



Day 1 nightmare to Day 4 dream: How India owned Australia

Turning point, as per Bumrah: 'When we were out for 150, no one was down'



SRIRAM VEERA
PERTH, NOVEMBER 25

ON THE eve of the series-opener in Perth, just before the Border-Gavaskar trophy unveiling, Jasprit Bumrah was excitedly chatting about his son with Australian captain Pat Cummins. He would return to his kid at the end of a sensational come-from-behind win. "My young son was in the stands. He was also there at the T20 World Cup win. He won't know anything now, but I now have stories to tell him when he grows up; how he was there during special Indian wins."

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Hazlewood congratulates Bumrah after India's 295-run win in the Perth Test. Reuters

playing cricket in Australia in the last decade has been a sweet erasure of a torrid past.

In 2014, they stood up to Australia; in 2018, they knocked down Australia; in 2021, they seemed on the mat, but conjured a triumph for a lifetime.

This 2024 series started like a bad dream, a whitewash at home, absences of key players, doubts about the new management's

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

HOUSES ADJOURNED ON DAY 1 OF WINTER SESSION

Opp notices for debate on Adani rejected, PM slams disruptions

Modi hits out at 'individuals rejected by people', Kharge at Adani projects

NIKHIL GHANEKAR & DAMINI NATH
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

THE WINTER session of Parliament began Monday on a stormy note with the Opposition seeking a discussion on the US indictment of industrialist Gautam Adani for his alleged role in a bribery scheme and the presiding officers rejecting their demands, resulting in adjournment of the two Houses within an hour of convening.

Sensing the Opposition mood, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, in a pre-session speech, said it was



PM Narendra Modi addresses media on the first day of the winter session. Anil Sharma

essential for Parliament to engage in healthy discussions but "unfortunately, some individuals rejected by the people are continuously attempting to control

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Telangana rejects ₹100 cr from Adani Foundation, Revanth cites state 'dignity'

SREENIVAS JANYALA
HYDERABAD, NOVEMBER 25

TELANGANA CHIEF Minister A Revanth Reddy Monday said his government has declined a Rs 100-crore donation pledged by the Adani Foundation to the Young India Skills University.

The CM said this is keeping in mind the indictment of Gautam Adani in the US over allegations of bribing Indian government officials for securing "lucrative so-

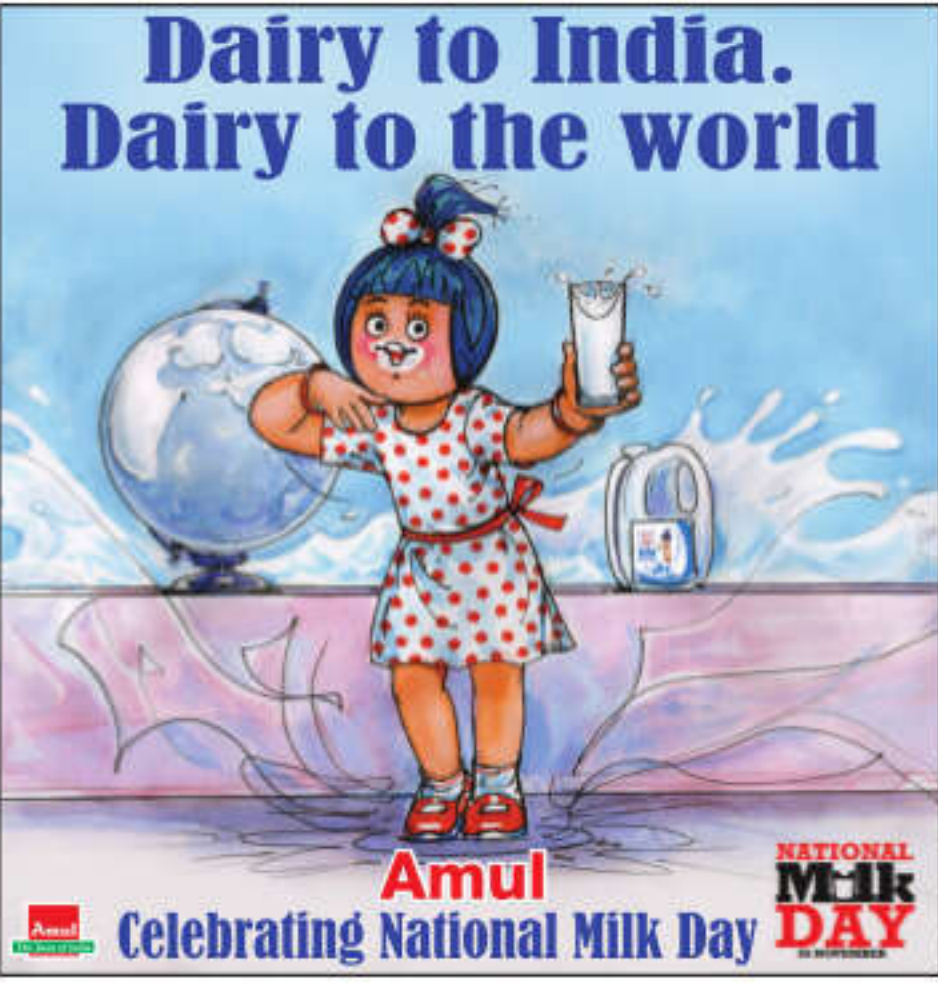


Telangana CM Revanth Reddy

lar energy supply contracts".

A letter written by Jayesh Ranjan, Special Chief Secretary and Commissioner for Industrial

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



MAHARASHTRA GOVT FORMATION EXERCISE

BJP brass to consult Sena, NCP on CM as party backs Fadnavis

SHUBHANGI KHAPRE & LIZ MATHEW
MUMBAI, NEW DELHI, NOV 25

WITH PARTY MLAs rooting for him as the next Chief Minister of Maharashtra, BJP's Devendra Fadnavis appeared to be the frontrunner for the post under an arrangement which, according to party sources, would have Shiv Sena's Eknath Shinde and NCP's Ajit Pawar as Deputy Chief Ministers.

While sources in the state BJP claimed the party leadership in Delhi had cleared the name of Fadnavis as CM, a source in the Shiv Sena said, "There has been no consultation with us on making Fadnavis the CM and our party has not agreed on any

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

EXPLAINED Why BJP is treading cautiously

THE BJP leadership does not wish to antagonise Shinde, who led the Mahayuti's successful campaign in Maharashtra after losses in the Lok Sabha polls in the state. If it manages to persuade Shinde to step aside for a BJP choice, the Sena is likely to have more bargaining power in the formation of the next government, and may end up cornering key portfolios. The NCP has said it will back the BJP choice.

Cabinet clears PAN 2.0, card to feature QR code

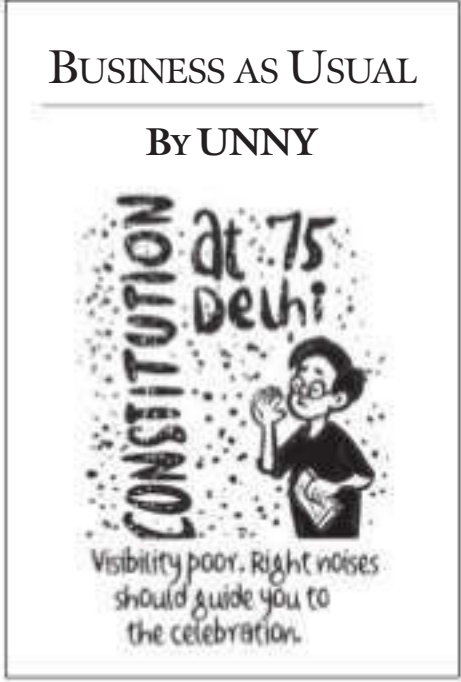
ANACHAL MAGAZINE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

AN UPGRADE of existing Permanent Account Number (PAN) with an additional feature of QR code on the cards along with a proposal to make PAN "the common identifier for businesses" was approved by the Union Cabinet on Monday.

The Cabinet approved the

PAN 2.0 Project of the Income Tax Department, with a cost of Rs 1,435 crore, under which the existing system will be upgraded completely, the digital backbone will be revamped and PAN will be made as a common business identifier for all digital systems of specified government agencies, Information and Broadcasting Minister Ashwini Vaishnaw said during the Cabinet briefing.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



SC JUNKS PLEAS AGAINST 'SOCIALIST', 'SECULAR' INCLUSION IN PREAMBLE PAGE 15

Rumours of digging and a rush of protesters: How Sambhal erupted

NEETIKA JHA & AMIT SHARMA
SAMBHAL, MEERUT, NOV 25

A DAY after four people died in violence in Sambhal, which broke out after a survey team showed up at a prominent mosque in the area, several stakeholders *The Indian Express* spoke to indicated that authorities were aware that tensions could escalate, but failed to assess that the situation could spiral out of control so quickly.

On Monday, police booked

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



Police personnel stand guard near the Shahi Jama Masjid in Sambhal on Monday. Gajendra Yadav RELATED REPORTS, P15, 18

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● Cabinet approves PAN 2.0

The upgrade for existing PAN holders will be free of cost. The PAN 2.0 project will enable technology-driven transformation of taxpayer registration services with an aim to improve ease of access and service delivery, an official statement said. The PAN 2.0 project proposes to make PAN as the “single source of truth and data consistency” and with security and optimisation of infrastructure for greater agility, a statement said. “The new PAN cards will be QR code enabled. The existing ones can regenerate the old PAN card to the QR code-enabled ones,” a senior Finance Ministry official told The Indian Express. Around 78 crore PAN cards

have been issued so far, out of which 98 per cent belong to individuals. Vaishnaw said there have been demands by businesses to not have different identification numbers and thus, the new PAN will work as a common business identifier. There will be a unified portal as the existing software is nearly 15-20 years old, he said. “It’ll be completely paperless, online and a lot of focus will be on the grievance redressal system,” he said. The PAN 2.0 is a e-governance project for re-engineering the business processes of taxpayer registration services through transformation of PAN/TAN services, the statement said.

● BJP brass to consult Sena, NCP on CM

name for CM yet.” Another functionary of the Shiv Sena maintained that Shinde is “still in play, and there is no final decision” on the CM post. Indicating that the party is in no mood to give up the post easily, the functionary said: “Talks are on... There will be multiple rounds of discussions before the name comes out. It might take some time.” It is learnt that the BJP leadership has convened a meeting in New Delhi with Shinde, Fadnis and Pawar to discuss power-sharing details and the Cabinet composition. An announcement is expected only after the discussion. The BJP leadership is learnt to have assured its allies that it would accommodate their concerns to the extent possible while keeping intact its own interests. The leadership does not want to antagonise Shinde, the Chief Minister who led the Mahayuti’s campaign in the run-up to the Assembly polls. The BJP is, therefore, making efforts to convince Shinde to accept its choice. The leadership, it is learnt, wants Shinde to propose the name of Fadnis. “Maintaining the image of an accommodating coalition leader is very crucial for the BJP as it heads a coalition government at the Centre,” a BJP leader said. BJP leaders pointed to the mandate in which the party won 132 seats — 13 short of a majority on its own in the 288-member House. They feel Shinde would be a “weak CM” if he takes up the post. “But if Shinde steps aside, it would be a big boost to his image as a leader, and his bargaining power with the BJP during government formation and in other decisions will be stronger,” a leader said. Another source said the Sena might land up with around 12

ministerial berths and be given some key portfolios. The NCP could also get around 10 ministerial berths. The maximum permissible limit for the Council of Ministers in Maharashtra is 43, including the CM. The BJP is likely to keep 21 berths for itself. According to the source, there were indications that the top four portfolios of Home, Finance, Urban Development and Revenue that the BJP was keen on retaining would now be shared with the alliance partners. The BJP, party insiders said, may insist on Home and Finance. The negotiations on ministerial berths and portfolios are to continue.

The Shiv Sena, on the other hand, believes that if Shinde is denied the CM post, Uddhav Thackeray and his party will get the room to target Fadnis and the BJP. They will be accused by the Uddhav faction of using the Shiv Sena name and symbol to come to power and then dumping it. “It could well be turned into a BJP vs Maharashtra fight,” a source said. The consolidation of Maratha votes is another weapon in the Sena arsenal. It says that if Shinde is allowed to continue as CM, the BJP will generate goodwill of the community — the Sena argument is that Shinde is the leader who “demolished” the Congress and prevented it from securing Maratha votes. The party is also reminding the BJP that the mandate is for the Shinde government’s welfare measures and “good governance”.

There are some in the BJP who are not dismissing outright the Shinde group’s arguments. These leaders also warn that “any move to sideline Shinde could affect the BJP’s prospects in local body elections across Maharashtra”.

FROM PAGE ONE
Opp notices for debate on Adani rejected

Parliament through disruptive tactics for their political gains”. Their “primary goal of halting parliamentary proceedings rarely succeeds, and people take note of their actions, often punishing them when the time comes,” he said. The behaviour of such parties, Modi said, stifles the rights of new MPs who bring fresh ideas and energy. “These new members are often denied opportunities to speak in the House. In a democratic tradition, every generation has the responsibility to prepare the next generations. But those who have been repeatedly rejected by the people — 80, 90 times — neither allow discussions in Parliament nor respect democratic principles or the aspirations of the people. They don’t realise their responsibility towards the people. As a result, they consistently fail to meet public expectations, leading to repeated rejection by the electorate,” he said. Referring to the outcome of recent Assembly elections, he said the results have “further strengthened the outcomes of the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, broadening the support base and increasing trust in democratic

processes. In democracy, it is imperative for us to respect the sentiments of the people and work tirelessly to meet their hopes and expectations”. “I have repeatedly urged the Opposition, and some Opposition members act very responsibly. They also desire smooth functioning of the House. However, those rejected by the people suppress even their colleagues’ voices, disrespect their feelings, and undermine the spirit of democracy. I hope our new members, from all parties, get opportunities. They bring fresh ideas and innovative visions to advance Bharat.” As the Prime Minister spoke, floor leaders of Opposition parties met in the chamber of Leader of the Opposition in Rajya Sabha Mallikarjun Kharge and decided to raise the Adani issue. Cutting across party lines, several Opposition MPs had given notices for a discussion on the Adani issue and suspending all other business. In Rajya Sabha, Chairman Jagdeep Dhankhar said he had received 13 notices to raise issues under Rule 267, including from Opposition MPs who wanted a discussion on the “alleged cor-

ruption, bribery and financial irregularities of the Adani Group”. MPs had also submitted notices to discuss the violence in Manipur and Sambhal, and the need for assistance for the people of Wayanad affected by the landslides earlier this year. Rejecting the notices, Dhankhar said: “These notices do not conform to the directives imparted by the Chair... I have not been able to persuade myself to agree to the same.” With the Opposition continuing to raise the demand, Dhankhar first adjourned the proceedings for 15 minutes and then for the day. In Lok Sabha, Speaker Om Birla adjourned the House for an hour as soon as Opposition benches sought a discussion on the Adani indictment issue. The House was adjourned for the day when it reconvened an hour later. Speaking to reporters later, Kharge said the Opposition wanted to raise the Adani issue in Parliament. “There are serious allegations of corruption, bribery and financial irregularities against the Adani Group. We wanted to raise that issue in the House... whichever country Modi visits...

the Adani group gets contracts... So we wanted a dispassionate discussion on the issue.” Responding to Modi’s allegations, Kharge said the PM had accused the Opposition of creating a ruckus. “He visited Bangladesh... Adani got a power contract... He went to Malaysia... Adani got a mega container project... Israel... He got contracts for drone manufacturing and Haifa port... the PM went to Singapore... Adani got investments from a state-owned firm... So, what we are saying is that all these are happening because of Modi’s support... We wanted a detailed discussion on all these issues,” he said. “We want a Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) to be set up, in which there will be more people from his party (BJP) and all get an opportunity to be represented. Form a JPC, let the truth come out... It is important that we raise this issue to help save the country. But, Modiji says that we are creating a ruckus... Modiji targets the Opposition abroad and says that we are tarnishing his image. You are spoiling the image of the country with such acts of corruption and helping businessmen get contracts,” Kharge said.

● Telangana declines Rs 100 crore

Promotion, Industries and Commerce Department, to Dr Priti Adani, chairperson of Adani Foundation, states, “We are thankful to you for committing Rs 100 crore to Young India Skills University on behalf of your Foundation vide your letter dated 18.10.2024. We have so far not asked any of the donors for physical transfer of funds since the University had not received the IT exemption under Section 80G. Though this exemption order has now come recently, I have been instructed by Hon’ble Chief Minister not to seek transfer of funds in view of the present circumstances and arising controversies.” After Adani was indicted in the US, the Telangana government and Chief Minister Reddy came under criticism from the BRS and BJP for continuing to woo the group to invest in the state. On Monday, Reddy said, “To protect Telangana’s honour and dignity and to avoid any unwanted controversies involving me and my Cabinet colleagues, we have decided to reject Adani’s donation. We have not taken even a single rupee from anyone.” “Some forces have been accusing the state government of accepting funds from the Adani Group. As per the rule, everyone has been given an opportunity to invest legally. Congress leader Rahul Gandhi made it clear that the company which won the bids as per the rules will get the opportunity to invest. Several companies have come forward to provide funds under the Corpus Fund for the Skills University, which has been set up by the Telangana government. As part of that, Adani Group came forward and announced Rs 100 crore for the university. Till now, the Telangana

government has not taken funds from any company, including Adani,” the CM said. He also released a list of Adani projects in the state, indicating that the group has a significant presence in Telangana and approvals have been granted by both the current Congress government and the previous BRS regime. As per the list, the BRS approved five projects: ■ A defence unit at Mamidipally to manufacture drones for the Army and Navy, with export contracts for Israeli companies. ■ A missile shell manufacturing unit at Mamidipally which is under construction and is expected to be operational by January 2025. ■ The first phase of a Microsoft Data Centre, which has been completed, while the second phase is underway. ■ Three national highway projects of which Khammam to Suryapet and Mancheriala to

Repallywada have been completed; while Khammam to Kodad is 85 per cent finished. ■ A 750 kV transmission line project connecting Vadodara (Gujarat), Warangal (Telangana), Kurnool (AP), and Chilakaluripet (AP), which is complete. The Congress government approved or is in the process of approving: ■ A data centre tech park at Chandenvally for which land acquisition is going on. ■ A pumped storage project for which a proposal has been submitted. ■ A cement grinding unit at Ramannapet for which environmental clearance is pending. ■ The group submitted an expression of interest for setting up a new cement plant with a capacity of 9 million MT in Kodangal. ■ A logistics park and dry port at Ramannapet for which land has been acquired and approvals like concessions are pending.

● Day 1 nightmare to Day 4 dream: How India owned Australia

working relationship with players. On the first day in Perth, India crashed and burned — 150 all out in four hours on a bright sunny Australian day. Yet, within that day, the turnaround had begun, and that was not just consolidated over the next three days but an utter domination was achieved as India wrapped up the first Test in Perth in some style: a 295-run win, India’s biggest in terms of runs in Australia. Bumrah would nail down the turning point moment as the one that came after the lowest moment in the Test. “The most positive thing was when we were out for 150. There was no one in the dressing room who was

down. They believed that if we could get out like that, we could do the same to them. My only message to the team was not to get too desperate as sometimes bowling teams can do that after getting bowled out cheaply. I told them there was enough on the pitch if we hit the right areas.” Aptly, a debutant helped apply the final seal of victory. Harshit Rana, who had sparked in the first innings, too, produced a crafty slower ball to castle the stumps of Alex Carey to trigger celebrations. By the time stand-in captain Bumrah could get to the stumps at the non-striker’s end, K L Rahul, whose partnership with Yashasvi Jaiswal in the second innings had

set up a huge target, had plucked out two stumps, and he gave one to his skipper. Rana had by then gone on to hug Virat Kohli, who later walked away with Bumrah with their hands around each other’s shoulders. It was a job well done. On the fourth day, only Travis Head offered resistance with a fine 89, even as India rammed through the rest to seal a special win. Last time around in 2021, they had taken the first-innings lead in the opening Test at Adelaide but collapsed for 36 in the second innings to lose that game. No such mistakes this time around. It’s one thing to hang in there, slowly claw back, grit out a bruising

fight-back after being down by tea on opening day, but India decided against that old romantic sporting cliché; instead, they chose to boss and own Australia. Time will tell how the rest of the series goes but this performance has now cancelled out all pre-series fears of a one-sided contest. Josh Hazlewood had given up the ghost on the third evening itself when instead of any brave talk of fightback, he said he hoped a couple of batsmen would get to 80 or 100, and tire down the Indian bowlers a bit. One of those batsmen, and a very important one for Australia if they are to bounce back in the series, was Steve Smith. Especially after Usman Khawaja went early,

● How Sambhal erupted

the Samajwadi Party MP from Sambhal, Ziaur Rahman Barq, and Suhel Iqbal, the son of party MLA Nawab Iqbal Mohammed, for allegedly provoking protesters. Further, the Internet ban was extended until Tuesday, schools and colleges were closed until December 1, and the entry of outsiders was barred in the district on the orders of the District Magistrate. Seven FIRs have been lodged so far against six named and more than 2,000 unnamed individuals. The clashes erupted when a court-appointed advocate commissioner and six members of his team entered the Shahi Jama Masjid for a second survey around 7 am Sunday. The first survey, ordered by the court, was conducted on November 19, after a priest moved an application claiming that a temple once stood at the site of the mosque and that it was demolished in the 16th Century. According to Sambhal District Magistrate Rajendra Pensiya, it was around 6 pm on Saturday that “we decided that another round of survey was needed, so we wrote to the masjid committee informing them of the decision and they agreed that the survey should be done during the morning hours of Sunday”. He said the administration did not expect things to go out of hand as they had deployed the entire district police force there, and made adequate arrangements. “We could not foresee such a clash,” he said. On the day of the second survey, it was a rumour of the mosque being dug up that spread like wildfire. Zafar Ali, the lawyer for the mosque side, claimed at a press conference that he saw police firing. He said he appealed to the public to go indoors, and while 75% of the people paid heed, many protesters stayed put, believing that digging was going on at the mosque. Asked who spread this rumour, he said, “There was water surrounding the mosque, and some people concluded this was because of digging.” A few residents told The Indian Express that as the survey was underway, a rumour began that the “wazu” (where worshippers wash themselves before praying) was being cleared and the site was being dug up. “Many rushed to see what was happening, but police resorted to using force,” claimed a resident. In response, Superintendent of Police Krishna Kumar Bishnoi said they had emptied the tank to measure its size, and refilled it after measurements were taken. The SP also said that only non-lethal weapons were used to deal with the crowd. Following the press conference, Ali, who is also the mosque president, was questioned by police for three hours before being allowed to go. SP Bishnoi denied Ali’s claim that he was not told about the survey in advance. He said Ali was called for questioning “because his statements are contradictory in nature and can create problems later on”. Asked whether the violence was a failure of the local administration, DM Pensiya said, “We had made security arrangements and posted more cops than what our intelligence sleuths had given us inputs (about deploying). Pockets where there was apprehension of violence were heavily barricaded. The crowd swelled suddenly after an announcement was made from the mosque that the survey had been completed. The crowd came from three sides and started attacking cops. We retaliated. An inquiry has been ordered and the truth will come out soon.” Even as the families of the dead men claimed they were killed in police firing, the DM said, “Those who died were hit by bullets from country-made pistols. We have their post-mortem reports and clinching video footage to prove that no one died in police firing. One thing is for sure that the mob was provoked. We have recovered knives and guns from the possessions of a few of those arrested.” He told The Indian Express that post-mortem reports will be given to the families soon. SP Rajya Sabha MP Ram Gopal Yadav demanded that a case of murder be lodged against the DM and SP for their failure to contain the violence. Anger had been simmering when The Indian Express visited the town on Friday, when weekly prayers are held at the mosque. Instead of the usual 500, almost 2,000 people had gathered. SP Bishnoi claimed that criminal elements had entered the crowd on Sunday and they incited people to attack police. “We are following a zero-tolerance policy towards criminals. Those arrested will face the Goonda Act and National Security Act,” he said.

trying to pull a Mohammed Siraj short delivery from outside off, top-edging it to Rishabh Pant. Smith was sorted out by Bumrah for a first-ball duck in the first innings when he had pressed back far too early, and couldn’t get his wrists to effect the jail-break for him. On Monday, on a track that was playing up-and-down, his task was that much more arduous. He did try gamely, trying to play straight. As his innings progressed though, he began to get stuck at the crease, and his hands were doing all the contortions to keep him out there. But then came a length ball from Mohammad Siraj in the off-stump channel and Smith, not only stuck at crease but on his toes almost jammed together, and pushed out his bat to snick it behind. Head did what he usually does to India: slash, carve, smash, swat. And Bumrah brought himself back to end his stay with a straightener outside off that caught the outside edge of an attempted forcing punch shot and flew through to Rishabh Pant. With it, the Australian fight faded out of the arena rather quickly but not before Dhruv Jurel produced the catch of the game, plucking one out of thin air at short-leg to get rid of Mitch Starc. A little later, when the victory was sealed, a digital advertisement flashed around on the first tier of the stadium: “Do Great Things”. They could have added “like India” — to capture some ground reality.

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AFTER REVIEW MEETING BY HOME MINISTER AMIT SHAH

Identify law & order flaws, check BS-IV vehicles: Top cop's directives to police

SAKSHICHAND
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

TWO DAYS after Union Home Minister Amit Shah held a high-level meeting on the law and order situation in the Capital, Delhi Police Commissioner Sanjay Arora is learnt to have issued key directives Monday — to identify shortcomings regarding controlling criminal activities and deployment of police personnel to control air pollution in Delhi.

Amid rampant criminal activities, Arora, police sources said, ex-

pressed his displeasure regarding the law and order situation in the city. He asked all Deputy Commissioners of Police (DCPs) to take action against illegal activities, local criminals and prepare an action-taken report in 25 days.

"All district DCPs have been directed to visit police stations in their district concerned and identify shortcomings," an officer said.

Increasing incidents of firing leading to extortion bids, police losing grip on hardened criminals and poor projection of police's good work in the media — these were some of the key points high-

lighted by Shah in the meeting.

The Commissioner's key directions also included the deployment of district police personnel to take action against BS-IV diesel vehicles in tandem with their counterparts in the traffic department. "Ten prosecution machines have been issued to all 15 district police and they have been asked to start prosecuting BS-IV (diesel) vehicles. Currently, only traffic police are prosecuting these vehicles," a senior police officer said.

In addition, police control room (PCR) vehicles have been asked to work in close coordina-

tion with traffic police and alert them if any violations are witnessed on the road.

"At the border areas, from where most heavy vehicles and trucks carrying construction material enter, senior officers have been asked to hold briefings and give written instructions," the officer said.

Further, an officer said, Arora also directed the installation of 10 pickets by all 15 district police in areas under their jurisdiction for prosecution and enforcement of Commission for Air Quality Management's guidelines.

3 arrested for strangling man over Rs 10 lakh in Gurgaon

EXPRESSNEWSERVICE
GURGAON, NOVEMBER 25

TWO WOMEN and a man have been arrested in Gurgaon for allegedly murdering a 52-year-old man over Rs 10 lakh that one of them owed the victim, police said Monday.

The accused were identified as Sushma (42), and her accomplices, Anil and Seema, police said, adding the trio allegedly killed the victim, Rajendra, by lacing his tea and strangling him when he fell unconscious.

Rajendra had allegedly given Rs 10 lakh to Sushma for an investment scheme. However, she ended up spending the money and hatched a plan with the other accused to murder him, police said.

"She told Rajendra she had given the money to a woman named Seema. When Rajendra demanded to meet Seema to inquire about the money, Sushma conspired with Anil and Seema to murder him. Sushma also promised Seema Rs 50,000 in return," ACP (Crime) Varun Dahiya said.

"On Friday, Sushma invited

Rajendra to her house in Manesar, on the pretext of introducing him to Seema. When Rajendra arrived, Anil and Seema were also present. Around 6 pm, Anil made tea for everyone, mixing a sedative in one cup," Dahiya said.

"After drinking it, Rajendra fell unconscious, and Sushma strangled him to death. After the murder, Sushma and Anil sent Seema away and took Rajendra's body in Anil's car to Rewari, where they abandoned

it near the Rewari-Narnaul highway," he added.

Meanwhile, Rajendra's son filed a complaint Saturday at Manesar police station saying his father, who had left for his workplace at IMT Manesar in his car a day before, had not returned yet.

Police soon zeroed in on Sushma and Anil and arrested them after questioning Saturday. They also found Rajendra's body the same day. On Sunday, Seema was arrested from Gurgaon.



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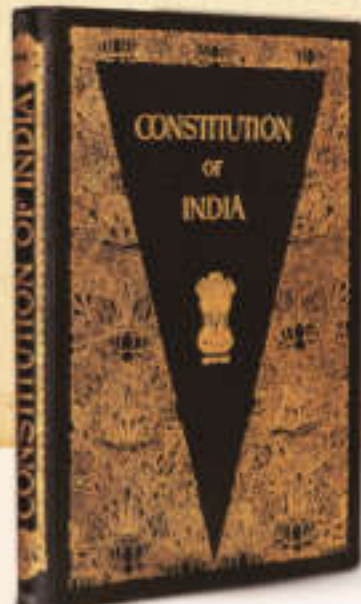
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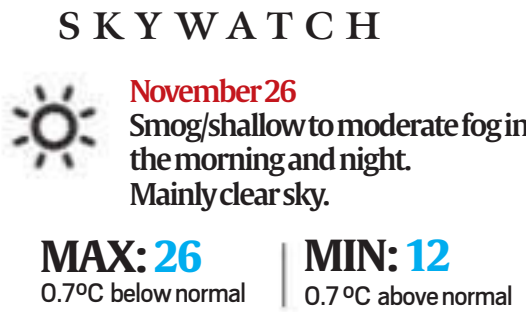
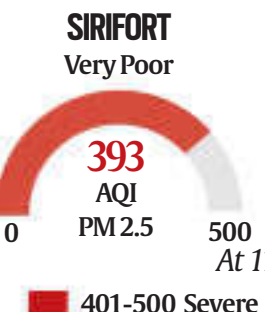
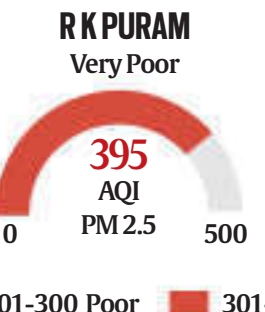
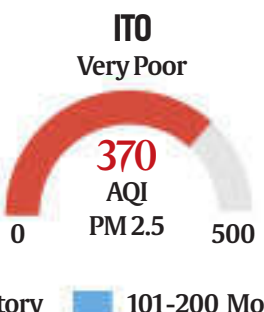
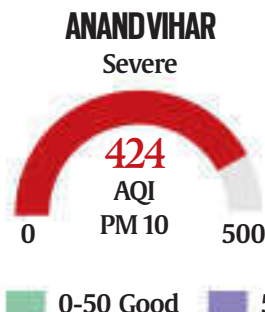
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RESULTS OUT AFTER 2 MONTHS; ABVP GETS VICE-PRESIDENT, SECY POSTS

2-2 in DU students' union elections: NSUI bags president post after 7 yrs

VIDHEESHA KUNTAMALLA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

ENDING A seven-year dry spell at the helm of the Delhi University Students' Union (DUSU), the Congress-backed National Students' Union of India (NSUI) clinched the coveted post of president as well as Joint Secretary in this year's elections. The Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) won the Vice-president post and retained the secretary's position.

In the results declared on Monday evening after a two-month delay — it had been halted by the Delhi High Court citing defacement caused during the campaign — NSUI's Ronak Khatri and Lokesh Choudhary were elected President and Joint Secretary whereas ABVP's Mitravinda Karanwal and Bhanu Pratap Singh were elected Secretary and Vice-President.

As soon as counting ended, celebrations and cheers — albeit muted — broke out at DU's Arts Faculty. Gone were the traditional dhols, boisterous rallies, and firecrackers as the university enforced stricter guidelines curbing post-election fanfare and mandated that all candidates sign an affidavit.

This is the first time since 2017 that NSUI bagged two posts across the four central panel positions, including the post of President. Its last DUSU President was Rocky Tuseed.

In 2023, ABVP's Tushar Dedha defeated his rival Hitesh Gulia from the NSUI by 3,115 votes and became president. The ABVP also won the Secretary and Joint Secretary posts. The Vice-President post had gone to NSUI.



Praveen Khanna

NSUI's Ronak Khatri, Lokesh Choudhary and others celebrate their victory Monday evening.

This year, Khatri defeated his rival Rishabh Choudhary from ABVP by 1,339 votes, while Lokesh Choudhary won the post of Joint Secretary by defeating ABVP's Aman Kaspasia by a margin of 6,726 votes. ABVP's Bhanu Pratap Singh and Mitravinda Karanwal received 24,166 and 16,703 votes and defeated their rivals from the NSUI, Yash Nandal and Namrata Jeph, by a margin of 8,762 and 1,467 votes respectively.

Speaking about his success, Khatri told *The Indian Express*, "University infrastructure is our priority. The way staff talk to students is our priority as well as the student's well-being. We promised this in our manifesto and this will be the first matter of focus." As per a statement by the

NSUI, National President Varun Choudhary said, "This election, we fought for the Constitution, women's safety, a violence-free campus, and to establish 'Mohabbat Ki Dukan' in DU. I'm thrilled to announce we've successfully opened 'Mohabbat Ki Dukan', a symbol of love, unity, and positive change in the varsity." The ABVP, in its statement, thanked the varsity and police for a peaceful election. "ABVP registered a spectacular victory on the posts of Vice-President and Secretary...", it said.

No spot for Left

Meanwhile, the presidential candidate fielded by the Left alliance of Students' Federation of India (SFI) and All India

Students' Association (AISA), Savvy Gupta, stood fourth with 2,695 votes against her name. The number of NOTA votes was higher at 3,906.

SFI candidate for Secretary, Sneha Aggarwal said, "DU is known for its glamour. For others, glamour means big banners, luxury cars; our glamour was fighting for student issues. I thank the 8,806 students (votes she polled) who chose the latter..."

In a joint statement, the two outfits said: "AISA and SFI resolve to carry forward the struggle for a better DU and DUSU in the coming days and become a voice representative of the faith reposed in our alliance and politics by the students of DU."

WINNERS SPEAK

Whenever students of this university need me, be it to fight for their rights or to go to the court for their rights, I will always stand by them... Infrastructure will be a priority — we have to fight for basic amenities like water... we need to rebuild basic infrastructure to focus on education...

RONAK KHATRI,
PRESIDENT (NSUI)

Women's safety will be my priority... students living in DU, their hostel demands will also be one of our main priorities... ABVP leaders do not need a post or power to represent or lead DU. Like every year, we will fight for rights of DU students with the same enthusiasm.

BHANU PRATAP SINGH
VICE-PRESIDENT (ABVP)

The priority is to install CCTVs and make sure to have gynecologists and counsellors in colleges, keeping in mind women's safety and women's health issues. Students shouldn't have to fight for basic rights, hygiene, and healthcare...

MITRAVINDA KARANWAL
SECRETARY (ABVP)

This victory belongs to every student who believes in equality, safety, and progress. My commitment is to work tirelessly to ensure that voices of students are heard and that Delhi University becomes a beacon of inclusivity, respect, and academic excellence.

LOKESH CHOUDHARY
JOINT SECRETARY (NSUI)

AIR MONITOR AFTER SC ASKS IT TO REVIEW CURBS ON SCHOOLS

‘Delhi-NCR schools must adopt hybrid mode up to Class XII’

GRAP Stage 4 measures to continue in Delhi, says top court

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

HOURS AFTER the Supreme Court asked the Commission for Air Quality Management (CAQM) to decide on reopening schools and other educational institutions in Delhi-NCR, the central air quality panel Monday said classes up to Grade XII in schools and colleges must shift to a "hybrid" mode.

In its order, the Commission took into account lack of resources faced by schools in Delhi-NCR to conduct online classes as well as difficulties faced by students appearing for Board examinations this year. "The option to exercise an online mode of education, wherever available, shall vest with students and their guardians." Other NCR governments may also consider conducting classes in hybrid mode, as per the order.

Meanwhile, emergency measures under Stage 4 of the Graded Response Action Plan (GRAP) to deal with air pollution will continue in Delhi for the time being, said the Supreme Court Monday.

The bench, which reviewed a chart of Air Quality Index (AQI) figures for Delhi, said, "It shows that AQI... from November 20-24 ranges between 318 and 419... unless the court is satisfied that there is a consistent downward trend of AQI, we cannot permit the Commission to go down to stage 3 or 2."

Fixing the matter for hearing next on November 28, it directed the Commission "to place up-



Praveen Khanna

Workers spray water on trees to control pollution



DEATH BY BREATH

dated data on" that date "so the court can take a call on GRAP 4 measures".

Asking the Commission to consider if the ban on physical classes as part of the emergency measures should continue, the bench said this was necessary because "some students are being deprived of facility of midday meal as schools and anganwadis are closed... a large number of students do not have the facility of attending online education" and "the residences of a large number of students do not have air purifiers. And, therefore, there may not be any difference between children sitting at home and children attending schools." The court said, "We make it

Delhi had no 'good' air day this yr, none expected until Dec-end

SOPHIYA MATHEW
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

DELHI BREATHED its cleanest air this year in August when the average Air Quality Index (AQI) was 52. Yet, it fell short by two points required for a 'good' day, as per national standards.

According to the Central Pollution Control Board (CPCB), a 'good' air day is when the AQI is below 50. Delhi has not had a single 'good' air quality day so far this year. With the current pollution levels and the air quality fluctuating between 'severe' and 'very poor' so far this month, it is unlikely the Capital will have a good day before next year.

On Monday, after a brief respite, Delhi's AQI returned to the 'very poor' category from 'poor' by noon. With an AQI of 349, the city was the second most polluted, closely behind West Bengal's Durgapur (AQI of 360).

Notably, this is the first year after 2018 when Delhi would record no 'good' air days. There were no 'good' air days in 2016, too.

Since 2016, the lockdown year of 2020 saw the highest number of five 'good' air days — one in March and four in August. However, by 2021, this number had come down to one day in October, but improved a tad to three 'good' days — one in



With an AQI of 349, the Capital was the second most polluted city in the country on Monday. Praveen Khanna

September and two in October — in 2022. However, 2023 saw only a single clean air day, in September.

Delhi reports the cleanest air during the monsoon season compared to the rest of the year, according to CPCB data. This explains the concentration of 'good' air days between August and October. Meteorological factors can lead to a lowering of pollution levels in pre-winter months.

According to the India Meteorological Department data, Delhi received no rain so far this month. In contrast, there were four rainy days in 2023. Further, since 2016, there have been instances of November rain in 2018, 2019 and 2020.

As per AQI trends over the

past 10 years, the AQI at best has fallen to around 130, and not lesser in November and December. As a result, the year-end months record only 'moderate', 'very poor', 'severe' and 'severe plus' AQI days.

While a 'good' AQI has minimal health impacts, the index even in the 'satisfactory' range can lead to minor breathing discomforts.

A 'moderate' AQI would impact people with existing heart or lung diseases. When it plummets to the 'poor' range, most people would start experiencing symptoms of 'prolonged exposure'. At 'severe' or 'severe plus' levels, pollution does not differentiate between healthy and unhealthy individuals.

Truck driver killed wife, lived with body for days inside vehicle: Police

UPASIKA SINGHAL
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

THE DELHI Police Saturday arrested a truck driver from Maharashtra for allegedly killing his wife and then living with the body in the vehicle for days.

According to police sources, the accused, Pradeep, left for Delhi from Navi Mumbai in his truck on November 11. He was tasked to drop off some supplies with a vendor in Okhla.

"He reached Delhi on November 13. After he was done with work, he had plans to meet his wife, who lived in Delhi, the next day. Pradeep suspected his wife was having an affair. After the two met, they began arguing... and he strangled her with her dupatta and hid her body inside the truck," said DCP

(Southeast) Ravi Kumar Singh.

Pradeep allegedly stowed the body in the truck and lived with it for several days. "His employer later got a call from an inebriated Pradeep, who told him he had killed his wife," said DCP Singh.

The employer asked one of his local contacts to check on Pradeep, who had been living in his truck for several days after parking it in Okhla Industrial Area Phase 2. "The employer's acquaintance called back to tell them they had seen Pradeep living in the truck with a body inside it," added the DCP.

The employer informed police Saturday. When police arrived at the scene, they noticed a smell coming from a truck. They discovered Pradeep inside, alongside his wife's decomposing body in a pool of blood. Police arrested Pradeep on the spot.

Two 'thak-thak' gang members arrested for theft

New Delhi: The Delhi Police recently arrested two members of the infamous 'thak-thak gang' in two separate cases of theft in Rajasthan and Haryana.

Ankit Chauhan, DCP (South Delhi), said one Trupati aka Sonu, 26, was arrested for stealing a bag containing Rs 10 lakh from a victim in Jaipur, Rajasthan.

On Saturday, the Delhi Police Crime Branch arrested another gang member, Dayal, 24, for his alleged involvement in a theft case in Faridabad, Haryana.

Bhisham Singh, DCP (Crime Branch), said the accused told the victim that oil was leaking from his car when he parked it at Green Belt, Fauji Colony in Faridabad. The unsuspecting victim was busy inspecting the vehicle, Dayal allegedly took a bag containing Rs 2 lakh from the car and fled with his associates. **ENS**

2020 riots: 5 accused argue on grounds of delay, parity with those granted bail

SOHINI GHOSH
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

SEEKING BAIL, five of the accused in the Northeast Delhi riots larger conspiracy case raised grounds of parity with others granted bail in the case, as well as the ground of delay, during the trial before the Delhi High Court Monday.

Two other accused, Sharjeel Imam and Shadab Ahmed, will be arguing on merits of the case and ground of delay of trial.

With the five accused arguing on grounds of parity and delay in trial, the court posted the matter for hearing on December 6. Accused Umar Khalid's bail plea, though not taken up on Monday, is due to be heard on December 6 too. Two more bail pleas will be heard on December 12.

Accused GulfiSha Fatima, the only woman in the case in jail to date; Abdul Khalid Saifi of United Against Hate; Athar Khan; Shifa Ur Rehman; and Mohd Saleem Khan, arguing for bail before the bench of Justices Navin Chawla and Shalinder Kaur, were among those to preliminarily raise grounds of parity with other accused and delay in trial as

grounds for bail, while foregoing arguments on merits for now.

Senior advocate Kapil Sibal, appearing for Fatima, submitted, "I'm not going to argue on merits... (she is) on bail in three other cases related to (anti-CAA/NRC) protests... (she is the) only woman in custody... (Fatima is) entitled to bail on parity... (Co-accused) Devangana (Kalita) and Natasha (Narwal) with identical or greater roles, have been granted bail."

While Special Public Prosecutor Amit Prasad said individual roles have to be gone into as the offence alleges larger conspiracy, Justice Chawla orally remarked that the same can be gone into at the stage of the trial. Justice Chawla also orally inquired if there were allegations against Fatima of "actual participation in the riots", to which Sibal replied in the negative.

Senior advocate Rebecca John, appearing for Saifi, submitted that three FIRs were lodged against him in relation to the 2020 riots, of which he has been discharged in one and granted bail in another.

FULL REPORT ON
www.indianexpress.com

Tackling graft in force: Delhi cops to identify hotspots of gambling, bootlegging, illegal construction

SAKSHI CHAND
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

ILLEGAL CONSTRUCTION, gambling and bootlegging — three key factors have been identified to be driving corruption in the police force, according to a committee of Deputy Commissioners, formed by the Delhi Police, which aims to reduce graft. Accordingly, Delhi Police Commissioner Sanjay Arora has directed special commissioners of the northern and southern zones to carry out ground surveys and identify hotspots of such illegal activities, it is learnt.

The move came after the Ministry of Home Affairs asked the Delhi Police Commissioner to form a committee in the light of multiple raids and arrests of police personnel — around 30 across police stations and units — by the CBI on charges of bribery this year.

Last month, the central probe agency arrested two Delhi Police officers — an inspector and a sub-inspector posted at Burari police station — for allegedly taking a bribe of Rs 10 lakh to not implicate a man in a case. The



The deadline for the exercise has been set for the end of the year. Archive

SHO (Burari police station) was also sent to District Lines.

In July, the CBI Friday caught five police personnel red-handed while they were allegedly accepting bribes in three different cases. The arrested personnel include a sub-inspector posted at Hauz Khas police station in the South district.

In a recent order, the Commissioner said, "Law and order zones to carry out ground-

level surveys and submit hotspots of illegal constructions, bootlegging and gambling infested areas... in 30 days."

The vigilance division will carry out the same exercise, based on an analysis of the Integrated Complaint Monitoring System, in 30 days. The operations unit too has been instructed to follow suit based on PCR calls received in the last five years pertaining to the subject. The intelligence division will also be on the lookout for such activities by specifically tasking Zonal Inspectors.

"Once the requisite reports are received, data in soft copies will be shared with the Technology and PI division to draw out a multi-layered hotspot map and then to identify the CCTV systems (existing as well as proposed/under execution in the Safe City project) in 30 days, for mounting effective surveillance," the order stated.

The deadline for the exercise has been set for the end of the year. The law and order divisions have to submit quarterly reports on actions taken to control, contain and abolish the malpractice.

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one sets a new standard for performance in the industry.

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One has a charging speed that keeps you waiting,
one has the charging speed you've been waiting for.

One has tech that will soon become history,
one has the tech that'll make everything else history.

One has its limits, one has none.

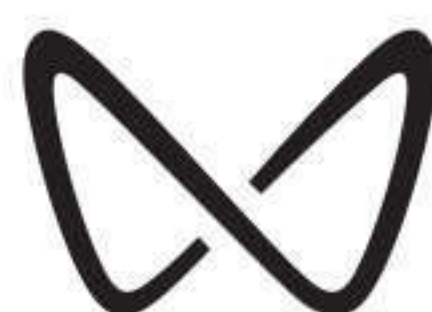
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Prof. (Dr.) T.V. Subba Rao, Professor Emeritus and Chairperson, VSLLS, VIPS-TC

Three scores and 14 years ago, when the entire world looking with keen interest at a newly born nascent India, that is Bharat, we started our tryst with constitutional Governance, to realize our dreams and aspirations. On 26 November 1949, the constitution was enacted and adopted and it came into force on 26 January 1950. Earlier the 26th November was celebrated as National Law Day. The Government of India in the year 2015 during 125th Birth Anniversary celebrations of Dr. Ambedkar decided very fittingly to celebrate 26th November of every year as a Constitution Day. Indian Constitution is not envisioned in vacuum. It is the result of the experiences of long drawn out freedom struggle, sacrifices of Indian leaders and practices of people at large. It is our bounden duty to abide by the Constitution, respect its ideals, institutions and cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our Indian freedom Struggle. Indian Constitution succinctly crystalizes in sonorous terms the aspired goal values, Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. When we are celebrating the 75th year of adopting and enacting the constitution, it is our duty to assess for ourselves whether we have achieved, though not totally, but at least substantially those goals. Constitution is everybody's subject and not only for the lawyers or law students or of judges. Everybody has a stake in relaising its goals and values, from President of India down to a common man; irrespective of caste, creed, race, gender, rich or poor.

India is built on the sacrifices and we should not now sacrifice India for selfish motives, political ambitions. The Constitution has faced many challenges and onslaughts ; Attempts of subversion of its institutions; tampering nearly 106 times, at the rate of 1 ½ Amendments per year (both for doing and undoing); the organs created by it, including the judiciary suffered self inflicted wounds; But the constitution survived. It was a witness and was instrumental to many phases of Indian post constitutional developments. It facilitated mixed economy in the beginning, then to socialist and now global economy – from industrial to technological society ; it facilitated expansive interpretations by the courts to expand the horizons of rights and transformative constitutionalism and constitutional morality. It is as a live wire – if it is dead, or growth is stunted we are undone and the nation itself is dead. One should know that it is not a play thing of only selfish few. Constitution is a lodestar of our aspirations. Constitution is fundamental law of the country and all are bound by it. The architect of the constitution, Dr. Ambedkar expressed sincere hope when the constitution was adopted, I feel that the constitution is workable, it is flexible and strong enough to hold the country together both in peacetime and in wartime. He added, indeed if I may say so, if things go wrong under the new constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad constitution. What we will have to say is that man was vile.

Let us join hands to achieve the goals that we have set for ourselves!

When we are celebrating the 75th year of adopting and enacting the constitution, it is our duty to assess for ourselves whether we have achieved, though not totally, but at least substantially those goals.

VIVEKANANDA SCHOOL OF LAW AND LEGAL STUDIES

All Bhartiya Nagrik (Indian Citizens) must know that Constitution is vital. The celebration of 26th November as a Constitution Day is one of the steps to inculcate constitutional values in our lives. It is indispensable for all Indian Citizens to attain the inculcation of constitutional values.

Teaching of Constitution of India

Primarily, the Constitution of India was seen as a subject to teach to students of Political Science, Law and such other streams. However, nowadays, it is mandatory for students of almost all the streams to learn the Constitution of India.

Each subject has its own nature. Constitution of India is also not an exception. Teaching of the Constitution of India requires special approach and attention. Historical, comparative and critical approach are helpful in teaching of Constitution. Each provision of the Constitution of India is backed by a rationale. Our ancient practices, social, economic, political, & cultural practices and set up have influenced our constitutional provisions so as Constitution of other Countries in the world. Therefore, it is required to unfold the rationale behind various constitutional provisions in the classroom.

Constitutional law has undergone from various changes from time to time. Case law method is one of the best methods to teach constitutional law. The "Decided cases" help in understanding the changing dimensions of constitutional law. Towards this, the VIPS Law School have come out with Case Study Manual on Constitutional Law, that gives the excerpts of the decided cases by Supreme Court of India. Activities such as seminars, debates, etc. enhance the learning outcome of the Constitution amongst students.

Dissemination of Constitution

Our lives, as Indian citizens, are intertwined with the Constitution of India. Thus, its dissemination should be done beyond classrooms of educational institutions. Fundamental rights, directive principles of state policy and fundamental duties should be the part of everyday life of all. For example, The Supreme Court of India has widened the ambit of 'right to life and liberty'. Therefore, it is natural that citizens should know such aspects. Awareness of the Constitution of India will surely minimize the vulnerability and violation of rights of the residents.

The media is the fourth pillar of the democracy. Thus, media may be used to disseminate Constitution of India and its values. Legal Aid Clinics established in educational institutions should play an important role in dissemination. Towards this, the VIPS Law School Legal Aid Clinic has come out with a pictorial booklet titled as "Know Your Rights", in which various fundamental rights are introduced through pictorial presentation. VIPS Law School Pro Bono club (under DISHA, Dept. of Justice, Ministry of Law and Justice) has reached to Resident Welfare Associations, Schools, villages etc for conducting dissemination programmes. Literacy and awareness about the Constitution of India should be disseminated through programmes on lines of the special programme on literacy called as "Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan" by the Ministry of Education.

Inculcation of Constitution

The Constitution of India is a living document. We should have a sense of duty to conduct ourselves as per the Constitution of India. All the citizens of India should follow and carry out the Fundamental duties enshrined in the Constitution of India.

We need to realize and respect the fundamental rights. We must uphold the basic principles of justice, equity, liberty and dignity all the time with sense of belongingness and sense of responsibility.



Prof (Dr). Rashmi Salpekar
Dean, VSLLS, VIPS-TC

8 IN PARLIAMENT WINTER SESSION



DELHI CONFIDENTIAL



PM Narendra Modi, Bhutan PM Tshering Tobgay and Union Cooperation Minister Amit Shah at the ICA Global Cooperative Conference, in New Delhi. *ANI*

BOND OF BROTHERS

DELEGATES FROM around the world attending ICA Global Cooperative Conference 2024 at Bharat Mandapam witnessed a special bond between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Bhutanese counterpart Dasho Tshering Tobgay on Monday. When the Bhutanese PM spoke, addressed PM Modi as “*mere bade bhai* (my elder brother)” and “*margdarshak* (mentor)”. He also expressed his gratitude to Home and Cooperation Minister Amit Shah. “It’s because of Shah’s invitation that I could meet my elder brother,” Tobgay said. When it was Modi’s turn to speak, he too referred to Tobgay as “*mere chhote bhai* (my younger brother)”. Earlier, while meeting the delegates at the event, Modi went forward and hugged Tobgay on the dais.

HINDI LESSONS

AT AN event to launch TheTeacherApp, a digital platform developed by Bharti Airtel Foundation to provide teachers with training courses and teaching-learning material, Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan pointed out that while he addressed the audience in Hindi, those who spoke before him — Bharti Enterprises Vice Chairman Rakesh Bharti Mittal and Bharti Airtel Foundation CEO Mamta Saikia — spoke in English. “You (the audience) must be thinking that I don’t know English well,” Pradhan said, adding that in India, “social honour is connected with the colonial language”. He said that in 1835, the British, who were thinking of ways to sustain their economic interests in India, discussed that they should do away with the Indian education system. After Pradhan’s address, Mittal responded to the minister in Hindi, while Saikia delivered the vote of thanks in Hindi, drawing laughter from the audience.

CHANGING NARRATIVE

AFTER ITS Lok Sabha election setback, the BJP left no stone unturned to counter the Opposition’s claim that the party “wants to change the Constitution”. BJP leaders said they managed to clear any doubts among the voters during the Maharashtra campaign. The party now wants a day-long discussion on the Constitution in Parliament during the ongoing Winter Session. As Tuesday is Constitution Day, a discussion on the floor of the two Houses would give PM Narendra Modi and other senior party MPs an opportunity to take on Opposition’s “narrative” about BJP’s attempts to tweak the Constitution, said BJP leaders.

PRESIDENT MURMU TO ADDRESS JOINT SESSION TODAY

Opposition and Govt spar over list of Speakers for Constitution Day event

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

ON THE eve of a joint sitting of both the Houses of Parliament, to be addressed by President Droupadi Murmu to mark 75 years of the Constitution, the Government and the Opposition sparred over the list of speakers.

Leaders of various parties in the INDIA bloc wrote to Lok Sabha Speaker Om Birla, urging him to allow leaders of the Opposition in both Houses to speak during the function in the Central Hall of Samvidhan Sadan, the old Parliament building.

“We are writing in the context of the function being held tomorrow (Tuesday) in the Central Hall of Samvidhan Sadan to com-

memorate the 75th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of India. We understand that the function will be addressed by the President, Vice President and the Prime Minister. We believe that in the best traditions and interests of Parliamentary democracy, the Leaders of Opposition (LoPs) in both Houses should also be given an opportunity to speak on this historic occasion,” the letter said.

Hours later the government hit back, with Parliamentary Affairs Minister Kiren Rijiju accusing “some of the Opposition parties” of giving reactions without knowing the actual arrangement. He said Prime Minister Modi will not be addressing the event.

According to the schedule of the event, Speaker Birla will de-

liver the welcome speech, followed by a speech by Vice President Jagdeep Dhankhar and an address by President Murmu. A commemorative coin and a stamp to mark the 75th anniversary of adoption of the Constitution and three books on the Constitution will be released.

“The problem with some of the Opposition parties is that without knowing the actual arrangement they start giving reactions. The Prime Minister is not even speaking tomorrow (Tuesday) at the function. The Speaker, the Vice President and the President of India will speak,” Rijiju said. “Secondly, we have made sitting arrangements for the Leader of Opposition of both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on the dais. Without knowing anything,

this kind of reaction on a very solemn occasion is condemnable,” he said.

The Union minister also said that the Constitution Day celebration was above politics and is a celebration of the country.

Earlier in the day, Prime Minister Modi took potshots at the Opposition.

In his customary pre-session speech, Modi said the Winter Session of Parliament is “special in many ways, with the most significant aspect being the 75-year journey of our Constitution”.

“This is a momentous occasion for democracy. Tomorrow, we will collectively begin the celebration of the 75th year of our Constitution in the Constitution Hall. The Constitution framers debated every point in great de-

Air quality up in 97 of 130 cities under NCAP since 2017-18, says Minister

New Delhi: Ninety-seven of the 130 cities targeted under the National Clean Air Programme have shown improvement in air quality as compared to 2017-18, with 55 recording more than 20% reduction, the Environment Ministry said Monday.

Responding to a question in the Lok Sabha, Environment Minister Bhupendra Yadav said NCAP aims to reduce particulate matter (PM10) pollution by up to 40% or achieving national air quality standards by 2025-26.

As of 2023-24, 97 of the 130 cities targeted have shown improvement in air quality as compared to 2017-18, with 55 recording reduction exceeding 20 per cent, the minister said.

However, concerns about pollution remain in the coal mining regions, particularly in Jharkhand, he added. **PTI**

OPENING DAY



(Clockwise from top) Sena (UBT)’s Priyanka Chaturvedi, RJD’s Misa Bharti, TMC’s Mahua Moitra, AAP’s Raghav Chadha, Congress’s Shashi Tharoor with others; CDS General Anil Chauhan; BJP’s Mahesh Sharma and Pratap Sarangi with SP’s Awadesh Prasad and Congress’s Jairam Ramesh; Union Minister Prahlad Joshi with Congress Deputy Leader in LS Gaurav Gogoi; Union Ministers Kiren Rijiju, Arjun Ram Meghwal, Jitendra Singh and L Murugan at Parliament, Monday. *ANI*



5 QUESTIONS

SP MP JAVED ALI KHAN TALKS TO LALMANI VERMA

INDIA bloc should rethink its strategy... If allies not given due share, respect, what is the point?

What happened over the Opposition’s demand regarding the bribery allegations against the Adani Group?

The notice on the Adani matter was submitted by the Congress. Kharge ji (Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge) wanted to speak on the matter but the Chairman (Jagdeep Dhankhar) did not allow it. Secondly, two other members and I gave an adjournment notice on the issue of the police firing in Sambhal. But all the notices were rejected.

The BJP is arguing that the Adani Group is a private business conglomerate and that it would deal with the matter itself.

When an inquiry can be done in another country, why are agencies regulating such matters in India not active on it? And even if the matter concerns only a private group, the money involved in it belongs to the country. Why won’t a discussion be held on this and why can’t the government and Parliament not take cognizance if there is a possibility of a major loss? The money belongs to the country and its people.

What will be your move in the House on the Sambhal issue in the coming days?

We will explore if any judicial remedy is possible. We are in consultation with legal experts. We will raise the issue in Parliament too.

The NDA won seven of the nine Assembly bypolls in UP, including Kundarki, which was a big loss for your party.

Everything is clear. Several videos surfaced from Meerapur, Kundarki, Majhawan, Phulpur, and Kanpur (Sisamau) showing the misuse of government



machinery on a large scale. Genuine voters were not allowed to cast votes and bogus voting took place. The evidence appeared in the media and social media and we demanded repoll in three constituencies. But this demand and the evidence were not accepted. This is ‘nakli jeet’ (fake win) of the BJP. Any agency can go and check the ink marks on the fingers of voters in these constituencies. Only 10% of the voters will have that mark in Kundarki. People have not cast their vote there. Police, administration, and RSS workers were behind bogus voting.

After INDIA bloc’s defeat in Haryana and Maharashtra, questions are being raised about Congress’s role. The TMC said Mamata Banerjee must be recognised as a leader of the alliance. Do you agree?

No one party should be blamed. The INDIA bloc as a whole should rethink its strategy. Is it an alliance or not? Is this alliance existing only in the media or is it on the ground too? If alliance partners are not given due respect and due share, then what is the point of this alliance? If there is no common agenda, then what is this alliance? Is INDIA bloc only a platform for seat-sharing or is it a political-ideological alliance? We must think afresh. This alliance should be run politically and ideologically, and if there is no wish to run it that way, and only seat-sharing has to be done, then such an alliance has no benefits.

Kerala wants 8,590 sq km area as eco-sensitive in Western Ghats: Centre

NIKHIL GHANEKAR
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

IN A revised proposal sent to the Centre earlier this month, the Kerala government requested the declaration of 8,590.69 sq km across 98 villages and 12 districts as ecologically sensitive areas (ESAs) in the Western Ghats. The area proposed for ESA demarcation is 121 sq km smaller than what was submitted to the Centre in May this year.

Protection of fragile villages across the state’s Western Ghats area has been under the spotlight following the July 30 landslides and mudslides in Wayanad district’s Chooralmala, Mundakkai and Vellarimala, which killed over 400 people. The state’s draft proposal on ESAs sent in May included 12 villages from Wayanad district, in-

cluding Vellarimala.

“The Government of Kerala has submitted revised proposal on 02.11.2024, requesting for declaring 8590.69 sq km area in 98 villages spread across 29 talukas in 12 districts as Ecologically Sensitive Area based on the verification of the suggestions received from the Local Self Government Department,” Union Environment Minister Bhupendra Yadav informed Lok Sabha in a written statement on Monday.

The minister was responding to a question by VK Sreekanandan, MP from Palakkad in Kerala, on the declaration of ESAs in Kerala.

An expert committee of the Centre, headed by Sanjay Kumar, former Director General of Forest, is appraising state government proposals and suggestions regarding ESA demarcation in Western Ghats.

Flagship Atal Innovation Mission to go on, Cabinet allocates ₹2,750 crore

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

THE CABINET has approved the continuation of its flagship initiative, the Atal Innovation Mission (AIM), and allocated a budget of ₹2,750 crore to it for the period up to March 31, 2028.

According to an official statement, AIM 2.0 is a step towards “Viksit Bharat” that aims to expand, strengthen and deepen India’s already vibrant innovation and entrepreneurship ecosystem.

“The approval underscores the government’s commitment

to fostering a robust innovation and entrepreneurship ecosystem in India. With India at rank 39 on the Global Innovation Index and home to world’s third-largest start-up ecosystem, the next phase of Atal Innovation Mission (AIM 2.0) is expected to further enhance India’s global competitiveness.

“The continuation of AIM will directly contribute to creating better jobs, innovative products and high-impact services across sectors. While building on the accomplishments of AIM 1.0, such as Atal Tinkering Labs and Atal Incubation Centres, AIM 2.0

marks a qualitative shift in the mission’s approach,” the statement said.

AIM 2.0 involves piloting new initiatives to fill gaps in the ecosystem and scaling successes through central and state governments, industry, academia and community. “AIM 2.0 is designed to strengthen India’s innovation and entrepreneurship ecosystem in three ways — by increasing input (ushering more innovators and entrepreneurs), by improving the success rate or ‘throughput’ (helping more startups succeed) and by improving the quality of ‘output’ (better jobs, products,” it said.

‘ONE NATION, ONE SUBSCRIPTION’

Centre approves new scheme for research journals on one platform

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

THE UNION Cabinet on Monday approved the ‘One Nation One Subscription’ (ONOS) scheme, under which all centrally-run and state-run higher education institutions (HEI) will have access to reputed journals published by international publishers on a single platform. The platform is set to become operational on January 1, 2025.

Access will be provided through a national subscription,

coordinated by the Information and Library Network (INFLIBNET), an autonomous inter-university centre under the UGC.

Currently, there are ten separate library consortia under different ministries that provide access to journals for higher education institutions within their administrative remit. In addition, individual institutions subscribe to journals separately.

The scheme involves an outlay of ₹6,000 crore for three years, until 2027, and will provide subscriptions to around 13,000 journals published by 30

international publishers. Apart from higher education institutions run by the Centre and states, research and development institutions under the Centre will also be included, covering around 6,300 institutions.

INFLIBNET will make central payments to the 30 publishers, while institutions can continue to use their own budgets to subscribe to those not in the scheme.

Among the publishers in the scheme are Elsevier ScienceDirect, Springer Nature, Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, etc.

Cabinet nod to ₹2,481-cr Natural Farming Mission

New Delhi: The Centre on Monday announced National Mission on Natural Farming (NMNF) as a standalone Centre-sponsored scheme under the Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers’ Welfare to promote natural farming among one-crore farmers across the country with a budget outlay of ₹2,481 crore.

The decision, taken in the Cabinet meeting headed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, aims to create an ecosystem for sustainable farming.

“There is a need to improve the quality of soil and maintain the health of the people with chemical-free food...The

National Mission on Natural Farming is a path-breaking decision,” Information and Broadcasting Minister Ashwini Vaishnav said in a media briefing after the meeting, calling the move “path-breaking”.

The mission, with a budget outlay of ₹2,481 crore, will cover 1 crore farmers across the country, he added.

The minister said natural farming will be promoted on a mission mode after successful experiments in 2019-20 and 2022-23. Currently, around 10 lakh hectares are under natural farming throughout the country, he added. **ENS**

Former OSD to Ashok Gehlot arrested in phone-tapping case

HAMZAKHAN
JAIPUR, NOVEMBER 25

FORMER RAJASTHAN chief minister Ashok Gehlot's former Officer on Special Duty, Lokesh Sharma, was arrested by the Delhi Police on Monday in a 2021 phone tapping case that was registered on the basis of a complaint filed by Union minister Gajendra Singh Shekhawat.

He was subsequently released on bail as he had secured anticipatory bail in the case last week.

"I have been cooperating with the authorities and I have done all that I could have from my end. I have shared my views publicly and also given my statement and provided evidence to the Crime Branch. Now, further action should be taken, and I believe it (the arrest) is a step in that direction," Sharma told *The Indian Express*.

In an FIR lodged in Delhi in March 2021 based on the complaint of Union minister and Rajasthan BJP leader Shekhawat, Sharma and others were accused of criminal conspiracy and "unlawfully intercepting telegraphic signals (telephonic conversation)".

These interceptions pertain to the 2020 leak of three audio clips purportedly involving one Gajendra Singh — alleged to be



Lokesh Sharma secured anticipatory bail on Nov 21

the Union minister — a middleman, Sanjay Jain, and then Congress MLAs Bhanwarlal Sharma and Vishvendra Singh. In the tapes, they were purportedly heard planning to topple the Gehlot government in the state. Subsequently, the Congress government was rocked by a rebellion of 19 MLAs led by then Deputy CM Sachin Pilot.

On November 14, Sharma had withdrawn his petition in Delhi High Court seeking to quash the FIR. This had effectively lifted the stay on his arrest by Delhi Police. On November 21, Sharma secured anticipatory bail.

Following the change in government in Rajasthan in December 2023, Sharma had changed his stance in the case and levelled allegations against Gehlot.

Ahead of the voting in Lok Sabha elections in Rajasthan earlier this year, Sharma had alleged that during the 2020 political crisis, the phones of party rebels, including Sachin Pilot, were tapped and their movements were tracked at Gehlot's behest. He had

also alleged that it was the then CM himself who gave him a pen drive with the audio clips and that he was asked to share it with journalists. Sharma also shared call recordings of Gehlot, where Gehlot was purportedly asking Sharma whether he had destroyed the evidence.

This was a significant shift from Sharma's earlier stance, wherein he had claimed that he received the clips from social media and circulated them among journalists.

Speaking to *The Indian Express*, Sharma said, "All the names that I have taken, be it of Ashok Gehlot or other officials involved in phone tapping, the investigation should now proceed in that direction. There are 8-10 people who are involved in the process when someone's phone is kept under surveillance." He claimed that the then DGP, Chief Secretary, Home Secretary, and others should be questioned and that this would "make it clear whether the interception was legal or not".

Sharma has previously been questioned by Delhi Police on several occasions, including this September. The same month, the Supreme Court allowed the Rajasthan government to withdraw the suit in which it had challenged the Delhi Police's jurisdiction to investigate the phone tapping case.

Time for new, global finance model for co-ops: PM

HARIKISHAN SHARMA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

UNDERLINING THAT cooperatives can provide "new energy" to global cooperation, Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Monday called for a new collaborative model to finance them on a global level.

He said cooperatives can improve the supply chain by participating in procurement, production and distribution but highlighted that pooling financial resources was "very important" for small and financially weak cooperatives. Shared financial platforms, he said, can become a means of funding big projects and giving loans to cooperatives.

"In the 21st century, it is time for all of us to decide the direction of the global cooperative movement. We will have to think of a collaborative financial model that makes the financing of cooperatives easy and transparent. Today, there is a need to ponder... Can we create such big financial institutions globally that can finance



Prime Minister Narendra Modi receives a memento from Union Cooperation Minister Amit Shah at ICA Global Cooperative Conference, in New Delhi, Monday. PTI

cooperatives all over the world?" Modi said while inaugurating the ICA Global Cooperative Conference 2024.

Modi said the ICA was playing "its role well in its place, but it is important to move beyond this in the future." "India believes that cooperatives can provide new energy to global cooperation.

Cooperatives can especially help in the kind of growth that the countries of the Global South need. Therefore, today we will have to create new paths and make innovations for international collaboration of cooperatives. And I see a very big role of this conference in this," he said.

The current situation in the

world can be a big opportunity for the cooperative movement, said the PM. "We will also have to make cooperatives the flag bearer of integrity and mutual respect in the world. For this, we will have to innovate and strategize our policies. To make cooperatives climate resilient, they should be linked to the circular economy. It is also important to discuss how we can promote start-ups in cooperatives," he said.

On the occasion, Modi also launched the UN International Year of Cooperatives 2025. The ICA Global Cooperative Conference and ICA General Assembly are being organised in India for the first time in the ICA's 130-year history.

Highlighting India's achievements in the cooperative sector, Modi said the country has over 8 lakh cooperatives covering 98 per cent of rural areas. About 300 million people are associated with the sector that he said was witnessing expansion.

"Now we are forming multi-purpose cooperative societies in 2 lakh villages where there are no

societies at present. We are expanding cooperatives from manufacturing to service sectors," he said, adding that "for the world, cooperative is a model, but for India, it is the foundation of culture and it is a lifestyle."

Modi also launched a commemorative postal stamp symbolising India's commitment to the cooperative movement.

Bhutan's PM Dasho Tshering Tobgay said cooperatives bring prosperity for all and build a better society. He said Bhutan's upcoming city, Gelephu, spread over 2500 sq km along India's border, was "an example of a cooperative".

Fiji's Deputy PM Manoa Kamikamica described cooperatives as "pathways out of poverty". Minister of Home and Cooperation Amit Shah highlighted initiatives taken by the government, including the formation of the new ministry, in the last three years. "The Centre plans to establish a cooperative university and it also plans to unveil new cooperative policy during the current Cooperative Year (April 2024-March 2025)," he said.

SC grants Centre four weeks to decide Rajoana's mercy petition

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

THE SUPREME COURT Monday adjourned by four weeks the hearing on the plea by Balwant Singh Rajoana seeking commutation of his death sentence for the assassination of former Punjab chief minister Beant Singh.

A Special Bench of Justices B R Gavai, P K Mishra and K V Viswanathan adjourned it after the Centre sought more time to process a mercy plea filed for him.

Termining it a sensitive matter, Additional Solicitor General K M Nataraj appearing for the Centre said it had been receiving inputs on the matter but more is needed. Solicitor General Tushar Mehta said other agencies will have to be consulted.

Rajoana, who was convicted for the August 31, 1995, assassination of Singh and 12 others, was sentenced to death in 2007 by a special CBI court.

The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee filed a mercy petition on his behalf in March 2012. In September 2019, the Union Ministry of Home Affairs wrote to Punjab proposing commutation of his death sentence to life imprisonment to commemorate the 550th birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev, but the proposal was never implemented.

RG KAR CUSTODIAL TORTURE CASE Routinely ordering CBI probe demoralises state police: SC

New Delhi: Routinely ordering the CBI to take over probes not only leads to an "unimaginable burden" on the investigative agency, but also has a "very serious and far-reaching demoralising impact" on the officers of the state police, the Supreme Court said on Monday.

A bench of Justices Surya Kant and Ujjal Bhuyan made the remark while ordering an SIT investigation into the alleged torture of a woman in police custody following her arrest during the protests against the rape and murder of a doctor at R G Kar College and Hospital in Kolkata.

The bench, which modified the November 6 Calcutta High Court verdict upholding the single judge order directing a CBI

probe, said, "It is not necessary for us to comment on those reasons except to say that entrustment of the investigation of matters to the CBI not only leads to an unimaginable burden on the premier investigative agency of the country, but also has a very serious and far-reaching demoralising impact on the officers of the state police."

The court constituted a three-member SIT comprising IPS Akash Magharia (DIG Presidency range), IPS Swati Bhangalia (SP Howrah (rural)) and IPS Sujata Kumari Veenapani (DSP (traffic) of Howrah). "The SIT shall take over the investigation... forthwith, all the records of the investigation shall be entrusted to SIT today during the course of the day..." the bench ordered. PTI



UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES, DHARWAD
Office of the Registrar, Krishinagar, Dharwad-5
Phone: 0836-2214319 Direct: 0836-2747958 E mail: registrar@uasd.in

No.R/Rectt/Advt.64/SN/2024

Date: 22.11.2024


SHORT NOTIFICATION

Sub: Recruitment to various posts of Officers (tenure basis) at University of Agricultural Sciences, Dharwad.
Ref: University Notification No.R/Rectt/Advt.64/2024 dated 22.11.2024

The various posts of Officers (tenure basis) at the University of Agricultural Sciences, Dharwad have been advertised for filling-up of these posts through direct recruitment, vide notification referred above. The notification, application formats, details regarding the processing fee, and the last date for submission of the filled-in application, are available on the University's official website (www.uasd.edu). Interested candidates may refer to the website for further details.

DIPR/Dharwad/642/Advt/2024-25

Sd/- REGISTRAR



DELHI ELECTRICITY REGULATORY COMMISSION
Viniyamak Bhawan, C-Block, Shivalik, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi-110017.
Website: www.derc.gov.in, Telefax: 41080417

PUBLIC NOTICE

F.17 (333)/DERC/Engg./2024-25/8165

Notice for Inviting Applications from Third-Party Meter Testing Laboratories for Empanelment

The Delhi Electricity Regulatory Commission, in exercise of powers conferred under the Electricity Act, 2003, has notified the DERC (Supply Code and Performance Standards) Regulations, 2017, which details the obligation of the licensee and consumers vis-à-vis each other and specifies the set of practices that shall be adopted by the licensee to provide efficient, cost-effective and consumer friendly service to the consumers.

To protect interests of consumers, the Commission vide Regulation 32(2) & 32(8) of Delhi Electricity Regulatory Commission (Supply Code and Performance Standards) Regulations, 2017, has provided measures to the consumers to get their electricity meters tested at a third-party facility.

In order to facilitate consumers to be aware of the approved NABL third-party testing laboratories within their jurisdiction and testing fee, the Commission desires to invite applications from such laboratories with fee details and other terms and conditions for consideration and approval of the empanelled list.

The empanelment would be valid for 2 years or limited to the validity period of NABL certification, whichever is earlier.

Laboratories that have already received approval from the Commission are also mandated to submit fresh applications for empanelment.

The laboratories based outside NCT of Delhi may also apply for empanelment, but need to establish a lab in the area within a period of 60 days from the approval of empanelment to be eligible for commencing the services.

The laboratories whose existing NABL accreditation certificate has expired/expiring and has applied for accreditation, may also apply for empanelment subject to production of NABL certificate within a period of 60 days from the approval of empanelment to be eligible for commencing the services.

The format of application is available on the Commission's website. The applications duly filled in may be forwarded to Secretary, DERC either by post or through email to secyderc@nic.in latest by 10.12.2024.

Date:- 20.11.2024

Rajesh Dangi, Secretary

DIP/Shabdarth/Classified/0280/24-25

Jaishankar: Stronger India-Mediterranean relations serve both

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

ADVOCATING FOR a closer and stronger relationship between India and the Mediterranean, External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar said on Monday Mediterranean presents both opportunities and risks in an uncertain and volatile world and the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC), announced in September last year, can be a "game changer".

Jaishankar, who is in Italy, was speaking at the 10th edition of the MED Mediterranean Dialogue in Rome, said: "Our annual trade with the Mediterranean nations is about USD 80 billion. We have a diaspora of 460,000, and about 40% of that is in Italy. Our key interests are in fertilisers, energy, water, technology, diamonds, defence and cyber."

He said India's political relations with the Mediterranean are strong, and their defence collaboration is growing, including more exercises and exchanges.

Talking about opportunities, he said a closer and "stronger relationship between India and the Mediterranean will serve both of us well". He said that the conflict in West Asia has undoubtedly been a major complication, but the IMEC is proceeding ahead on the eastern side, especially between India and the UAE and Saudi Arabia.

He said that India supports an immediate ceasefire in West



S Jaishankar addresses the MED Mediterranean Dialogue in Rome. PTI

Asia and favours a two-state solution in the long-term, and condemned terrorism, hostage-taking and civilian casualties in military operations.

Jaishankar said that India regards large-scale civilian casualties in military operations to be unacceptable and added that international humanitarian law cannot be disregarded.

"In immediate terms, we should all support the ceasefire... In the longer term, it is imperative that the future of the Palestinian people be addressed. India favours a two-state solution," he said.

Voicing concerns over the widening of the conflict in West Asia, Jaishankar said that India has been in regular touch with both Israel and Iran at the highest levels to advocate restraint and enhance communication.

On the Ukraine-Russia war, he said the continuation of this conflict has serious, destabilising consequences, including for the Mediterranean.

DETAINED UNDER PUBLIC SAFETY ACT

J&K portal under scanner for report on activist's detention

BASHAARAT MASOOD
THATRI (DODA), NOVEMBER 25

JAMMU AND Kashmir's Information & Public Relations department has sought an explanation from a news portal for a report about the detention of an "environmental activist" under the Public Safety Act (PSA).

The letter accuses the portal of "pitching the elected representative against administration" and states that the "tone and content... tried to put the administrative procedure in a bad light". It also warns of action if the news portal fails to "explain (its) position".

"The content of your video clearly pitches elected representatives against administration," reads the notice issued to *The Chenab Times*, a news portal from Doda district. "The tone and content of your video tried to put the administrative procedure in a bad light and empathised with the person who has been booked under relevant laws/norms by following due process of law," it states.

On November 10, activist Rehmatullah Padder of Doda was

booked under the PSA by the district administration, which accused him of being an over-ground worker (OGW) and citing five FIRs against him. Padder's family and colleagues, however, said he was booked for exposing alleged corruption in a sewage treatment plant.

His detention was also criticised by Doda MLA Mehraj Malik. "This young man is detained under PSA today, yesterday he raised questions on district administration for their failure. This area couldn't be cleaned but he is arrested now. This is Swachh Bharat of Modi," Malik posted on X, urging the chief minister to set-up a "judicial or legal committee to examine the dossier's authenticity" as "most cases are quashed in the first hearing as they are often rooted in revenge".

Responding to the public outcry over the detention, the district administration asked people "not to be misguided". "It is to clarify that an OGW has been detained after following due process of law on grounds totally different from what is being circulated on social media. Request to general public/prominent citizens and

elected representatives not to be misguided in (the) above stated case," the Doda District Administration posted on Facebook.

In a video report, *The Chenab Times* reporter said that the district administration's post is ostensibly in response to Malik's post on X.

"It (the Facebook post) didn't name any legislator," District Information Officer Nasir Khan told *The Indian Express*. "Journalism should be ethical and peaceful. How can someone criticise the administration?" said Khan, who issued a notice to the online news portal.

Asked whether he believes the administration and its decisions are above criticism, Khan said he is "just a cog in the wheel". "I got directions from above, from the district administration, and only followed them," he said. "Please ask the district administration about it."

The Doda Deputy Commissioner, Harvinder Singh, who slapped the PSA against the activist, said it is a 15-day-old news and some "vested interests" want to highlight it.

Kuno welcomes more cubs, South African cheetah is now a mother

ANAND MOHAN J
BHOPAL, NOVEMBER 25

NIRVA, A female cheetah, has delivered cubs at the Kuno National Park, Madhya Pradesh wildlife officials said on Monday.

Nirva, one of the cheetahs relocated from South Africa in 2022, had been showing signs of pregnancy over the past few weeks.

She was monitored by a team of wildlife officers, who said that she had shifted over to a den site in the last few days. The exact number of cubs has not been revealed by officials so far. Officials said the cubs would be under protective care of their mother in the coming weeks at the den site.

"Officials are maintaining distance as we don't want to stress out the mother. She will look after the cubs on her own and there won't be any need for human intervention," said a wildlife officer.

For the past year, the 24 cheetahs at Kuno – 12 adults and 12 cubs – have been housed inside enclosures. The cheetahs were brought to the enclosures on August 13 last year, after three adults "died due to septicaemia".

SC scraps Telangana land allotment to co-ops with lawmakers, judges

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

CALLING IT a "colourable exercise of power" and a violation of equality under Article 14 of the Constitution, the Supreme Court on Monday quashed the land allotments made by the Telangana government within the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation limits to cooperative societies comprising, among others, MPs, MLAs, judges of Supreme Court and high courts, civil servants and journalists.

A bench of CJI Sanjiv Khanna and Justice Dipankar Datta said that the allotment decision suffers from "manifest arbitrariness". "The classification giving State largesse to Judges of Constitutional Courts, MPs, MLAs, officers of the AIS, journalists, etc. favours a privileged segment of society, which is already better off compared to the vast majority of marginalised and socio-economically disadvantaged individuals," the court said.

It said "allocation of land at basic rates to select privileged groups reflects a "capricious" and "irrational" approach. This is

a classic case of executive action steeped in arbitrariness, but clothed in the guise of legitimacy, by stating that the ostensible purpose of the policy was to allot land to "deserving sections of society," the court said. The cooperative societies also comprised individuals from weaker sections of society.

Pointing out that "land is a finite and highly valuable resource, particularly in densely populated urban areas", the SC said allocating land at discounted rates to the privileged few engenders "a system of inequality" and has "wider economic ramifications as well".

Quashing the allotment, it said the policy "reeks of colourable exercise of power whereby the policymakers are bestowing valuable resources to their peers and ilk, triggering a cycle of illegal distribution of State resources".

"The State holds all its resources in trust for its citizens, to be utilised in larger public and social interest. The State... are de facto trustees and agents/repositories which function and govern for the benefit of the citizens who are the beneficiaries," the court said.

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Constitution Day

Greetings to all

26 November, 2024

“आज, संविधान दिवस के अवसर पर, हम उन महान विभूतियों को नमन करते हैं जिन्होंने हमें हमारा संविधान दिया और हमारे राष्ट्र के लिए उनके विजन को पूरा करने की अपनी प्रतिबद्धता को दोहराते हैं।”
- नरेन्द्र मोदी

State Level Function

Date- 26 November, 2024 | **Time-** 11 am
Venue- Kurukshetra, Haryana

Chief Guest
Sh. Nayab Singh Saini
Chief Minister, Haryana

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BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

TRAGEDY IN SAMBHAL

Allowing Ram temple in Ayodhya, SC upheld primacy of Worship Act. Since then, there have been many abdications

THE FOUR DEATHS in Sambhal must make the nation pause. The men died in the violence that broke out because of a dispute over a mosque. The year-end conflagration belies the promise implicit in the powerful symbolism of that day at the beginning of this year in January when the Ram temple was consecrated in Ayodhya. Now that the long-running Mandir-Masjid conflict that had roiled the nation's politics had been settled by the highest court of the land, and a grand temple had been inaugurated, there would be calm. Now that the Ramjanmabhoomi matter had been resolved, the Places of Worship (Special provisions) Act, 1991 — which prohibits conversion of any place of worship and provides for the maintenance of the religious character of any place of worship as it existed on August 15, 1947 — would help stanch future disputes before they flared. After all, the Supreme Court itself had, in its 2019 verdict in the Ayodhya title suit, described the demolition of the Babri Masjid as “an egregious violation of the rule of law” even as it ruled in favour of the Hindu side, and read the guarantee offered by the Places of Worship Act as part of the basic structure of the Constitution. “The state has, by enacting the law, enforced a constitutional commitment and operationalised its constitutional obligations to uphold the equality of all religions and secularism which is a part of the basic structure of the Constitution”, it said.

The grim backsliding since has been made possible by many abdications. The constitutionality of the Places of Worship Act has been challenged in the apex court, but even as the Union government and Court take their time over it, lower courts, as in Varanasi and Mathura, have opened the floodgates for such claims in other places. A disquieting pattern has taken shape: A civil suit is filed, claiming that there are remains of a temple below a mosque; a lower court orders a survey; the survey agency, aided by the district administration, shows undue haste; and the higher courts turn the other way — effectively reducing the moratorium imposed by the Places of Worship Act into a dead letter. In fact, former CJI DY Chandrachud, who had been part of the 2019 bench that upheld the Act, paved the way for its descent into unmeaning in 2023 in the Gyanvapi case, when a bench led by him green-lit an ASI survey using “non-invasive technology”. “The Act says you can't alter or convert nature of place. They're not seeking conversion of the place. The question is, what is the status of place as on August 15, 1947”, Justice Chandrachud said.

In June 2022, addressing an RSS training camp in Nagpur, Sarsangchhalak Mohan Bhagwat had questioned the need to hunt for a shiv ling in every mosque (“har masjid mein shiv ling kyun dhoondhna”). That call for restraint by the head of an organisation that had plunged into the mobilisations for the construction of a Ram temple at the site where the Babri Masjid was felled, seemed promising. It seemed to bode well for the future of a diverse nation that is on the move. Now, the toll taken by another darkening tableau of mandir vs masjid in Sambhal has served a warning that all players must heed. It threatens to turn the clock back and undo hard-won gains. The Supreme Court needs to underline, in terms bold and clear, what it enshrined in November 2019. The consequences of equivocation will only be division and tragedy.



C RAJ KUMAR

TODAY, ON NOVEMBER 26, we celebrate the 75th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of India. The contribution of the members of the Constituent Assembly in imagining the future of India through a democratic, consultative, inclusive, and argumentative process is truly inspiring. As we commemorate the 75th anniversary, it is important to also celebrate the contribution of the members of the Constituent Assembly. But it is equally important to learn lessons from their remarkable efforts in drafting the Constitution as a consensus document. This should be an inspiration for all the Members of Parliament across all political parties and ideological shades as they work towards fulfilling the people's mandate and constitutional duties. The most important lesson to learn from the Constituent Assembly debates is how people can vehemently and respectfully disagree with each other without questioning motivations, commitments and values.

B R Ambedkar, in his last speech to the Constituent Assembly, delivered on November 25, 1949, paid tribute to the contribution of the members of the Assembly: “The task of the Drafting Committee would have been a very difficult one if this Constituent Assembly has been merely a motley crowd, a tessellated pavement without cement, a black stone here and a white stone there in which each member or each group was a law unto itself. There would have been nothing but chaos... The proceedings of this Constituent Assembly would have been very dull if all members had yielded to the rule of party discipline. Party discipline, in all its rigidity, would have converted this Assembly into a gathering of yes' men.”

Ambedkar appreciated and celebrated the dissenting voices in the Constituent Assembly. He said, “...fortunately, there were rebels. They were Mr Kamath, Dr P S Deshmukh, Mr Sidhva, Prof K T Shah and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. The points they raised were mostly ideological. That I was not prepared to accept their suggestions, does not diminish the value of their suggestions nor lessen the service they have rendered to the Assembly in enlivening its pro-

This Constitution Day, lessons from the Constituent Assembly for today's parliamentarians

ceedings. But for them, I would not have had the opportunity which I got for expounding the principles underlying the Constitution...”

The last two decades of the evolution of parliamentary democracy (2004-24) in India should be carefully examined to understand and appreciate the need for reimagining the culture of democratic engagement in Parliament. This is a moment of introspection for all members of Parliament.

Data demonstrates the need for serious introspection within Parliament regarding how this most vital institution of our democracy could be strengthened and made more relevant. Before 1990, each Lok Sabha used to convene for 550 days spanning 3,500 hours, which declined to 345 days spanning 1,800 hours post-1990. The 17th Lok Sabha held the lowest number of sittings, with 274 days over five years. The 1st Lok Sabha sat for 677 sittings during 1952-57. The 15th Lok Sabha passed 192 bills while the 5th Lok Sabha passed 487 bills. The percentage of bills referred to Parliamentary Committees reduced from 71 per cent in the 15th Lok Sabha to 16 per cent in the 17th Lok Sabha. The 15th and 17th Lok Sabha passed 36 per cent and 35 per cent of bills in less than one hour, respectively. The 15th Lok Sabha lost 37 per cent of its scheduled time to disruptions, while the 16th Lok Sabha lost 16 per cent. The average time spent on Union Budget discussion declined from 120 hours before 1990 to 35 hours post-1990. In 2023, 2018 and 2013, the entire budget was passed without any discussion.

I believe there are three critical lessons that today's members of Parliament must learn from the Constituent Assembly.

The Constituent Assembly's members represented the most diverse interests; they came from different backgrounds. They discussed and debated complex issues with sincerity and conviction. They were conscious that they discussed issues where reasonable people can have different perspectives. This ability to come together, discuss and debate complex issues of law, policy, and governance was the hallmark of the Constituent Assembly.

This could serve as an important lesson for

contemporary parliamentarians. The issues they were discussing then are not significantly different from the issues we are facing today. Overcoming them requires inspired leadership and faith in Parliament as an institution to promote respect, dignity and fraternity among all members.

The remarkable aspect of the Constituent Assembly was not only that divergent political and ideological interests prevailed but that even within the same political persuasion, there were different views. Pluralistic views that promoted a democratic culture were very much part of the Assembly's discourse. Of course, it must be mentioned that strong political parties with their ideological interests had not taken root and the Assembly, though functioning as a provisional Parliament, did not carry the historical burden that our current parliamentarians have. Nevertheless, at a time when there is an aspiration for nation-building efforts to address significant issues of our time — be it poverty, inequality, employment, livelihood, education, healthcare, environment and many other problems of human development — there is a need to develop political consensus within Parliament.

India's constitutional history has demonstrated the extraordinary power of collective consciousness and of diverse people coming together to lay the foundation of a new India. Many members of the Constituent Assembly, who fought for India's freedom, later participated in the government at the state and central levels. I believe the motivations of today's parliamentarians, regardless of political ideology, converge with the vision of the members of the Constituent Assembly. As we celebrate the 75th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of India, this is a moment to reflect on and reimagine the future of India's parliamentary democracy.

The writer is founding Vice Chancellor of OP Jindal Global University and Dean of Jindal Global Law School, Jindal Global University has established India's first Constitution museum at its campus in Sonapat, Haryana. Views are personal



VINAY SAHASRABUDDHE

ADDRESSING BJP CADRES at the party headquarters after the spectacular success in Maharashtra, Prime Minister Narendra Modi emphasised that the election result was an endorsement of his “vikasvad” or development politics. He also spoke of the government's emphasis on both *vikas* (development) and *virasat* (heritage). The BJP's success does indeed underscore its legacy of development politics and also strengthens the PM's aim to build on our glorious heritage, comprising our languages, traditions and culture. The Maharashtra victory, in multiple ways, is an affirmation of *vikas* and *virasat*.

The BJP takes every election seriously. Even so, the Maharashtra win is significant because the state has been a prominent theatre in the ideological battle. Post the Lok Sabha poll results, resolutely fighting against the odds, the BJP overcame the odds and established that “united we win”. The Mahayuti's resounding success has not just silenced but frustrated most pseudo-progressives who were eager to write the BJP's epitaph post-June 4. Those struck by shock would do well to understand the magic of the BJP's *mehnat* instead of doubting the authenticity of the voting machines. Behind the BJP's success was a carefully crafted strategy to reboot the process of narrative-shaping and restore confidence, initially of the cadres and then of the voters.

Post June 4, BJP cadres in Maharashtra felt disillusioned. After careful analysis of the general election verdict, party cadres and well-wishers were made to realise that rampant casteism and promotion of micro-identities by the Congress was the most serious chal-

SCRIPTING A TURNAROUND

BJP's overcoming of Lok Sabha reversal in Maharashtra sets an example

lenge. To that end, confidence-building measures covering diverse communities were taken at all levels across the state. Samvidhan Gaurav Yatras were organised to send a powerful message to all marginalised communities who were swayed by the manufactured paranoia orchestrated by the Congress and Left. Finally, the PM's “ek hain toh safe hain” slogan worked. It proved to be a call pregnant with relevant messages to be suitably deciphered by different groups — party cadres, organisations in the ideological movement, social groups and even alliance partners. Opponents objected to this slogan but they couldn't find fault with it or coin a phrase that eclipsed the PM's message.

Besides this organisational rebooting, the way the party leadership lived up to “coalition dharma” added to the BJP's strength. Notwithstanding irresponsible allegations against the BJP of playing big brother to other partners, even a smaller party like RPI-Athawale was treated with dignity. Through its own manifesto, the BJP refused to cede ideological positions but at the same time showed remarkable flexibility in accommodating key points announced by Mahayuti leaders beforehand.

In its bid to engage with all sections of society, BJP leaders went the extra mile to take care of the woes of farmers cultivating cash crops like onions, cotton and soybeans. For onion growers, export duty was almost completely waived and for soybean farmers higher MSP was allowed despite a good monsoon. Similarly, for diverse social groups among the OBCs, numerous new initiatives were an-

nounced reassuring everyone of security, dignity and opportunity. The BJP leadership's adroit and responsible handling of social and caste issues in an otherwise fractured social fabric added to its strength.

While farmers and smaller OBC communities were reassured, for all other groups, the Ladki Bahin scheme became a great leveller and had a unifying effect. Those who look at the scheme as a cash handout forget that it gave liberty to beneficiary women to use the amount how they wish to, without interference from male family members.

While deciphering the BJP's historic success, one must not ignore the bankruptcy of opposition parties. Amit Shah has rightly credited the BJP's success to the party's political performance. A clear, long-term vision of development focusing on time-bound implementation and the refusal to buckle under populist pressures while taking measures to protect those who need it are the BJP's strong points. Against this, Congress, Shiv Sena (UBT) and NCP-Sharad Pawar have precious little to show. While one can advance several reasons for the MVA/INDI alliance's defeat, the fact that all three parties are dynasty-controlled can't be overlooked. Such parties can't avoid crises of purpose, authenticity, ownership and building relationships. Before these parties face a crisis of existence, the cause of democracy will be well served if they mend their ways, learn from the BJP and also try to reboot and re-emerge.

The writer is former national vice-president of the BJP

THE BAKU BETRAYAL

A watered down deal at the climate meet makes the UNFCCC process appear toothless

LIKE ALMOST EVERY CoP in the past decade, the 29th edition of the UNFCCC's annual meet went into extra time. But this wasn't enough to salvage the rapidly diminishing reputation of the UN climate agency's processes. CoP 29 was billed as the “Finance CoP”. A well worked out deal could have gone a long way in resolving the impasse on climate funding. Before the delegates assembled at Azerbaijan's capital Baku, a broad consensus seemed to have emerged that developing countries require at least \$1.3 trillion every year to stave off the worst effects of global warming. Reports of the planet heating up beyond 1.5 degrees Celsius compared to the industrial era were expected to impart a sense of urgency to the deliberations. However, the CoP was a disappointment even when measured against the none too illustrious precedent of post-Paris UNFCCC meets. On the criteria of both equity and ambition, the \$300 billion finance target pushed through at the last minute fails the developing countries.

On paper, the amount agreed to at Baku could be a seed fund to draw more investment and push climate finances towards the \$1.3 trillion figure. However, history does not give much cause for optimism. Developed countries took over 10 years to meet the \$100 billion target set at CoP 15 in 2009. Most of that money has come in loans, pushing several low-income countries towards vicious debt traps. In the run-up to Baku, the need for greater creativity in fund mobilisation was recognised even by the OECD. “For the post-2025 period, the scope and design of the New Collective Quantified Goal on climate finance must be more effective than the existing ones,” an OECD expert group pointed out in May. The Baku meet was expected to provide a road map for such an initiative. Instead, developed countries rallied to push through a watered-down target of \$250 billion. An outcry by developing countries and civil society groups led only to a marginal scale-up in ambition.

The Global South has little time to lament the Baku betrayal. Initiatives like the New Delhi-stewarded International Solar Alliance (ISA) show its resolve. These, of course, are no substitute for UNFCCC-backed funding. However, with developed countries showing scarcely any inclination to loosen purse strings, initiatives like ISA assume added importance. Also, developing countries should come together at multilateral fora to pressure the West.

THE 40-DAY CURE

Rise of the deeply-unqualified citizen doctors, who offer advice on all aspects of health, is disquieting

COCONUT, WHETHER IT'S made into a chutney or pressed to extract “milk”, is delicious. Neem leaves, crushed into aloo bharta or stir-fried with brinjal, too, is a versatile addition to the pantry. Both ingredients are valued for flavour and nutrition. But to insist that they can cure cancer, as Navjot Singh Sidhu did recently, in a press conference in which he spoke of the dietary measures that allegedly helped his wife beat stage-four cancer in “40 days”, is misleading and dangerous.

Sidhu's claims — among them that cancer cells can be “starved” of carbohydrates — are, unfortunately, not an aberration. Where charlatans once had to rely on relatively slow word-of-mouth networks to attract customers for their dubious cures, social media has enabled the mushrooming of a range of “wellness experts” — from “alternative healers” to celebrity peddlers of new-age therapies. It has turbocharged the spread of questionable remedies, such as hydrogen peroxide nebulisation for viral infections (as shared by actor Samantha Ruth Prabhu in July), and claims with no basis in fact, such as the long debunked assertion that vaccines lead to autism in children.

The *gharelu nuskh*a (home remedy) is tempting — not only because of its convenience, but also because it is often promoted as a cheaper, safer alternative to modern medicine. This is precisely what makes the rise of the deeply-unqualified citizen doctors, who offer healthcare advice, from so-called biohacks to treatments for serious conditions like cancer, so dangerous — especially in a country like India, which has a massive disease burden and a large population with limited access to affordable medical care. Coconut and neem leaves may be nutritious — and may even help strengthen the immune system — but when it comes to illnesses, the cures are best left to those who actually graduated from medical school.



NOVEMBER 26, 1984, FORTY YEARS AGO

LOYALISTS AGAINST CONG

THE FORMER MAHARASHTRA Chief Minister, A R Antulay has raised the banner of revolt against the Congress (I) and called upon the loyalists to defeat all those who “were not seen with Mrs Indira Gandhi during the darkest period of her political career.” Reacting to the decision to deny him the party ticket, Antulay said that he and many other loyalists would file their nomination papers on November 26 and 27.

Y B CHAVAN DEAD

FORMER DEPUTY PRIME Minister YB Chavan died in Delhi on November 25 after a brief ill-

ness. Chavan, 70, was admitted to the All India Institute of Medical Science on November 23 for treatment of a kidney ailment. Chavan had been selected as the Congress (I) nominee for the Satara Lok Sabha seat.

CONTEST OVER UP SEATS

THE JANATA-LED five-party front on November 25 decided to contest 63 of the 85 Lok Sabha seats from UP indicating a virtual breakdown of talks with Charan Singh's Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party for seat adjustments. After its final meeting with other front leaders, the Janata Party released the names of 17 agreed candidates from Uttar Pradesh.

ARMY'S CRITIQUE

THE GOVERNMENT IS concerned that some agencies and a section of the press attempt to spread disaffection in the ranks of the country's armed forces and drive a wedge between them and the civilian population in sensitive border states. Attempts have reached “alarming proportions” in the wake of Bluestar and other operations to flush out terrorists in Punjab, according to Defense Ministry sources. Sources say the disparaging remarks “demoralise” the defense forces, diminish the people's respect for them and makes Punjab vulnerable to disturbed conditions and foreign powers.

Questions after Maharashtra

The scale of the BJP-Mahayuti win poses a challenge for analysts.
INDIA coalition, however, must not be distracted from a reckoning with its own failures



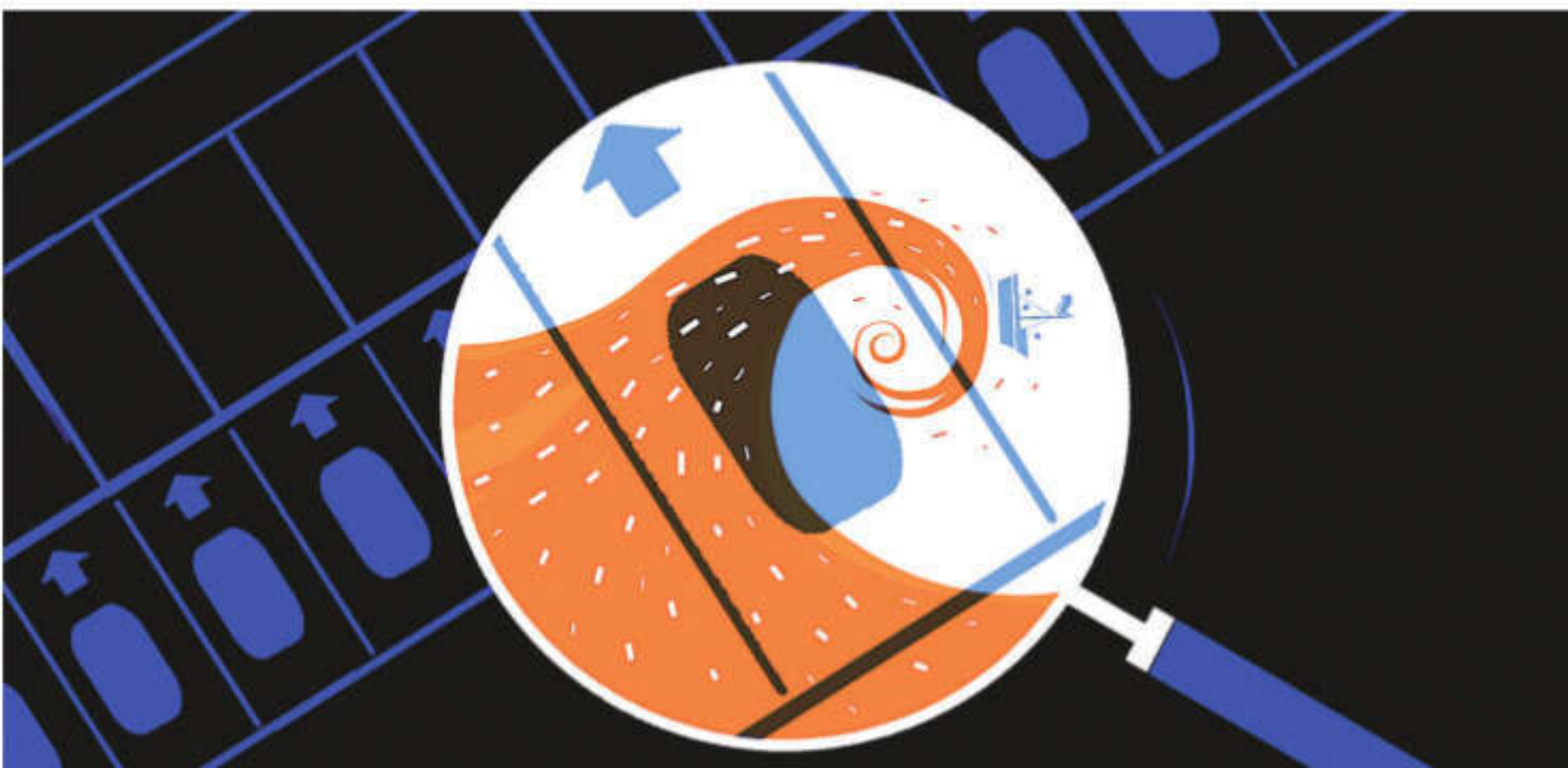
I WAS NOT surprised by the victory of the BJP-led Mahayuti in Maharashtra. Or rather, I was not surprised by the failure of the opposition Maha Vikas Aghadi (MVA) to win an election that it should have easily won. Yet I simply cannot fathom the tsunami-like scale of this victory. Neither the political common sense nor the technical political science helps me make sense of the final outcome of this race. I cannot but ask: Was the winner on steroids?

This is a grave matter. Any serious questioning of the official election outcome must pass some prima facie credibility tests: Is there something big and substantial that needs explaining? Are available explanations hopelessly inadequate? Let us examine both these.

The Maharashtra election presents us with a four-fold surprise. First of all, there is the jaw-dropping margin of Mahayuti's victory: Over three-fourths of seats and a 14 per cent lead in terms of vote share. Such victories are rare, but not impossible, nor unheard of. What adds to the surprise is the near disappearance of all the known patterns of Maharashtra politics. It is as if a hidden hand has levelled the huge regional, urban/rural or within-coalition party-wise differences that have always existed in Maharashtra. The third element of the surprise is the dramatic nature of this turnaround: From a 17-30 defeat for the Mahayuti in Lok Sabha to 235-50 victory in the assembly, from a vote share deficit of 1 percentage point to a lead of 14 points, within five months. This too is not entirely unprecedented in Indian electoral history.

What makes it truly unprecedented is that this reversal was in an unexpected direction. Reversals of election verdicts between national and state elections are associated with the success of national parties in national elections (BJP in Rajasthan, MP, Chhattisgarh in 2019) or regional parties in state elections (Janata Dal in Karnataka in 1985, AAP in Delhi in 2015 and 2020 or even JMM-led alliance in Jharkhand this time). There is arguably no other example of a national party-led alliance reversing its Lok Sabha electoral defeat in an assembly election. Going by Maharashtra's own electoral history, the BJP was expected to do worse in the assembly elections. The electoral ball spun quickly, sharply and in the "wrong" direction. This was indeed an electoral googly.

Do we have a good explanation of what happened? Let us look at the standard explanations offered so far, that the MVA leaders squandered a great opportunity due to their complacency, short-sightedness and avoidable squabbles. This is largely true. The Lok Sabha elections had handed the MVA a solid, moral-boosting platform to launch the assembly election campaign. There was no shortage of issues. The Mahayuti alliance of BJP-Shinde and Ajit Pawar was born in sin. The brazen tactics of splitting Shiv Sena and NCP were disgusting. Uddhav Thackeray enjoyed a positive image as a mature politician and a CM who did a great job during the pandemic. Yet the MVA leaders did very little in the last five



C R Sasikumar

months to press their advantage by quickly finalising their respective seat shares, announcing poll promises, projecting a CM face and countering the BJP's moves.

The BJP-led Mahayuti learnt the lessons from its defeat and had a game plan that it executed well: Neutralise the indifferent image of the regime by opening the treasury, announce countless benefits including the Ladki Bahin for women, counter-mobilise the OBCs and the least advantaged Dalits, align the energies of the entire Sangh parivar and prop up dummy candidates and parties. Add to it the massive money and media power of the BJP and you know why Mahayuti outpaced the MVA.

This big difference between how the two alliances approached elections can explain why the Mahayuti could wipe out the small deficit of the Lok Sabha election and also counter the potential additional loss of say 5 per cent in an assembly election. At a stretch, you could adduce all these factors to explain the Mahayuti gaining a small lead over the MVA. But could all this explain a lead of 14 per cent? No way. This simply beats me. I wish I was as smart as those pollsters who first predicted that the election was too close to call and then offered instant *gyan* on this outcome. The fact is that neither the media, nor the pollsters, nor the political leaders — winners included — anticipated it. Nor can anyone fully explain it.

Now, election results routinely surprise everyone and often elude understanding. Wave elections do leave everyone stunned, including leaders, observers, reporters and pollsters. I have seen many such waves — Janata Party in north India in 1977, Rajiv Gandhi in 1985, and Modi in northwest India in 2019. But you can smell these electoral waves. Everyone on the street agrees who the winner will be, even if they can't see the margin. Journalists and pollsters project a comfortable victory, though they underestimate the extent of it. Nothing of that kind was reported from Maharashtra.

For me, the final place to resolve an electoral riddle is the sample survey based post-mortem of the final verdict by the CSDS. Sadly, the very detailed and otherwise invaluable analysis by the Loknit-CSDS team carried out in *The Hindu* (November 25) does not help us answer the big question. Their own pre-poll survey had projected a 4 percentage points lead for the Mahayuti. Even after weighing it to 14 percentage points as per the actual re-

The Maharashtra election presents us with a four-fold surprise. First of all, there is the jaw-dropping margin of Mahayuti's victory: Over three-fourths of seats and a 14 per cent lead in terms of vote share. Such victories are rare, but not impossible, nor unheard of. What adds to the surprise is the near disappearance of all the known patterns of Maharashtra politics. It is as if a hidden hand has levelled the huge regional, urban/rural or within-coalition party-wise differences that have always existed in Maharashtra. The third element of the surprise is the dramatic nature of this turnaround: From a 17-30 defeat for the Mahayuti in Lok Sabha to 235-50 victory in the assembly, from a vote share deficit of 1 percentage point to a lead of 14 points, within five months. This too is not entirely unprecedented in Indian electoral history.

sults, this analysis does not bring out any striking factor in terms of satisfaction with the Mahayuti government, preference for a "double engine" government, popularity of leaders or the reach of welfare schemes that could explain such a big outcome. Even the Ladki Bahin scheme can at the most explain a 2 or 3 percentage points advantage to the Mahayuti. In this analysis, you do not find any of the one-sided patterns of public opinion associated with a wave election.

All things considered, there is an X factor about the Maharashtra outcome that we can't get a handle on. It may be hasty to blame the EVMs, but it would be impossible to prevent this question from being asked. For nearly a decade I have been a critic of the EVM conspiracy theories, much to the chagrin of my friends and political colleagues. I am still not convinced that the gap between initial estimates of turnout and the final figures necessarily suggests rigging. Similarly, the discrepancy between votes polled through EVM and votes counted through EVM, scandalous though it is, may not be good proof of fraud. Those who suspect EVM manipulation have to come up with better prima facie evidence than we have so far. But there is certainly more to this result than meets the eye. The Opposition cannot be blamed for feeling cheated, though there is a real risk that the INDIA coalition could focus on this issue and overlook their own massive political failure in this election that was so critical to the fate of democracy in our country. All in all, there is a serious case for election forensics analysis here.

Unfortunately, this is the third election within a year — Madhya Pradesh in 2023, Haryana recently and now Maharashtra — where the outcome begs big questions that have remained unanswered. Sadly, the EC has not responded to the serious questions about discrepancies in the electoral data of the Lok Sabha elections. What happened in a UP bye-election this time is an open and shut case of electoral fraud. Sadly, all these elections have taken place after current CEC Rajiv Kumar took over. If we do not wish to slide towards our neighbours, where all election outcomes are contested more than the elections, we need to act now. This is a good case for an independent and credible election forensics.

The writer is member, *Swaraj India* and national convener of *Bharat Jodo Abhiyaan*. Views are personal

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

"At a time when dengue and other viral fevers are circulating and food inflation is skyrocketing — causing an unbearable cost of living crisis—the drug authorities must be prudent in approving and monitoring drug price hikes to prevent further public suffering."
— THE DAILY STAR, BANGLADESH

How not to read the woman vote

While cash transfer scheme for women may have played a role in Mahayuti's victory in Maharashtra over-estimation of its impact is problematic



VANDITA MISHRA

THE ELECTION IS over, and now the verdict must be read. That isn't quite as simple or straightforward an exercise as it might seem, even when, as it happened in Maharashtra, the winner wins decisively and the loser loses comprehensively.

What explains the spectacular turnaround in the BJP's fortunes, from the Lok Sabha setback in the state in June to the assembly sweep in November? How did it beat back farmer distress, unemployment, the scourge of rising prices? How did the Congress manage to fritter away the advantage it had gained in the same state, only about six months later?

It is being said, by the BJP and its allies, and by several analysts, that the BJP-led alliance's massive victory in Maharashtra is due to the "women's vote" that came its way because of the Eknath Shinde government's Ladki Bahin Yojana — a cash transfer of Rs 1,500 to women between 21 to 65 years of age, whose annual family income is less than Rs 2.5 lakh. At least 2.26 crore women are estimated to have benefited already through four instalments; Congress had promised to double the amount in the scheme.

While the cash transfer scheme may indeed have played a role in the Mahayuti's victory, the over-estimation of its impact is problematic. One, it smacks of a recourse to the easy answer, a political and analytical cave-in. Two, it unsees and unheard the voices from the ground, including and especially of women voters, the scheme's targeted beneficiaries, that have insistently raised questions about its adequacy or efficacy.

In my travels through the Vidarbha region in this election, the women voters I spoke to were far less misty-eyed about the scheme than political pundits in Delhi who attribute to it magical properties. Most women voters I met on the Maharashtra ground acknowledged that they had received the cash transfer but immediately followed it up with a question: How far can Rs 1,500 a month go in times when farmers are not getting the proper "bhaav (prices)" for their crops, and when prices of essential commodities are skyrocketing? "Take away this cash and give us lower prices and jobs for our children, instead", said many. "The government is taking from us and giving it back to us as largesse, it is taking more and giving back less", others said.

The questions by both female and male voters in Maharashtra about the short-term hand-out, as opposed to a leg-up in the long term, echoed the anxieties and concerns raised by voters in Madhya Pradesh, a state I had also travelled to ahead of the assembly election there almost exactly a year ago. In MP, too, the incumbent BJP government returned to power. There, too, the cash transfer scheme, the Shivraj Singh Chouhan government's Ladli Behna Yojana, was all-too-hastily crowned the match-winner. The glib and unnuanced celebration of the cash transfer scheme, especially one in which women are the targeted beneficiaries, takes a toll — it reinforces the image of

women as only labharthis. Of course, this is a problem with all such schemes in general, aimed at both men and women. But when it comes to women voters, who are turning out in increasing numbers to vote in successive elections at the state and central levels, it also means that little or no effort is made to identify and understand the factors that have contributed to the new stirrings on the ground, and to respond to them. The rising turnouts of women cast a responsibility on political parties in terms of framing agendas that are more sensitive to them as rights-bearing, not just largesse-receiving, citizens. To be sure, the cash-transfer scheme is enormously valuable in times of economic downturn in an unequal society, and in a period of distress like the one triggered by Covid. In a setting where the conditions for an enabling environment for all citizens is missing, where there is little or no political will, across the political-ideological spectrum, for bringing necessary reforms and creating crucial opportunities, in education and health care, for instance, such schemes can play a role in helping ease the pain, apply a balm. But by losing sight of their inherent limitations, and by talking up their effects excessively, parties and pundits do a disservice to the very voters in whose name they claim to speak.

The centre-staging of the Ladki Bahin Yojana in the aftermath of the Maharashtra outcome has another intended effect. It helps to divert attention from other, less palatable, elements of the campaign of the winner. In this election, the BJP flashed two new slogans. "Ek hain toh safe hain", said PM Modi; "Batenge toh katenge", said CM Yogi. Both slogans sought to wreak communal polarisation and consolidate the "Hindu" vote. Of course, this is not a new strategy for the BJP, and it is also sometimes one that is over-read and over-estimated. Many will point out that the same polarisation strategy did not work in Jharkhand — but that could arguably be because the BJP-fuelled polarisation came up against the JMM government's welfare schemes in Jharkhand, whereas in Maharashtra the BJP's politics of polarisation added to the BJP government's schemes.

In the aftermath of the election verdicts, Prime Minister Modi has sought to recast "Ek hain toh safe hain" as a slogan that spoke of unity as a counter to the Congress's alleged attempts to deepen caste divides — but that is only the spin of the winner. After all, the BJP itself played the caste card to the hilt, wooing sub-castes within the OBCs and Dalits separately. On the ground, moreover, voters read the BJP slogan for its core message — the majority needs to unite to take on the threat from the minority.

The BJP also won because its opponent lacked the will or imagination or organisational energy to put up a genuine fight. Congress remained stuck in the windfall moment of six months ago, when it did well in the Lok Sabha election in Maharashtra. Its leader, Rahul Gandhi, has climbed out of the corner the BJP's propaganda had for long imprisoned him in, but the effects of his two yatras is wearing off and he is still seen by large sections of voters as a leader with an unremarkable CV.

There are several factors, therefore, that explain the BJP's election win in Maharashtra. The women's vote on account of the cash transfer scheme may be one of them. But inflating its role leads to an abbreviated political conversation and reckoning.

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BRINDA KARAT

Besieged at 75

Those who take oath of office in the Constitution's name are undermining it

AT THE AGE of 75, the Constitution of India is the talk of the town. In parliamentary debates, as an issue in elections, in the speeches of political leaders across parties, it is a central point of debate. It is a tribute to the founding members who drafted the Constitution that not only has it stood the test of time, but upholding its core values has become an essential patriotic duty.

This is not to say that the people of India have benefitted equally from the Constitution. The implementation of the rights embodied in it has been flawed and uneven. This is partly rooted in the irrational and arbitrary division of the Constitution into justiciable and non-justiciable sections, with the major clauses related to social and economic justice relegated to the non-justiciable sections in the Directive Principles. Thus, India with a Constitution regarded as a model in the guarantee of equal rights for all citizens still has, within the constitutional framework, grown to be one of the most unequal societies. The apprehensions of several members of the Constituent Assembly, expressed in the words of K T Shah, a self-declared socialist, that such a division would be like "a cheque payable by the bank concerned at its own convenience" have turned out to be true. Defence of the Constitution must include the implementation of the spirit of the Directive Principles related to economic equality and justice.

When on November 26, 1949, the President of the Constituent Assembly,

Rajendra Prasad, moved the motion "that the constitution as settled by the constituent assembly be passed", the records of that day note the "prolonged cheers" when it was adopted unanimously. Outside the assembly, it was the RSS that opposed the Constitution on grounds that it was not in tune with "Bharatiya" traditions based on religious texts such as the *Manusmriti*. It argued that nationality and citizenship rights are linked to the religious identity of the majority, those who subscribed to Hindu beliefs and unless "others" subordinated themselves to this majority, they had no right to be treated as equal citizens. India, through the adoption of the Constitution, rejected these divisive theories. It was Pakistan that agreed with the RSS theory of religion-based nationality and shaped its constitution and forms of governance accordingly.

The problem is that 75 years later, the RSS maintains those beliefs and its agenda of establishing a Hindutva *rashtra*. The bigger problem is that those who rule India are increasingly more dependent on the RSS's organisational network even to win elections. The facade of maintaining an identity distinct from the RSS is history. The last 10 years of the BJP government reflect its commitment to the RSS agenda. It is reflected in blatant anti-minority policies and framing of Islamophobic laws; in the vicious attacks on the Opposition and against any dissent through the use of draconian laws; in pushing highly centralised

forms of government against the constitutional rights of states; in imposing a distorted view of history and cultures, promoting *manuvadi* Hindutva and whitewashing the caste system; in subverting the mandate of autonomous institutions through appointments based mostly on degrees of ideological loyalty and so on. India is faced with an unprecedented situation where those who have been elected to power and assumed office in the name of the Constitution are following policies that incrementally weaken its basic structure resting on the pillars of secularism, democracy, social justice and federalism. It would be entirely mistaken to view this as the result of the megalomania in the personality of a particular leader. An individual may well be the most effective representative of anti-constitutional politics, but it is a politics that goes beyond the individual and has deeper roots in social and class elites. It is here that the experience of an earlier assault on the Constitution in the form of the Emergency is useful. At that time, the elimination of civil liberties and basic democratic rights was supported by powerful capitalist lobbies that believed it was essential to tame the working classes who, following the historic railway strike, were mobilising for their demands across the country. Industrialist J R D Tata put it plainly in an interview with *The New York Times*. "Things have gone too far... you can't imagine what we have gone through here — strikes, boycotts, demonstrations... The

parliamentary system is not suited to our needs..." Indira Gandhi's assault on the Constitution was not just to serve her own interests or those of her party, but had a wider aim of satisfying the demands of India's capitalist classes. In the present time, what is striking is the declared loyalty of the ruling classes to the current regime. It is not unusual for the rich and powerful to shift loyalties in quid pro quo arrangements as governments come and go. But the obedience to the Nagpur headquarters by prominent industrialists is a new feature reminiscent of the big business houses who bowed before the Nazi regime. Corporate India and the present regime go hand in hand. There are, of course, the most favoured individuals of the regime, but it is the class interests of corporates being served and saved by the Modi government. The attacks on the rights of workers through the enactment of the four labour codes, the repression of *kisans*, and the undeclared war against *Advisis* through the forcible takeover of their land to serve the interests of big mining companies or other private-sector projects are a function of this. The twin canons of BJP rule targeting the Constitution are majoritarianism and corporate interests, both linked to one another. On the 75th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution, resistance and defence must take into account both these aspects.

The writer is a member of the CPI(M) Politburo

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

WIN FOR BJP

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'A stunning victory' (IE, November 25). The Mahayuti alliance's landslide win in the Maharashtra Assembly elections marks a stunning comeback for the BJP and its allies. Just five months ago, the alliance faced a setback in the Lok Sabha elections. Today, that narrative has been rewritten as the alliance swept 235 of the state's 288 seats. The BJP's performance can be attributed to its ability to consolidate its voter base through relentless outreach and strategic seat-sharing decisions. With Maharashtra's economy being crucial for India's growth, the next Chief Minister must address farmer distress, urban infrastructure, and revive industries.

Khokan Das, Kolkata

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'A stunning victory' (IE, November 25). The 2024 Assembly elections in Maharashtra and Jharkhand indicate significant political developments. The BJP-led Mahayuti alliance secured a commanding victory, winning 235 out of 288 assembly seats. The opposition Maha Vikas Aghadi suffered heavy losses, winning only 49 seats collectively. In contrast, the ruling JMM-led

alliance retained power in Jharkhand, winning 56 out of 82 seats, while BJP-led NDA got only 24 seats. Chief Minister Hemant Soren's leadership received strong voter support, countering efforts by the BJP to unseat his government. These outcomes highlight the diversity of electoral preferences across India.

Sanjay Chopra, Mohali

FREEBIE POLITICS

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Reckless populism' (IE, November 24). Freebie culture has paid rich dividends to political parties in recent elections. Congress roared to power in Karnataka based on their five guarantees and PM Modi dubbed it "revdi culture". Ironically, he deliberately skipped that the ruling Mahayuti government in Maharashtra made effusive promises. Voters don't grasp these freebies' economic impact on taxpayers' money. The government should be ensuring equality and freedom from hunger, disease, and poverty instead of doling out money. The failure of AAP and Union governments to tackle Delhi's air pollution shows the cost of such governance.

Sankar Paul, Nadia

Classifieds

PERSONAL

I,Sujan Das S/o Dinabandhu Das R/o South Dhumpa, Banarhat, Dhumpara (N), Jalpaiguri, West Bengal-735202, have changed my name to Mohitsudarshan Das.

I Shivendra krishna tripathi S/o Hemant krishna tripathi R/o I.A-302 KDP Grand savana, Rajnagar extension ghaziabad. That I have changed my son's name from Aditya tripathi to Aditya krishna tripathi for all purposes.

I Ritika Alias Ritika Meena D/o Kailash Singh and W/o Gagan M Meena R/o House No-11, Gram-Shahpur, Post-Kuthar, Tehsil-Huzur, Berasia Road Bhopal, Kuthar, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh-462101, have changed my name to Ritikaa Meena

I RAMU BHANDARI S/o VASANT VERMA R/O 927/3 GALI NO-40/2 , MOLARBAND EXTENSION, BADARPUR, SOUTH DELHI-44 , permanent R/o WARD NO-03 , PARSA, PO: PARSA, DISTT: MADHUBANI, BIHAR-847402 declare that RAMU BHANDARI and RAM KUMAR are one and the same person.

I Nupur Mukherjee Alias Nupur Mukhopadhyay D/o Barun Kumar Mukhopadhyay and W/o Koushik Banerjee R/o Sabita Bhawan, Garia Abantipur, Rajpur Sonarpur, South 24 Parganas, West Bengal-700152, have changed my name to Nupur Banerjee

I Ashish Kumar Srivastav S/O, Pradeep Kumar Srivastav R/o Technical Paradise Flat No- A-12 Sector-56 Gurgaon Haryana,122001 have changed my name to Ashish Kumar Srivastava.

I Amarjeet Kaur W/o Sanjay Yadav R/o H.No. 2, Street no. 7, Nirankari Colony, Mukharjee Nagar, Delhi-110009 changed my name from Amarjeet Kaur Yadav to Amarjeet Kaur for all future purposes.

"I, Rakeshwari Taryial, wife of Madan Singh Taryial, residing at 607, Arc Angels Apartment, Raj Nagar Ext., Ghaziabad, UP- 201017, wish to change my name from Rakeshwari Taryial to Rakeshwari Taryial for all future purposes."

I, Pramod Kumar Dwivedi Shishya Swami Sitaramacharya R/o 123, Raghunath Ashram, Radha Niwas, Vrindavan, Mathura, UP-281121 have changed my name from Pramod Kumar Dwivedi to Swami Purushottamacharya for all future purposes.

I, Ashish Kummar Niraj, S/o Pritam Kumar Resident of R-102, Prateek Wisteria, Sector-77, Noida 201301 U.P. Have changed my name from "Ashish Kummar Niraj" to "Ashish Kumar Niraj" Henceforth I would be known by the name of "Ashish Kumar Niraj" for all future purposes.

I, MANISHA SURI W/o - AMIT KUMAR R/o- AQ-5-12 First Floor, BPTP Park-81, Near DPS Sector-81, Kheri Kalan (113), Faridabad Haryana - 121002 Have Changed My Name MANISHA BHASIN, For All Purposes.

I,Manisha Suri W/o - AMIT KUMAR R/o- AQ-5-12 First Floor, BPTP Park-81, Near DPS Sector-81, Kheri Kalan (113), Faridabad Haryana - 121002 Have Changed My Name MANISHA BHASIN, For All Purposes.

I,Manisha Suri W/o - AMIT KUMAR R/o- AQ-5-12 First Floor, BPTP Park-81, Near DPS Sector-81, Kheri Kalan (113), Faridabad Haryana - 121002 Have Changed My Name MANISHA BHASIN, For All Purposes.

I,Manisha Suri W/o - AMIT KUMAR R/o- AQ-5-12 First Floor, BPTP Park-81, Near DPS Sector-81, Kheri Kalan (113), Faridabad Haryana - 121002 Have Changed My Name MANISHA BHASIN, For All Purposes.

I,VINOD KUMAR,S/O SHRI BANARSI,R/O- H.No.159/9,GALI.No.9,AMBEDK AR BASTI,GHONDA,DELHI-110053,HAVE CHANGED MY NAME FROM VINOD TO VINOD KUMAR, FOR ALL PURPOSES.

I,Om Parkash S/o Hans Raj R/o T-506/B, Baljeet Nagar Delhi-8 have Changed my name to Om Prakash.

I,VIKRAM VIJAY CHALKE, father of, DHRUVA, Presently, residing at, Flat.No.08,Siddharth Modern Homes,Viman-Nagar,Pune-411014,Maharashtra,have changed my minor son's name,from DHRUVA to DHRUVA CHALKE.Vide-affidavit date-25.11.2024.

I,Umesh Goyal S/o Daya Kishan Goyal,R/o 2339, Gali Anar Wali, Dharam Pura,Delhi,have changed my name to Umesh Goel for all purposes.

I,TANU CHADHA,W/O- SUSHANT GUPTA Address- B1/45 SAFDARJUNG ENCLAVE , DELHI-110029, changed my name to TANU GUPTA.

I,Singgee Dorje Kundan R/o H.No.99, Sector-27, Noida(U.P) inform that DOB of my son's (Jigmet Dewa Kundan) has been wrongly written as 27.06.2010 in Passport, Correct DOB is 27.06.2009.

I,Sunaina Devi,W/o Sh.Lalan Kumar Jha,R/o,C-2/267,Aya Nagar, New Delhi-110047,that name and date of birth of mine has been wrongly-written as Sunina Devi and 01/07/1962 in my son's FS Documents.The actual name and date-of-birth of mine is Sunaina Devi and my date of birth as-02/05/1968.

I,Sukmeet Kaur W/o Gurjit Singh R/o-7,Gurdwara SiS Ganj Sahib,Chandni Chowkn, Delhi 110066,have changed my name to Sukhmeet Kaur.

I,Singgey Dorje Kundan R/o H.No.99, Sector-27, Noida(U.P) inform that DOB of my son's (Jigmet Dewa Kundan) has been wrongly written as 27.06.2010 in Passport, Correct DOB is 27.06.2009.

I,Kirshan Pal,S/o Dharam Singh R/o H.No.900,Nathupur,Gurgaon (Haryana), have changed my name to Krishan Pal.

I,Javed S/o Shahid khan,R/o H.No-549,Taprana,Shamli(UP) 247776,have changed my name to javed khan,for all,future purpose.

I,Gurpreet Singh Sahni,S/o Surinder Singh Sahni,R/o H.No.25 2nd-Floor,Pahari,Dhiraj Society,Nishant Kunj Pitampura Delhi-110034,have changed my name to Gurpreet Singh

I,Gurpreet Singh Sahni,S/o Surinder Singh Sahni,R/o H.No.25 2nd-Floor,Pahari,Dhiraj Society,Nishant Kunj Pitampura Delhi-110034,have changed my name to Gurpreet Singh

I,Dimple,D/o Surender Kumar Goyal,R/o-264/1,Gali.No.9,Near Gurudwara Shastri-Colony, Kheri Kalan (113),Faridabad (Haryana)- 121002,have changed my name to Dimple Goyal.

I,Dhanmati Lama,W/o-jeeban lal Lama, Add-35/451,Arjan vihar dhaula Kuan south west delhi-110010,Changed my name to Sushma Moktan.

I,Divya TAYAL C/O SACHIN TAYAL R/O B-507,SAI BABA-APARTMENT,SECTOR-9,ROHINI,DELHI-110085.HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO DIVYA BANSAL.

I,Dayanand S/o Uday Singh,R/o A-164,Second Floor,Shastri Nagar, Ashok Vihar,North West Delhi, Delhi-110052 have changed my name to Pardeep Gupta for all purposes.

I,DEVIYANI DHAWAN,w/o,DAKSH TRIVEDI,R/O,H-3,Dhawadeep, 6, Jantar Mantar-Road,New Delhi-110001,have changed my minor daughter aged-11-years name,from SHAMBHAVI TRIVEDI to SHAMBHAVI YASHREE TRIVEDI,for all,future purposes.

I,JAIBIR Singh (01/07/1956),O. No.5,Vikas Nagar, Uttam-Nagar, New Delhi-110059,have changed my name to Jaiveer Singh & my correct-DOB is-01-01-1954.

I,BARKHA KAPOOR W/O AAKASH KOHLI R/O K-125,OUTER RING ROAD,KRISHNA PARK EXTENSION,DELHI-110018.HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO BARKHA KAPOOR KOHLI.

I,Ayisha D/o Naeeumuddin R/o 2871 Gali BulBuli Khana Bazar Sita Ram Delhi-110066 have changed my name to Aisha.

I,Aviral,S/O Ekta Gautam,R/O-Plot.no.642,Shiv Shakti Apartment,FF-3,sec-1 vasundhara,Uttar Pradesh -201012,have change my name to Aviral Gautam,for all,future purpose.

I,Ankit Kumar Singhal S/o Mukesh Kumar Singla R/o H.No.668,Near Shani Dev Mandir, Sector -28,VTC: Faridabad Sector-29,PO:Faridabad Sector-29,Sub District: Faridabad,Distric: Faridabad,Haryana-121008,have changed the name of my minor son from Nirvaan Singhal to Yuvan Singhal for all purposes.

I,Neelam,w/o Amit kumar,r/o house.no.1847,sec-23, sonipat,have changed my name,from Neelam to Neelam Rohal,for all,future purposes.

I,Mohd Sarfuddin,S/O Imamuddeen,R/O B-429,Gali.no-13/8,Subhash-vihar north ghonda Delhi-110053,Have Change My Name From Mohd Sarfuddin to Sarfuddin,For all,future purposes

I,Manoj Kumar,S/O-Kundan Lal Dhingra R/O KP-17,Second Floor,Pitampura,Delhi-110034,have changed my name to Manoj Dhingra for,all Purposes.

I,Mahabir Saini,S/o,Kallu Ram R/o,H.No-573/9,Behind Saini Chopal,Gurgaon(Haryana) -122001,have changed my name to Mahabir Singh.

I,LATASHA D/O MANOJ KUMAR R/o H.No.25, Gali No.1,Basai Enclave,Gurgaon(HR)-122001,have changed my name to LATASHA KUMARI for all purposes.

I,Kunal AGARWAL,S/O DURGA PRASAD AGARWAL,R/O C-9/69,SEC-8,ROHINI DELHI-110085,HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO KUNAL AGGARWAL

I,Kum.Tanisha Dixit,W/o,Dinesh Kumar,R/o,H.No.66,2nd-floor sector-10,gurgaon haryana,have changed my name to Tanisha Kumar Dixit.

I,Sanjay Goyal S/o-Shyam Sunder Add-Gandhi Nagar, ward.No.7 Charkhi dadri bhiwani haryana 127306,changed my name to Sanjay Goel.

I, Raneej Premnath S/O A Premnath,R/O Flat No. 613, Suraksha Sadan CGHS LTD, Krishna Appartment, Plot No. 13, Sector 9, Dwarka, Raj Nagar-II, South West Delhi-110077, I have changed the name of my minor daughter Noyonika R Premnath aged about 15 Years and She shall hereafter be known as Noyonika Raneej Premnath

I,Sheikh Rehmat Elahi S/o Rauf Ahmed R/O A-20/1- AND- 21/B, Gali No.9, Near M.C.D. School, Wazirabad Village, Burari, Delhi- 110084, have changed my name to Rehmat Elahi.

I, Sanjay Goyal S/o-Shyam Sunder Add-Gandhi Nagar, ward.No.7 Charkhi dadri bhiwani haryana 127306,changed my name to Sanjay Goel.

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PROPERTY

PROPERTY FOR SALE

Kokan - Nivati Beach, Seashore touch. 66 Guntha plot. Contact 9833101928/ mobilecommerce@gmail.com <mailto:mobilecommerce@gmail.com>. Clear Title. Price 3.5 Cr. Broker Excuse. 050254950-1

PUBLIC NOTICE

"That my client Laxmi W/o Late Shri Jai Prakash R/o 80A/7, Gali No.1, Brahmapuri, Opposite Post Office, Delhi has severed all her relations with his son Ashish Kumar for all purpose and intends being disrespectful and disobedient. My client further disowned him from inheriting any of her movable and immovable properties and my client shall not be liable to any body for his acts and deeds. Ashish Kumar is indulged in illegal and anti-social activities and even abandoned his own family and residing separately with his friend. Ashish Kumar has no exclusive right, title and interest in the properties left by Late Jai Prakash, who died intestate and as such all the legal heirs became co-owner-co-sharer. As Ashish Kumar is illegally and fraudulently dealing with the said properties so any body dealing with him shall be doing at his/her their own risk/peril.

Sd/- Nitin Arora (Advocate) Ch. No. X-35A, Civil Wing, Tis Hazari Courts, Delhi-54

I, SHUBHRA KAUSHIK ALIAS SHUBRA KAUSHIK D/O SUSHIL KUMAR KAUSHIK R/O 45B, C6A, JANAKPURI, JANAKPURI B-1,S.O, WEST DELHI, DELHI-110058 HAVE CHANGED MY NAME TO SHUBHRA KAUSHIK FOR ALL PURPOSES.

I, Rishab Pardesi S/o Virender Kumar R/o a-103, Ashoka Apartment Sector-9, Rohini, Delhi-110085, have changed my name to Rishabh Pardesi for all future purposes.

I, Rakesh Kumar, son of Mulk Raj Ahuja, Resident of A-59, Malviya Nagar, Delhi-110017, have changed my name to Rakesh Ahuja.

I, Raghubir Chandra Sharma, S/o Mulk Raj Sharma, R/o Vill- Jagnathpur, PO-Sultanpur Patti BazpurUdham Singh Nagar, Uttarakhand, do hereby solemnly affirm and declare that in my Railway PPRecord the name and date of birth is wrongly mentioned (NITA SHARMA, 16.04.1960). Whereas thecorrect name is NEETA SHARMA and the correct date of birth is 24.09.1960.

I, Pavitra Kumari W/o Vijay Singh R/o-170, Himmat Bhawan, Gali No-5, Karawal Nagar, Delhi-94 have changed my name to Pavitra Singh

I, Nazim S/o Ramzuddin R/o 4031, Gali Khan Khana Jama Masjid, Delhi- 6, have changed my name to Mohammad Nazim.

I, Narender S/o Dharu Chand R/o Old-30/83, Trilok Puri, Delhi-110091, have changed my name to Narendar Singh for all purpose.

I, Narender Mittal S/O Villayati Ram Mittal, R/O G-62, East Of Kailash, New Delhi, South Delhi, Delhi-110065, have changed my name and shall hereafter be Known as Narendar Kumar Mittal.

I, NEERAJ KUMAR PADYAL S/O HARBANS LAL R/O 1637/117, GANESH PURA-A, TRI NAGAR, DELHI-110035. HEREBY DECLARE THAT NEERAJ KUMAR PADYAL AND NEERAJ KUMAR IS ONE AND SAME PERSON.

I, Mohammad Ziyaual Haque S/o Shamsul Haque R/o H. No. T-41, Sarai Kale Khan, Hazrat Nizamuddin, South Delhi, Delhi- 110013, have changed my name to Mohammad Mazid Shaikh for all future purposes.

I, ANJU,W/o LOKESH KUMAR ADD:FLAT.NO.D-3,PLOT.NO.48, SHAHTI KHAND-2,INDRAPURAM, SHIPRA SUN CITY, GHAZIABAD, UP-201014, changed my name to ANJU DAYAL.

I,Vikas Gupta S/o-Karan Vir R/o-C-1, Tulsi Apartment, Sector-14, Rohini, Delhi-110085 have changed the name of my minor daughter from Omaira to Omisha for all purposes.

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Among four who died of gunshot wounds in Sambhal, a dhaba worker, sweet shop owner

NEETIKA JHA
SAMBHAL, NOVEMBER 25

NEARLY 100 metres from the Shahi Jama Masjid, where violence during a court-ordered survey killed four persons on Sunday, November 24, is the one-room house of Naeem Ghazi, a 35-year-old sweet-shop owner.

A resident of Sambhal's Fatal Sarai, his family says that he had gone to the market, a few metres from home, to get sugar supplies for the shop when he was shot.

Identifying those who died in Sunday's violence as Mohammad Ayan, 19, Mohd Kaif, 23, and Bilal Ansari, 22, besides Ghazi, Sambhal Superintendent of Police Krishna Kumar Bishnoi said the four died of gunshot wounds, while claiming that the bullets were not fired by his personnel. "We have made it clear time and again that the police did not fire at anyone. We used only non-lethal weapons when the crowd resorted to stone pelting. Our own men have suffered injuries... all those who created tension will be severely punished," he said. Bishnoi said a fifth person, Mohammad Roman Khan, too, died on Sunday, but he likely suf-



Reshma, sister of Mohammad Ayan (right), grieves at their home in Sambhal on Monday. *Gajendra Yadav*

ferred a heart attack.

At Ghazi's home, his mother Idris, 55, wife Tehzeeb, 27, and his four children, all under the age of 11, are still in shock. The family denies he was part of the mob that pelted stones at the team that was carrying out the survey at the mosque. "Had I known he would be shot, I would have taken the bullet," said Ghazi's mother Idris. She alleged the police didn't take him to hospital after he was shot.

Ghazi was buried around 11.45 pm on Sunday in the presence of the police.

Barely 500 metres away,

neighbours crowded outside the single-storeyed unplastered house of 19-year-old Mohammad Ayan, but his mother remained unaware of his death the previous morning. "They are telling me my son is sick. I made dalia for him last night, but he is still not home. Why are so many people gathered here? Is he that sick?," asked Nafisa, Ayan's 50-year-old mother. Ayan, a Class 8 dropout, who worked at a dhaba in Chaudhary Sarai area of Sambhal town for Rs 150 rupees a day, was the only earning member of his family. His father died 18 years ago.

Ayan's elder sister Reshma



says that nearly two hours before his death, he had picked her up from her home near the masjid and brought her to his house in Kot Garbi to be with their mother.

"We reached home around 10 am and he left for the dhaba almost immediately," she said.

Nearly 5 km from the mosque in Kot West is where 22-year-old Bilal Ansari lived with his parents, four brothers and two sisters. Bilal, who ran a handloom shop, is among the dead. On Saturday night, his family said, he received a consignment from Delhi.

"The next morning, Sunday, he thought he would take the new clothes to the shop and arrange them. He did not even know that there was a survey going on in the mosque. At 11 am, a neighbour called us to say that a man who resembles my brother

had been shot in the back and was bleeding. I rushed there," said Bilal's younger brother Ali. He says they first took Bilal to Hasin Begum Hospital in Chandausi, but the doctor there refused to treat him. "We then took him to the Moradabad District Hospital, but he was dead by then," Ali said.

His mother, Sahana Begum, 50, alleges he was killed by the police. "The police killed my son. We will register an FIR against them," she said. His father, Anwar Ansari, 60, said, "The police are saying that we fought among each other and shot at people. It is a lie. My son was shot in the back. He was killed."

Also among the dead was Mohammad Kaif, a resident of Sambhal's Tutipur Elha. Kaif, who was being treated for bullet injuries at the Moradabad district hospital, died Monday evening.

On Monday, a day after the violence, the area surrounding the Shahi Jama Masjid remained deserted. In the market to the left of the masjid, nearly 30 shops remained shut. Most houses stayed locked as well. "There is no one to buy anything. Who do we open the shops for," said Mohammad Shamim Ansari, 45, a resident of Kot West.



The incomplete bridge over the Ramganga River in Bareilly. *PTI*

4 PWD engineers booked over deaths in Bareilly bridge car fall

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
LUCKNOW, NOVEMBER 25

THE BADAUN police have registered an FIR against four engineers of the Public Works Department (PWD) in connection with the death of three men whose car plunged off an "incomplete" bridge into the Ramganga River in Bareilly on early Sunday.

Police said the accident took place on the Bareilly-Badaun border when the victims were travelling from Gurugram in Haryana to Bareilly to attend a function, using Google Maps for directions. The regional officer of Google Maps has also been "brought under the scope of investigation but his name is yet to be included in the FIR," *PTI* reported. Police identified the deceased as Amit Singh



Three persons were killed in the incident. *PTI*

(33), his friend Vivek Chauhan (35) and his brother Nitin (30), all hailing from Uttar Pradesh and residents of Gurugram.

The case against four engineers posted at the PWD's Regional Division in Budaun and others was registered Monday by the Nayab Tehsildar of Dataganj tehsil under Section 105 (culpable homicide not amounting to mur-

Centre extends ban on ULFA for 5 more years

Guwahati: The Centre on Monday extended the ban on the United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) for five years, citing continued involvement in criminal activities and extortion and pursuing an objective of secession from India.

The notification states that this declaration extends to all its fac-

tions, wings and frontal organisations. The ULFA was first declared an unlawful organization in 1990 and has been extended periodically. In December 2023, ULFA's pro-talks faction signed a pact with the Centre and the Assam state, agreeing to shun violence, disband the organisation. **ENS**

As US court rules on family's border death, cagey silence shrouds Gujarat village

BRENDAN DABHI
DINGUCHA (GANDHINAGAR), NOVEMBER 25

ROWS OF empty houses, some vacant for years; elders turning away outsiders; youngsters whispering among themselves; a tense silence all around, broken only by the chatter of guests arriving for a wedding.

This is Dingucha, 13 km from the block headquarters of Kalol in Gandhinagar, and 40 km from Ahmedabad, accessible only by a single-lane dirt track across the last stretch. It's a village better known as the home of the family of four that froze to death in a blizzard on Canada's border with the US while attempting to illegally cross over two years ago.

Today, the village is back in the spotlight, with a US court holding two men — Harshkumar Ramanlal Patel, 29, alias "Dirty Harry" from Gujarat, and Florida resident Steve Shand, 50 — guilty on November 22 of "a conspiracy to bring aliens to the US" and

putting their lives in jeopardy, among other charges.

"We don't know anything about this case in the US," says Baldev Patel, the father of Jagdish Patel, 39, who, along with his wife Vaishaliben, daughter Vihangi, 11, and son Dharmik, 3, froze to death in Canada's Manitoba on January 19, 2022.

Baldev, who was unavailable when The Indian Express visited the village on November 21, spoke over the phone from an undisclosed location. A 20-year-old man in the village explained Baldev's reluctance to talk. "The family wants to be left alone. It has taken them a long time to move on from the deaths, but they keep coming back to haunt them every time there is news regarding illegal immigration to the US. The family just wants to move on," says the man.

There could be another, more telling, reason why the family — and the village itself — is cagey, say other residents, who did not wish to be identified. One of them, a man in his mid-20s, says,

"Recently, about 15 people (from the village) reached the US. We don't get to know when people leave the village. We only get the news when they call after reaching the US."

Local officials cannot confirm this claim but say the "unnecessary attention" has irked residents, who "feel it could thwart future immigration plans". "This has been the attitude ever since Dingucha came under the spotlight after the death of the Patel family. Some believe this exposure has ruined the chances of others who want to make their way to the land of opportunities," says an official.

The bodies of Jagdish's family were discovered by the Canadian authorities on January 19, 2022. While the bodies of Jagdish, his daughter Vihangi, 11, and son Dharmik, 3, were found together — with the father's hand frozen around his son, who was wrapped in a blanket with "ducks and stars" — his wife Vaishali was found "slumped over the fence", nearly 1.6 km away and just 12



Jagdish Patel's house in Dingucha, Ahmedabad. *Bhupendra Rana*

metres from where the family was supposed to cross over to the US. Forensic experts who testified in the US court said the family was "not dressed to withstand the blizzard".

The family was reportedly among the 11 undocumented migrants from India seeking to enter the US illegally in an operation coordinated by Harsh Patel. Harsh Patel's accomplice Shand was tasked with picking up the 11

Indian migrants on the Minnesota (US) side of the border.

As reported by The Indian Express, Yash Patel, a 29-year-old from the group of 11 that managed to cross over to the US, told the jury how local agents in Canada, including two Indian nationals in Harsh Patel's network, had arranged a van to transport the migrants from a residential apartment in Canada's Winnipeg to Manitoba near the border, from

SC upholds inclusion of 'socialist', 'secular' in Constitution Preamble

Apex court dismisses petitions against 42nd amendment

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

THE SUPREME Court on Monday dismissed petitions challenging the constitutional validity of the 42nd amendment by which the words 'secular' and 'socialist' were added to the Preamble of the Constitution during the Emergency days in 1976, saying "these terms have achieved widespread acceptance, with their meanings understood by 'We, the people of India' without any semblance of doubt".

A bench of Chief Justice of India Sanjiv Khanna and Justice Sanjay Kumar said the Parliament's power under Article 368 to amend the Constitution also extends to the Preamble and rejected the argument that the words could not have been added retrospectively in 1976 to the original Preamble which has a cut off date of November 26, 1949.

"The fact that the Constitution was adopted... on the 26th day of November, 1949, does not make any difference. The date of adoption will not curtail or restrict the power under Article 368 of the Constitution," the bench said, adding "the retrospectivity argument, if accepted, would equally apply to amendments made to any part of the Constitution, though the power of the Parliament to do so under Article 368, is incontrovertible and is not

challenged".

The court, which refused to even issue notice on the petitions, said the "writ petitions do not require detailed adjudication as the flaws and weaknesses in the arguments are obvious and manifest".

The SC judgement said that "while it is true that the Constituent Assembly had not agreed to include the words 'socialist' and 'secular' in the Preamble, the Constitution is a living document, as noticed above with power given to the Parliament to amend it in terms of and in accord with Article 368".

It said, "In 1949, the term 'secular' was considered imprecise, as some scholars and jurists had interpreted it as being opposed to religion. Over time, India has developed its own interpretation of secularism, wherein the State neither supports any religion nor penalizes the profession and practice of any faith. This principle is enshrined in Articles 14, 15, and 16 of the Constitution..."

On the challenge to the word 'socialism', the SC said "in the context should not be interpreted as restricting the economic policies of an elected government of the people's choice at a given time... Rather, 'socialist' denotes the State's commitment to be a welfare State..."

In this context, the bench also referred to the majority judgement in the 9-judge Constitution Bench decision in 'Property

Owners Association and Others v. State of Maharashtra and Others'. The verdict "has cleared any doubt and ambiguity, as it is held that the Constitution, as framed in broad terms, allows the elected government to adopt a structure for economic governance which would sub-serve the policies for which it is accountable to the electorate..."

Rejecting the argument that the amendment was made during Emergency imposed by the then Indira Gandhi government, the SC said this point "was previously deliberated in Parliament, during the consideration of the Constitution Forty-Fifth Amendment Bill, 1978... Subsequently, this Bill was renumbered and called the Constitution Forty-Fourth Amendment Act 1978".

It also said "the fact that the writ petitions were filed in 2020, forty-four years after the words 'socialist' and 'secular' became integral to the Preamble, makes the prayers particularly questionable... These terms have achieved widespread acceptance, with their meanings understood by "We, the people of India". The additions... have not restricted or impeded legislation or policies pursued by elected governments, provided such actions did not infringe upon fundamental and constitutional rights or the basic structure of the Constitution..."

‘Success of film festivals can’t be measured by star appearances’

ALAKA SAHANI
PANJIM, NOVEMBER 25

"GETTING STARS is a big publicity stunt (for a festival). However, we are not going to beg them to come. If you feel you owe something to cinema, then come," said filmmaker Shekhar Kapur, festival director of the 55th edition of the International Film Festival of India (IFFI), Goa. Kapur, who is the director of landmark movies *Bandit Queen* (1994) and *Elizabeth* (1998), expressed his disapproval over dependance on star presence and their red carpet appearances for a film festival's success and publicity.

Talking to *The Indian Express*, Kapur said, "The success of a film festival can't depend on or be measured by stars who made their appearance... The success of a festival can be measured only by the number of film lovers who attend it." In recent years, the opening and closing ceremonies of IFFI, usually held in the Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Indoor Stadium that can accommodate 4,000 visitors, have become star-studded events. Apart from stars walking the red carpet, dance performances where stars groove to a medley of popular songs have



IFFI director Shekhar Kapoor with actor Ranbir Kapoor

become a common feature.

The festival director believes that it does not make a difference how many stars turn up for the opening or closing ceremony.

"I don't think a film festival should beg stars to come. The stars themselves should take pride in a festival. Over the years, we have gone wrong by saying: 'please, aa jao na (please, come)'. If I am allowed to, I will make this statement: Don't come if you don't feel you are honoured to be invited (to IFFI)," said Kapur, whose films *Masoom* (1983) and *Mr India* (1987) have remained popular with viewers across generations.

The 78-year-old filmmaker, who was part of the team that set up the festival in Goa along with late Manohar Parrikar, former Chief Minister of Goa,

agreed to take up the role of festival director instantly.

"I always jump and then look at the consequences. When they asked me to be the festival director, I said yes within 15 seconds. My first instinct was that of an artist who is looking at a white canvas and splashes that first brush. If you can help something even in the smallest way to succeed, you should."

"What it needs is a change in attitude. We should invite stars for a reason. AR Rahman is one of India's biggest stars. He comes to IFFI to talk about something. A star should not just show his/her face and run away. If you have a film (being screened), then come here, or bring your films. We will give you a lot of respect. Or, come to take a class. Talk to the audiences about your journey and work." Rahman will hold a memorial talk on Lata Mangeshkar tomorrow.

Instead of being star struck, the festival should celebrate the audiences. India is the largest film-making nation in the whole world and Kapur gives credit for this to "audiences". "They watch movies with the air-conditioning not working and rats running around their feet. We should be celebrating them," the director said. "This film festival is for them," he said.

many property owners, we don't have any forwarding address at all. We don't even know if they are in India or abroad," says Chaudhary, the talati.

After the Dingucha family's death, the police went on the trail of 'agents' behind the racket. According to Gujarat police, Fenil Patel, who hails from Surat and is said to be the mastermind of the illegal immigration route to the US, is believed to be in Canada with a Red Corner Notice issued against him. Another accused, Bitta Singh alias Bittu Paaji, is also on the wanted list.

Three other accused were arrested by the Detection of Crime Branch (DCB) of Ahmedabad City Police in January 2023, including Yogesh Patel of Ahmedabad, Bhavesh Patel of Gandhinagar and Dashrath Chaudhary from Mehsana. "All three had been accused on the basis of evidence as well as statements from the seven students who had survived the border crossing in which Jagdish and his family perished," says a former investigator of this case.

TOPOF THE
WORLDBritish Foreign Secy
David Lammy. File

UNITED KINGDOM

Lammy: Biggest
sanctions on
Russian 'shadow
fleet' imposed

Fiuggi: Britain is imposing the biggest sanctions package against Russia's shadow fleet, targeting 30 vessels, foreign minister David Lammy said on Monday, urging G7 allies to stand with, and equip Ukraine for as long as it needs. Britain and other Western nations are keen to make sure Ukraine is in the strongest possible position to defend itself this winter. Lammy said before a meeting of G7 foreign ministers in Italy he was sure Kyiv would get "the funds and the military equipment and kit to get through 2025". Lammy told reporters Britain's latest round of measures against Moscow represented the "biggest" sanctions against the Russian shadow fleet. **REUTERS**

GREECE

Eight migrants
drown off coast,
36 rescued

Samos: Eight people, including six children, died when a boat carrying migrants sank off the coast of the Greek island of Samos, officials said Monday. The coast guard said 36 survivors were found on a rocky shoreline, while three others were rescued earlier. It was not immediately clear whether others were still missing. An ongoing rescue operation involves a patrol vessel, a lifeboat, a navy ship, a helicopter and land crews, it said. Authorities confirmed the recovery of the bodies of six children and two adult women. **AP**

LITHUANIA

German cargo
plane crashes,
killing one

Vilnius: A DHL cargo plane crashed as it came in to land at Lithuania's Vilnius airport early on Monday morning, killing one person on the aircraft and with some debris damaging a house. The three other people onboard were injured but no one on the ground was hurt, officials said. Flames and smoke engulfed the crashed plane as fire crews worked to extinguish the blaze. The scheduled flight was operated by airline Swiftair on behalf of DHL and had taken off from Leipzig, Germany. **REUTERS**

AFTER LAST WEEK'S TALKS BETWEEN US ENVOY, WARRING SIDES

Israeli envoy to US says Hezbollah
truce deal could come 'within days'

Far-right minister says Israel should not agree to deal

ASSOCIATED PRESS

JERUSALEM, NOVEMBER 25

THE ISRAELI ambassador to Washington says that a ceasefire deal to end fighting between Israel and the Lebanon-based Hezbollah could be reached "within days." Ambassador Mike Herzog told Israeli Army Radio on Monday that there remained "points to finalize" and that any deal required agreement from the government.

But he said "we are close to a deal" and that "it can happen within days." Among the issues that remain is an Israeli demand to reserve the right to act should Hezbollah violate its obligations under the emerging deal.

But far-right National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir said Israel must press on with the war until "absolute victory". Addressing Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on X, he said "it is not too late to stop this agreement."

The deal seeks to push Hezbollah and Israeli troops out of southern Lebanon.

Israel says Hezbollah did not adhere to a UN resolution that ended the 2006 war between the sides that made similar provisions, and it has concerns that the group could stage a Hamas-style cross-border attack from southern Lebanon if it maintains a heavy presence there.

Lebanon says Israel also vio-



Tent camp sheltering displaced Palestinians amid heavy rain, in Khan Younis on Monday. Reuters

lated the 2006 resolution. It is not clear whether Lebanon would agree to the demand.

The optimism surrounding a deal comes after a top US envoy held talks between the sides last week in a bid to clinch a deal.

Hezbollah began attacking Israel on October 8, 2023, a day after Hamas' raid on southern Israel. That escalated into all-out war in September with massive Israeli airstrikes in Lebanon and later an Israeli ground incursion.

Hezbollah leader Sheikh Naim Qassem said last week that the group had reviewed and given feedback on the U.S. ceasefire proposal, and any truce was now in Israel's hands. Hezbollah has fired thousands of rockets into Israeli cities and towns, including some 250 on Sunday.

WITH REUTERS INPUT

Iran Supreme Leader calls for
death sentence for Israeli leaders

REUTERS

DUBAI, NOVEMBER 25

THE SUPREME leader of Iran, which backs the Hamas and Hezbollah militants fighting Israel in Gaza and Lebanon, said on Monday that death sentences should be issued for Israeli leaders, not arrest warrants.

Ayatollah Ali Khamenei was commenting on a decision by the International Criminal Court to issue arrest warrants on Thursday for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, his former defence chief and a

Ayatollah Ali Khamenei in
Tehran on Monday. Reuters

Hamas leader, Ibrahim Al-Masri.

"They issued an arrest warrant, that's not enough... Death sentence must be issued for these criminal leaders", Khamenei said,

G7 SEEKS UNITY ON
ICC ARREST WARRANT
FOR NETANYAHU

Fiuggi: The Group of Seven countries are seeking a common position on the arrest warrant for Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu issued last week by the International Criminal Court, Italian Foreign Minister Antonio Tajani said on Monday. "We need to be united on this," Tajani said after hosting the first working session of a two-day meeting of foreign ministers from G7 nations. The United States, part of the G7, has rejected the ICC decision, with President Joe Biden describing it as outrageous. **REUTERS**

referring to the Israeli leaders.

In their decision, the ICC judges said there were reasonable grounds to believe Netanyahu and Yoav Gallant were criminally responsible for acts including murder, persecution and starvation as a weapon of war as part of a "widespread and systematic attack against the civilian population of Gaza".

The decision was met with outrage in Israel, which called it shameful and absurd.

Gaza residents expressed hope it would help end the violence and bring those responsible for war crimes to justice.

IMRAN PARTY SAYS OVER 3,500 WORKERS ARRESTED

Cop killed, many 'taken hostage' as PTI
supporters clash with security forces

Pakistani Rangers stand guard to deter Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf protesters, in Islamabad on Monday. Reuters

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

ISLAMABAD, NOVEMBER 25

A POLICEMAN was killed and 70 injured when former prime minister Imran Khan's supporters clashed with security personnel deployed to prevent the protesters from reaching Islamabad, the Punjab government said on Monday.

Punjab Information Minister Azma Bokhari at a press conference here said many policemen

were taken "hostage" after Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) supporters clashed with the police on the way to Islamabad.

The former premier's supporters resumed march towards Islamabad Monday after an overnight stop amid stiff resistance by the authorities to foil their attempt to enter the national capital and stage a sit-in at the D-Chowk, located close to several important government buildings.

At least 70 policemen have been injured and one killed in

clashes, she said. Bokhari said the condition of five personnel was critical. "Constable Mubashir lost his life in a clash with the PTI workers... Imran supporters taking police officers hostage... is this politics," the minister asked.

Bokhari said Khan's wife Bushra Bibi was setting this country on fire. "Bushra is inciting the Pashtuns to get her husband released." Bokhari said Punjab CM Maryam Nawaz instructed police officers to remain unarmed. But the PTI came armed from Khyber

Pakhtunkhwa to wreak havoc and instigate violence, she said.

The PTI, on the other hand, said over 3,500 party leaders and workers were arrested by police in Punjab and Islamabad. "Dozens of PTI workers have been injured and over 3,500 party leaders and workers arrested during the clashes with police en route to Islamabad."

A PTI leader said the party's long march towards Islamabad would continue till the release of PTI founder Imran Khan.



Philippine Vice-President Sara Duterte speaks to the media at the House of Representatives, in Quezon City, Monday. AP

PHILIPPINES SHOWDOWN

Marcos vows to
fight Duterte threat
to get him killed

REUTERS

MANILA, NOVEMBER 25

PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT Ferdinand Marcos vowed on Monday to fight back against what he called reckless and troubling threats against him, speaking out after his estranged vice president said he would be assassinated if she herself were killed.

In a strongly-worded video message addressing the nation, Marcos did not name Vice President Sara Duterte, his presidential running mate, but said "such criminal plans should not be overlooked".

In a dramatic twist in the fierce spat between Marcos and the powerful Duterte family, the daughter of ex-President Rodrigo Duterte said Saturday she had instructed an assassin to kill Marcos, his wife and the lower house speaker, in the event that she were killed. She was responding to a question during an online press conference about whether she feared for her safety. She did not cite any specific threat against her.

"The statements we heard in the previous days were troubling," Marcos said on Monday.

"There is the reckless use of profanities and threats to kill some of us... I will fight them," he said, adding he would not allow such

EXPLAINED
Concerns over
national unity

WHEN MARCOS Jr and Sara Duterte were elected in 2022, the two promised national unity. The alliance of political dynasties was supposed to be formidable, with the Dutertes strong in the south and the Marcoses in the north. As the alliance falls apart, the question of national unity comes to fore once again.

criminal attempts to pass. "If planning the assassination of the president is that easy, how much more for ordinary citizens?" he said.

Sara Duterte's remarks were the latest salvo in a bitter row that intensified since the collapse of an alliance between their two powerful families. Her threat to have Marcos killed stemmed from an order by lawmakers to transfer her chief-of-staff to jail for allegedly impeding its inquiry into the vice president's alleged misuse of public funds.

Echoing the president's concerns, House Speaker Martin Romualdez said: "It sends a chilling message to our people... that violence can be contemplated by those in positions of power."

COST OF LIVING CRISIS

France's Le Pen
makes new threat to
topple ruling alliance

REUTERS

PARIS, NOVEMBER 25

FAR-RIGHT LEADER Marine Le Pen issued a new threat on Monday to bring down France's coalition government in a no-confidence vote, after talks with Prime Minister Michel Barnier failed to satisfy her party's demands for budget concessions.

Le Pen said nothing had changed following the discussions, and she was not optimistic a compromise on the belt-tightening 2025 budget bill could be reached. "Nothing appears less certain," she told reporters.

Reflecting the growing risk that Barnier's government could fall, the premium investors demand to hold French bonds over German ones flirted with highs not seen in over 12 years. The Senate started debating the Bill Monday after its rejection by lawmakers in the National Assembly as leftist lawmakers added tens of

Marine Le Pen in Paris on
Monday. Reuters

billions of euros in tax hikes to it. Opposition parties are threatening to topple Barnier's government over the budget, and his fragile coalition relies on tacit support from Le Pen's National Rally party. The government is seeking to squeeze 60 billion euros in savings through tax hikes and spending cuts.

Le Pen said last week her party opposes increasing the tax burden on households and entrepreneurs and that these demands were not reflected in the budget Bill.

THOUSANDS OF ROHINGYA 'FIGHT ALONGSIDE' MYANMAR JUNTA THAT ONCE PERSECUTED THEM TO RECLAIM THEIR HOMELAND

In world's largest refugee camps, Rohingya mobilise to fight armed groups in Myanmar

DEVJYOT GHOSHAL
& POPPY MCPHERSON
COX'S BAZAR, NOVEMBER 25

ONE DAY in July, Rafiq slipped out of the world's largest refugee settlement in southern Bangladesh and crossed the border into Myanmar on a small boat. His destination: a ruinous civil war in a nation that he had fled in 2017.

Thousands of Rohingya insurgents, like 32-year-old Rafiq, have emerged from camps housing over a million refugees in Cox's Bazar, where militant recruitment and violence have

surged this year, according to four people familiar with the conflict and two internal aid agency reports seen by Reuters.

"We need to fight to take back our lands," said Rafiq, a lean and bearded man in a Muslim prayer cap who spent weeks fighting in Myanmar before returning after he was shot in the leg. "There is no other way."

The Rohingya, a mainly Muslim group that is the world's largest stateless population, started fleeing in droves to Bangladesh in 2016 to escape a genocide by Buddhist-majority of Myanmar's military.

A long-running rebellion in Myanmar has gained ground since the military staged a coup in 2021. It involves a complex array of armed groups - with Rohingya fighters now entering the fray. Many have joined groups loosely allied with their former military persecutors to fight the Arakan Army ethnic militia that has seized much of the western Myanmar state of Rakhine, from which many Rohingya fled.

Reuters interviewed 18 people who described the rise of insurgent groups inside Bangladesh's refugee camps and reviewed two internal briefings



The junta provided Rohingya fighters with citizenship papers, say fighters who returned from frontlines. Reuters

on the security situation written by aid agencies in recent months.

Reuters is reporting for the first time the scale of recruitment by Rohingya armed groups in the camps, which totals between 3,000 and 5,000 fighters.

The junta denied in a statement to Reuters that it had conscripted any "Muslims." "Muslim residents requested protection. So, basic military training was provided in order to help them defend their own villages and regions," it said.

Rohingya insurgent Abu Afna said he was housed and armed by junta troops. In the seaside town

of Maungdaw where the military is fighting the Arakan Army, Rohingya were sometimes even billeted in the same room with junta soldiers. "When I'd be with the junta, I would feel that I am standing next to the same people who raped and killed our mothers and sisters," he said.

But the Arakan Army is backed by the majority Buddhist ethnic Rakhine community that includes people who joined the military in purging the Rohingya.

The military provided Rohingya with weapons, training and cash, according to Abu Afna, as well as a Bangladesh source and

second Rohingya man who said he was forcibly recruited. The junta also offered Rohingya a card certifying Myanmar citizenship.

Dhaka is increasingly frustrated by the Arakan Army's strategy of attacking Rohingya settlements, the two people said, with the violence complicating efforts to repatriate refugees to Rakhine. Sharit Ullah, a Rohingya who escaped from Maungdaw with his wife and four children in May, described struggling to secure regular food rations. He said his biggest worry is the safety of his family amid spiraling violence. "We have nothing here." **REUTERS**

Significance of European solar mission, which ISRO will launch

ANJALI MARAR
BENGALURU, NOVEMBER 25

THE INDIAN Space Research Organisation (ISRO) will launch the European Space Agency's Proba-3 mission on its PSLV rocket to study the solar corona, the outermost and hottest part of the Sun's atmosphere, from Sriharikota on December 4.

The mission will attempt the first-ever "precision formation flying", where two satellites will fly together and maintain a fixed configuration in space.

This is the latest solar mission in ESA's Proba suite of missions. Its predecessors Proba-1 (also launched by ISRO) and Proba-2 were launched in 2001 and 2009, respectively. Teams of scientists from Spain, Belgium, Poland, Italy and Switzerland have worked on Proba-3.

What is Proba-3?
Developed at an estimated cost of 200

million euros, Proba-3 has an expected mission life of two years. It will be launched into a highly elliptical orbit measuring around 600 x 60,530 km and have an orbital period of 19.7 hours.

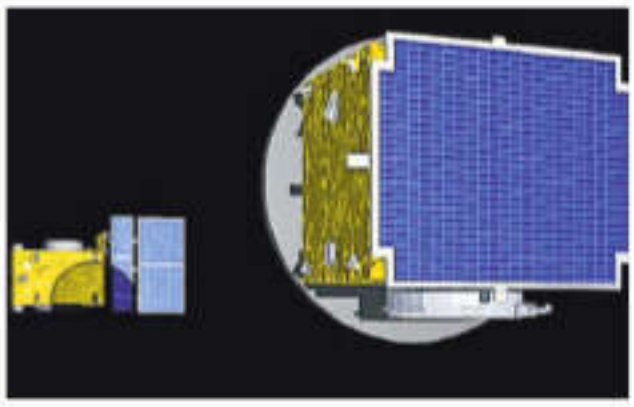
The mission is designed with two satellites that will be launched together, separate from each other and then fly in tandem. They will then form a solar coronagraph, an instrument that helps block out the bright light emitted by the Sun to reveal the objects and atmosphere around it.

What will Proba-3 study?
Due to the corona's temperature, going up to 2 million degrees Fahrenheit, it is difficult for any instrument to observe it closely. However, it is important for scientific study, as all space weather and its associated disturbances — solar storms, solar winds, etc. — originate from the corona. These phenomena influence space weather and can potentially interfere with

the smooth operations of all satellite-based communications, navigation, and power grids on Earth. To study these, Proba-3 will have three instruments onboard:

- The Association of Spacecraft for Polarimetric and Imaging Investigation of the Corona of the Sun (ASPIICS) or the coronagraph. Its field of view is between the Sun's outer and inner corona, a circular belt normally observable during solar eclipse events. The instrument has a 1.4-metre diameter occulting disk mounted on it, to block the Sun's light and facilitate a close-up view of this belt.
- The Digital Absolute Radiometer (DARA) will maintain a continuous measurement of the Sun's total energy output, known as the total solar irradiance.
- The 3D Energetic Electron Spectrometer (3DEES) will measure electron fluxes as it passes through Earth's radiation belts, providing data for space weather studies.

Why is Proba-3 unique?
The two satellites — Occulter Spacecraft



Depiction of how the Occulter Spacecraft will cast a precise shadow across the Coronagraph spacecraft. ESA

(weighing 200 kg) and the Coronagraph Spacecraft (weighing 340 kg) — will mimic a natural solar eclipse. They will manoeuvre precisely in Earth's orbit so that one satellite casts a shadow onto the other.

A naturally occurring solar eclipse allows solar physicists to observe and study the Sun's corona for 10 minutes, across an

average of about 1.5 eclipse events per year. Proba-3 will give six hours, equivalent to 50 such events annually, which will help deepen understanding of the Sun's corona like never before.

Both the Occulter and the Coronagraph will face the Sun at all times. They will maintain a formation of a few millimetres and then move to a position where they will be 150 metres for six hours at a time.

One satellite will act as a viewing telescope, kept at the centre of a shadow cast by the other satellite positioned 150 metres away. This positioning will facilitate observing the Sun's corona and will be autonomously achieved through precise flight formation.

If done successfully, the Occulter will create an artificial yet stable eclipse, by masking large parts of the Sun. As a result, the Sun's blinding light will get blocked and only the solar corona will be visible to the coronagraph, which will photograph and facilitate studies of the lesser-known features.

How might India benefit?
Proba-3 is being called ESA's technology demonstration mission. The fact that ISRO has been designated to launch the mission demonstrates India's reliable space launch facilities and growing space capabilities. A cost-effective launch is also one of the highlights of the mission.

There is a strong possibility that the Indian solar physicist community will get exclusive access to the Proba-3 data. A few Indian solar physicists have also been involved in conceptualising the scientific goals of this mission along with their Belgian counterparts. Soon after the launch, India plans to host a meeting with the ESA's Proba-3 team to explore opportunities for using data from Aditya L1, India's first mission to the Sun (launched in 2023) and Proba-3 for collaborative research. This would allow Indians to work towards and contribute to newer scientific advancements related to the Sun.

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EXPLAINED SCIENCE

HOW SCIENTISTS DEVELOPED PILLS THAT CAN REPLACE INJECTIONS

A TEAM of researchers has developed ingestible capsules that release a burst of drugs directly inside the stomach or other parts of the digestive system. These capsules can offer an alternative method to deliver drugs such as insulin that, thus far, are typically administered via injections. To develop them, the researchers took inspiration from the way cephalopods like squids and cuttlefish use jet propulsion mechanisms to move underwater, and shoot ink.

The details about development have been mentioned in the study, 'Cephalopod-inspired jetting devices for gastrointestinal drug delivery', published in the journal *Nature* last week. The research has been carried out by scientists from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Brigham and Women's Hospital, and drug manufacturer Novo Nordisk.

Why are these capsules significant?

Injections are used to administer hormones, vaccines, antibodies, or cancer treatments. They are used instead of a pill as these drugs are usually made of larger biological molecules. "Once swallowed, large molecules are often quickly destroyed by digestive enzymes or the liver, limiting their efficacy and increasing the likelihood of potential side effects," according to a report in *Singularity Hub*, a science and tech media website.

Despite this advantage, scientists have been trying to find an alternative to injections for a long time. That is because injections can lead to infection, skin irritation, and other side effects. They can also cause discomfort to patients. Pills, on the other hand, are much easier to take compared to injections.

Omid Veisheh, a professor of bioengineering at Rice University, who was not involved in the research, told *MIT News* that the new capsules are "a significant leap forward in oral drug delivery of macromolecule drugs... While many approaches for oral drug delivery have been attempted in the past, they tend to be



Researchers took inspiration from how squids use jet propulsion to move underwater. Wikimedia Commons

poorly efficient in achieving high bioavailability [a drug's ability to be absorbed and used by the body]. Here, the researchers demonstrate the ability to deliver bioavailability in animal models with high efficiency."

How were the capsules developed?

The researchers looked at cephalopods such as squids and octopi to develop the capsules. These animals can adjust the pressure and direction of their ink jets. The researchers used the same idea to distribute drugs in the gastrointestinal (GI) tract, according to the *Singularity Hub* report. By jetting medication directly into tissue, they could ensure that more medication is absorbed before the body breaks it down.

The researchers mimicked the jetting action of squids and octopi in two ways. They "compressed carbon dioxide or tightly coiled springs to generate the force needed to propel liquid drugs out of the capsule. The gas or spring is kept in a compressed state by a carbohydrate trigger, which is designed to dissolve when exposed to humidity or an acidic environment such as the stomach. When the trigger dissolves, the gas or spring is allowed to expand, propelling a jet of drugs out of the capsule," according to the *MIT News* report.

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

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Drishiti

Mukherjee Nagar Classes have Shifted to

NOIDA

SECTOR 15

C-171/2, Block A, Sector - 15, Noida, UP
(Near Metro Station Noida Sector 15)

9311 406 440

IAS GS Foundation Course

9 दिवसीय | सुबह 11:30 बजे

English Medium

12 December | 6 PM

APURVA VISHWANATH
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25

NEARLY A week after a district court in Sambhal ordered a survey of the Shahi Jama Masjid, the town in western Uttar Pradesh has been rocked with violence that has left at least four dead and several others injured.

The court's order came in a plea which claimed that Sambhal's Jama Masjid was built on the site of a Hindu temple. This is similar to claims made in the cases of Gyanvapi mosque in Varanasi, the Shahi Idgah in Mathura, and the Kamal-Maula mosque in Madhya Pradesh's Dhar.

The claims in all of these disputes essentially seek to change the religious character of a place of worship, something that is prohibited by the Place of Worship Act, 1991.

What did the court order say? Why did it spark protests?

On November 19, Aditya Singh, civil judge (senior division), of the District And Sessions Court of Sambhal at Chandausi allowed an application filed by advocate Hari Shankar Jain and others, including a local *mahant*, claiming the right to access the mosque. The petitioners allege that the mosque was built in 1526 by Mughal emperor Babur after demolishing a Hindu temple that stood there.

Within hours of the plea being filed, the court issued an order appointing an advocate commissioner to carry out an initial survey at the mosque. The first survey was carried out on the very same day. The court also ordered that a report of the survey be filed before it by November 29.

A second leg of the survey took place on November 24. This led to protests breaking out in Sambhal, and the police subsequently opening fire.

While the mosque's managing committee was consulted for the survey, the court's order seeking a survey report by November 29 was passed *ex-parte*, that is, without hearing both parties.

Sambhal's Jama Masjid is a "protected monument", having been notified on December 22, 1920 under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904. It has also been declared as a Monument of National importance, and figures on the website of the Archaeological Survey of India in the list of centrally protected monuments.

What does the law say about the petitioners' claim?

A civil suit filed by the petitioners is es-

The petitioners claim that Sambhal's Jama Masjid was built by Mughal emperor Babur on the site of a temple. Gajendra Yadav

entially a case for the court to determine the title of the property in question. In a civil suit, averments made by the petitioners are to be *prima facie* accepted. The Code of Civil Procedure bars a strict scrutiny of the claims made in a civil suit at the initial stage. Petitioners are called upon to bring evidence to the table only once the plea is accepted.

However, when it comes to a place of worship, such a suit would be barred under the Places of Worship Act, 1991.

That said, in both the Gyanvapi and Mathura cases, district courts have accepted the civil suits filed by Hindu petitioners as "maintainable", meaning that they are valid cases for determination, despite the 1991 Act. The courts have essentially ruled that these cases fall beyond the purview of the 1991 Act.

What does the Places of Worship Act, 1991 say?

The Places of Worship Act states that the religious character of any place of worship as it existed on August 15, 1947, must be maintained.

The long title describes it as "An Act to prohibit conversion of any place of worship and to provide for the maintenance of the religious character of any place of worship as it existed on the 15th day of August, 1947, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto."

Section 3 of the Act bars the conversion, in full or part, of a place of worship of any re-

ligious denomination into a place of worship of a different religious denomination — or even a different segment of the same religious denomination.

The law, which had been a part of the Congress' 1991 election manifesto, was meant to put to bed all controversies arising out of the alleged historical "conversion" of a place of worship. While introducing it in Parliament, then Home Minister S B Chavan had said that the "enactment of this Bill will go a long way in helping restore communal amity and goodwill".

While the Act came in the light of the Babri Masjid-Ram Jannabhoomi dispute, this was specifically kept outside its purview as since the dispute was already sub-judice when the law was passed.

How have courts then allowed these title suits?

The title suits, or suits claiming access or the right to worship in Varanasi and Mathura, have essentially been allowed even as a constitutional challenge to the 1991 Act is pending before the Supreme Court.

The apex court currently has before it four separate petitions challenging the Places of Worship Act. In September 2022, a Bench headed by then Chief Justice of India UU Lalit had directed the government to file a response on its stand within two weeks. However, two years on, the Centre is yet to

file its affidavit.

But a separate observation by the Supreme Court in the Gyanvapi case has allowed more room for district courts to allow such pleas.

In May 2022, Justice DY Chandrachud had said that although changing the nature of the religious place is barred under the 1991 law, the "ascertainment of a religious character of a place, as a processual instrument, may not necessarily fall foul of the provisions of Sections 3 and 4 (of the Act)..."

This essentially means that an inquiry into what the nature of the place of worship was on August 15, 1947 can be allowed, even if that nature cannot be subsequently changed.

Both in the Mathura and Gyanvapi cases, the Masjid side has challenged this interpretation of the Places of Worship Act. The Supreme Court is yet to hear final arguments to decide this preliminary issue or whether the 1991 Act bars even the filing of such a plea, or just the final change of the nature of worship.

In the Sambhal case, things have moved very fast. The district court is yet to even pass an order on the maintainability of the civil suit. The survey order came at the first instance, before a preliminary finding was reached that the Hindu side had a maintainable claim. The order was implemented before the parties had an opportunity to challenge it before the High Court.

Why India's trade deficit reflects strength of the country's service sector

EXPERT EXPLAINS
ANISH TAWAKLEY

INDIA'S PERSISTENT trade deficit — it imports more goods than it exports — is often seen as a sign of weakness of Indian manufacturing. In fact, the deficit reflects not a weakness of Indian manufacturing but India's relative strength in services and its attractiveness as an investment destination.

As long as India retains its relative strength in services and attracts foreign investment, this goods trade deficit will remain. An implication of these fundamental factors is that for Indian manufacturing to grow faster, it must be driven by domestic demand, not exports.

Foreign investment leads to

current account deficit.

Let us start with some simple math. An inflow of funds has to be matched by an outflow or an accumulation of funds. This means that any country that attracts investment (i.e., has a net inflow of funds on the capital account), will necessarily have a current account deficit (i.e., a net outflow on current account), or will accumulate foreign exchange reserves.

This is not a matter of opinion — it is mathematical reality. Capital account inflows will equal the sum of current account deficit and the increase in reserves.

So how should we think about India's current account in the context of the two related variables — capital inflows and reserve accumulation?

Let us deal with capital inflows first. India wants to attract foreign investment (i.e., have an inflow on the capital account), which is desirable as it supplements the domestic savings pool and helps us invest more and grow faster.

What about reserves? Let us start with why we hold reserves.

Reserves are held as a cushion against economic shocks. For example, reserves can be drawn down if an oil shock leads to a spike in the current account deficit.

Given that holding reserves involves a cost, India should keep adequate reserves for emergencies, but not more. A simple way to think about this is that, as a country we are raising funds from foreigners and using part of those funds to build reserves — and we are offering a higher return to foreigners than we are earning on these reserves.

The difference between the return earned by foreigners on their investments in India and the return earned by India on its reserves is the cost of holding reserves.

Let us now go back to our starting point that capital inflows will always equal the sum of current account deficit and reserve accumulation.

Given that we don't need to accumulate much more reserves, the current capital in-

flows will be equal to the current account deficit. Essentially, capital inflows and current account deficits are two sides of the same coin. When we say that we want to attract foreign investment, we are implicitly saying that we are willing to run an equivalent current account deficit (i.e., be a net importer of goods and services in aggregate).

This current account deficit is, in effect, a feature of an economy that is an attractive investment destination. India has had a very sensible policy of maintaining a current account deficit of ~ 2% of GDP and attracting an equivalent amount of capital flows.

Goods deficit reflects India's relative strength in services.

Once we see the current account deficit as the desirable flip side of foreign investment flows, we can try and understand what determines its composition.

Keep in mind that a current account deficit means that while the country will be exporting some things and importing other

things, imports will be higher than exports (i.e., we will be a net importer of goods and services in aggregate).

So what will we export and what will we import?

We will export those things in which we have the greatest advantage and we will import other things (where our advantage is smaller). India's greatest advantage lies in services — consequently, we are a net exporter of services.

However, given that overall we have to be a net importer (of total goods and services), the fact that we are a net exporter of services inevitably means that we are a net importer of goods.

India's manufactured goods exports have been enough to keep the current account deficit at the desired level. This has been achieved by exporting goods where India's advantage is the greatest (over 1/3 of pharmaceuticals consumed in the US are made in India; similarly, India has a solid export base in automobiles and


auto components).

In economic theory, this is the notion of comparative advantage (as distinct from absolute advantage). That Indian exports of some goods are smaller than Vietnam's or Bangladesh's only means that India has a greater advantage over these countries in services than it does in these goods. It does not necessarily mean that Indian manufacturing is less productive, in absolute terms, than Vietnam's or Bangladesh's.

It is important to clarify that the above argument — that manufacturing exports are adequate — does not imply that manufacturing cannot grow faster. It merely implies that faster manufacturing growth will depend on greater domestic demand. After all, if there was stronger domestic demand and the current account deficit were to remain stable, the incremental demand would drive greater domestic production.

Anish Tawakley is Co-CIO Equity, ICICI Prudential AMC

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सेन्ट्रल बैंक ऑफ़ इंडिया
Central Bank of India

REGIONAL OFFICE, WHITE HOUSE COMPOUND, GAYA-823001

NOTICE U/S 13 (2) OF THE SECURITISATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF FINANCIAL ASSETS AND ENFORCEMENT OF SECURITY INTEREST ACT, 2002
(Read with Rule 3 (1) of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002)

That the under mentioned Borrowers were granted Cent Mortgage facilities by the Bank, **Dehri-On-Sone Branch** but they have defaulted in repayment of the outstanding dues (which represents the principal plus interest due thereon). Notices under Sec. 13(2) of the Act were sent to them through Registered Post calling upon the Borrowers/Guarantors to repay the entire Bank's dues within 60 days of receipt of the said Notice of which notice issue to **1.M/S Shivam Trading Prop. Mr.Vijay Kumar Singh 2. Mr. Vijay Kumar Singh S/o Mr. Ram Janam Singh (Borrowers) and 1.Mr. Dharmendra Kumar S/o Mr. Rajbali Pandey (Guarantor)** were returned undelivered. The undersigned being the Authorized Officer of the Bank has reasons to believe that the Borrowers/Guarantors are avoiding service of the Notice. Hence, the Borrowers/Guarantors are being given Notice under Sec. 13(2) of the Act by way of Publication while following the procedure enumerated under Rule 3 (1) of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002. Details of borrowers/guarantors and credit facilities extended to them against the secured assets are mentioned as under:

Sl. No	Branch	Name of the Borrower(s)/Guarantor(s)	Credit Facility (Rs.)	Total Amount dues as on 19.10.2024 (In Rs.)
1.	Dehri-On-Sone	Borrowers 1. M/S Shivam Trading Prop. Mr. Vijay Kumar Singh 2.Mr. Vijay Kumar Singh S/o Mr. Ram Janam Singh, Guarantor. 1.Mr. Dharmendra Kumar S/o Mr. Rajbali Pandey	1.Cent Trade A/c no.- 4006824036 LIMIT-15,00,000/-	Rs. 15,58,285/-

Details of Security
1. All that part and parcel of House Property (Land &Building) in the name of Mr. Vijay Kumar Singh S/o Mr. Ram Janam Singh
Details/Description of the property:

Deed No	Area	Location	Property Details	Boundary
Deed No- 5576 DTD- 02.05.2016	2.3437 Decimal	Mauza-Katar, P.S.- Indrapuri, Dist- Rohtas	Khata No. - 83, Plot No.- 991, Thana No.-176	North:- Haal Khariddar, South:- Anita devi, East:- Brij Bihari Lal, West:- Rasta
Deed No- 5577 DTD- 02.05.2016	2.3437 Decimal	Mauza-Katar, P.S.- Indrapuri, Dist- Rohtas	Khata No. - 83, Plot No.- 991, Thana No.-176	North:- Rasta Baad Pratima Devi, South:- Haal Khariddar Vijay Kumar singh, East:- Brij Bihari Lal, West:- Rasta
Deed No- 2489 DTD- 11.07.2017	3.9 Decimal	Mauza-Katar, P.S.- Indrapuri, Dist- Rohtas	Khata No. - 83, Plot No.- 991, Thana No.-176	North:- Vishwanath Singh, South:- Janashwar Sinha, East:- Kacha Rasta 12 ft Wide, West:- Kacha Rasta 12 ft Wide

1) As the Borrower(s)/Guarantor(s) have defaulted in repayment of their full liabilities, their accounts have been classified as Non-Performing Asset on 13.10.2024 in accordance with the guidelines of the Bank/directions or guidelines issued by the Reserve Bank of India.
2) The Borrower(s)/Guarantor(s) are hereby called upon to discharge in full their liabilities to the Bank within a period of 60 days from the date of publication of this notice, failing which the Bank will be exercising the powers conferred under section 13 (4) of the Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002 and Rules made thereunder against the secured assets mentioned above.
3) Please take note that after publication of this notice, the Borrower(s)/Guarantor(s) in particular and the public in general are hereby cautioned not to deal with the secured assets described above and any dealings with the secured assets shall be subject to the charge of Central Bank of India.
4) Your attention is invited to the provisions of Sub-section (8) of Section 13 of the Act, in respect of the time available to redeem the secured assets.

Date- 19.11.2024
Place- Dehri-On-Sone

Authorised Officer
Central Bank of India



यूनियन बैंक ऑफ़ इंडिया
Union Bank of India

ASSET RECOVERY BRANCH PATNA
1st Floor, Steel House, Near S K Puri Police Check Post, Boring Road, Patna-800001
Email : arb.patna@unionbankofindia.bank

15 Days SALE NOTICE FOR SALE OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY (Appendix IV A)
E-auction Sale Notice for sale of immovable Assets under the Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002 and proviso to the rule 8 (6) of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002.
Notice is hereby given to the public in general and in particular to the Borrower(s) and Guarantor(s) that the below described immovable property mortgaged/charged to the Secured Creditor, The Possession of which has been taken by the Authorised Officer of Union Bank of India **Asset Recovery Branch (ARB)**, the Secured Creditor, will be sold on **"As is where is", "As is what is" and "Whatever there is"** on **13.12.2024 at 11:00 am to 04:00 pm** for recovery of **Rs. 32,94,495.93/-** (Rupees Thirty Two Lakh Ninety Four Thousand Four Hundred Ninety Five and Ninety three paise) as on **01.05.2022** with further interest and cost, due to the Union Bank of India **Asset Recovery Branch (ARB)**, the Secured Creditor from **Borrower/s : ATUL Kumar Sharma, S/o Late Arun Kumar Sharma, Mubarakchak Naya Tola, Bank, P.O.-Bank,P.S.-Mufassil, Munger-811201, Masomat Babita Devi, W/o Late Arun Kumar Sharma, Mubarakchak Naya Tola, Bank, P.O.-Bank, P.S.-Mufassil, Munger-811201.**
The reserve price will be Rs. 28,50,000.00 (Rs. Twenty Eight Lacs Fifty Thousand only) and earnest money deposit will be Rs. 2,85,000.00 (Rs. Two Lacs Eighty Five Thousand only) with bid increment of Rs. 10,000/-
Description of Property :- Land and Building in the name of Masomat Babita Devi W/o Late Arun Kumar Sharma, Situated at Mubarakchak naya Tola, Bank P.O.-Bank, P.S.-Mufassil Munger-811201, Khasra No-39, Tauzi No.-2727, khata No.-30, Thana -179, Jamabadi No-1061 Admeasuring 4.19 decimal and bounded by North-Kailash Sharma house, South-NH80, East-Rajkishore Yadav, West-Pramod Sharma.
For detailed terms and conditions of the sale, please refer to the link provided in Union Bank of India's website i.e. <https://www.unionbankofindia.co.in/auction-property/view-auction-property.aspx/https://ebkgray.in>
Date: 22.11.2024 Place: Patna Authorised Officer



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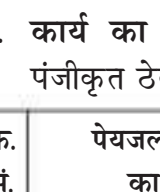
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Notice is hereby given to the public in general and in particular to the Borrower(s) and Guarantor(s) that the below described immovable property mortgaged/charged to the Secured Creditor, The Possession of which has been taken by the Authorised Officer of Union Bank of India **Asset Recovery Branch (ARB)**, the Secured Creditor, will be sold on **"As is where is", "As is what is" and "Whatever there is"** on **13.12.2024 at 11:00 am to 04:00 pm** for recovery of **Rs. 36,32,143.87/-** (Rupees Thirty Six Lakh Thirty Two Thousand One Hundred forty three and eighty seven paise) as on **30.11.2023** with further interest and cost, due to the Union Bank of India **ARB Branch**, the Secured Creditor from **Borrower/s : M/s Nandan Bihars, Prop-Smt Mohini Kumari, W/o Deepak Kumar Shahi, Village Nandana, PS-Minapur, Distt-Muzaffarpur, Bihar-843117, Smt Mohini Kumari, W/o Deepak Kumar Shahi, Village Nandana, PO-Lautan, PS-Minapur, Distt-Muzaffarpur, Bihar-843117, Deepak Kumar Shahi, Village Nandana, PO-Lautan, PS-Minapur, Distt-Muzaffarpur, Bihar-843117.**
The reserve price will be Rs 31,60,000.00 (Rs Thirty One Lakh Sixty Thousand Only) and earnest money deposit will be Rs 3,16,000.00 (Rs Three Lakh Sixteen Thousand only) with bid increment of Rs. 10,000/-
Description of Property :- All that piece and parcel of land and Building admeasuring 44 Decimal in the name of Smt Mohini Kumari W/o Deepak Kumar Shahi bearing Khata No.-92, Khesra No.-532, 548 Thana No. 567, situated at Mauza-Nandana, PS-Minapur, Muzaffarpur
For detailed terms and conditions of the sale, please refer to the link provided in Union Bank of India's website i.e. <https://www.unionbankofindia.co.in/auction-property/view-auction-property.aspx/https://ebkgray.in>
Date : 22.11.2024 Place: Patna Authorised Officer



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Notice is hereby given to the public in general and in particular to the Borrower(s) and Guarantor(s) that the below described immovable property mortgaged/charged to the Secured Creditor, The Possession of which has been taken by the Authorised Officer of Union Bank of India **Asset Recovery Branch (ARB)**, the Secured Creditor, will be sold on **"As is where is", "As is what is" and "Whatever there is"** on **13.12.2024 at 11:00 am to 04:00 pm** for recovery of **Rs. 1,64,33,478.07** (Rupees One Crore Sixty Four Lakh Thirty Three Thousand Four Hundred Seventy Eight and Seven paise) as on **16.01.2024** with further interest and cost, due to the Union Bank of India **ARB Branch**, the Secured Creditor from **Borrower/s : M/s Pallavi Pharma, Prop.- Sri Keshav Kumar At B.P. Complex, 1st Floor, Saraiyaganj, Muzaffarpur, Bihar – 842001, Sri Keshav Kumar, Prop.- M/s Pallavi Pharma S/o Sri Yugal Kishore Singh, Patnahi Roop, Muzaffarpur, Bihar – 843113, Sri Shrivaran Kumar Thakur, S/o Late Siyaram Thakur, Nitu Hometo Hall, Patnahi Roop, Muzaffarpur, Bihar – 843113, Sri Anish Kumar, S/o Sri Harishankar Mishra At – Jagdishpur, Sakra, Muzaffarpur, Bihar – 843119.**
The reserve price will be Rs. 97,00,000.00 (Rs. Ninety Seven Lacs only) and earnest money deposit will be Rs. 9,70,000.00 (Rs. Nine Lacs Seventy Thousand only) with bid increment of Rs. 10,000/-
Description of Property :- Land and Building in the name of Sri Shrivaran Kumar Thakur, situated at Mauza- Patahi Rup, P.S. Sadar, Muzaffarpur, Bihar bearing Khata No. 1027, Khesra no. 4405 Ka, Thana No. 355 admeasuring 20 decimal and bounded by North - Satish Thakur, South-Devendra Thakur & Ors, East-Road, West - Surendra Thakur & Ors.
For detailed terms and conditions of the sale, please refer to the link provided in Union Bank of India's website i.e. <https://www.unionbankofindia.co.in/auction-property/view-auction-property.aspx/https://ebkgray.in>
Date : 22.11.2024 Place: Patna Authorised Officer



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Description of Property :- Land and Building in the name of Sri Shrivaran Kumar Thakur, situated at Mauza- Patahi Rup, P.S. Sadar, Muzaffarpur, Bihar bearing Khata No. 1027, Khesra no. 4405 Ka, Thana No. 355 admeasuring 20 decimal and bounded by North - Satish Thakur, South-Devendra Thakur & Ors, East-Road, West - Surendra Thakur & Ors.
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Central Bank of India

REGIONAL OFFICE, WHITE HOUSE COMPOUND, GAYA-823001

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(Read with Rule 3 (1) of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002)

That the under mentioned Borrowers were granted Cent Mortgage facilities by the Bank, **Dehri-On-Sone Branch** but they have defaulted in repayment of the outstanding dues (which represents the principal plus interest due thereon). Notices under Sec. 13(2) of the Act were sent to them through Registered Post calling upon the Borrowers/Guarantors to repay the entire Bank's dues within 60 days of receipt of the said Notice of which notice issue to **1.M/S Shivam Trading Prop. Mr.Vijay Kumar Singh 2. Mr. Vijay Kumar Singh S/o Mr. Ram Janam Singh (Borrowers) and 1.Mr. Dharmendra Kumar S/o Mr. Rajbali Pandey (Guarantor)** were returned undelivered. The undersigned being the Authorized Officer of the Bank has reasons to believe that the Borrowers/Guarantors are avoiding service of the Notice. Hence, the Borrowers/Guarantors are being given Notice under Sec. 13(2) of the Act by way of Publication while following the procedure enumerated under Rule 3 (1) of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002. Details of borrowers/guarantors and credit facilities extended to them against the secured assets are mentioned as under:

Sl. No	Branch	Name of the Borrower(s)/Guarantor(s)	Credit Facility (Rs.)	Total Amount dues as on 19.10.2024 (In Rs.)
1.	Dehri-On-Sone	Borrowers 1. M/S Shivam Trading Prop. Mr. Vijay Kumar Singh 2.Mr. Vijay Kumar Singh S/o Mr. Ram Janam Singh, Guarantor. 1.Mr. Dharmendra Kumar S/o Mr. Rajbali Pandey	1.Cent Trade A/c no.- 4006824036 LIMIT-15,00,000/-	Rs. 15,58,285/-


Details of Security
1. All that part and parcel of House Property (Land &Building) in the name of Mr. Vijay Kumar Singh S/o Mr. Ram Janam Singh
Details/Description of the property:

Deed No	Area	Location	Property Details	Boundary
Deed No- 5576 DTD- 02.05.2016	2.3437 Decimal	Mauza-Katar, P.S.- Indrapuri, Dist- Rohtas	Khata No. - 83, Plot No.- 991, Thana No.-176	North:- Haal Khariddar, South:- Anita devi, East:- Brij Bihari Lal, West:- Rasta
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Deed No- 2489 DTD- 11.07.2017	3.9 Decimal	Mauza-Katar, P.S.- Indrapuri, Dist- Rohtas	Khata No. - 83, Plot No.- 991, Thana No.-176	North:- Vishwanath Singh, South:- Janashwar Sinha, East:- Kacha Rasta 12 ft Wide, West:- Kacha Rasta 12 ft Wide

1) As the Borrower(s)/Guarantor(s) have defaulted in repayment of their full liabilities, their accounts have been classified as Non-Performing Asset on 13.10.2024 in accordance with the guidelines of the Bank/directions or guidelines issued by the Reserve Bank of India.
2) The Borrower(s)/Guarantor(s) are hereby called upon to discharge in full their liabilities to the Bank within a period of 60 days from the date of publication of this notice, failing which the Bank will be exercising the powers conferred under section 13 (4) of the Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002 and Rules made thereunder against the secured assets mentioned above.
3) Please take note that after publication of this notice, the Borrower(s)/Guarantor(s) in particular and the public in general are hereby cautioned not to deal with the secured assets described above and any dealings with the secured assets shall be subject to the charge of Central Bank of India.
4) Your attention is invited to the provisions of Sub-section (8) of Section 13 of the Act, in respect of the time available to redeem the secured assets.

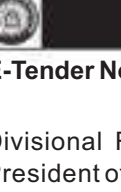
Date- 19.11.2024
Place- Dehri-On-Sone

Authorised Officer
Central Bank of India



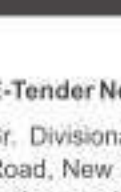
PUNJAB STATE POWER CORPORATION LIMITED
(Regd. Office: PSEB Head Office, The Mall, Patiala - 147001)
Corporate Identity Number U40109PB2010SGC038313
Website: www.pspcl.in Mobile No. 96461-55525

E-Tender Eng. No. 578/P-3/EMPW-12861 Dated 18.11.24
Dy. Chief Engineer/Headquarter (Procurement Cell-3) GGSSTP, Roopnagar invites **E-Tender ID No. 2024_POWER_130038_1** for Work of loading & unloading material from transporter's Godown/ Railway station/Stores, checking, counting and stacking of material, shifting and restacking of scrap material, cleaning and dusting, preservation of material during storage, transfer of material from one store to another store and all other activities associated with handling of storage of material at GGSSTP, Rupnagar.
For detailed NIT & Tender Specification please refer to <https://eproc.punjab.gov.in> from dated 19.11.24/05:00 PM onwards.
Note:- Corrigendum & addendum, if any will be published online at <https://eproc.punjab.gov.in>
NO. 39398/PB RTP-125/24



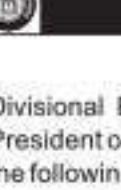
NORTH CENTRAL RAILWAY

E-Tendering Tender Notice
Divisional Railway Manager (Works) N.C. Railway, Jhansi for and behalf of President of India invites sealed "Open Tender" through on Line (E-Tendering) for the following work.
Description of Work: Virangana lakshmbhai Jhansi- Construction of 8 units RB II staff quarter in lieu of Dilapidated RB I quarters in west colony Jhansi.
Approx Cost (Rs.): ₹ 18386596.33 **Earnest Money (Rs.): ₹ 241900.00**
Date of Closing Tender: 17.12.2024 15:00 hrs
Date of completion / period from issue acceptance letter: 12 Months.
● Tender on line can be submitted up to **15:00 hrs.** on **17.12.2024.**
● For full details and submission of bid please see the Indian Railways website www.irops.gov.in. **2028/24 (A)**
f North central railways @CPRONCR @www.ncr.indianrailways.gov.in




NORTHERN RAILWAY

E-TENDER NOTICE
E-Tender No.: 31A-TRD-NDLS-2024-25 Dated 22.11.2024
Sr. Divisional Electrical Engineer/Traction Distribution, DRM's Office, State Entry Road, New Delhi for & on behalf of President of India, invites open e-tender for the under noted work:
1 Name of work with its location Design, supply, erection, testing & commissioning of 25 KV OHE modification work required under ROBs/FOB's inconection with Running of DSDC Trains over Delhi Division.
2 Approx cost of work Rs. 2,37,26,550.04/-
3 Earnest Money Deposit Rs 2,68,800/-
4 E-Tender Bid Online Submission Period 04.12.2024 (00.00 Hrs.) to 18.12.2024 (15.00 Hrs.)
5 E-Tender Bid Submission End Date & E-Tender Open Date & Time 18.12.2024 (15.00 hrs.)
6 Website particulars where complete details of tender documents can be seen www.irops.gov.in
SERVING CUSTOMERS WITH A SMILE 3619/24



NORTH CENTRAL RAILWAY


E-Tendering Tender Notice
Divisional Railway Manager (Works) N.C. Railway, Jhansi for and behalf of President of India invites sealed "Open Tender" through on Line (E-Tendering) for the following work.
E-Tender No. : JHS-ENGG-N-2024-214 **Approx Cost : 10789528.95**
Description of work : Maintenance of 3rd line between Dabra-Antri section for 24 month in the jurisdiction of SSE/PW/DBA under ADEN/LINE/JHS sub-division.
Earnest Money : 204000.00 **Date of closing Tender : 18.12.2024 at 15:00 hrs.**
Date of completion/period from issue acceptance letter : 24 Months.
E-Tender No. : JHS-ENGG-N-2024-215 **Approx Cost : 9402979.24**
Description of work : Maintenance work of 3rd line between Morena - Hetampur section for 18 months (km 1262.673 to km 1278.517) under ADEN Gwalior sub-division.
Earnest Money : 188100.00 **Date of closing Tender : 18.12.2024 at 15:00 hrs.**
Date of completion/period from issue acceptance letter : 18 Months.
• Tender online can be submitted up to **15:00 hrs.** on **18.12.2024** • For full details and submission of bid please see the Indian Railways website www.irops.gov.in **2030/24 (C)**
@CPRONCR @North central railways @cpnroncr @CPRONCR @www.ncr.indianrailways.gov.in



KARNATAKA POWER CORPORATION LIMITED
CIN : U85110KA1970SGC001919


No:KPCL/2024-25/OW/WORK_INDENT2302 Date: 25.11.2024

NOTICE INVITING TENDER
(Through KPP portal only) (Two Cover System)
Tenders are invited (through KPP portal) from the eligible Bidders for **Beneficiation (Washing) of 24.75 lakh MT per year of raw coal from WCL collieries, and supply of Beneficiated Coal (Washed Coal) to Raichur Thermal Power Station by rail route on the terms and conditions specified in the Tender Document.** The tender processing fee and EMD payment through KPP Portal modes only. The last date for receipt of the completed bids is **17.00 hrs on 24.12.2024**. The tender document can be downloaded from the website: <https://www.kppcl.karnataka.gov.in>
Further details can be had from **THE SUPERINTENDING ENGINEER (MINES), KPCL, No.82, Shakti Bhavan, 3rd Floor, Race Course Road, Bengaluru-560 001. Telefax No.080-22203894**
e-mail: semines.kpcl@gmail.com
website: www.kpcl.karnataka.gov.in **KPPP (e-portal helpdesk/ HP help desk: +91-8046010000/+91-8068948777**



U.P. RAJYA VIDUT UTPADAN NIGAM LTD.
MALAWAN-ETAH

E- TENDER NOTICE
Short Term E-Tender Notice-18/PD-I/EMCC-VII/JTPP/2024:
Procurement of Carbon brush for Diesel Locomotives for 2x660 Jawaharpur Thermal Power Project, Malawan Etah. Estimated cost of Rs. 1,15,520.00 (excluding GST) and E.M.D. Cost Rs. 2000.00, Tender Document cost: 590.00 (inclusive GST) E-Bid Submission End Date & Time: 09.12.2024 at 11.00 Hrs. Date of Opening Part-I : 09.12.2024 at 16.30 Hrs. Total Quality of Supply, tender specification and other terms & condition is as per tender document available on the e-tender portal undersigned reserves the right to cancel the e-bid without assigning any reason. Corrigendum; addendum; Extension if any shall be uploaded only on the above website. Bidders are advised to visit the website regularly for updated information from time to time.
Executive Engineer (Estt.)
पत्रांक: 161 /अवी/अजि(नु) / 2X660 मेवा /जलतापघ/ दिनांक : 22 / 11 / 2024
"Save Electricity for Nation"



बैंक ऑफ़ बरोडा
Bank of Baroda


Zonal Stressed Assets Recovery Branch, 7th Floor, Vijaya Tower, 41/2, M G Road, Trinity Circle, Bengaluru – 560 001. Phone: 080-25011286/280/350 , e-mail: armban@bankofbaroda.co.in, Website: www.bankofbaroda.in

PUBLIC NOTICE FOR E-AUCTION FOR SALE OF MOVABLE PROPERTIES
In view of the default committed by the Borrower mentioned below, Bank has repossessed/seized the Hypothecated Movables/Machineryes mentioned below in exercise of the powers conferred under Hypothecation Agreement executed by the parties and same is being auctioned on **"As is where is, As is what is and Whatever there is"** basis and subject to the terms & conditions mentioned in Detailed Auction Notice.

Name & address of Borrower/s, Directors and Guarantor's	Description of the Movable Assets for sale	Total Dues	(1) Reserve Price & (2) EMD Amount of the movables	Inspection Date & Time of the movables E-auction date & time
1.M/s. I-Lifestyle and Textile Pvt. Ltd. Represented by its director Tarun Jain and Shivani Jain Having its address at : Flat No. F-205, Keerthi Harmony Apartment, Ragheevendra Circle, Ramamurthy Nagar, Bangalore-560010. Also at : First Floor, Plot No. 321, 8th Cross, Peenya Industrial Area, 4th Phase, Peenya, Bangalore-560058. Also at : Katha No. 292/32, First Floor, Kalpatharu Farm, Boovanaahalli Village, Anneshwara Grama Panchayat, Devanahalli Taluk, Bangalore-562110. Also at : No. G-75, Sector D-1, Pocket-2, Appare Park, UPSIDC, Tronica City, NRI, Gaziabad, New Delhi-110103. 2. Mr. Tarun Jain W/o Mr. Kowal Prakash Jain, Flat No. F-1/33, Upper Ground Floor, Model Town Part-2, Near Naini Jheel, North West Delhi, New Delhi-110009. 3. Mrs. Shivani Jain W/o Mr. Tarun Jain, Flat No. F-1/33, Upper Ground Floor, Model Town Part-2, Near Naini Jheel, North West Delhi, New Delhi-110009.	1.Zuki Sewing Machine:5 Nos. 2. Pegasus Automatic Flat Lock Sewing Machine:8 Nos. 3. Pegasus Automatic Flat Lock Sewing Machine:2Nos. 4. Mishiking Straight Knief Fabric Cutting Machine:1 Nos. 5. Crc Blue snyter Industrial Vacuum Ironing Table-4*3 Feet:2 Nos. 6. Iron Press:3 Nos. 7. Big Table 8*4":1 Nos. 8. Machine Tables and Sitting Stools:15 Nos. 9.Raw Materials-Green,Blue and Black Colour Fabric- total Bags/Bundles-120 nos * 100 mtrs in each bag=12000 Mtrs approx.. 10. Finished Goods – TOTAL BAGS/ BUNDLES(77*5) = 82 Nos. Total Qty of Bearmuda (Half Pants) 82*25*6 = 12300Nos. 11. Miscellaneous Items like Electrical Fittings, Cables Fans etc. (Lumpsum)	Rs. 13,49,22,509.94/- (Thirteen Crore Forty Nine Lakhs Twenty Two Thousand Five Hundred Nine And Paise Ninety Four Only) as on 09-11-2024 plus Further interest and other charges.	Reserve Price: Rs.10,11,000.00 EMD: Rs. 1,01,100.00 Bid Increment Amount: Rs.10,000.00	Inspection Date & Time of the movables 07-12-2024 11:00 AM to 04:00 PM E-auction date & time 17-12-2024 From 02:00 pm to 06:00 pm SCAN HERE For detailed terms & conditions

Date: 22.11.2024
Place: Bengaluru

Sd/-
Authorized Officer, ZOSAR Branch, Bengaluru, Bank of Baroda



Jharkhand Urja Sancharan Nigam Ltd.
(CIN: U40108JH2013SGC001704)
Regd. Office: 2nd Floor, JUSNL (SLDC) Building, Kusal Colony, Doranda, Ranchi-834002

3rd TIME EXTENSION NOTICE

SHAMI SHINES IN BENGAL WIN

Veteran pacer Mohammed Shami celebrated his Rs 10 crore deal with Sunrisers Hyderabad with a three-wicket burst that carried Bengal to an eight-wicket win over Hyderabad in a Group A match of the Syed Mushtaq Ali Trophy on Monday.

PTI

The most positive thing was when we were out for 150. There was no one in the dressing room who was down. They believed that if we could get out like that, we could do the same to them.

JASPRIT BUMRAH, INDIA'S STAND-IN SKIPPER

Perth perfect turnaround

The biggest takeaway from the win is the skill-level and maturity of youngsters, from Jaiswal to Rana to Reddy



EXPRESS IN AUSTRALIA

SRIRAM VEERA
PERTH, NOVEMBER 25

SOMETIME IN the afternoon at Perth, Fox Sports showed a split-screen visual. On the right side of the frame was Nitish Reddy running into the bowl. On the left was one of the world's greatest fast bowlers Dennis Lillee steaming in. Perhaps, they saw some similarity in the load-up of the left leg. Or perhaps Australia has gone all soft in lionising India. "What the hell is that? Why is that kid shown with Dennis; he is not even India's main-line bowler, is he?," an elderly lady scorer, who has seen Lillee terrorising batsmen, exclaimed in shock.

In some ways, the visuals were apt: the question before the series was whether India's youngsters can perform in alien and hostile Australian conditions. Within four days, one of them has been propped up next to a pace legend. How quickly can things change?

Nothing went against the script on the final day, with India downing Australia, overnight on 12 for 3, for 238. Only Travis Head crossed 50; he made an attacking 89 before Jasprit Bumrah, the man of the match, ended his stay.

"When you lose a Test like this, there is a lot of hurt in the change room," Pat Cummins said at the end. Conversely, when a team wins after being bowled out for 150, the feeling is one of pride. "I am very proud," Bumrah talked about how he enjoyed being a captain and about his team.

Everything that India wished went in their favour, after that 150 all out at tea on the first day. The youngsters showed they belonged: be it Harshit Rana, who possibly produced the ball of the match when he knocked down the off stump of Travis Head, a game-turning moment. Be it Nitish Reddy whose plucky 41 in the first innings gave the Indian bowlers something to work with, and whose breezy 38 in the second allowed Kohli the room to not worry about doing it on his own when declaration was around the corner.

Team effort

Be it Jaiswal, no debutant but whose second-innings hundred reflected such maturity in the way he took his time (when he crossed his fifty, it was the slowest he had ever taken off 123 balls), that Bumrah too made a point to mention about that initial phase he kept leaving the ball. Or be it KL Rahul, who showed such reassuring form in both innings and in the way he mentored Jaiswal in the second.

Even the relative non-performances with the bat of Dhruv Jurel, who took the catch of the game with a stunning reflex pouch at short-leg to dismiss Mitch Starc in the second innings, and Devdutt Padikkal who wasn't too bad, means selection headaches for India with Rohit Sharma, who had a batting stint at Perth nets against the pink ball, and Shubman Gill returning for the second Test.



The Indians celebrate after Mohammed Siraj knocks over Australia's Steven Smith on Day 4 of the Perth Test.

AP

NUMBER PLATE

295 India's winning margin is the second biggest (by runs) for a team that was bowled out for 150 or less in the first innings.

8/72 Bumrah's match figures — 5 for 30 in the 1st innings and 3 for 42 in the second — is the best by a visiting fast bowler-captain in Australia.

Discipline and thinking

On Monday, yet again India's discipline and thinking stood out. They tailored their bowling according to the demands of the up-and-down pitch, and according to the batsmen. Usman Khawaja, who likes to pull off the front foot, was thrown a sucker short ball but outside off by Mohammad Siraj. Perhaps the ball didn't come on at the pace he expected and allied with the fact that he was fetching it from outside off, a top edge resulted which was taken by Rishabh Pant.

India also didn't allow Steve Smith to return to form before the second Test. After ini-

tially looking confident, he was slowly nailed to the crease, and Siraj induced an edge with a straightener outside off stump.

Mitch Marsh was made to sweat hard for his 47 as Bumrah hit his body a few times with carefully curated slower cutters. In the end, Nitish Reddy took him out, again the pitch playing a part with an inside-edge on to the stumps. It was during that spell that he found himself alongside Lillee on international coverage. Nathan Lyon was foxed with a lovely straightener on the off stump from Washington Sundar and lost his off stump.

Even the end was noteworthy. Rana, who had impressed many with his pace, bouncers, and control, slipped in a cool slower ball to take out a stubborn Alex Carey. Bumrah and KL Rahul picked stumps and just when it seemed there might be big celebrations, Indians turned quiet.

Gentle handshakes, hands around each other's shoulders, taps on the back — and they were off. Almost as if it was just another day in the office, and not one of the biggest days in Australian soil.

In 2021, they bounced back from the depths of 36 all out with a memorable win in Melbourne. But here, in 2024 Perth, they have bounced back in the same Test they were tottering after the nightmarish first innings. There is nothing ordinary about this extraordinary triumph.

SCOREBOARD

AUSTRALIA VS INDIA (DAY 4)
OPTUS STADIUM, PERTH
Toss: India won, chose to bat

INDIA (1ST INNINGS): 150
AUSTRALIA (1ST INNINGS): 104
INDIA (2ND INNINGS): 487/6D
AUSTRALIA (2ND INNINGS) 0/N 12/3

Usman Khawaja c Pant b M Siraj **4** (13b)
S Smith c Pant b M Siraj **17** (60b)
T Head c Pant b Bumrah **89** (101b, 8x4)
M Marsh b N Reddy **47** (67b, 3x4, 2x6)
A Carey b H Rana **36** (58b, 2x4)
M Starc c Jurel b W Sundar **12** (35b)
N Lyon b W Sundar **0** (2b)
J Hazlewood not out **4** (10b, 1x4)
■ **Extras** (b 5, lb 2, nb 11, w 6) **24**
■ **Total** 58.4 Ov (RR: 4.05) **238**

■ **FoW:** 1-0 (Nathan McSweeney, 0.4 ov), 2-9 (Pat Cummins, 3.1 ov), 3-12 (Marnus Labuschagne, 4.2 ov), 4-17 (Usman Khawaja, 5.3 ov), 5-79 (Steven Smith, 24.4 ov), 6-161 (Travis Head, 38.5 ov), 7-182 (Mitchell Marsh, 43.4 ov), 8-227 (Mitchell Starc, 53.4 ov), 9-227 (Nathan Lyon, 53.6 ov), 10-238 (Alex Carey, 58.4 ov)

■ **Bowling:** Jasprit Bumrah 12-1-42-3, Mohammed Siraj 14-2-51-3, Harshit Rana 13.4-1-69-1, Washington Sundar 15-0-48-2, Nitish Kumar Reddy 4-0-21-1.

Appreciate Bumrah's beautiful mind, not just his unusual action

SRIRAM VEERA
PERTH, NOVEMBER 25

TO REDUCE the art of Jasprit Bumrah to his hyper-extended release is a great disservice to his main tool: his brain. The uniqueness of his body has been done to death; it's time to zoom in on his brain.

Michael Holding once said how the crick-eting world talked similarly about the pacers of the great West Indies team that he played in. "It was as if they thought all we needed to do was run up and bowl fast or short or whatever. That's what irks me the most. I tell them to go check the scorebook: how many were LBW, bowled, caught in slips or whatever. It's as if they don't want to credit our thinking. I have never seen more intelligent and crafty bowlers like Andy (Roberts) or Malcolm (Marshall)," Holding once told this newspaper.

Bumrah's brain took centerstage at Perth, as it has done all around the world. The mistakes committed by the Australian bowlers would show the contrast. At the start of the second innings, admitted by their head coach Andrew McDonald as well, the Australians were a touch short with the new ball. The variable bounce hadn't kicked in yet and the shortness of length allowed Yashasvi Jaiswal and KL Rahul to settle in. Later in the day, even when the pitch had begun to wear and tear, the Aussies had bowled full, allowing the Indian batsmen to take a stride forward to negate the unpredictability of the surface. "I see the trend of what is working on that particular day if I am bowling second. I am looking at the opposition team: what they did right and what they didn't do right. I try to learn from that," Bumrah had said in the past. He certainly had watched the Australians and went the other way on Sunday evening. He assessed that the danger ball on this pitch was the one that skids in from back of a length. The balls hadn't yet started to kick up alarmingly.

Delivering the new ball at pace was the way to go. Wasting the first spell was criminal. Once the ball goes soft, it helps batsmen make late adjustments.

Bumrah's plan was simple: Bowl back of length, target the stumps and use the occasional straightener to test the outside edge. The uncertainty in the Australian top order helped. Debutant Nathan Sweeney, a middle-order batsman promoted ahead of domestic openers, struggled and made the wrong decision to go back, which proved fatal. The pacy skidder kept low, sneaking in to beat the bat and the opener was out LBW.

Marnus Labuschagne's form should concern Australia. He has almost stopped moving towards the ball - his sole aim is survival. In his good days, the hands might get him out of trouble, with the bat coming in time ahead of the pad. But without the intent to meet the ball with any conviction, his defensive game doesn't stand much chance.

Bumrah didn't take long to suss that out and had the ball cutting in sharply from outside off-stump. Labuschagne should have known what was coming. Bumrah rarely starts the ball from that line and takes it away or lets it go straight.

The bat had to be somewhere in line in case it came in. But Labuschagne shouldered arms as the ball rammed into his pad. On Monday

Gambhir to fly back due to 'personal reasons'



India cricket team coach Gautam Gambhir will fly back home from Australia on Tuesday because of 'personal reasons' but will rejoin the team before the start of the second Test. "Gambhir has informed us that he will be travelling back home and will join the team before the start of the second Test. He has cited personal reasons and the BCCI has accepted his request," a BCCI source told *The Indian Express*. India will travel to Canberra on Wednesday to play a two-day pink-ball tour game, which is scheduled to start from Saturday. In absence of Gambhir, the team's support staff comprising assistant coaches Abhishek Nayar and Ryan ten Doeschate, bowling coach Morne Morkel and fielding coach T Dilip will oversee training sessions in consultation with captain Rohit Sharma.

DEVENDRA PANDEY

too, when no one else could remove Travis Head, who was just 11 short of an aggressive hundred, Bumrah brought himself on. Soon came the straightener from round the stumps that Head tried to force off the back foot, but the angle ensured it took the outside edge.

Turning magic into science

The reason the world's best batsmen struggle against Bumrah isn't just his unusual action. It's his cricketing intelligence, and element of deception, that make him, what Wasim Akram keeps repeating, the world's best bowler. Bumrah's arm can be tilted inwards, but the wrist can be cocked outward — almost as if they are two disjoint parts in that limb. The ball can then come in the air, forcing the batsman to play before he finds out that it's a straightener. By then, it's too late and it takes the edge or misses the bat and rams into the pad. To a lesser degree, Andrew Flintoff in his pomp had that wrist-sorcery. He would almost swivel his wrist at the last instant and get the ball to dart in sharply or straighten.

Because of Bumrah's wrist angle and finger-work, not many batsmen are able to read how much the inward movement will be. That's why batsmen, warily peering through the helmet grill, getting the bat in line, delay the final confident push to meet the ball.

And his assessment of what to bowl can be devastatingly accurate. Bumrah can make seemingly strange choices like a slower ball at the start of a spell, or show admirable patience in slipping a yorker to ensure its surprise is intact. Those are essentially magic balls. But Bumrah turns them into functional tools. To know what to bowl and when to bowl is perhaps the greatest trait a bowler can have. Add to that the ability to bowl that particular delivery. Bumrah has all the three traits, brain and body has rarely synced so effectively. It's not just the twisted arm or the extension, Bumrah's real magic is his scientific brain.

WORLD CHESS CHAMPIONSHIPS

How Ding drowned Gukesh in the 'fishtank' to take opening game

AMIT KAMATH

MUMBAI, NOVEMBER 25

D GUKESH planted his face in his palms, unable to come to terms with how quickly the momentum had shifted in the first game of the World Chess Championship against Ding Liren.

The day began with promise . The 18-year-old had swaggered into the playing arena — nicknamed the fishtank, a sound-proof room with mirrored glass that prevented the players from looking outside or hearing noises from outside — exuding the confidence of youth. In the first few moves, he established himself in control. But the day ended with a desperate dash to evade losing on time and then a resignation with white pieces in 42 moves.

Ding Liren, a man who has experienced the anxiety of playing in a World Championship, tried to catch him off-guard with black pieces in the opening by employing the French Defence. It was a Hail Mary of sorts, coming too early into a World Championship.

But Ding had his reasons. "Because it was his first game, I was thinking he might get nervous at the start. So I tried to play something unusual which I haven't in a long time," Ding revealed. The last time the Chinese GM had used the French Defence, it was against Ian Nepomniachtchi, where he had lost.

But Gukesh had no trouble dealing with Ding Liren's ploy. So much so, that he forced Ding to do a double take by the seventh move, where the world champion spent 27 minutes thinking. It was an odd time to be forced into a long, hard think, especially when he was the one who had tried to seize the early initiative.

By the time Ding made his 7th move, Gukesh had a sizeable advantage on the clock. He had spent under a minute on seven moves. Ding had used up over half an hour. "I obviously surprised him in the opening. I was playing some good chess," Gukesh later said.

Caution to the wind

On the 10th move, Gukesh threw caution to the wind. His pawn on the g file raced away to g4, abandoning any safe plan



D Gukesh (R) resigned on his 42nd move in Game 1. FIDE/Maria Emelianova

to get his own king to cover on the king-side corner. The plan was to put pressure on Ding's pawn on the e file with a f5 pawn push soon. Ding was already 48 minutes

down on the clock by this stage.

The first games of world championship matches are meant for tepid draws. It's an occasion to get a measure of the other

player's current form and confidence. So like pugilists in a prize fight, grandmasters are content to throw a few punches just to see what the opponent's jaw is made out of.

Not Gukesh. He had chosen to walk into the game with his guard down, daring his opponent to throw a haymaker. "This game already looks complicated. A little bit out of control. It's really too much for a Game 1," remarked Xie Jun, former women's world champion from China, who was in Singapore for the event.

Tactical moves

Things were about to get more complicated. Gukesh allowed Ding's knight to plant itself on b2, which would allow it to cause mayhem on his back ranks. On the 21st move, Ding's queen jumped on d3, right next to Gukesh's queen, but was protected by the knight on b2. At that moment, Gukesh made a significant error, he withdrew his queen to e1, right after falling behind on the clock for the first time in the game.

That move pushed his most powerful piece into a corner. Ding's pieces started to smell blood in the water of the 'fishtank'. A rook moved in on an unprotected white

knight. A bishop sauntered past Gukesh's defensive line of pawns. Ding's pieces were taking positions for a coordinated assault on Gukesh's king.

By the 33rd move, Gukesh was scrambling. He needed to make seven moves in 45 seconds to avoid losing on time. He managed to get his 40th move with one second left on the clock. But he had to resign two moves later anyway because Ding had three additional pawns on the board. The world champion from China leads 1-0 in the best-of-14 contest.

Ding has won exactly three classical games this year, two of those have now come against Gukesh. Both with black pieces.

This is the first time since the 2010 World Championship match that the first game has ended in a result. Gukesh might draw some comfort from that world championship 14 years ago. His mentor, Viswanathan Anand, was the one who had suffered an opening game loss to Veselin Topalov. But Anand had managed to claim the title anyway. Now D Gukesh, who has walked into the footsteps of Viswanathan Anand for years, will hope to emulate Anand once again.

