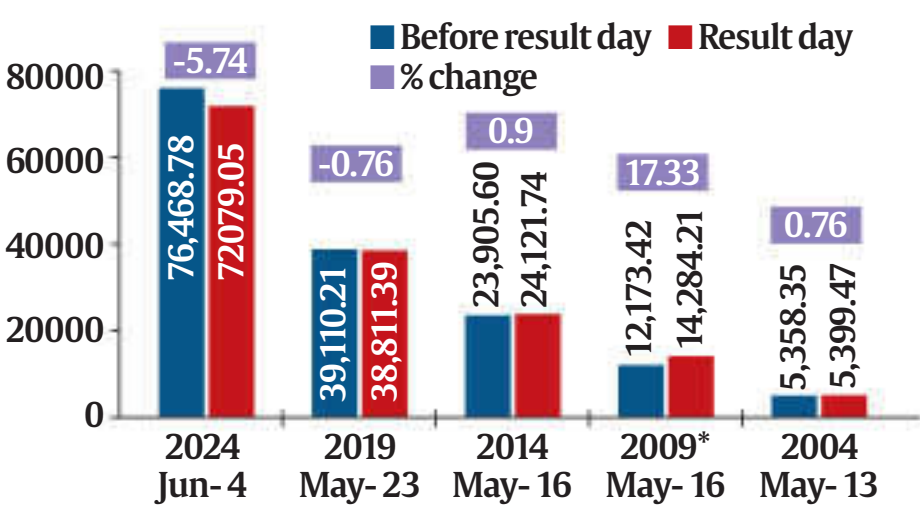
During the call, Jawa also clarified that the consumer goods major is "not waiting for the macro to shift one way or the other... we are focusing on transforming our business to go where the growth is, to go where the people are, go where the money is". For Hindustan Unilever then, the focus will be on "urban consumption (which) has been more resilient especially at the premium end" until the macro picture improves.

For Varun Berry, MD of Britannia Industries Ltd, the impact of GDP growth on consumer demand will be visible in FY25. "India is doing much better than all the other countries from a GDP growth standpoint. However, the only point to be made is that private consumption is down. The GDP numbers are looking good because of the gross fixed capital formation that's happening in the country. However, we are confident that as we go through this year, things will change on the private consumption side as well," Berry told analysts on May 6.

Poll Results: Markets Slip Into A Panic Mode

It was a 'Terrifying Tuesday' for domestic stock markets after the Lok Sabha election results showed a lower-than-expected seat count for the Bharatiya Janata Party. The Sensex plunged 5.74%, or 4,389.73 to close at 72,079.05. The broader Nifty ended 5.93%, or 1,379.40 points, down at 21,884.5. Among the BSE stocks that fell the most were NTPC, State Bank of India, L&T and PowerGrid.

SENSEX MOVEMENT ON RESULT DAYS



*Result announced on May 16 (Saturday), Trading days considered - May 15 (Friday) and May 18 (Monday)

Investor wealth erosion

■ Market cap of BSE firms falls Rs 31.07 lakh crore to Rs 394.83 lakh crore on June 4

FII's*

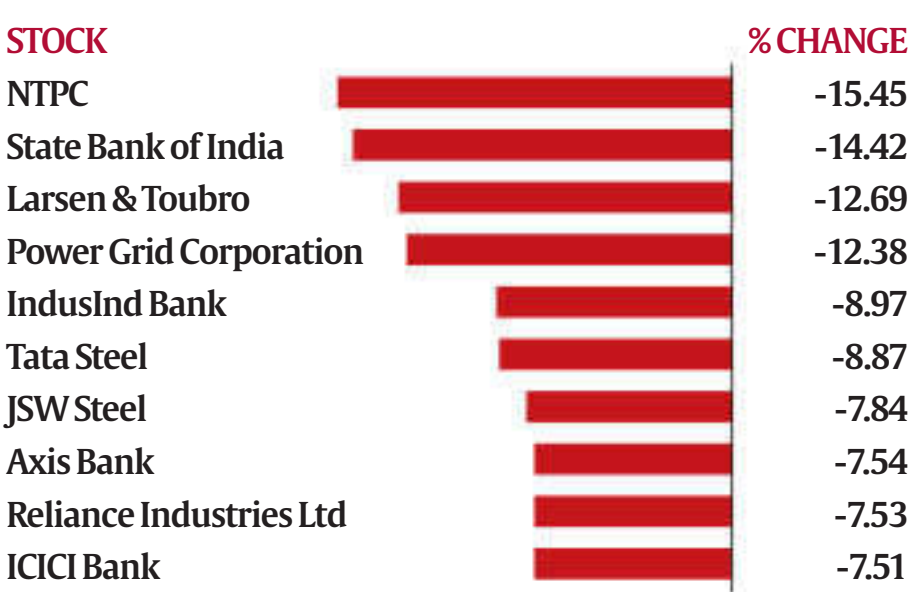
(-) ₹12,436.22 crore

DII's*

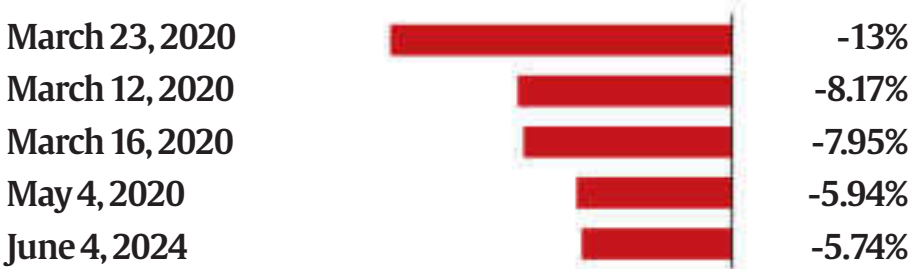
(-) ₹3,318.98 crore

* Provisional data from BSE website

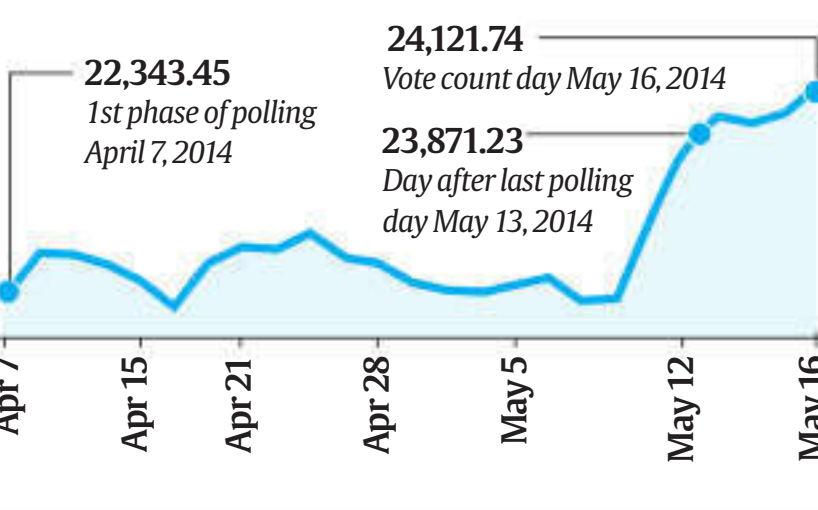
TOP LOSERS ON JUNE 4, 2024 ON SENSEX



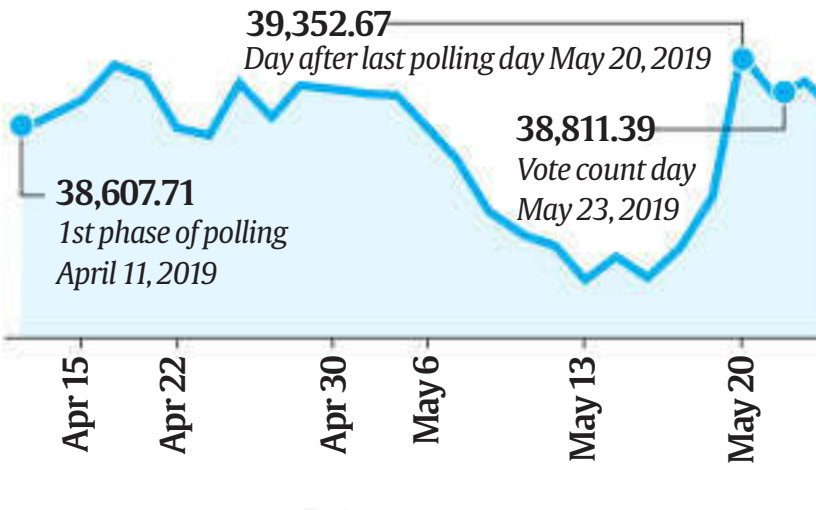
BIG 5 DECLINE IN SENSEX SINCE MARCH 2020



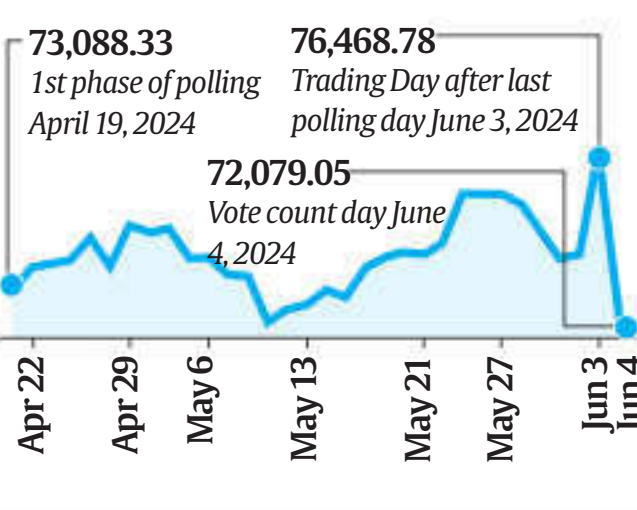
2014 LOK SABHA POLLS



2019 LOK SABHA POLLS



2024 LOK SABHA POLLS



BRIEFLY

Excise law: CBIC invites comments

New Delhi: The CBIC on Tuesday invited comments on a draft Central Excise Bill, 2024, which seeks to replace the decades-old Central Excise Act, 1944. The Bill aims to enact a comprehensive modern central excise law. PTI

Sebi panel on clearing corporations

New Delhi: Sebi on Tuesday said it has set up a committee to review the ownership and economic structure of clearing corporations and suggest measures to ensure that clearing corporations function as resilient, independent, and neutral risk managers. PTI

NCLT rejects 'liquidity crunch' claim of Jaiprakash Associates

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, JUNE 3

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 insolvency tribunal also

JAL'S SUBMISSIONS

■ The insolvency tribunal also rejected the submissions of JAL pleading not to initiate insolvency on grounds such as the feasibility of initiating CIRP, overall financial health

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.

"The reason cited by the counsel of JAL is liquidity crunch due to delays in government sanctions/approvals, prolonged litigation with respect to land acquisition for Yamuna

Expressway, economic slowdown, change in government policies, etc. which is always present when a business is carried out and that cannot have any bearing on initiation of proceeding under Section 7 of IBC, when there is a debt and default in repayment of such debt as provided under Section 7 of IBC," said NCLT in its 120-page order.

JAL has submitted that it is an "asset rich company", even after sale of cement plants to resolve the loans under Bucket 1 and Bucket 2A, assets like Real Estate Business — Noida and Greater Noida (about 11,000 flats) will remain with the company Besides, it had other assets such as two 5 Five Star Hotels/Resort in Delhi, and one in Agra, two Golf Courses in Noida and Greater Noida, a Formula One Sports Complex and Cricket Stadium with Real Estate.

US job openings lowest in over 3 years

Washington: US job openings fell more than expected in April to the lowest in more than three years, a sign that labor market conditions are softening in a manner that could help the Federal Reserve's fight against inflation.

Job openings, a measure of labor demand, were down 296,000 to 8,059 million on the last day of April, the lowest level since February 2021, the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics said on Tuesday in its Job Openings and Labor Turnover Survey, or JOLTS report. Data for March was revised slightly lower to show 8,355 million unfilled positions instead of the previously reported 8,488 million. Vacancies peaked at a record 12.0 million in March 2022. REUTERS

ENS ECONOMIC BUREAU
MUMBAI, JUNE 4

BENCHMARK 10-YEAR government bond yields on Tuesday surged by 9 basis points, the most in eight months, after the election results showed that the NDA alliance would win a narrower majority than was expected. The rupee fell by 38 paise to 83.53, down 0.47 per cent, its worst single-day percentage fall since February last year.

The 10-year yield ended at 7.0382 per cent as against its previous close at 6.9438 per cent. Yields rose to 7.09 per cent in intra-day business, a rise of 12 basis points.

There was uncertainty in

the bond market as results showed the NDA is unlikely to win a decisive majority as predicted by exit polls over the weekend.

The narrow majority of the NDA is likely to deter the incoming government from making any major reforms, money market sources said.

The market was hoping that the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) move to transfer a record Rs 2.1 lakh crore dividend to the government would result in a reduction in fiscal deficit and government borrowing.

There's apprehension about the possibility of fall in capital flows. The RBI intervened in the market by selling dollars to prevent a steeper slide in the currency, said a dealer.

INDIA INC REACTS



“Difficult to gauge the mood of public ... What we are witnessing is something nobody expected and showcases how a democracy of our size functions”

— SAJJAN JINDAL
CHAIRMAN & MD, JSW GROUP



“We have a very wise electorate that does not like to polarise. It wants continued development for the country as a whole”

— NAUSHAD FORBES
CO-CHAIRMAN, FORBES MARSHALL



“This has shocked everybody banking on the exit polls. The young and those adding to the workforce every year are sending a message”

— TV MOHANDAS PAI
CO-FOUNDER, AARIN CAPITAL

CUP SNIPPETS



Afghanistan batsmen Ibrahim Zadran (left) and Rahmanullah Gurbaz added 154 runs in their opening stand.

Farooqi shines in Afghanistan win

Providence (Guyana): Afghanistan pacer Fazalhaq Farooqi produced a fiery spell after Rahmanullah Gurbaz and Ibrahim Zadran's solid opening partnership to begin their T20 World Cup campaign with a comprehensive 125-run victory over debutants Uganda here. Kolkata Knight Riders opener Gurbaz (76 off 45 balls) and his partner Zadran's (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 183/5 after being asked to bat. Left-arm pacer Farooqi (5/9) then knocked the wind out of the Ugandan batting line up with his maiden five-wicket haul as the debutants were shot out for 58 in 16 overs.

Brief scores: Afghanistan 183/5 in 20 overs (R Gurbaz 76, Ibrahim Zadran 70) bt Uganda 58 all out in 16 overs (Fazalhaq Farooqi 5 for 9) by 125 runs PTI

Sri Lanka players criticise scheduling

New York: Sri Lanka captain Wanindu Hasaranga and spinner Maheesh Theekshana have lambasted the scheduling of their team's matches in the ongoing T20 World Cup, saying the roster is "unfair" and has already forced them to cancel one practice due to the long travel time. Sri Lanka lost their group D opener to South Africa and Theekshana spoke out on the scheduling which he believes has negatively impacted the team. "So unfair for us, we have to leave every day (after the match) because we are playing (at) four different venues," Theekshana said. "The flight we took from Florida, from Miami, we had to wait like eight hours in the airport to get the flight. We were supposed to leave at 8pm but we got the flight at 5am. It's really unfair for us, but it doesn't matter when you play," he added.

I tried to convince Dravid to stay: Rohit

New York: India captain Rohit Sharma on Tuesday revealed that he tried to convince outgoing head coach Rahul Dravid to stay on besides acknowledging his massive contribution to the team over the past two and a half years. Dravid on Monday had made it clear that the T20 World Cup will be his last assignment with the Indian team. A day later, Rohit got emotional while talking about his first captain in the national side. Gautam Gambhir is seen as Dravid's successor but it remains unclear if he has applied for the job. "I tried convincing him to stay, but obviously there are a lot of things that he needs to look after as well. But yeah, I personally enjoyed my time with him. I'm sure the rest of the guys will say the same. It's been great working with him. And I'm not going to say anything actually. I'm not going to say anything," he said.

INTERVIEW: JOHNNY GRAVE

Important to cater to Indian prime time as well as home fans: WI cricket CEO

TANISHQ VADDI

As matches at the ongoing T20 World Cup — co-hosted by USA and West Indies — take place at different times of the day, the West Indies Cricket Board (WICB) CEO Johnny Grave, in an interview with The Indian Express, admitted that given a 'majority of the revenue from ICC event comes from one market', the schedule has been made keeping the Indian time zone in mind.

He also spoke about the multifold benefits for West Indies, as well as associate nations, of hosting major ICC events and the guarantees given to Windies players that no international cricket will be played during their major franchise tournament commitments - the IPL and CPL. Edited excerpts:

Since West Indies is in a unique geographical location compared to other cricketing nations, how difficult is it for you to arrange games according to different time zones?

I think everyone accepts that the vast majority of revenues for all ICC events

comes from one market. Therefore it is really important that we find a balance between starting matches at prime time in India and for home fans. We have half the matches early for Star Sports and then we have gone as late as possible so they will start early in the morning in India, so they should still get a decent viewership. We as hosts can focus on the local fans attending the evening games and the 10:30 morning games will allow us to get school kids to watch some World Cup cricket for free.

In modern times we are seeing the big three countries (India, England and Australia since 2015) host more ICC events and why won't countries like South Africa and West Indies get to host them regularly?

I think that's one of the most important parts of the overall global picture. The last eight years has seen all the big men's events be hosted by just the three top nations. This current cycle sees ICC men's events go to most of the top cricketing nations in the world; West Indies are hosting now with the USA co-hosting, Pakistan then have the Champions Trophy, Sri Lanka and



"I think everyone accepts that the vast majority of revenues for all ICC events comes from one market... We have half the matches early for Star Sports and then we have gone as late as possible so they will start early in the morning in India, so they should still get a decent viewership... We as hosts can focus on the local fans attending the evening games..."

JOHNNY GRAVE, WICB, CEO

Bangladesh will be co-hosting with India, New Zealand with Australia, South Africa with Zimbabwe and Namibia and then also Ireland and Scotland with England as well. What that means is that the money generated by host boards is going to be shared by far more members than in the previous eight-year cycle.

The money used to be retained by the biggest three who already have a huge economic advantage from their domestic markets with the money they receive from their host broadcasters.

The other important factor in hosting benefits is the capital investment that our governments have put into the national stadiums. It shows the importance of hosting World Cups in improving facilities. Barbados alone has spent 50 Million Barbados dollars which is 25 Million US Dollars.

That kind of economic impact or injection of capital into our facilities is huge and simply would not happen without a World Cup.

If you were to benchmark our cricket system on a global basis, then the West Indies cricket system's facilities would be

the one key area where we fall short of the highest global standards. The fact that we've had six of our national stadiums and some other grounds in those six host countries undergo serious investment and renovation, probably for the first time since 2007.

In the current landscape, how important is it that West Indies lift the trophy and if that happens will it rejuvenate passion in fans again?

It is extremely important as it would be a huge boost to our cricket system and the entire region.

The reaction of our fans and the Caribbean people on the back of the Test win at the Gabbra was unbelievable and we saw how that resonated across the region. If we can lift a record third title then it will have a huge impact, not just on Cricket West Indies but the whole Caribbean.

The new ICC economic model also has a performance component that determines how much funding you receive, so if we perform well in ICC events it will be a potential boost to our income in the next cycle of the ICC rights distribution.

There have been turbulences between

(players and the board) before you have taken over and in recent times we have seen a steady improvement. What have you done to change over the years?

Very early on we gave players a guaranteed window every year in their contracts that they could play both the IPL and CPL and assured them we would not play any international cricket in those windows. It is just about trying to get good scheduling and then good open communication with the players to try and find the balance.

We respect the fact that players now have a choice so if for whatever reason they want to make themselves unavailable for a tour, then we give them a NOC, but we never hold their place in the West Indies team. So, they have to understand they run the risk of their replacement doing well and then they have to fight to win that place back.

We've stopped worrying about the players being unavailable. If they want to maximise their earnings playing franchise cricket at whatever point in their career as long as our players are actively involved in cricket and actively working hard on their skills, it's fine.

Banana skin at Big Apple

Tall Ireland pacers have the potential to trouble Indian batsmen on an unknown pitch in a tricky opener in New York

SANDIP G

JUNE 4

THE WORLD Cup has reached the American shores, but it would take India's tournament-opener against Ireland to breathe life into it and for the arena to gather noise and sway to the tunes of the game. The mood would be one of party, before the real deal, the supposed landscape changer, next Sunday between India and Pakistan.

The Ireland game, thus, has the guise of a feeler, a glorified warm-up fixture, an uneven contest, in scale and stature, to excite the neutral cricket tragic.

The chasm between the two are wide—India are ranked the number one in the world, whereas Ireland occupy the eleventh spot; Ireland have lost all seven of their T20I games against the more vaunted foes, who have reached at least the semifinals of the tournament on four instances, a team in red-hot form, having lost only two of their last 14 games in this format, as opposed to an erratic team that has lost eight of their last 14.

But the World Cup has a knack of cutting such linear history into ribbons, in reducing the gaps among teams; its folklore rich with stuff of fairytales. Last edition, Ireland stunned West Indies and eventual champions England; a few months ago, they upstaged the finalists, Pakistan. Last year, they ran India close, losing a pair of steep chases by merely two and four runs.

Head coach Rahul Dravid has seen enough of Ireland and life to understand the potential pitfalls of taking an underdog team lightly. "We are preparing for this match in a similar way as we are preparing for Pakistan and Australia. We know that they recently defeated Pakistan. We know that Ireland plays a lot of T20 cricket. In this format, you can't take anyone lightly," he said on Monday.

He could talk from experience, he was the captain when Bangladesh defeated India in the opening game of the 2007 World Cup and shoved India to the exit door.

In recent times in T20 World Cups, India have struggled to hit the winning notes in opening games. Twice in the last three editions they have lost the opener. It required Virat Kohli's finest knock in T20s to prevent a third straight defeat in the 2022 incarnation.

Factor in a mysterious pitch and indecision on the best eleven, an upset could be stewing. Little doubt that India possesses a bowling arsenal that could blow the Irish batsmen into bits on any surface.

If it swings and seams, as it did during the Sri Lanka-South Africa game, Arshdeep Singh could run amok; if it spins, Ravindra Jadeja becomes a devastating proposition; if the pitch is placid, Jasprit Bumrah and Kuldeep Yadav could still outfox batsmen with the limitless guiles. The batting line-up evokes both awe and dread, and is jewelled with batsmen of every dimension.

The encompassing genius of Virat Kohli and Rohit Sharma, the ballast of Rishabh Pant, the improvisational sorcery of Suryakumar Yadav, the brutal power of Hardik Pandya.

If fortune winks

But if the stars twinkle, if fortune winks, Ireland have the power, poise and experience to strike hot. Mark Adair and Josh Little could move the ball both ways in the air and off the seam, when conditions ally; Craig Young generates bounce.

Such a combination has tormented India's openers, even if neither induces fear like a Shaheen Shah Afridi or Mitchell Starc or Trent Boult. Steady movement could be as deceptive as blinding pace. The Johannesburg-born all-rounder Curtis Campher is touted a game-changer, the most talented cricketer to arrive in Ireland; the spin veteran George Dockrell can apply the chokehold. Often, a lone phase, or a stand-out spell could define a T20 game.

There is considerable all-round depth—McCarthy, slotted at No 9, has scored a half-century in this format. Seven of the first-eleven players could bowl too. It's an ensemble cast, but sometimes they suffice for a heist.



Jasprit Bumrah bowls during a practice session ahead of India's World Cup opener against Ireland in New York on Tuesday.

Factor in a mysterious pitch and indecision on the best eleven, an upset could be stewing. Little doubt that India possesses a bowling arsenal that could blow the Irish batsmen into bits on any surface.

Does Pant fit in the middle order where he struggles against spin, or at No.3?

LALITH KALIDAS

JUNE 4

CONDITIONS IN New York - a sluggish outfield, vast square boundaries and drop-in strips of variable bounce - may have suddenly raised the T20 stocks of anchors and accumulators at the World Cup. South Africa's belligerent group of batters had to tone down considerably to earn a scrappy win over Sri Lanka on Monday. That someone like Tristan Stubbs eked out a 28-ball 13 says much.

With three of their four Group A games marked at the venue, India will have to remain flexible in terms of their combinations to ward off Ireland, Pakistan and hosts United States in that order before gearing up for the slow tracks in the Caribbean for the Super 8s.

Two days out from his final coaching assignment, Rahul Dravid said that the opening combination could be a toss-up between Yashviji Jaiswal or Virat Kohli partnering skipper Rohit Sharma. It may have just affirmed that India will bank on their senior pros to set the ball rolling up top. In such a scenario, India could concentrate three of their right-handed batting heavyweights Rohit, Kohli and Suryakumar Yadav in the top-order, something certain experts have cautioned against.

If the left-handed Jaiswal is to separate the trio and open with Rohit, India will have wicket-keeper Rishabh Pant, Hardik Pandya and Ravindra Jadeja at numbers 5-6-7, posing a rigid transition towards the bowling department. It also will tie down the management's hands in experimenting with the big-hitting Shivam Dube somewhere in the middle-order. Jaiswal's wavering form on livelier pitches during the IPL may also go against him.

If India opt to be bolder from the onset, Kohli will open with Rohit. They have only paired up once for the opening wicket in the



Against spinners in the last edition of the IPL, Rishabh Pant scored 153 runs at a strike rate of 119.53 with five dismissals.

PANT IN T20Is				
	Inns	Runs	Ave	SR
At No. 3:	6	117	29.25	127.17
At No. 4-6:	42	771	23.36	124.95

past, scoring 94 runs in 54 deliveries against England in 2021.

The choice of the team's balance will then rest heavily on the utilization of Dube, Pant, Sanju Samson and Axar Patel. One of India's major headaches would be sealing their primary wicket-keeper Pant's batting slot. The left-hander holds one of the weakest records among batters who have played at least 40 T20I innings at no.4 and 5. Among the 29 batters who fall in that bracket, Pant has accu-

mulated the least runs (771) with a lowly 124.95 strike rate.

Pant has also struggled heavily against spin upon his return in the IPL, where he scored 153 runs at a 119.53 strike-rate with five dismissals, indicating that a middle-overs entry may not be favourable from a team perspective. Instead, the left-hander could be the differentiator at number three between the openers and Suryakumar at number three, where he struck a half-century against Bangladesh in the warm-ups and holds a marginally better career record when compared to other positions.

With Pant slotting in at no. 3 and Suryakumar at 4, India have a variety of options open in the middle-order. India are likely to nail down all-rounders Hardik, Dube and Jadeja in the first XI, and things could eventually whittle down to the holding conditions and the department that India would want to firm up further.

The final call would be between Samson and Axar. Samson's inclusion would likely offer him a floating role between 3 and 5, while Axar could beef up the lower-order batting and spin department at number 8 behind Jadeja. The bowling department will continue to revolve around the verge of Jasprit Bumrah and Kuldeep Yadav. Left-armer Arshdeep Singh is likely to pip Mohammed Siraj as the second seamer as Hardik and Dube will offer a share of overs beside the spinners.

All that compositional flexibility flows from a Rohit-Kohli opening partnership that might have the cushion of carrying on in their natural style of watchful aggression on the tacky New York pitches.

INDIA LIKELY XI: Rohit Sharma, Virat Kohli, Rishabh Pant (wk), Suryakumar Yadav, Hardik Pandya, Sanju Samson/Axar Patel, Shivam Dube, Ravindra Jadeja, Kuldeep Yadav, Jasprit Bumrah, Arshdeep Singh.

BRIEFLY

Lakshya, Rajawat enter second round

Jakarta: Star Indian shuttler Lakshya Sen and compatriot Priyanshu Rajawat entered the men's singles second round of the Indonesia Open Super 1000 tournament with straight-game wins over their respective rivals here on Tuesday. While Lakshya took just 40 minutes to get the better of Japan's Kenta Tsuneyama 21-12 21-17 in an opening-round clash, Rajawat beat former world No.6 HS Prannoy 21-17 21-12 in an all-Indian contest. Lakshya, who sneaked into the Olympic qualification with back-to-back semifinal finishes at the French Open and All England Championships, will next be up against Japan's Kenta Nishimoto, who stunned seventh seed Anthony Sinisuka Ginting of Indonesia 17-21 21-11 21-8 in another opening-round match. However, it was curtains for Kiran George in the men's singles event, but not before giving a tough fight to Hong Yang Weng of China 21-11 10-21 20-22. **PTI**

Perez signs 2-year extension at Red Bull

London: Red Bull Racing announced a two-year contract extension Tuesday for driver Sergio 'Checo' Perez. The 34-year-old Mexico native has been with the Formula One team since 2021 and will remain behind the wheel there through 2026. Perez finished second to teammate Max Verstappen in the F1 driver's standings in 2023 and helped Red Bull win the constructors' championships in 2022 and 2023. "Now is an important time to confirm our line-up for 2025 and we are very pleased to continue working together with Checo," CEO and team principal Christian Horner said. "Continuity and stability are important for the Team and both Checo and Max are a successful and robust partnership, securing our first ever one-two finish for the Team in the Championship." **REUTERS**

Bopanna picks Balaji as his partner

New Delhi: World number four Rohan Bopanna has picked N Sriram Balaji, who impressed with his performance at the French Open, as his partner for the Paris Olympics and All India Tennis Association (AITA) is unlikely to have any objection to the choice made by the veteran player. The 44-year-old Bopanna wrote to AITA and also marked TOPS in the mail, conveying his decision - a development confirmed by the national federation. Balaji and his Mexican partner MA Reyes-Varela Martinez had tested the formidable combo of Bopanna and Matthew Ebden before losing the men's doubles third round on Monday. **PTI**

De Bruyne not ruling out Saudi move

London: Manchester City midfielder Kevin De Bruyne is keeping an open mind over a potential move to the Saudi Pro League, the 32-year-old Belgian said, as he prepares to enter the final year of his contract with the Premier League champions. The Belgium captain has six Premier League crowns and one Champions League title to his name. "For Michele (his wife), an exotic adventure is okay. These are also conversations we are having more and more as a family," De Bruyne told a Dutch-language newspaper and television station. "I have one more year of contract, so I have to dwell on what could happen. Once the time comes, we will have to deal with it in a certain way." **REUTERS**

‘Carlsen, Anand have political opinions but don’t share them like Kasparov’

Norwegian's trainer Nielsen, who has worked the Indian in the past, speaks about the two ‘geniuses’ & more



EXPRESS IN NORWAY

AMIT KAMATH
STAVANGER, JUNE 4

IN A freewheeling interview with *The Indian Express*, Magnus Carlsen's trainer Peter Heine Nielsen discussed the difference between being Carlsen's trainer versus working for Viswanathan Anand, why both players are not politically outspoken, why Carlsen likes playing against the younger generation and whether Gukesh playing in the World Championship will coax him to re-consider competing for the crown. *Excerpts from an interview:*

Gukesh is in the World Championship and there's every possibility that someone like Praggnanandhaa or Arjun Erigaisi could also be there soon. Do you believe that those things might just convince Magnus to play once again?

I doubt it. But I haven't spoken one word with him about it. I don't know. They (the youngsters) generally try to play chess with him, and that's interesting. Nakamura did the same recently, so I should say so does the older generation. But not always. They're more scarred and nervous (trying to play chess against Magnus). He finds it interesting to play against the youngsters because they're trying to beat him. Generally, it goes quite badly (for them). But what we saw with Praggnanandhaa here, he managed to beat Magnus by playing better. I didn't like that Pragg beat him (at Norway Chess)!

Magnus should answer this for himself. Maybe he won't mind playing a World Championship match with them, but what's problematic is that he would have to actually qualify. That would be quite a (long) route and would feel a bit weird. What you would really like to have is a generational clash where both players still have all of their powers. So a Magnus who hasn't declined against a Gukesh/Pragg/Arjun. A match against Firouzja would be interesting as well. But it's a little difficult, like a train which has gone in a completely different way. I'm generally not good at predicting what Magnus is doing. The simplest thing would be to ask him. He usually gives very honest answers. It's a bit of a joke in our team, I sometimes say I have to go listen to Magnus's press conferences to listen to what



Magnus Carlsen's trainer Peter Heine Nielsen. Norway Chess / Stev Bonhage

he thinks about the game. People say I could just ask him, but that's not how we do things.

In all your years that you have worked with Magnus, what has been the most impressive thing you have seen him do?

The World Championship against Fabiano Caruana... when he played a draw in game 12, everyone was saying he was having a mental breakdown. But he didn't. He knew what he was doing and he didn't care what anyone thought. But in his shoes, I would have been extremely nervous because if you lose the play-off, Caruana is the world champion. I remember when we met on the stairs to go to the lounge, I was very curious which person was going to show up. He was in an excellent mood. He was clear he was looking forward to playing chess. He was like 'It's going to be a fun day'. That was very impressive. It would be reasonable to break down at that stage. As a sports person you see people crumble under nervousness when your identity is at stake.

Does he relish those situations? When he's under the gun and needs to win on demand?

I don't know if he relishes it. But he tries. He's failed some times. When he won the FIDE World Cup he was very happy. It will sound strange, but winning the world championship when you're the overwhelming favourite against just one opponent... he's done it many times. He had never won the World Cup where you play 128 players. You have to win a lot of knockout matches. This also explains why the World Championship is something he quit playing. But the joy I felt from him after he won the World Cup or from winning the FIDE World

Rapid and Blitz Championship in 2022 was extraordinary and something I didn't expect.

Winning World Championship matches with Vishy (Anand) felt great, because we never took it for granted. With Magnus at some point we took it for granted.

What is it like working with Magnus Carlsen as compared to working with Viswanathan Anand?

They're both natural talents, intuitive geniuses rather than very concrete players. The huge difference was age; when I started working with Vishy, he was older then. He was at the top of his career wanting to maximise his chances of becoming the World Champion and then defending it. He was a very mature player with much more experience than myself. With Magnus, I have known him basically from the pre-teenage age, we played table tennis and computer games together. I did have fun with Vishy and considered him as almost family at some point. But it was a relationship built on sporting ambition in a way. As personalities and playing styles, they're maybe not too different. Perhaps the big difference was not so much them, but me. With Vishy, I was a young player with no coaching experience when he took me in. I wanted to work incredibly hard to sort of pay back his trust. I was completely obsessed with the work I was doing for Vishy. But when I started working full-time with Magnus, I had won four titles with Vishy. I had a bunch of experience. But perhaps less ambition. That fitted perhaps well with Magnus in a way.

You're someone who's very outspoken about political issues. But we don't usually hear that with Magnus. When we look at

Maybe he won't mind playing a World Championship match with them (youngsters), but what's problematic is that he would have to actually qualify. That would be quite a (long) route and would feel a bit weird.."

PETER HEINE NIELSEN
CARLSEN'S TRAINER

someone like Garry Kasparov, who became an icon for his political stance away from the board. Does Magnus ever speak about wanting to be bigger than one of the best players in the world in history?

It doesn't seem like that. Magnus does it with his chess. It's not like he's not opinionated. But on this topic of politics, when he was on a podcast with Lex Fridman, he did speak about it. Vishy and Magnus are somewhat similar in character. Kasparov is very different. He's so full of energy, dominance and opinions in a way. Don't get me wrong, Magnus and Vishy have opinions. But they don't want to share them like that. I guess Magnus sees himself more of an ambassador for chess. He's been doing things like his Offerspill project. I really love what Kasparov is doing, but he's the exception rather than the rule. Magnus and Vishy are typical sportstars. I don't think they have the wish or obligation to change the world. That's their choice. Like Kasparov's choice is legitimate, Magnus and Vishy's choices are legitimate. Also, Kasparov's (activism) happened almost after his career ended. But I would be surprised if Magnus goes in this direction. I don't know.

What was Magnus like growing up, as a child prodigy?

Yes, he was a child prodigy, but we should not forget that when he was 15, it was not clear that he was the no 1 in his age group. Sergey Karjakin was probably higher rated, in World Youth events, he would end up after Ian Nepomniachtchi. At 17, it was clear (he was the best). It was not instantly a given (in his younger days that Magnus was going to be world champion). I thought I was hanging out with a talented Norwegian guy from a neighbouring country and we had fun. I had absolutely zero belief that this guy would become world champion. That he became a world champion is almost the understatement of his career. I don't think he's surpassed Kasparov yet. But just the fact that there's a debate (on who's the best ever) is good! It's a legitimate debate. Kasparov was absurdly good.

World champ Ding manages to hold Pragg to draw

AMIT KAMATH
STAVANGER, JUNE 4

WORLD CHAMPION Ding Liren managed to halt his sequence of defeats at the Norway Chess tournament in Stavanger on Monday, managing to get a draw against India's 18-year-old Praggnanandhaa in Round 7 after four consecutive defeats in previous rounds. In the Armageddon battle that followed the draw, however, Praggnanandhaa managed to defeat Ding.

While the draw was progress in itself for Ding, the result was painful since he was winning at some stage, but his lack of confidence ensured he ended up losing.

Even Praggnanandhaa was unhappy with the way he won the game.

"Things worked out for me. I just have to forget today. It was a very bad result. It's a long tournament and you will get tired, but I don't really feel too much tiredness at the moment. It was just a very bad result," the Indian prodigy assessed after the result to Norway's TV2.

Ahead of the game against Praggnanandhaa, a visibly downcast Ding was asked by the local broadcast partner TV 2 how frustrating it was to not be able to play the level of chess that he is capable of playing.

"I'm very sad to have four defeats in a row. I didn't feel very well during the games which is why I played badly," he confessed.

In another interview right afterwards as he was making his way to the playing hall before the game began, when asked how he was enjoying Stavanger so far, he could only manage a response that he was looking forward to the second rest day of the tournament on Wednesday.

Praggnanandhaa faces Magnus Carlsen on Tuesday in the reverse fixture after defeating him for the first time in classical chess last time around in the tournament a few days back. While Carlsen still leads the standings, Pragg is third. Meanwhile, Vaishali was handed her second consecutive defeat in the women's section to compatriot Humpy Koneru to slip down to third spot behind Muzychuk and world champion Ju Wenjun.



Ding Liren during his match against R Praggnanandhaa. Norway Chess

Djokovic forced to pull out of French Open with knee injury

REUTERS
JUNE 4

WORLD NUMBER one Novak Djokovic's disappointing season continued on Tuesday when the defending French Open champion was forced to pull out of the Grand Slam before his quarter-final with a knee injury that could threaten his Wimbledon and Olympic chances.

The injury, sustained in his fourth-round win over Francisco Cerundolo, ended the Serb's quest to win a record-extending 25th Grand Slam trophy and will result in him losing his top ranking to Italian Jannik Sinner later this month.

"Due to a torn medial meniscus in his right knee (discovered during an MRI scan), Djokovic, who was supposed to play Casper

Ruud in the quarter-finals tomorrow, has been forced to withdraw from the Roland Garros tournament," tournament organisers said.

Last year's runner-up and seventh seed Ruud will now advance to the semi-finals, where he could take on fourth seed Alexander Zverev or 11th seed Alex de Minaur.

Djokovic said on *Instagram* that he was disappointed to pull out of the tournament that he has won three times.

"I played with my heart and gave my all in yesterday's match," Djokovic said. "Unfortunately... I had to make a tough decision after careful consideration and consultation. I wish the best of luck to the players competing this week and sincerely thank the incredible fans for all of the love and continued support."

Sinner downs Dimitrov



World No. 1 Novak Djokovic tore the medial meniscus in his right knee. Reuters

Sinner, who beat Grigor Dimitrov 6-2, 6-4, 7-6(3) said it was not the way he hoped to take the top spot, adding Djokovic's exit was a loss for the tournament.

KEY RESULTS
Men's singles: 2-J Sinner bt 10-G Dimitrov 6-2, 6-4, 7-6(3)
Women's singles: 1-I Swiatek by 5-M Vondrousova 6-0, 6-2; 3-C Gauff bt 8-O Jabeur 4-6, 6-2, 6-3

"It's not the way we all were expecting, actually. He had two very long matches, tough matches, five sets, so it's tough. The first one he finished really late also," Sinner said. "It's tough also for the tournament. Novak retiring, it's always tough."

Monday's marathon match was the second straight clash in which Djokovic was taken to five sets following his epic against

Why India need to persist with Gayatri-Treesa pairing for the long term

SHIVANI NAIK
JUNE 4

SENSATIONAL, UNENDING, long, 80-90 shot rallies is where women's doubles pairings get famous in what is badminton's toughest event to warm up to. The trouble is you realise you have watched a to-be Youtube highlight classic and a ruminating slow rumble of breath-taking defense, only after staring at hours of metronomic rallies, which go past one after another.

The shot-making in women's doubles is seldom power-packed and almost always settles into a rhythm of unblinking to-and-fro rather than snappy repartee of men's or mixed doubles. It's unrushed, strictly not for the restless and full of long passages of play when nothing much might happen. Some may even call it boring, though Indians who grow up on a staple of cricket, will merrily enjoy this category that hits the hour-mark, as long as Indians win here.

But watching it needs you to buy into the basic idea that the shuttle might not get killed quickly. Its practitioners are trained to resurrect rallies by defending shuttles inches off the ground. It's like clay-court baseline pendulums of tennis with punishing rallies for 365 days in badminton's women's doubles.

This category takes time to mould players

into perfection. Jwala Gutta won the Commonwealth Games at 27 and World Championships bronze at 28. Treesa Jolly and Gayatri Gopichand are 21, and will take their time to hit the big headlines. It means those watching need to show patience, which starts by not routinely hankering to split them up and pair them with other candidates, when results on the circuit go fallow. They are not a mix-and-match project at a kurta-dupatta ethnic store.

Twice now - at the Badminton Asia Team Championships in February when India won gold and this last week at the Super 750 Singapore Open - the young pairing has given proof of its ability to beat Top 10 pairings. The World Nos 2 and 6 from Korea were taken out over Thursday and Friday as they made their first semifinal of this high grade tournament. This is besides their All England semifinals in two seasons, which rather than garnering praise, is used as a taunt to make it sound like Birmingham is the only tournament they can score wins at.

Having beaten 5 of the current Top 10 pairings by age 21, should ideally seal their partnership marking it for long term potential. But mutterings continue in badminton circles.

Gayatri cops most scrutiny for being Pullela Gopichand's daughter and criticism for not winning every match, by playing relentless attack which frankly, is not quite how women's



The young doubles pair of Treesa Jolly (left) and Gayatri Gopichand have shown that they have it in them to beat world Top-10 pairings. BWF/BadmintonPhoto

badminton proceeds. She has her net interceptions, plays a very cerebral game where she varies pace and placement to some lethal effect as was seen against Koreans.

She can do with far more power, but any regular watcher of WD will tell you power hits and smashes get retrieved by watertight defenses all the time, and this category needs

more varied skills than mad thrashing. Even Ashwini Ponnappa who once boasted of the hardest smash by a woman, realised that on the Tour playing week in, week out, power-attacks can only be a fraction of the points womanly-possible. Jwala first chose her spotting her service variations, not the smash.

Shuttle maneuvering brings far more re-

Having beaten 5 of the current Top 10 pairings by age 21, should ideally seal their partnership marking it for long term potential. But mutterings continue in badminton circles.

turns and Treesa Jolly is the best example of how soft drops are the norm, her smash exception, if she has to preserve her shoulder. On days when she fails to nuance her big hit, she can run into a wall of frustration as everything comes back against the top pairings. So Tanisha Crasto-Treesa might not be as smart a mix-match as some think it to be.

The Chinese Chen-Jia and Liu-Tan are masterly in speedy aggressive attacks, and that's where WD might well be headed. But even they set a lot of store on chess-play on the court to open up empty spaces, and both Gayatri and Treesa will have to get sturdier in defense, even as their power increases incrementally.

As was the case with Sindhu for most of her career, and Satwik-Chirag now, Treesa-Gayatri will have to prioritise certain tournaments to hit the high notes at, and year-long consistency might take a while to achieve. Gayatri's fitness

certainly needs shoring up, but it will be unwise to treat Treesa like a hitting-machine too. It's why pairing her with other inexperienced juniors just because they hit a few smashes hard, makes zilch sense. Smashes get neutralized in women's doubles.

This pair will have their glaring downs for a stack of months, lose in single digit set scores to the Chinese and take time to truly get into the Top 8 bracket. But Indians will need to step back from sharpening knives at every turn. Also, Ashwini-Tanisha have earned their Olympic spot, and calls to replace them just because Treesa-Gayatri chomped into couple of big scalps, are equally reeking of recency prejudice, besides the rules not even having a provision for such a swap.

Gayatri has grown up listening to taunts that come her way, sheathed as they are in criticism of her non-smacking game that lacks power. She bears them stoically and knows both have plenty of work to do, and rough phases to negotiate. But if you watched women's doubles closely, you'd know they are shaping up nicely to become a formidable, title contending pair. Those watching can, for once, sit back and eat a 5-Star, and follow its tag line of 'Do nothing.' Women's doubles is a little like that chocolate bar: it takes its nougaty, caramely time to get going. Treesa-Gayatri deserve to be persisted with, without constant hackings at that hyphen.