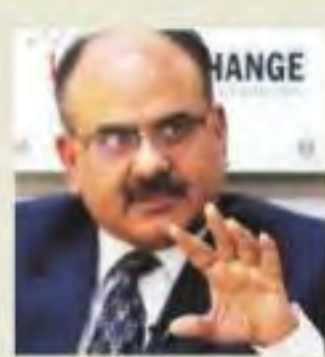


A Sense of Direction

Theatre director Ratan Thiyam and 50 yrs of bringing political, environmental concerns to stage



IDEA EXCHANGE PAGE 10

'INCOME-TAX RATE WITH DIFFERENT SLABS NOT COMPLICATED, DONE IN MOST ECONOMIES'

AJAY BHUSHAN PANDEY, Revenue Secretary

SUNDAY STORY PAGE 11

Three's a Sarkar

With Maharashtra coalition govt set to complete 100 days in office, a look at the threads that bind it and the tugs that are pulling it apart



10 stabbed in Shillong, toll 2 in anti-CAA unrest in state

In charred locality, mangled clocks tell a tale, BSF DIG visits a constable's home

RITU SARIN  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

TIME HAS stopped, literally, in scores of homes in Northeast Delhi that were set ablaze during this week's riots - and on Saturday, as several families returned to localities such as Khajuri Khas and Bhajanpura to see their belongings reduced to ash, the mangled and melted wall clocks told a tale.

On Friday, a local taxi driver was killed in Ichamati area in East Khasi Hills district, close to the Bangladesh border, in clashes between members of the Khasi Students' Union (KSU) and non-tribals.

The government has announced a curfew in "Shillong agglomeration and its adjoining areas" till March 1 morning.

A release by Assistant Inspector General of Police, Meghalaya, GK Langrai on the attack at Bara Bazaar, among Shillong's oldest markets, said all those stabbed were rushed to Civil Hospital, Rupchand Dewan, 29, from Assam's Barpeta district, died on the way.

In Langsning, 21-year-old Akash Ali was assaulted, while in Sohra, an unidentified non-tribal

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



DIG Rathore at the home of Anees, who is posted in Odisha. BSF said it would provide the family required help. Ritu Sarin

BIG PICTURE PAGES 12-13 Heart of Darkness

India's most densely populated dist, with the Capital's least banks. What frames the Northeast Delhi violence



Goli maaro slogan is back as Kapil Mishra leads 'peace' march

ABHINAV RAJPUT  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

DAYS AFTER the Delhi High Court frowned upon a speech made by him in Northeast Delhi, seen as one of the triggers for the riots that left 42 dead, BJP leader Kapil Mishra took out a march metres from the Capital's VIP areas on Saturday where calls were made to shoot traitors.

Mishra's 'peace march', including roughly 1,200 people, began from Jantar Mantar and proceeded to make its way to Connaught Place and Janpath, without police permission, amid slogans of 'Kisi ko mat maaf karo, jihaadiyon ko saaf karo'.

With Mishra were people who claimed to have received injuries in the Delhi riots, in Bhajanpura, Shiv Vihar, Karawal Nagar and New Mustafabad areas, with bandages on their faces. A mini-truck accompanied them, with a flexboard carrying photos of Head Constable Ratan Lal, Intelligence Bureau staffer Ankit



Mishra marched flanked by security. Praveen Khanna MORE REPORTS, PAGE 4, 5

Sharma and Vinod Kashyap, who were among those killed in the riots. Slogans were also raised of 'Modi ke samman mein, desh bhakt maidan mein'.

An NGO called the Delhi Peace Forum was the organiser of the procession.

Mishra, who did not address the protesters, told The Sunday Express, "The march was against 'jihadi violence' and for the people who have suffered losses."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



Taliban's Mullah Baradar, US envoy for Afghan peace Zalmay Khalilzad after signing the deal. Reuters FULL COVERAGE, P 18

DOHA PACT

US, Taliban sign deal, NATO to exit Afghanistan in 14 months

Mullah Baradar thanks Pakistan and China, does not mention India

SHUBHAJIT ROY  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

AT A ceremony in Qatar that was also attended by an Indian diplomat, the United States signed an agreement with the Taliban on Saturday, agreeing to withdraw entirely from Afghanistan in the next 14 months.

The pact for "bringing peace to Afghanistan" was signed by Zalmay Khalilzad, US Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation, and Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, the political head of the Taliban, at the Sheraton hotel in Doha.

In the audience was India's Ambassador to Qatar, P Kumaran, who attended the ceremony along with US Secretary of State Michael R Pompeo and a 31-member Taliban delegation.

As had been expected,

EXPLAINED Future is uncertain THE DEAL has come after difficult negotiations, and its future is uncertain. Foreign Secretary Harsh Vardhan Shringla went to Kabul on Friday, and India will be closely watching the next moves by the Taliban, as well as the proposed intra-Afghan dialogue.

Mullah Baradar especially named Pakistan for its assistance, and also thanked China, Iran, and Russia for supporting the peace process in Afghanistan. Also expectedly, he did not name India.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

INSIDE

SILCHAR LECTURER HELD FOR POST AS STUDENTS PROTEST

POLISH STUDENT AT JADAVPUR VARSITY TOLD TO LEAVE INDIA PAGES 7, 8



A melted wall clock at a sweet shop. Ritu Sarin

Amid CAA, riots storm, Jakarta calls in envoy, foreign secy heads to Dhaka

SHUBHAJIT ROY  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

INDONESIA ON Saturday conveyed its concerns over the deadly riots in Delhi that were triggered by clashes over the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA).

On Sunday, Foreign Secretary Harsh Vardhan Shringla will travel to Bangladesh, the first high-level visit to that country

since the CAA-NRC issue introduced strains in an otherwise robust bilateral relationship.

The Indonesian foreign ministry called in the Indian Ambassador to Jakarta, Pradeep Rawat, on Friday to discuss the riots that have claimed 42 lives so far, The Jakarta Post reported on Saturday.

"The Government of Indonesia has complete confidence that the Government of

India will be able to manage the situation and ensure the harmonious relations among its religious communities. Moreover, both countries share similar characteristics, as pluralistic countries that uphold democratic values and tolerance," the Indonesian foreign ministry said, according to the newspaper.

The Indonesian foreign ministry's statement came hours

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

N.E.W.S PAGE 14 SUNDAY PROFILE S MURALIDHAR JUSTICE LEAGUE

Pioneer in plastic fight, Sikkim town is set to introduce bamboo bottles

ESHA ROY  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

MORE THAN eight years after it became the first town in Sikkim, and arguably India, to completely ban packaged drinking water bottles, Lachen is set to introduce bamboo bottles as an alternative.

Located 129 km from Gangtok, at a height of 2,750 metres, the Himalayan town's snow-capped hills, aquamarine lakes, red pandas and a rhodo-

TRACKING CHANGE EVERY SUNDAY For all Change stories, log on to www.indianexpress.com/change Witness Change? Write to us at change@expressindia.com

dendron trek draw nearly one lakh tourists annually. It was the plastic bottles left behind by them that prompted Lachen to introduce the ban. The initiative was entirely community driven,



One of the bottles for which orders have been placed

with its barely 2,500 inhabitants of mostly Lachengpa community lending support.

The bamboo water bottles have been ordered from Assam through Sikkim Rajya Sabha MP Hishey Lachungpa.

Sikkim was the first state in the country to take steps against the use of plastic, bringing in restrictive measures as far back as 1998. In 2016, it banned the use of packaged drinking water in government offices as well as at all government events.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

WORLD



FIRST DEATH DUE TO CORONAVIRUS IN US; SOUTH KOREA SEES A SPIKE IN CASES

CRISIS AS MAHATHIR REJECTS NEW PM, CLAIMS NUMBERS PAGE 18

22-yr-old held now for Pulwama attack detained since Dec: Family

ADIL AKHZER  
PULWAMA, FEBRUARY 29

THE FAMILY of the 22-year-old who was produced on Friday by the National Investigation Agency (NIA) as its first arrest in the Pulwama terror attack case has claimed that he has been in police custody since December 7 last year.

Shakir Bashir Magrey's mother Jameela told The Sunday Express that in the over two months he had been in custody,



Mother Jameela at home in Hajibal, Pulwama. Family had been expecting him to be released on Friday. Shuaib Masoodi

In quake-scarred Christchurch, caution frames debate over stadium



EXPRESS IN NEW ZEALAND

SANDIP G  
CHRISTCHURCH, FEB 29

A DECADE ago, Christchurch, where India are playing the second Test against New Zealand, suffered the two worst earthquakes in its history in the space

of less than six months.

The first, in September 2010, destroyed over 1,200 buildings and altered the skyline of New Zealand's second most populous city. The second earthquake, in February 2011, left 185 people dead and reduced to rubble other massive buildings, including a two-century-old cathedral, and the historic Lancaster Park, the city's cricket and rugby stadium since the mid-1930s.

As Christchurch rose from the debris, its architecture was defined by the memory of its twin disasters. Today, the city is classically minimalist - Hagley Oval, the cricket stadium, is in the mid-

dle of a large and lovely park with acres of greenery that encompasses a botanic garden and a public golf course, ringed by a gleaming white picket fence.

There's just the solitary concrete building, the single-storey Richard Hadlee pavilion that houses the dressing rooms and a few corporate boxes. A clutch of chairs are placed just beyond the boundary ropes under a canopy that resembles the one at the Adelaide Oval in Australia. The contrast with India, which has just got the world's biggest cricket stadium, the 1 lakh-plus-capacity brick-cement-concrete behemoth at Motera, Ahmedabad,



Hagley Oval, where India are playing New Zealand, has almost no concrete structures. Sandip G

could not have been starker. On either side of the pavilion at the Hagley Oval stand tents, covered in white cloth. A small

tent is the food stall, and a moderately-sized one is the press box (or press tent). The tents trembled in the wind at the end of a

day that India closed on the defensive - with New Zealand reaching 63/0 after bowling India out for 242.

Unlike most modern stadiums, the Hagley Oval is unstained by modernity. There are no towering floodlights or massive stands - it looks rather like an idyllic first-class venue, with the Victorian-style Old Scorer's and Umpires' Association building and the Greener's Cricket Club in the vicinity adding to its old-world charm.

Authorities have been reluctant to sanction multi-storey stands in the stadium, and have stressed on earthquake-resilient buildings across the city. Today, the tallest building in Christchurch is the 282-foot Pacific Tower. "The association

wants to expand and build a world-class stadium, but it has had difficulty convincing the authorities that the structure would be earthquake resistant. After the tremors, they are paranoid about everything," John Pennington, one of the grounds-men, said.

Conservation groups had even opposed the creation of the stadium in the 165-hectare public park, the third largest in the world. Protesters sat in front of machinery to stop the upgrades in 2012, and work had to be put on hold for six months. "They thought the stadium will destroy

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2



**DOWNLOAD APP**

- VISUAL STORIES
- DAILY BRIEFING
- PODCASTS
- CUSTOMIZABLE NEWS EXPERIENCE

Indian Express  
★★★★ 4.6

SCAN THIS QR CODE TO DOWNLOAD THE APP



**WEB EXCLUSIVE**

**BORN ON FEBRUARY 29**

New parents hail newborns as special, in Chennai an 88-year-old says how she made it so. For the so-called leaplings or those born on February 29, the Leap Year calls for a bigger celebration.

**VIDEO OF THE DAY**



**'UNITED BY PAIN AND HOPE'**

**Hindus and Muslims pick up pieces at Delhi's Chand Bagh**

**EXPLAINED**



**PETROL, DIESEL COSTLIER FROM APR 1**

**Why is the price of automobile fuels being raised?**

**EXPRESS AUDIO**  
**Why India is hosting Shooting and Archery in the Commonwealth Games 2022**

**NEW EPISODE EVERYDAY**

In the latest episode of the Express sports podcast, we discuss how India went from threatening to boycott the 2022 CWG to now hosting two of its events.

**FROM PAGE ONE**

**Sikkim town**

Traditionally, Lachen had been a town of apple growers. Over the years, this waned as more and more young people either opted for government jobs or picked up other professions like driving or trade. Then tourism boomed, and the town saw 30 hotels come up over the past 10-15 years.

The main organisations behind the packaged water ban are the Lachen Tourism Development Committee (LIDC), comprising locals, and the Dzumsa, which is like a local panchayat. The Dzumsa is headed by village heads called Pipon.

"The mounds of garbage that Lachen had, especially due to the number of tourists, would be left in informal dumping grounds. We did not have a system of recycling. In 2011, as plastic waste overwhelmed Lachen, we took the decision to ban packaged drinking water altogether. In 2018, we followed this up by banning plastic bags," Lachen's Pipon Gyatso Lachenpa says.

After them, he adds, Lachung and Chungthang towns banned packaged drinking water. Gyatso says they reached out to the WWF and it helped Lachen through the plastic ban. Two monitoring committees help implement the crackdown by carrying out random checks of tourist vehicles entering Lachen to make sure no one brings in packaged water.

The Dzumsa has given each homestay, hotel and commercial outlet in the area water filters. "The water provided is from Sikkim's rivers and springs, which are much healthier. We had the water in the area tested in labs," says Gyatso.

Says Chwang Lachenpa, 36, a former LIDC member, "If we find visiting tourists carrying plastic bottles, the driver accompanying them, usually a local, is fined, Rs 500 for a first offence, Rs 1,000 for a second, Rs 2,000 for a third. The fine can go up further for repeat offenders."

He adds that they are now struggling with waste like wafer and biscuit packets. "Plastic carry bags are not that much of a problem really since most residents in any case carry cloth bags or cane baskets."

**Youth held**

Shakir had come home for just an hour, on February 17, before re-arrest. The family members said they had come to Srinagar on Friday as they had been told he would be let off, when they heard he had been named in the Pulwama case.

The NIA claimed a "major breakthrough" with the arrest of Shakir, saying he was a Jaish-e-Mohammed operative who had helped shelter Adil Ahmad Dar, the alleged bomber behind the attack that killed 40 CRPF personnel in February last year. Shakir was produced before the NIA Special Court at Jammu and remanded to 15 days' NIA custody for "detailed interrogation".

Not denying Shakir had been in their custody, a police officer privy to the case told The Sunday Express his name "had figured in militancy cases".

On Saturday morning, Shakir's father Bashir Ahmad, who owns a furniture shop, was taken by the security forces for "questioning". Late on Friday night and on Saturday, security forces conducted a search of the Magrey home in Hajjib village of Kakapora in Pulwama district. Several rooms of the house have been sealed by the forces, leaving only three open.

Denying the NIA's claims, Jameela, who kept breaking down, said, "Police had told us Shakir would be released on Friday and he can go home. His father and grandfather went to Srinagar and had even signed a bond before a tehsildar, who then directed his release."

Said grandfather Ghulam Mohammed, "As Shakir came out, some people were waiting outside and took him. We came to know later that he had been arrested by the NIA." Jameela said they had no information where he had been taken.

A senior officer in Srinagar confirmed that Shakir had been released on bail by a tehsildar (magistrate) Friday following his "preventive detention". Pulwama SP Ashish Mishra said he had no information about Shakir being in police custody.

The family said Shakir was innocent. "I can't believe my son was involved in such activities. He would leave in the morning to work at his father's shop and return only in the evening," Jameela said.

Shakir's elder brother Mohammed Imran said Shakir was first arrested last July. "He was released after more than a week." Then, on December 7, family members said, the security forces again picked him up and took him to Srinagar. "They wouldn't tell us the reason he was arrested," Jameela said.

On February 17, the mother said, Shakir was released and was home only an hour when "he received a call from the Srinagar police". "He went to Srinagar and since then had been in custody."

The declaration stated that Afghanistan reaffirms its commitment to prevent any "international terrorist groups or individuals", including al-Qaeda and ISIS-K, from using Afghan soil. There was no specific mention of Pakistan-based groups like the Lashkar-e-Taiba or Jaish-e-Muhammad.

The four-page agreement is between the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan "which is not recognized by the United States as a state and is known as the Taliban", and the United States of America. The government of Afghanistan had been kept out of the talks, and is not a party to the agreement.

In his brief statement, the Secretary of State laid out the conditions of the deal to the Taliban, asking them to cut ties with terrorist groups, keep fighting the ISIS, sit down with other groups in Afghanistan in talks, and exercise patience.

He also urged them to "honour the diversity" of Afghanistan which, he said, had not always been done by governments. "The Afghanistan of 2001," Pompeo said.

Mullah Baradar said the agreement was "good for the international community", and "we are committed to this agreement to enforce it". "We want to go on as a political force, to maintain (relations) with neighbours, regional countries, and the international community; we want a positive relationship with al."

Baradar, a deputy of Mullah Omar, is a co-founder of the Taliban movement, and had been captured by Pakistan's ISI and the CIA. He was released in 2018. "We have suffered tremendously," Baradar said. "And I hope that after the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan, the Afghan nation, under the Islamic regime, will embark on a new prosperous life... We all want to be attentive to the unity and prosperity of our country. For this reason, I call on all Afghan factions to come to negotiations honestly and sincerely for the establishment of a strong Islamic system."

In the end, he thanked "Pakistan" for their assistance and "work". He also thanked China, Uzbekistan, Iran, Russia, Indonesia, Norway, and other countries who supported the peace process. He expressed hope that all of them would participate in the rebuilding and future of Afghanistan.

The agreement is a result of President Donald Trump's campaign promise of withdrawing troops from Afghanistan, and negotiations that began in 2018.

In Kabul, Afghanistan's President Ashraf Ghani said that they have the capacity to have peace because of their "resilience". US Defence

**NATO to exit Afghanistan in 14 months**

According to the joint declaration, the US and its allies will withdraw all their forces from Afghanistan within 14 months. After an initial reduction of troops to 8,600 within 135 days of Saturday's signing, the US and its partners "will complete the withdrawal of their remaining forces from Afghanistan within 14 months... and will withdraw all their forces from remaining bases", the declaration stated.

The declaration said that Afghanistan reaffirms its commitment to prevent any "international terrorist groups or individuals", including al-Qaeda and ISIS-K, from using Afghan soil. There was no specific mention of Pakistan-based groups like the Lashkar-e-Taiba or Jaish-e-Muhammad.

The four-page agreement is between the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan "which is not recognized by the United States as a state and is known as the Taliban", and the United States of America. The government of Afghanistan had been kept out of the talks, and is not a party to the agreement.

In its response to the agreement, the Indian government said it would continue to extend all support to the government and people of Afghanistan in realising their aspirations for a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous future where the interests of all sections are protected.

The Ministry of External Affairs official spokesperson Raveesh Kumar said, "India's consistent policy is to support all opportunities that can bring peace, security and stability in

Afghanistan; end violence; cut ties with international terrorism; and lead to a lasting political settlement through an Afghan led, Afghan owned and Afghan controlled process."

He said: "We note that the entire political spectrum in Afghanistan... has welcomed the opportunity and hope for peace and stability generated by these agreements."

President Ashraf Ghani and his rival Abdullah Abdullah are not on the same page over the outcome of the Afghan elections, and the rivalry within the government will be playing out in the days to come.

As the US enters the retreat mode in Afghanistan, New Delhi will have to work with all political, State and non-State actors to secure its interests.

Pompeo called it a "momentous day", given that the US and Taliban have had decades of hostility. He acknowledged that past attempts at peace had "faltered", and said that they had come to the conclusion that military victory was "impossible".

In his brief statement, the Secretary of State laid out the conditions of the deal to the Taliban, asking them to cut ties with terrorist groups, keep fighting the ISIS, sit down with other groups in Afghanistan in talks, and exercise patience.

He also urged them to "honour the diversity" of Afghanistan which, he said, had not always been done by governments. "The Afghanistan of 2001," Pompeo said.

Mullah Baradar said the agreement was "good for the international community", and "we are committed to this agreement to enforce it". "We want to go on as a political force, to maintain (relations) with neighbours, regional countries, and the international community; we want a positive relationship with al."

Baradar, a deputy of Mullah Omar, is a co-founder of the Taliban movement, and had been captured by Pakistan's ISI and the CIA. He was released in 2018. "We have suffered tremendously," Baradar said. "And I hope that after the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan, the Afghan nation, under the Islamic regime, will embark on a new prosperous life... We all want to be attentive to the unity and prosperity of our country. For this reason, I call on all Afghan factions to come to negotiations honestly and sincerely for the establishment of a strong Islamic system."

In the end, he thanked "Pakistan" for their assistance and "work". He also thanked China, Uzbekistan, Iran, Russia, Indonesia, Norway, and other countries who supported the peace process. He expressed hope that all of them would participate in the rebuilding and future of Afghanistan.

The agreement is a result of President Donald Trump's campaign promise of withdrawing troops from Afghanistan, and negotiations that began in 2018.

In Kabul, Afghanistan's President Ashraf Ghani said that they have the capacity to have peace because of their "resilience". US Defence

Secretary Mark Esper and NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg were in Kabul.

This came on a day when India's Foreign Secretary Harsh Vardhan Shringla met former Afghan President Hamid Karzai, and India signed two deals to build roads in Afghanistan.

Shringla met Acting Finance Minister Abdul Habib Zadran and Deputy Minister of Transport Mohammad Zekria, and witnessed the signing of agreements for road projects in the Bamyan and Mazar-e-Sharif provinces with Indian development assistance.

In his meeting with Karzai, Shringla recalled the former Afghan President's visit to India in January this year, and appreciated his contributions to the strategic partnership.

The ongoing peace process and developments in Afghanistan were also discussed.

Shringla told President Ghani that India stands with Afghanistan for "strengthening national unity, territorial integrity, democracy, plurality and prosperity" in the country and bringing an "end to externally sponsored terrorism".

Besides Ghani, the Foreign Secretary also met Chief Executive Abdullah Abdullah, First Vice President-elect Amrullah Saleh, Acting Foreign Minister Haroon Chakhansuri, and National Security Advisor Hamdulillah Mohib.

"India remains committed to economic and human resource development partnership with Afghanistan," MEA spokesperson Kumar said.

had happened under the "previous government" and "military rule".

**Kapil Mishra**

It started around 11 am from Jantar Mantar, where chairs and a sound system had been set up. Participants carried the Tricolour as well as placards of 'Shanti March' and other slogans, as well as photos of B R Ambedkar.

DCP (New Delhi) Eish Singhal said the procession did not have permission to march towards Connaught Place and Janpath, but added, "No one was detained as it was a peaceful march. No complaint has been received against any kind of slogans raised at the march, so no FIR has been registered."

The protesters also demanded action against suspended AAP councillor Tahir Hussain, booked for Sharma's death. "Other banners asked why 'Ratan Lal was killed', 'temples and schools burnt'." One poster declared, "Mil kar bolen hum Bharat waasi, CAA virodhi khooon ke pyaasi (All of us Indians say it together, the protesters against the CAA are blood-thirsty)".

Earlier, around 10.45 am Saturday, at the Rajiv Chowk Metro Station close to where Mishra's march was held, a few men caused a commotion when they raised slogans of "Desh ke gaddaron ko, goli maaro saalon ko". DCP (Metro) Vikram Porwal said six men had been detained and questioned. "They were found to be students and had no criminal antecedents. They were released after due verification." No case was registered against them.

Speaking at a Times Now event after the Delhi election results, Home Minister Amit Shah had said that slogans like shoot the traitors raised by Mishra, and other party leaders, during the run-up to the polls, may have hurt the party. On Friday, senior Union minister Ravi Shankar Prasad said the BJP didn't approve of such language.

**Shillong**

was beaten up by locals. Both are in hospital. The number of those injured in the clashes has gone up to 16, Lyngma said.

The death in Ichamati, of Lurshai Hynniewta (35), followed a KSU meeting to discuss the CAA and demanding implementation of the Inner Line Permit (ILP). Large parts of Meghalaya are exempt from the CAA, as practically the entire state falls under the ambit of the Sixth Schedule. The ILP, a document that regulates the entry of non-locals, has been a long-standing demand of different tribal groups of Meghalaya. In December, after the CAA was passed, a one-day-special Meghalaya Assembly session unanimously adopted a resolution asking the government to implement the ILP.

Eight people have been arrested based on an FIR filed by the KSU following the incident.

A release from the office of the District Magistrate of East Khasi Hills said there was "apprehension of serious deterioration of law and order in Shillong". Mobile Internet services continue to remain suspended in West Jaintia Hills, East Jaintia Hills, East Khasi Hills, Ri Bhoi, West Khasi Hills and South West Khasi Hills districts, while SMSes have been limited to five per day.

Meghalaya Chief Minister Conrad K Sangma appealed to people to refrain from violence and ensure peace. A release from the Chief Minister's Office said, "The government has taken all measures to maintain law and order." Ex-gratia of Rs 2 lakh has been announced for next of kin of the deceased.

**STATEMENT ABOUT OWNERSHIP AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF THE SUNDAY EXPRESS, NEW DELHI, AS REQUIRED UNDER RULE 8 OF THE REGISTRATION OF NEWSPAPERS (CENTRAL) RULES, 1956**

**FORM-IV (SEE RULE 8)**

1. Place of Publication	: The Indian Express (P) Ltd., Mezzanine floor, Express Building, 9 & 10, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi-110002
2. Periodicity of its publication	: Weekly
3. Printer's Name	: Mr. R.C. Malhotra
Whether Citizen of India	: Yes
Address	: The Indian Express (P) Ltd., Mezzanine floor, Express Building, 9 & 10, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi-110002
4. Publisher's Name	: Mr. R.C. Malhotra
Whether Citizen of India	: Yes
Address	: The Indian Express (P) Ltd., Mezzanine floor, Express Building, 9 & 10, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi-110002
5. Editor's Name	: Mr. Rakesh Sinha
Editor (Delhi)	: Mr. Rakesh Sinha
Whether Citizen of India	: Yes
Address	: The Indian Express (P) Ltd., Mezzanine floor, Express Building, 9 & 10, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi-110002
6. Name and address of individuals who own the newspaper AND	: The Indian Express (P) Ltd, Express Towers, 1 <sup>st</sup> Floor, Nariman Point, Mumbai 400021
Shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital	: Indian Express Holdings & Entp Private Limited, Express Towers, 1 <sup>st</sup> Floor, Nariman Point, Mumbai 400021
	: Mr. Vivek Goenka & Mr. Anant Goenka, Express Towers, 1 <sup>st</sup> Floor, Nariman Point, Mumbai-400021
	: Mr. Shekhar Gupta & Mrs. Neelam Jolly, C-6/53, Safdarjung Development Area, New Delhi 110 016
I, R.C. Malhotra, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true and to the best of my knowledge and belief.	
	Sd/- R.C. Malhotra Publisher
Date : 1.3.2020	

**Christchurch**

the natural beauty of the park. We assured them that no trees would be cut, and after much negotiation, construction resumed," Pennington said.

Canterbury Cricket, the body that runs the game in the Canterbury region of which Christchurch is part, bid for matches during the 2015 World Cup in Australia and New Zealand even though it had no suitable ground. After the ICC refused to allow a game at a substandard venue, Canterbury Cricket went on a fundraising drive that was able to accumulate nearly NZD 10 million in the space of three months. The Hagley Oval was born within 12 months — and four months ahead of the World Cup, it was confirmed as a venue.

In 2018, the Canterbury Cricket Trust sought permission to erect six permanent 49-metre lights at the Oval, and asked that the process be fast-tracked so it could bid for important matches of the 2021 Women's World Cup. The proposal was approved, but the community group Hands Off Hagley staged a protest saying the floodlights would attract 15 extra matches and bring in an estimated 54,000 extra visitors, which would threaten the park. The verdict in a judicial review went against the protesters, but the court instructed the board to preserve as much as greenery as was possible. Days later, the Hagley Oval was announced as the venue for the final. But structures like stands and press boxes have to wait.

**Charred locality**

soon as we heard about the incident. All assistance will be given to him to rebuild his house."

Others may not get such quick assistance. Wails of women come from an adjoining house, where 22-year-old Samreen Khan and her relatives have just returned to the home they fled four days previously. Samreen points to a burnt sofa on which the family has placed empty jewellery cases the contents of which they say were looted before the house was set on fire. Next to the cases is a half-melted clock that

hung on a wall before the communal mayhem began.

Samreen points to another room that once had shelves lined neatly with books on pharmacy. Her father was a pharmacist, and she is herself studying for a diploma in pharmacy. "All our pharmacy books have been turned into ash. The two gold necklaces that my mother bought for my wedding are gone. The steel almira was ransacked before our home was set ablaze," she said.

Some areas like Jafrabad and Chand Bagh, which saw many incidents of firing and brickbattering, have started to return to life; not so, however, these neighbourhoods, where rows and rows of shops and houses were burnt down.

Cranes and other equipment are moving around removing charred vehicles. In one of the streets stands a pushcart, still fully loaded with singed, now rotting bananas. Next to it is Aman Motors, which was once a large motorcycle showroom. Some 100 completely burnt out motorcycles are loaded one by one on a truck. "I have lost crores in the violence. I could save only about a 100 motorcycles. I will never be able to recover the losses," the showroom's distraught owner, Brijpal Singh, said.

Many similar details of the mayhem emerge from the destruction. That there was widespread looting of valuables from homes and establishments before they were set ablaze. That mini gas cylinders, possibly picked up from neighbourhood eateries, were mostly used to start fires. And that despite frantic calls to the Fire Department, no fire tenders arrived at the scene until there was nothing left to save from the fires.

The fires shook the foundations of the buildings — it is dangerous now to climb to the upper floors of many burnt-out homes

**Classifieds**

**EXPRESS EDUCATION**

**ANTHRO**

**Interview Sessions**

**One-to-One with Vaid Sir**

**On Mar 1 & Mar 12**

**VAID'S ICS, DELHI**

Ph: 0-9311337737, 0-9999946748

Contact for Advt. Booking: M/s Friends Publicity Service  
23276901, 23282028 (M): 9212008155, 9212665841.

**S N SHRIVASTAVA GETS ADDITIONAL CHARGE AS POLICE CHIEF**

# Delhi known for harmony, will improve police image: New CP

**MAHENDER SINGH MANRAL**  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

"WE WOULD continue working diligently and that would improve the image of Delhi Police," said Sachidanand Shrivastava, a 1985-batch AGMUT cadre officer, Saturday after taking additional charge of the post of Delhi Police Commissioner following Amulya Patnaik's retirement.

Shrivastava told *The Sunday Express* his priority is to restore peace and ensure communal harmony in the national capital.

He said the Delhi Police has started a massive outreach programme and senior officers have been meeting and speaking with people from every community to build confidence among them. "As of now, the priority is that the citizens should be secure and safe. It has been the tradition of the city that people of every section and religion live together in harmony and help each other in good as well as bad times. Apart from that, there are other things that need to be done in due course," he said.

To change their public image, Shrivastava said the attitude of all police personnel should be helpful towards people. "That would set things straight," he said.



Outgoing police chief Amulya Patnaik (L) with SN Shrivastava, who took additional charge as Delhi Police Commissioner. *Express*

After taking charge, Shrivastava held a meeting with all officers, and later met Special CPs, Joint CPs and Additional CPs. All DCPs have been asked to come Sunday afternoon for a meeting.

In the evening, the following broadcast message was sent by Shrivastava to all police personnel: "Today I am feeling proud after becoming Chief of Delhi Police. I was recognised by Delhi Police when I was on deputation, that's why it was directly connected with me despite the roller-coaster ride. I invite all of you to pledge that we will work diligently to take Delhi Police to new heights. I

want all of you to take pledge that we shall work diligently. Further, the Delhi Police department belongs to everyone and it is like a family to me. As head of the family, I expect everyone to come forward and help each other. I promise I shall always be there in every difficulty and fulfill every need that any police personnel has."

In his message, Shrivastava said the head of police cannot succeed without cooperation from his colleagues. He said he respected their views and asked them to be part of the decision-making process.

"It is my prime duty to stand

by everyone in the department. You all are well-accomplished and well-experienced individuals. I believe all of you are aware of how to complete your duties. I believe you all are capable of doing the day-to-day routine work without awaiting instruction of your superior. I hope you will use your skills to fulfill your duties, and your superiors will guide you whenever needed. Police department shall endeavour to fulfill its duties to the best of its efforts. History stands witness to the outstanding performance of the police department, and I hope that Delhi Police will improve its image by working hard and diligently. Earning fame is not a matter of a few days, it can be earned only after a long period of time with dedication. Despite these efforts, sometimes favourable results do not come, but the respect and fame you have earned in society will help you to progress even in adverse times," he stated.

Meanwhile, Amulya Patnaik paid tribute to Head Constable Ratan Lal, who died during the recent violence, at his farewell parade at New Police Lines, Kingsway Camp. In his speech, Patnaik said he was deeply pained by Lal's death, and that police personnel never hesitate to sacrifice their lives in the line of duty.

## Dec 16 case: 2 seek stay on death warrant

*New Delhi:* Two of the four death row convicts in the December 2012 gangrape-murder case, Akshay Singh and Pawan Kumar Gupta, moved a Delhi court Saturday seeking stay on the execution of their death warrants.

In his plea, Akshay said he has filed a fresh mercy petition before the President. Pawan said he has filed a curative petition before the Supreme Court. The court has issued notice to Tihar Jail authorities, directing officials to file their response by March 2. **ENS**

## Delhi receives fresh spell of rain, 14 flights diverted from IGI

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

RAIN AND hail lashed parts of Delhi Saturday as a Western Disturbance affected weather in parts of Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Haryana. The Safdarjung Observatory, whose reading is considered for the whole city, saw 18.5 mm of rain throughout the day. Strong winds had started blowing in the city Friday evening. On Saturday,



The city is expected to see light rain Sunday. *Abhinav Saha*

the maximum temperature at 27.3 degrees Celsius was 2 degrees above normal, while the minimum at 16.2 degrees Celsius was 4 degrees above normal.

Strong winds and thunderstorm also forced 14 flights to be diverted to Lucknow, Amritsar, Ahmedabad and Jaipur, a Delhi airport spokesperson said.

Rain started around 4 pm and by 5.30 pm the city had recorded 3.8 mm of rain. By 8.30 pm, the gauges had recorded 18.5 mm rain.






**MOBILE APPS**

**MAY TURN OUT TO BE TRAPS**

- Verify the buyer/seller before accepting or making any payment
- Prospective buyer/seller in hurry of payment is a likely fraudster
- Don't click on any link or scan a QR code while accepting payment. Money may get debited instead
- Avoid making/accepting advance payment, it may be a trap to cheat
- Immediately report on <https://cybercrime.gov.in> or [www.cybercelldelhi.in](http://www.cybercelldelhi.in)

**e-mail to CP, Delhi at :**  
[cp.amulyapatnaik@delhipolice.gov.in](mailto:cp.amulyapatnaik@delhipolice.gov.in)

**Write to : CP, Delhi at**  
**P.O. Box No. 171, GPO, New Delhi**

FOR IMMEDIATE POLICE HELP CALL 112

TO SHARE INFORMATION CALL 1090



## DELHI ASSEMBLY RESEARCH CENTRE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME

Delhi Assembly invites online applications from meritorious and outstanding youth to be engaged in the Delhi Assembly Research Centre (DARC) of the Delhi Legislative Assembly as Fellows/ Associate Fellows.

With the objective to create a repository of valuable research and reference material for use of the lawmakers and other stakeholders involving the young and talented youth of Delhi, DARC proposes to engage 08 Fellows, 13 Associate Fellows and 04 Associate Fellows(Media), initially for a period of one year extendable by another year based upon their performance. Actual requirement may vary.

While DARC seeks to gain from the fresh perspective and solutions offered by the Youth, the Fellows/ Associates Fellows get the best opportunity for an inside view of Legislature and Governance.

### About the Programme

- Delhi Assembly provides a unique opportunity to young minds to be part of the Delhi Assembly Research Centre (DARC).
- DARC aims to establish itself as a world class Research Centre for Legislators, Government and public spirited Citizens and Organizations.
- Meritorious Youth would be involved in crucial phases of Legislation, Committees and overall Governance.

### Key Features

- Fellows / Associates Fellows will be assigned to work with the Legislators and Delhi Assembly Secretariat and in close coordination with the Departments of Delhi Government.
- They shall have a clear interest, aptitude and commitment to public service.
- A consolidated sum of Rs.1,00,000 per month to Fellows and Rs.60,000 per month to Associates Fellows will be provided in the form of Stipend.

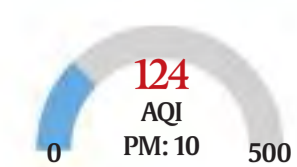
**Last Date to submit applications – 18<sup>th</sup> March 2020**  
For more details and to apply online, visit - [www.darc.dtu.ac.in](http://www.darc.dtu.ac.in)

**Delhi Legislative Assembly**



ANAND VIHAR

Moderate

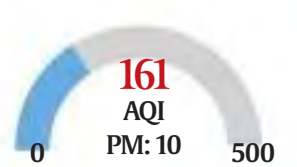


0-50 Good

51-100 Satisfactory

SIRIFORT

Moderate

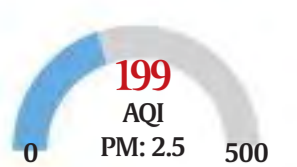


101-200 Moderate

201-300 Poor

SHADIPUR

Moderate



301-400 Very Poor

DWARKA-SECTOR 8

Moderate



401-500 Severe

## NORTHEAST DELHI VIOLENCE

# In riot-hit areas, long queues for food, ration, many open kitchens to others

AMIL BHATNAGAR  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

FOR OVER three hours on Saturday, Shabnam (27) stood in a 100-metre-long queue in Yamuna Vihar. At the end of the line were volunteers distributing ration such as rice and flour. With a five-year-old son to feed back home, she was determined to wait longer, if need be.

Even as normalcy slowly returned to riot-affected areas in Northeast Delhi, locals said they are staring at shortage of food and essential supplies.

Since Thursday, NGOs and volunteers across the city have been coordinating with locals to assist in distributing necessary items. Once the items arrive, a shop in the neighbourhood is converted into a temporary storage facility, from where distribution takes place.

On Saturday, women in Yamuna Vihar were informed that food packets would be distributed by volunteers in the evening. By afternoon, more than 150 women lined up outside a shop and small arguments broke out as they jostled for a spot in the queue.

The women were given a paper chit with a number which had to be submitted at the distribution point to receive packets containing rice, vegetable oil, flour, tea leaves, sugar and salt.

"At this point, survival is most important... we are thankful that people are coming forward to help. Many of us have not eaten a proper meal in two days. We are doing our best to carry out food distribution as much as possible. Despite this, several areas in Sherpur and Chand Bagh need help," said Mohammad Aslam, a resident and local businessman coordinating the supply.

Among the families in dire need of ration are those whose houses were damaged or burnt down.

Rubina, a resident of Maujpur, whose home was damaged, said: "The adults can survive hunger but children need food. My husband is a daily wage labourer and there is no work at the moment... We got a packet of milk from someone, a banana from another..."



Women line up as volunteers distribute essential items in Yamuna Vihar, Saturday. Gajendra Yadav

Meanwhile, families who escaped the violence have opened their kitchens to those in need.

Raza, a resident of Shiv Vihar, said: "Thankfully, a lot of the houses in our area were untouched by violence so we have reserves of food. We have been making rounds with tea, bread and snacks and give them to those who need food. We don't have a lot but we share because the communities needs it, irrespective of religion."

According to locals, the violence has meant many traders are afraid to reopen shops. Suppliers from other areas, who used to send goods to Northeast Delhi, have also stopped trade for the time being.

"I opened my shop in great apprehension, simply because we don't have much to eat. We rely on money that comes in daily and this violence has taken it away for now. Even if you open shops, there are no customers because people are still afraid to step out," said Surendra, who runs a mechanic shop in Gokulpuri.

While shops in certain areas have reopened, residents alleged many are hoarding items or selling them at inflated prices.

"Police tell us that the violence is over. But our battles have not ended. Potatoes being sold for Rs 20/kg in other areas are being sold for Rs 50/kg here. Some shops are selling milk at Rs 100 a pouch. Our families are daily wagers; now there are no wages and essential items have become more expensive. We will have to rely on donations for a while," said Sakeena, who has a family of five to feed.

To amplify demands of locals and material needed, volunteers have made appeals on social media platforms.

Students from Delhi University's North Campus also donated ration, said locals. Sikh communities have also set up langars that prepare meals three times a day.

"Most people need milk and basic items like flour and dal to prepare a meal. The langars have also helped in giving people food. We are hoping the situation will normalise in some days as more people will open up shops," said Mohammad Aslam, a resident.

## Feb 22: As protesters mobilised, senior cops were busy at 'Hasya Kavi' event



As part of police week, a 'Hasya Kavi Sammelan' was organised in New Ashok Nagar on February 22. Express

MAHENDER SINGH  
MANRAL  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

FOR FIVE hours, as a group of 300-400 anti-CAA protesters mobilised under Jafrabad Metro station and blocked the road last Saturday, senior officers of the Eastern range, including DCP (Northeast) Ved Prakash Surya, were attending a 'Hasya Kavi Sammelan' in East Delhi's New Ashok Nagar. They left the event around 8 pm; by 10 pm, the group had gathered below the station.

Police said a smaller anti-CAA protest had been going on for over a month in Northeast Delhi, but the numbers swelled in size on Saturday and the group blocked the Jafrabad road. It was in response to this blockade that BJP's Kapil Mishra held a pro-CAA rally in the area on Sunday.

"As part of police week, a 'Hasya Kavi Sammelan' was organised in New Ashok Nagar. JCP (Eastern range) Alok Kumar was the chief guest and all SHOs from the Eastern range were asked to come along with their staff to attend the programme, which was followed by dinner. Around 10.30 pm on Saturday, police force from adjoining districts were called in to Jafrabad after people gathered at the Metro station," said police sources.

When contacted, DCP Surya said they left around 7.30 pm and the reserve police force was called in at 8.30 pm.

Surya, incidentally, was the

officer standing next to BJP's Mishra when he issued a warning to anti-CAA protesters and gave police a three-day ultimatum to clear the road.

When contacted, JCP Alok Kumar told *The Sunday Express* that DCP Surya left the programme after he found out about their gathering below the Metro station, and made all proper security arrangements. On February 25, a day after violence broke out in the district, police had cleared the Jafrabad sit-in.

A senior officer said: "Initially, we received information that protesters would gather at the old site, around 500 metres away, but they blocked the road under Jafrabad Metro station. Around 500 women, along with children and 400 men, had gathered. But by the next morning, the crowd swelled to 2,000-3,000. Things took a turn when pro-CAA protesters also said they will block the Maujpur stretch. District police tried to convince them but they didn't listen."

An officer said stone-pelting started in the evening but was controlled by local police.

"Adequate arrangements were made on February 24; due to Trump's visit, Eastern range officers were exempted. Though it took time to mobilise the force, sufficient officers were deployed. However, DCP (Shahdara) Amit Sharma was beaten up in Chand Bagh and Head Constable Ratan Lal was shot dead and the reserve force couldn't reach on time," said the officer.

## Neighbour's home burning, 29-yr-old rushed in to save 6

ASTHA SAXENA  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

WHEN A mob set fire to his neighbour's home, Premkant Baghel (29) didn't think twice before rushing into the burning structure and pulling to safety all six of its inhabitants.

A resident of Shiv Vihar, Baghel, an autorickshaw driver, suffered 70% burn injuries during the rescue and is admitted to the burn ward at GTB Hospital. Doctors said he is stable and showing signs of recovery.

Recalling the incident on Tuesday, his brother Sumit Baghel said Premkant leapt into the flames without caring for his life and saved the neighbours, known in the locality as 'lalaji ki' family.

"While we were sitting at our home, we suddenly saw flames in the neighbouring house. While some of us went to the terrace to see what exactly had happened, Premkant had already reached their house. He

managed to pull five of them out safely but an elderly woman was stuck and her rescue took time. He suffered burns in the process," said Sumit.

According to doctors, he suffered partial burns on his face and severely burnt both his hands. Delhi Commission for Women (DCW) chief Swati Maliwal met Premkant at the hospital on Friday.

"He is not in danger but his face has suffered partial burns. He is very proud of the fact that he could save lives... We rushed to pull Premkant out, but had to wait to take him to the hospital as no one offered us a lift and no ambulance could be found," said his brother.

The violent clashes in Northeast Delhi have left over 250 injured. According to the family, a large number of properties were damaged in their area as frenzied mobs torched houses, shops, vehicles, a petrol pump and pelleted stones at locals and police personnel.

## Houses gutted, 42 families find refuge in govt shelter

AMIL BHATNAGAR  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

FAMILIES LIE huddled together on mattresses as a volunteer in an orange vest goes around distributing milk in Shri Ram Colony's community centre.

According to Delhi government officials, 42 families from the riot-affected areas have taken shelter at the government-run facility in the last two days. Families say their houses were burnt and they are now on the streets, having to rely on temporary relief before they figure out how to rebuild their lives.

Mehboob Hasan, the Imam of Mubarak Masjid in Shahdara's Ghedi Mendu, alleged he was inside the mosque following evening prayers when a mob attacked with stones. Hasan said he hid inside for half an hour, and that both the mosque and a madrasa



At the Shri Ram Colony's community centre, Saturday. Gajendra Yadav

were damaged. "I have a house close to the mosque but I am afraid to go back," he said.

Mehboob is currently staying at the shelter with his son, while other family members

are at a relative's place.

At the shelter, the families have been provided with a

mattress along with a pair of spare clothing. Volunteers distribute three meals which include dal, roti and a vegetable. Tea and snacks are also distributed while children are provided with bananas. The second floor of the centre has been reserved for children and women.

Mehtab, who is at the centre with four daughters-in-law, including one with a two-year-old boy, said that when his home was attacked, they "made several calls to the police but no one responded".

"My sons somehow got us out and we fled immediately. We stayed at a relative's place and came here two days ago. We are at peace here but I don't know how long we can be here," Mehtab said.

According to officials, the advertisement for the shelter was put out in newspapers for families whose homes have been destroyed or damaged.

"We want to tell people that it is an option for those who have no place to go. We are not requesting people who are already at their homes, but those who have nowhere to go. The centre is safe for them and arrangements for food are being made," said an official.

Several locals have to make do with a single pair of clothing that they were wearing at the time of attack since they could take any material from the house while fleeing.

Many say they will not return until there is adequate security in their locality.

"There is too much tension in the area. We need to go back and rebuild our lives but it is not possible at the moment. Even going back to our house seems like a nightmare. We need security in the area. Our money was also looted so we have nothing right now," said Mohammad Naushad, a daily wage labourer whose house was destroyed.

## 2 FORMER COMMISSIONERS WEIGH IN

# Would have arrested BJP leaders if I was in charge, says ex-police chief

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

FORMER COMMISSIONER of Police in Delhi and former Director General of the Border Security Force Ajay Raj Sharma has slammed the Delhi Police for their role in the violence that rocked Northeast Delhi last week.

In an interview to journalist

Karan Thapar for *The Wire*, Sharma, who served as the Delhi CP from 1999-2002, said that "he would have arrested BJP leaders Anurag Thakur, Parvesh Verma and Kapil Mishra" for the inflammatory speeches they made.

Sharma said, "I would have arrested Thakur after informing the Home Ministry... For Mishra (who is not an MLA), there was no obstruction in arresting

him." When Thapar asked him about Deputy Commissioner of Police (Northeast) Ved Prakash Surya standing next to Mishra as he gave an "ultimatum to police" at a rally in Northeast Delhi, Sharma said, "I would have called for his explanation immediately... Why did he not take action or tell him to stop... If the explanation wasn't satisfactory, he would have been re-

moved from his post."

Sharma said that the first mistake police made was "allowing Shaheen Bagh to take place... If Shaheen Bagh had not taken place, this riot would not have taken place. Shaheen Bagh was leading to communal tension because of the slogans being raised there."

He said anything that obstructs traffic on the roads is a cognizable crime and "when a



Ajay Raj Sharma

**I would have arrested (Anurag) Thakur after informing the Home Ministry... For (Kapil) Mishra (not an MLA), there was no obstruction in arresting him: Sharma**

cognizable crime takes place, you have to act as a policeman".

*The Indian Express* spoke to a former CP about the current law and order situation in the city and the role of police.

T R Kakkur, who served as Commissioner of Police, Delhi, from 1997-98, said, "For reasons best known to the government, and the Home Minister, a lot of restraint has been exercised by

police. The perpetrators feel emboldened."

Kakkur said Section 144 should have been imposed sooner, preventive arrests should have been made, and borders immediately sealed or at least police presence should have been increased.

"Even when Section 144 was imposed, people didn't care... They were already emboldened," he said.



Across Northeast Delhi, residents tried to get their lives back on track, with several visiting their homes and shops to take stock of the damage. Praveen Khanna

## In Yamuna Vihar, mob operated out of hospital

SUKRITA BARUAH  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

A LONE doctor sat in the casualty room of Mohan Nursing Home and Hospital while pieces of glass were being swept off the floor in other rooms of the hospital, which re-opened after four days on Saturday.

On Monday, as the riots in Northeast Delhi swelled, the hospital — located in Yamuna Vihar, just off the main Wazirabad road, and close to the petrol pump set ablaze in Bhajanpura — was used by the mob as a theatre of violence.

A video which had appeared on social media showed a group of around seven-eight men standing on the terrace of the hospital, firing and pelting objects at the road below.

Dr Anil Chauhan, who was at the hospital Saturday, said the incident recorded on video had taken place Monday, when the hospital was open and functioning. Patients and staff had to be evacuated from the building because of the incident, he said.

"There were four patients admitted at that time. Around 1 pm on Monday, violence escalated on the main road. As this continued for a while, people with injuries began coming to the hospital, including policemen. We were bandaging their wounds in the casualty room and the dressing room below. However, the mob began to grow on the hospital lane soon. Sensing it could get out of control, we evacuated pa-



Windows were shattered on each floor. Gajendra Yadav

tients who were admitted and sent them back home. The entire hospital staff fled as well. The mob must have entered after that," he said.

The hospital remained shut for the next few days as violence raged on. There were no patients on Saturday, and only one doctor was present.

A semblance of normalcy returned after the first floor was cleaned. However, the windows were shattered on each floor. Glass shards remained on the beds and desks.

## Absent on ground, Tiwari says he is in touch with police

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

WITH HIS constituency in the grip of violence which left 42 people dead, Delhi BJP chief and Northeast Delhi MP Manoj Tiwari Saturday said police underestimated how the crowd would swell. "Aaklan lagane mein chuk hue hai. Unhone socha hoga kaise Shaheen Bagh mein chal raha hai, waise hi yahan bhi log baithenge (Police didn't estimate the crowd would swell like this. They thought that the protesters would organise a sit-in like the one in Shaheen Bagh). But the violence spread here very fast," he said.

Asked why he was not seen in the area last Sunday, when clashes erupted between pro and anti-CAA protesters following a speech by BJP's Kapil Mishra, he said the whole area was barricaded. "I was in contact with police; people in the constituency were trying to get help."

Tiwari said 73 companies of additional security forces were deployed on Monday but the violence escalated. "I also got calls from many saying they need

more police force in their areas."

On Mishra's statement calling for forceful removal of anti-CAA protesters, Tiwari said a committee should be formed to define hate speeches and that those giving such speeches should be barred from fighting polls.

Meanwhile, BJP MP Parvesh Sahib Singh, also accused of making hate speeches, Saturday said he would give his salary of one month to the families of the policeman and Intelligence Bureau employee who were killed.

"I dedicate my salary of one month each as member of Parliament to the families of Delhi Police Head Constable Ratan Lal and IB officer Ankit Sharma, killed while doing their duty, in the unfortunate violence in Delhi," Verma, who represents West Delhi in the Lok Sabha, said.

On Wednesday, the Delhi HC had directed police to take a "conscious decision" with respect to lodging of FIRs against alleged hate speeches by the BJP leaders in connection with the violence.

Singh has earlier said that if left unchecked, Shaheen Bagh protesters would enter homes and rape women.

## Schools in district to remain shut till March 7

New Delhi: Schools in North East Delhi will continue to remain shut till March 7, as per the directions of the Delhi government's education department. However, CBSE announced that board exams scheduled for March 2 will be held as planned. The staff of these schools held meetings to assess the situation on Saturday, following which the education department decided to keep the

schools shut till March 7. A circular issued by the education department said the decision was taken "realising the mental state of the students". It also stated that a schedule for postponed internal examinations will be announced shortly. On the other hand, CBSE stated that board exams will be conducted in North East Delhi Monday. Class 12 students have Physics exam on March 2. ENS

### MEANWHILE NORTHWEST DELHI VIOLENCE

# 'Lost my son, what am I left with': Two more bodies identified at GTB

ASTHA SAXENA & AMIL BHATNAGAR  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

SIX DAYS after riots broke out in Delhi, three bodies remain unidentified, with families claiming two of the dead at GTB Hospital on Saturday. For the first day, there was no rise in the death toll, which stands at 42.

With the hospital completing post-mortems of 11 on Saturday, six bodies now remain in the mortuary, including the three unidentified ones. The DNA sample of a fourth has been sent for testing since a family that came forward was not sure about his identity. Many families kept hanging around the hospital mortuary hoping for news of relatives.

Among those identified on Saturday was Prem Singh, a rickshaw-puller missing since Tuesday. As Singh's elder brother Shyam Singh broke the news to the family waiting outside, their mother Natho Devi (60) broke down. "Mera beta kahan gaya, ek baar uski shakal dikha do. Teen din se teri maa tu jhe dhoond rahi hai (Your mother is looking for you for the last three days. Where are you, my son? Just show me your face once)," howled Natho.

A native of Kasganj who lived in Brijpuri, Singh leaves behind three daughters and a seven-month pregnant wife. He earned Rs 100 a day from pulling a rickshaw. Shyam, who came from Kasganj in search of Singh, asked who would support his family now. "Who do we go and ask?" The search also ended for



Families wait outside the GTB mortuary, Saturday. Astha Saxena

Ram Sugarak (48), a rickshaw-puller, with his 15-year-old son Nitin Kumar turning up among the dead at the mortuary. A Class 9 student, Nitin was brought to the hospital with severe head injuries and died on February 27.

"I have lost my child. What am I left with?" asked Sugarak, who earns Rs 100-150 a day.

Across Northeast Delhi, residents tried to get life back on track, with several visiting their homes and shops in Mustafabad to take stock of the damage. In several areas, stores opened but briefly as shopkeepers ran out of stock. Locals accused some shops of hoarding essential items to sell them at a higher price given the demand.

The Gokulpuri and Maujpur main markets saw some hustle

and bustle, with most shops open except those that burnt down.

Security forces continue to be deployed in Mustafabad, Shiv Vihar and some other areas.

"We have registered 167 FIRs and arrested or detained 885 people in connection with the violence. A total of 36 cases have been registered under the Arms Act. Thirteen FIRs have been also registered against accounts operating from different platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram etc and posting provocative content. Several social media accounts and web links involved in circulation of unlawful, offensive content have been suspended/removed through concerned platforms," said Delhi Police spokesperson Mandeep Singh Randhawa.

## Body charred, man identified by foot mark

ASTHA SAXENA  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

FOR SALIM Qassar (51), the only way to identify his brother's body was a mark on his foot. Outside the mortuary of GTB Hospital on Saturday, Salim said his brother Anwar (58) was assaulted and burnt alive by a mob outside their residence in Shiv Vihar on Tuesday.

Salim, who lived near his brother's residence, claimed he saw a group of men enter their lane in Shiv Vihar. Sensing danger, he fled from his house with his wife and seven children to take refuge at a Hindu neighbour's home. He said that as he hid inside, he saw the mob kill his brother.

"Rooh kaanp gayi thi meri, sab bachche rone lage (I was shocked, the children were crying). I help-

lessly saw my brother get killed," he said.

As Salim and his family hid, Anwar's body was taken to GTB Hospital. Salim said they reached the morgue later, and the only way left to identify the charred body was a mark on the foot, the nails and cracked heels.

Anwar, who owned a poultry farm, leaves behind his wife and a married daughter. Ever since his son-in-law lost his eyesight four years ago, Anwar had been taking care of his daughter's family too.

Salim said that as he waited inside his neighbour's home, they suggested he and his family put a tilak and wear a saffron scarf before eventually stepping out when the violence subsided.

"My home, my vehicle, it's all burnt down. My daughter was to get married in April; everything is lost," said Salim.



Anwar's brother Salim outside the GTB mortuary. Astha Saxena

### RANSACKED TWICE, SAY FAMILY, NEIGHBOURS

# In Ganga Vihar lane, retired sub-inspector's home is mob's lone target

SUKRITA BARUAH  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

DURING LAST week's violence in Northeast Delhi, a lone house belonging to a retired Delhi Police sub-inspector was ransacked and vandalised in a lane in Ganga Vihar. Mehmood Khan (66) had retired after 39 years of service with the Delhi Police, as sub-inspector at Bhajanpura police station in 2014. On Saturday, he returned to the home he lived in for 35 years to pack mattresses, sheets, blankets, utensils and

other essentials his family required in the house in which they are seeking refuge in Kabir Nagar. Inside, windows and mirrors were shattered, fans, the washing machine and air-conditioners were mangled, and furniture destroyed. Khan also said cash and jewellery had been stolen.

"They didn't even spare my two-year old daughter's little tricycle," said Shokeen, Khan's youngest son.

Khan lived in the house with his wife, three sons, three daughters-in-law and 10 grandchildren. There is the only Muslim family

in the lane. According to Khan and his neighbours, the house was ransacked twice in the last week.

"I had left the Gokulpuri mosque on Monday at 6.30 pm and when I reached the main road, there were at least 1,000 people wielding sticks. I put my skull cap in my pocket, ran home and found hundreds of people nearby. I gathered my family, locked the front door and fled on four motorcycles to our relatives' home in Kabir Nagar," he said.

He said he received a call from a neighbour at 3.30 pm the next



Belongings salvaged by Khan from the house

day, saying that a mob of around 50 had entered his house and

were destroying things within. He claimed he made six PCR calls but did not receive help.

Around 2.30 am Wednesday, he said he received one more call from another neighbour saying the mob was ransacking the house again. He claimed he made three more PCR calls but received no assistance.

Khan said his neighbours had tried their best to push back the mob, adding that he was not willing to live in the house anymore.

His neighbours Manoj Kumar and Sanjeev Tomar said they had installed a new lock on the front

door after the house was ransacked the first time and removed all cylinders from inside to reduce chances of it being burnt down. They, along with other men in the lane, have also been holding vigil every night since Monday though they were physically overpowered by the mob on Tuesday night.

"In my years of service, never have I seen such behaviour by police... I would never have allowed anything like this to happen. Gokulpuri burned for two days, police was nowhere to be seen," said Khan.

# 6 GOVT & POLITICS

## All eyes on Shah's Kolkata rally today

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
KOLKATA, FEBRUARY 29

HOME MINISTER Amit Shah will address a rally at Shahid Minar Ground in Kolkata on Sunday, as Left parties and Muslim organisations plan to hold protests.

According to BJP, over one lakh party workers will attend Shah's 'Abhinandan' rally during which he will speak on the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA).

Speaking to *The Sunday Express*, BJP state secretary Sayantan Basu said, "Over one lakh people will attend the rally tomorrow. Our workers from the districts will come to Kolkata to

hear Amit Shah-ji speak. CAA is a great Act brought in by Modi ji and Amit Shah ji. Tomorrow, the people of Bengal will thank them for that. They have understood the pain of Bengali refugees, who were forced out of Bangladesh. The Act not only recognised their plight, but also gave them respect in the country."

"The Left and others are against the Bengali refugees, and that is why they are protesting," Basu added.

Meanwhile, at the ground finishing touches were given to the stage where Shah along with state BJP leaders will be present. From Saturday night, party workers from the districts will pour into the city for whom the

BJP has made arrangements. On Sunday morning, the party workers will take out rallies from different points of the city as well as Howrah station and converge at the venue.

According to state BJP leaders, the party initially had a hard time with Bengal turning out to be one of the major focal points for anti-CAA protests. Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee, too, had hit the streets for days in protest against CAA, National Register of Citizens (NRC) and National Population Register (NPR).

"However, we then started a door-to-door campaign to clear misinformation on the Act. We also reached out to Bengali refugee colonies and Matua

community over the issue and got a very good response. Shah's rally will further our case and put forward a clear view point. This is crucial since we have municipal polls just round the corner and Assembly polls next year," said a senior BJP leader.

Meanwhile, Left and several other organisations, including Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind, have planned to hold protests in Kolkata on Sunday. They have planned to show Shah black flags and raise 'Go Back' slogans. Protests are planned not only near the venue, but also along the route that Shah will take from the airport. The protest will not only be held against CAA, but also to highlight the failure of police dur-

ing the recent violence in Delhi. BJP national secretary Rahul Sinha said, "Everyone has the right to protest. CPM and Congress can also protest. But if they try to disrupt our rally, then we know how to tackle them."

State Congress president Somen Mitra said, "This is a time when examinations are on. No political parties are allowed to hold rallies. But TMC is giving special treatment to BJP."

CPI(M) legislative leader Sujan Chakraborty said, "It is clear who is with whom. Trinamool Congress is allowing BJP to hold a rally and even grow in Bengal. How can they get permission from police to use loudspeakers?"

## Bundelkhand Expressway will give momentum to defence corridor: Modi

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
LUCKNOW, FEBRUARY 29

LAYING THE foundation stone of Bundelkhand Expressway, Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Saturday said the Bundelkhand Expressway would give momentum to the Defence Corridor and the land of freedom fighters would now be known for manufacturing defence equipment in the coming days.

Addressing a gathering in Bharatkoop in Uttar Pradesh's Chitrakoot district, after launching 10,000 Farmer Producer Organisations (FPO) all over the country, PM Modi said that with his government in power, now every fund that is starting its journey from the Centre in Delhi is now reaching deserving candidates, unlike what used to happen earlier. During the programme, he also distributed Kisan Credit Cards to beneficiaries of PM Samman Nidhi.

"The Uttar Pradesh government, led by Yogi Adityanath, has started the scheme of One District One Product and the FPOs will be connected to the scheme. There will be one FPO in each block. The Yogi [Adityanath] government is working at an express speed. The Bundelkhand expressway, Purvanchal expressway and the proposed Ganga expressway will provide jobs in the state. The Bundelkhand expressway will provide speed to the Defence Corridor and this land of freedom fighters will now be known for equipment of war," said Modi.

Claiming that his government is working for farmers' welfare, the PM said the exhibitions of successful FPOs shows how great things farmers can do and that make him proud. "In the next five years we are going to spend around Rs 5,000 crore for the welfare of farmers. Kisan Credit Cards are being distributed so that farmers can get easy loans from the banks. We are also making 16-point plans to increase farmer income," said Modi.

While addressing the event, Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath said the tanks made in



Prime Minister Narendra Modi distributes assistive devices at the Samajik Adhikarita Shivir in Prayagraj. Ritesh Shukla

Bundelkhand would now show their power to take Chitrakoot, the land where Lord Ram spend most of his time during his *van-waas* (exile)", to new heights. Just like Chitrakoot lent support to Lord Ram during his low phase, the PM has ended the long wait for a grand Ram temple in Ayodhya, said the CM.

Earlier in the day, both the leaders, accompanied by Governor Anandiben Patel, addressed the 'Samajik Adhikarita Shivir' organised in Prayagraj where they distributed around 27,000 devices to differently abled persons.

Claiming that his government was constantly encouraging the skills of the differently abled, especially children and youngsters, Modi said their participation was necessary for the creation of a new India, be it in the industry and service sectors or the sports arena.

"In the five years of the previous government, devices worth less than Rs 380 crore were distributed to differently abled persons while our government has distributed devices worth more than Rs 900 crore. That is, about two-and-a-half times more. Such distribution camps were hardly organised in

the previous governments while in the past five years, our government has organised around 9,000 camps in different areas of the country. In addition, in the last four-five years, hundreds of buildings in the country, more than 700 railway stations, airports, have been made accessible to them. The remaining are also being linked to the Sugama Bharat Abhiyan," PM Modi said.

"The devices given to the differently-abled people are just a companion to their high spirits. Their real strength is their patience, strength, and mind. Today, around 27,000 devices have been given to them. The enrollment of disabled people has also been increased from 3 percent to 5 percent for admission in higher education institutions. The skill development of disabled persons has also been our top priority. Our government implemented a law clarifying their rights. One of the major benefits of this law is that the seven different categories of Divyang were now increased to 21," added the PM.

Talking about the senior citizens, he said that in the past five and a half years, the cost of treatment for senior people has been reduced and the government is constantly working to reduce this problem from the lives of senior citizens. Three years ago, our government has started 'Rashtriya Vayoshree Yojana' in order to provide the necessary devices to senior citizens, he added.

## Cong urges apex court to appoint amicus curiae for cases against protesters

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

ACCUSING THE Delhi Police of carrying out a "one-sided" investigation into the violence in Delhi, the Congress on Saturday asked the Supreme Court to appoint an amicus curiae to scrutinise all cases in which protesters and activists are being slapped with serious charges.

Senior Congress leader Anand Sharma said the Supreme Court, being the custodian of the Constitution, should intervene and stop the "miscarriage of justice which is taking place through out the country and in Delhi... people are being framed... arbitrary arrests are taking place."

He said situation is far from normal and there is prevailing environment of fear.

"We have seen that for merely raising the protest, objecting to a government decision or a wrong law, opposing a discriminatory legislation brought in by the government... citizens are accused of sedition. It is the right of every citizen to question, to protest and to oppose but all over the country sedition cases are being filed which has never

happened... The Supreme Court too had talked about and given an order on (CrP) Section 144 and how rampantly it was being misused," Sharma said.

"Before permission for a protest is given and before the protest or before a word is said, (we have seen) imposition of Section 144 and citizens are in violation of law," he said.

Sharma said the Delhi Police which "allowed Delhi to burn for almost four days" is now taking action in the name of hate speech. "What is the definition of hate speech? The speeches made by the BJP leaders were not hate speeches and protests and 'dhamas' by the citizens are a threat to the society as per the cases registered.

"We urge the Supreme Court to take cognizance of all these cases. Let the Supreme Court appoint an amicus curiae, let them scrutinise all such cases which are being registered... The Supreme Court is the custodian of the Constitution. The delays don't help, the entire world is watching this country. It is time the Supreme Court intervenes effectively to protect the rights of the citizens guaranteed by Indian Constitution," he said.

## JUSTICE MURALIDHAR TRANSFER

### Ex-CJI: 'Midnight' order can send wrong signal

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

THE GOVERNMENT should have been a "little careful" while issuing the "midnight" order transferring Delhi High Court judge Justice S Muralidhar to the Punjab and Haryana High Court, former Chief Justice of India Justice K G Balakrishnan has said.

The transfer order was issued by the Law and Justice Ministry on February 26, the day a bench headed by Justice Muralidhar expressed "anguish" over the Delhi Police's failure to register FIRs against alleged hate speeches by three BJP leaders in the run-up to the riots in the Capital.

The government said the transfer had nothing to do with the case, as a recommendation to this effect had been made by the Supreme Court Collegium earlier and the judge had given his consent.

Talking to PTI over phone on Friday, Justice Balakrishnan said it may have been coincidence that the final transfer notification



Justice K G Balakrishnan (retd)

was issued on the day when Justice Muralidhar heard the hate speeches case. "I don't know on what date the transfer issue came up before the collegium," he said.

However, the ex-CJI said, "When the situation in the country is so volatile and media and others are active, the government should have been a little careful while issuing such midnight transfer order as there are chances of people thinking otherwise. People could interpret differently."

Justice Balakrishnan also said that he did not think that Justice Muralidhar was asked to join the next day itself in the Punjab and Haryana High Court. Normally, when such a transfer order is issued, a joining time of not less than seven days is given to enable the judge to prepare himself for the new posting, he added.

## 'Delhi riots result of confusion by Oppn over govt policies'

SHYAMLAL YADAV  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

UNION MINISTER of Minority Affairs Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi has said that the Delhi riots were a result of confusion created by opposition parties about the Central government's policies. Without naming BJP leader Kapil Mishra, he also said that there are miscreants on both sides, and those who have instigated these riots will not be spared.

Speaking to *The Indian Express*, Naqvi, the only Muslim face in the Narendra Modi government, said that those behind the riots are "professional political provokers".

"They were trying it since 2014. Starting from the protests on so-called intolerance, award wapsi, Shaheen Bagh, where some innocent women were misled to sit there and protest, and these Delhi riots—all should be seen as linked," he said.

The minister added, "Delhi was deliberately chosen by the bogus bashing brigade in the name of CAA, NRC and NPR. Leaders of opposition parties visiting Shaheen Bagh never tried to pacify them but rather, they tried to provoke them. The Delhi riots are a result of all this confusion created by opposition parties about the Modi government's policies. This should not have happened, this must not be repeated.



Minority Affairs Minister Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi

And it will not be repeated."

When he was asked whether Mishra should also be held responsible for instigating the riots, Naqvi said, "Whoever is the culprit will not be spared. He may be of this side or that side. I don't want to take anybody's name, but whoever he is, he will not be spared."

He said "provokers and perpetrators" will be in prison, while peace and harmony will prevail, adding, "Don't think that any such person will be spared. Anybody who committed such acts will not be spared. Whoever has done it, he must realise that under Modi ji, one can't even think that after setting fire to the country or its part, he will be spared. We will defeat all such evil forces."

When asked whether responsibility for the riots should also be accorded to the Central government, under whose purview the Delhi Police falls, Naqvi said, "Now priority should be that peace must

## People who say Godse was right making allegations: Kanhaiya

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

PEOPLE WHO say Godse was right and Mahatma Gandhi "wrong" are now leveling allegations and calling people who speak the truth, fight for justice and save the Constitution "anti-national", CPI leader and former JNU Students' Union president Kanhaiya Kumar said in Ranchi.

Speaking at a rally against CAA, NRC and NPR outside Kadru Haj House here on Friday night, Kanhaiya said he is praying for the people who died in Delhi riots. He said that those who are "against people of the country, against the very foundations of India's independence, and who term Godse as correct and Gandhi wrong" are the very people who are polarising Hindu and Muslim communities and making them fight each other.

This, he said, is meant to divert attention from the fundamental issues.

"*Jab sach bolna gunah ho jaye. (Iski) tamaam kimto ko chukaate hue, tamam khatro ko gholte hue, sach bolne ki himmat hamare andar honi chahiye jo aaj ki zaroorat hai.* (When speaking the truth becomes an offence, we should have the courage to speak the truth, which is a need of the hour)."

Taking a dig at Home Minister Amit Shah, without naming him, the CPI leader, fresh from a "Jan Gan Man yatra" across days in Bihar, which attracted large crowds, said, "They want to put guns and rods in the hands of our children, but makes his own son BCCI secretary. They are making the sons of labourers as rioters by making them fight each other."

Shah's son Jay Shah is BCCI secretary.

## DELHI GOVT'S NOD IN KANHAIYA SEDITION CASE

### Cong says AAP, BJP two sides of same coin; Left blames 'BJP pressure'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, PATNA, FEBRUARY 29

THE CONGRESS and the Left on Saturday hit out at the Arvind Kejriwal government for its sanction to prosecute Kanhaiya Kumar and nine others in connection with a sedition case.

The Congress said the AAP's thinking is the same as that of the BJP and they were "two sides of the same coin".

CPI leader D Raja said Kejriwal had in 2016 called these videos doctored and asked how did he suddenly realise that there are evidence against Kanhaiya, who was then the JNU Students' Union.

Senior Congress spokesperson Anand Sharma said the move exposes Kejriwal and his government.

"Whatever has happened till now, whether it was CAA or NPR, the AAP has the same thinking as

that of the BJP. They are two sides of the same coin, their thinking isn't different," Sharma told reporters. "They do not have the police but they have the administration. Whether it is the magistrate or other officials they could have given orders," he said, alleging that the AAP has acted selectively on cases which "raises questions over its mentality".

Senior Congress leader P Chidambaram also hit out at the AAP government, saying it was "no less ill-informed than the Centre" in its understanding of the sedition law.

"Delhi Government is no less ill-informed than the central government in its understanding of sedition law," Chidambaram tweeted. "I strongly disapprove of the sanction granted to prosecute Mr Kanhaiya Kumar and others for alleged offences under sections 124A and 120B of IPC," the former home minister said.

## 'Crackdown on protests shows govt's brutal claws, leaves it open to ridicule'

NOBEL LAUREATE and philosopher and economist Prof AMARTYA SEN speaks to SEEMA CHISHITI about the ongoing protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, National Register of Citizens and National Population Register, and the Delhi violence.

Excerpts:

### What do you make of these protests across the country?

When the executive and legislative actions of a government depart fundamentally from the requirements of secularism and democracy in the Constitution, it is not surprising that protesting voices will arise from across the country. That commitment remains important.

### What is the most significant feature of these protests?

They are important in at least two respects. First, protest movements can play a significant role in influencing electoral outcomes. Second, even without an election, protests give people an opportunity to get their voices heard. And if the protests are subdued through authoritarian intervention, with attempts to incarcerate protesters, the government ends up revealing to the public—at home and abroad—its brutal claws. Distorted use of legal terms, such as a tendency to describe 'dissent' as 'sedition', can also generate ridicule.

Young persons, especially women, are at the forefront

### of this movement. How significant is that?

Young people being in the forefront of political rebellion is not uncommon. More strikingly, women's leadership, especially that of young and minority women, has been very prominent. This gives the protests much greater reach and force. The regional picture is important too. The fact that women's leadership in the contemporary protests has often come in states where women have traditionally had a low voice (North India for example) is very important.

The protesters have embraced the Constitution as well as national symbols that the Right lies claim to.



This is hugely important. In a democracy, a government is only a part of the State.

What should the government be doing?

As we know from John Stuart

Mill, democracy is 'government by discussion'. I would make the obvious point that the government should not be stifling voices of protest or of opposition. I was happy to see Justice D Y Chandrachud say something like

that in a recent speech.

The government can stifle voices by trying to ban dissent, relying on the slowness—or inability—of courts to stop such tactics. Or it can get there by using its policing power to allow—sometimes encourage—violence. The recent political experiences in a monolithically governed India do not give people the confidence that authoritarian power is not being misused.

### Where do you see hope?

Courageous dissent is itself a powerful way, as our leaders have taught us (Gandhiji leading the field). Reasoning itself can make clear why even the great holders of power need restraint. World history is full of examples

of impermanent tyrannies. Where did the Latin American oppressors end up?

It is not the case, for example, that no one will ask in the future: 'Why did the peaceful protesters in Northeast Delhi have so little help from police? How did armed thugs have the opportunity to beat up students at JNU or AMU? Why was a doctored video put in circulation trying to tell a false story about what happened in one campus or other?'

What gives force to Faiz Ahmad Faiz's poetical reminder Hum Dekhenge includes the understanding that everything terrible being done right now—no matter how cunning it looks today (and how much of a 'mastermind' their 'smart' planners ap-

pear to be)—will come up for assessment.

There is a grand illusion in the implicit tendency of authoritarian rulers to believe they have power forever. Even if there is a change, the future won't be able to judge adversely. But, as Faiz knew, the deeds of today will remain open for examination tomorrow. Records will emerge in many different ways. The stories that are championed in a strong-armed way today will not last forever. That is how history is written.

Sen is Thomas W Lamont University Professor and Professor of Economics and Philosophy at Harvard University

FULL INTERVIEW ON [www.indianexpress.com](http://www.indianexpress.com)

# Silchar college lecturer held for FB post as students protest

**TORA AGARWALA**  
GUWAHATI, FEBRUARY 29

A GUEST lecturer at Gurucharan College in Silchar, Assam, was arrested on Friday night following an FIR by 10 students accusing him of making inflammatory comments on Facebook.

While Souradeep Sengupta, 25, deleted his Facebook post after the students objected, police acted on the FIR to arrest him. Cachar SP Manabendra Dev Ray said Sengupta had been booked under the IPC and IT Act. "He was arrested due to anti-social comments on Facebook which may lead to communal tensions," the officer said.

Sengupta's bail plea came up before court on Saturday, and he was sent to judicial custody till Monday.

Sengupta's family members said students had forced their way into their home, shouting 'Jai Shri Ram' slogans.

Students are demanding that Sengupta be fired. Reached for a comment, Principal Bibhas Deb said Sengupta was not associated with Gurucharan College. "It was a temporary appointment and it (his contract) ended in November," Deb added, refusing to comment further.

Sengupta, who had joined as guest lecturer at Gurucharan College a year ago, put up the Facebook post following the riots in Delhi, suggesting that some sections were trying to recreate the communal violence seen in 2002 in Gujarat.

Following a backlash, Sengupta deleted the post and said he was sorry. "I apologise for

any religious sentiments I may have hurt by my posts. I made some irresponsible comments about a communally sensitive issue. It was a lapse of judgement. My intention was not to insult any religion at large," he posted late Thursday night.

On Friday afternoon, some students filed an FIR and submitted a memorandum to Principal Deb, seeking Sengupta's "immediate termination". Rohit Chanda, 18, one of the complainants, said, "How can he, a teacher, insult our dharma?"

Sengupta's family said on Friday evening, around 40 students gathered at their residence, demanding that Sengupta apologise for his remarks. Sengupta was not home at the time.

"The crowd demanded that Sengupta's mother come out.

She said they need to come in so that they could have a civil discussion. But once they did, the environment became very hostile," a cousin of Sengupta's said. "The crowd also accused his mother, who has been a government teacher for over 30 years, of not raising her son the right way. They even questioned her religious beliefs by making statements like, 'What kind of Hindu are you if you don't have a single idol, picture of Hindu god or goddess outside your portico?'"

It was around then that Sengupta came home and was immediately picked up by police, the cousin said.

Sengupta did his graduation from Presidency College in Kolkata, followed by post-graduation from Delhi University. He is currently doing his PhD.

# Army paediatrician takes charge as third woman Lt Gen

**ANURADHA MASCARENHAS**  
PUNE, FEBRUARY 29

MAJ GEN Madhuri Kanitkar was on Saturday elevated to the rank of Lieutenant General, becoming the third woman officer in the Army and first paediatrician from the armed forces to hold the rank.

Lt Gen Kanitkar took charge as Deputy Chief, Integrated Defence Staff (DCIDS), Medical (under Chief of Defence Staff), in New Delhi.

Lt Gen Kanitkar has served for 37 years. She and husband Rajiv, also a Lt Gen, will be the first couple in the armed forces to hold this rank.

"This organization is fair, transparent, respected and safe for a woman where she is given opportunities to grow," Lt Gen Kanitkar told *The Sunday Express*. "If there is one message I would like to share, it is to enjoy every day in uniform with childlike enthusiasm and challenge yourself to achieve the impossible. Never give up - just give back. To every woman in uniform, I can say, 'Half the world is yours to take, but the full is yours to give'. So always give it your best," she said.

She had been selected for the rank of Lt Gen last year, and assumed it on Saturday following a vacancy.

A topper at Armed Forces



**Lt Gen Madhuri Kanitkar and husband Rajiv, also a Lt Gen, will be first couple in armed forces to hold the rank.**

Medical College (AFMC), Pune, and winner of President's gold medal for best outgoing student, Lt Gen Kanitkar completed her postgraduation in paediatrics and training in paediatric nephrology at AIIMS. She is a member of the Prime Minister's scientific and technical advisory board.

She is the first trained paediatric nephrologist in the armed forces, and single-handedly set up units in Pune and Delhi to monitor kidney ailments among children. She had returned to her alma mater - AFMC - as its first woman dean in 2017.

Lt Gen Punita Arora was the first woman officer to hold the rank.

Padmavathy Bandopadhyay is the first woman Air Marshal of Indian Air Force, and the second woman officer in the armed forces to be promoted to a three-star officer rank.

# MP teachers promised increment for sterilisation

**MILIND GHATWAI**  
BHOPAL, FEBRUARY 29

TWO YEARS after their services were merged with the School Education Department, teachers in Madhya Pradesh's Harda district have been assured of an additional increment if they had opted for sterilisation in the past.

According to a circular issued by District Education Officer S Raghvanshi on Thursday, teachers ("adhyapak") who had opted for sterilisation before June 16, 2006, would get the additional increment from that date and the rest from the date they opted for

sterilisation. Adhyapak were teachers recruited by civic bodies in urban areas and panchayats in rural areas. After years of protests, they were absorbed in government services by creating a special cadre, and their services were brought under the control of the School Education Department.

The DEO issued the circular in response to a memorandum by the Azad Adhyapak Shikshak Sangh, MP. Among its various demands, the organisation had demanded that they be given the benefit meant for other teachers who opted for sterilisation. Raghvanshi, who issued the circular, did not respond to calls.

**KITTUR RANI CHANNAMMA RESIDENTIAL SAINIK SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, KITTUR - 591115**  
Dist.: Belagavi, Karnataka State  
Phone : 08288-234601 / 286237,  
Fax : 08288-287299, Cell : 9483501100,  
E-mail : kittursainikschool@gmail.com,  
principal.kittursainikschool@gmail.com, Website : www.kittursainikschool.org  
No.KCS/Resul/Adm/Not/FFP/2019-20 Date: - 27.02.2020

**AIEE RESULT & ADMISSION NOTIFICATION**  
Results of All India Entrance Examination for Class VI MERIT/ MERIT CUM MEANS & FFP (Other States), which was held on **19th January 2020**, has been displayed on the website [www.kittursainikschool.in](http://www.kittursainikschool.in) and intimation has been sent to successful candidates by ordinary post.  
Those who want to avail admission (Unsuccessful/ Fresh candidates) under Full Fee Payment to Class VI, VII, VIII & XI (Science Stream - CBSE Syllabus: Lateral entry) can visit the School website for detailed notification regarding method of applying.  
They may also contact the School on telephone No: **08288-234608**, during working hours on all working days, for seeking clarifications or clearing doubts, if any.  
**Sd/- (RS Khatri) Col (Retd)**  
Principal, KRCRSSG, Kittur

# On Muslim quota, MP minister claims govt working on it

**EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**  
BHOPAL, FEBRUARY 29

MADHYA PRADESH Water Resources Minister Hukum Singh Karada has claimed that the Kamal Nath government is planning a better deal for minorities than Maharashtra,

but refused to elaborate, saying he was not authorised. "We are working on an agenda for minorities. You will see that MP is going to offer more relaxations in next few days," Karada told reporters at Agar-Malwa, when asked about his views on Maharashtra providing 5 per cent reservation to Muslims in educational institutions.

Congress spokesperson Shobha Oza said she is not aware of any such move but the party has always stood with all sections.

BJP spokesperson Deepak Vijayvargiya said the Constitution does not allow reservation based on religion. He also accused the Congress of indulging in vote-bank politics and minority appeasement.

**NOISE**  
NAHI KARNE DE RAHA  
EXAM KI TAIYAARI!  
#112MilaoNoiseBhagao

**112 PAR CALL KAR HATAAYEIN OUT OF SYLLABUS SUBJECTS**  
**10:00 PM SE 06.00 AM KE BEECH**  
पर्यावरण संरक्षण अधिनियम, 1986 व ध्वनि प्रदूषण (विनियमन और निवृत्त) नियम, 2000 के उल्लंघन पर 5 वर्ष तक का कारावास या 1 लाख रुपये तक का जुर्माना अथवा दोनों हो सकते हैं।  
@112UttarPradesh | @112UttarPradesh | 7570000100 | 7233000100

**RIICO** GROW WITH RAJASTHAN

Online Bids Allotment *Simple*

## BOOK YOUR INDUSTRIAL PLOT WITH E-AUCTION

Upto 75% of the cost of Industrial land in RIICO Industrial Area @ 12% per annum with 2% rebate for timely payment. Minimum loan size: Rs 100 Lakh. For further details, contact Satyendra Bansal, AGM, RIICO | 9414049426. R. K. Gupta, DGM RFC | 94140 97515

710 Total Plots	94 Industrial Areas	502 Industrial Plots
151 Commercial Plots	49 Shops	08 Petrol Pumps, Warehouses & Kiosks, etc

**AVAIL OF NEWLY PLANNED PLOTS**

EMD Deposition		
Start	End	
2.03.2020   (10 am)	16.03.2020   (10 pm)	
3 Abu Road	78 Ajmer	36 Alwar
57 Bharatpur	33 Ghiloth	27 Jhalawar
4 Boranada	3 Jaipur (S)	41 Bhiwadi II
30 Nagaur	4 Banswara	4 EPIP Sitapura
47 Jaipur (N)	<b>Bid Start</b>	<b>Bid End</b>
	17.03.2020 (10 am)	19.03.2020 (5 pm)

EMD Deposition		
Start	End	
2.03.2020   (10 am)	17.03.2020   (10 pm)	
9 Sikar	37 Kota	35 Sawai Madhopur
10 Bikaner	9 Jodhpur	48 Sri Ganganagar
9 Udaipur	23 Balotra	17 Bhiwadi I
28 Bhilwara	7 Neemrana	10 Jhunjhunu
101 Pali	<b>Bid Start</b>	<b>Bid End</b>
	18.03.2020 (10 am)	20.03.2020 (5 pm)

Register on RIICO website [riico.co.in](http://riico.co.in)  
Deposit participation fee and Earnest Money(EMD) through RIICO payment Gateway  
View plot site plan, plot size, bid start rate, EMD details, plot number, name of industrial area, Google earth map on [riico.co.in](http://riico.co.in) in e-Auction menu bar

RIICO, Udyog Bhawan, Tilak Marg, Jaipur-302 005  
e-Auction Helpline No. 0141-4593250, 4593237  
E-mail: [riico@riico.co.in](mailto:riico@riico.co.in) • Website: [www.riico.co.in](http://www.riico.co.in)

# Polish student at Jadavpur Univ asked to leave India

FRRO notice likely over participation in anti-CAA rally, say varsity students

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
KOLKATA, FEBRUARY 29

A POLISH student of Comparative Literature in Kolkata's Jadavpur University has been sent a notice by the Foreign Regional Registration Office (FRRO), under the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, and asked to leave the country, according to information.

While the student concerned, Kamil Siedcynski, refused to interact with the media in this regard, students at the university said he was sent the notice most likely for participating in rallies against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA).

This comes days after a Bangladeshi student at Visva-Bharati University, in Santiniketan, West Bengal, was served a 'Leave India Notice' by FRRO, Kolkata, for engaging in "anti-government activities".

Like Meem, Siedcynski has been asked to leave the country within 15 days. He is learnt to have received the notice a few days ago.

"It is really unfortunate to have a brilliant student like Kamil leave his course midway. I deeply regret this loss to the student of Bengali literature, who loved the language and this state," Sayantan Dasgupta, pro-

fessor of Comparative Literature at Jadavpur University, said.

Siedcynski's friends here said he comes from a small town in Poland bordering Germany and came to Visva-Bharati first out of his curiosity for Bengali language. He subsequently joined the Comparative Literature course in Jadavpur University. While studying the language here, he began translating Polish poems and prose into Bangla, many of which have been published by Jadavpur University Press.

This comes soon after the government revoked the visa of Jakob Lindenthal, a German exchange student at IIT-Madras who was asked to leave the country two months ago after he participated in protests against the CAA.

On Wednesday, Meem, a Bangladeshi student at Visva-Bharati, received the Leave India notice from the FRRO. While the notice does not specify the "anti-government activities" Meem is accused of, students and a section of Visva-Bharati teachers had taken out several rallies on the campus against CAA in December last year and January this year, and Meem, 20, allegedly joined the protests and posted images on social media.

Some of her friends have said Meem did not participate in the protests and only posted the images on social media.

# Being treated like terrorist: Azam

Lucknow: Lok Sabha MP from Rampur Azam Khan, his wife and MLA Tanzeem Fatima and their son Abdullah Azam Khan, who was disqualified as MLA over a forged birth certificate, were brought to a Rampur court on Saturday for a hearing.

The three were transferred

from Rampur jail to Sitapur district jail early Thursday - they are in jail in the birth certificate forgery case.

While he was being taken from Sitapur jail, the Lok Sabha MP alleged that "inhuman treatment" was meted out to him - "just like a terrorist". **ENS**

# Mumbai gets new top cop: 'Protest, but as per law'

MOHAMED THAYER  
MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 29

PARAM BIR Singh, an IPS officer of 1988 batch, was on Saturday appointed the 43rd commissioner of the Mumbai Police.

Singh, seen as a well-connected officer, was previously Director General, Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB). He succeeds Sanjay Barve, who retired on Friday, after getting three-month extensions on two occasions as the Mumbai Police Commissioner.

After taking charge from Barve at around 3pm on Saturday, Singh told the media, "Our priority will be to tackle street crimes and ensuring safety of women."

Asked about challenges such 'Mumbai bagh', a replication of demonstration in Delhi's Shaheen Bagh against the CAA and the NRC, where demonstrators refused to clear the road, Singh said, "Holding protests is a democratic right, but they should be held as per law. No one will be allowed to take law into their hands while holding demonstrations."



New Mumbai Police Commissioner Param Bir Singh (seated) with outgoing police chief Sanjay Barve. Prashant Nadkar

One of the main challenges for Singh will be to ensure that in light of the violence in Delhi there are no law and order problems in Mumbai, and careful handling of protestors against CAA and NRC.

Recently, while Singh was its chief, the ACB gave a clean chit to Deputy Chief Minister and NCP leader Ajit Pawar in the irrigation scam.

During his tenure as Thane Police Commissioner, Dawood's

brother Iqbal Kaskar was arrested in 2018.

He was also ADG (law and order) when Pune Police arrested nine activists in connection with the Elgar Parishad case in August 2018.

Singh had also supervised the arrest of Pragna Singh Thakur, currently a BJP MP, in connection with the Malegaon 2008 blast case when he was posted with the Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS).

# India close to finding its 'missing million' TB patients

ABANTIKA GHOSH  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

FINDING THE "missing millions" has always been the biggest challenge in achieving the global goal of ending tuberculosis (TB) by 2030. Of the estimated 4.3 million people who are "missed" by health care systems, India, as per successive global TB reports, alone has one million "missing".

However, as per Prime Minister Narendra Modi's commitment, India has set its sights on achieving the End TB goal five years earlier than the global deadline.

In a dramatic leap towards that aim, India has managed to trace 70 per cent - around 7 lakh TB patients - in the last year, with a combination of incentives for doctors, expansion of diagnostic network, nutrition support for patients and a legal provision to punish non-notification of patients by private sector doctors.

The last option, officers say, is a sparingly used provision - it is the incentives that have done the trick.

Private sector providers are not only given incentives for notification of TB patients but the cost of treatment and test are borne by the government, even if the patient continues to be seen by the private-sector doc-

## EXPLAINED

Carrot and the stick

IN 2018, India passed an order that said failure by clinical establishments to notify a tuberculosis patient to the nodal officer and local public health staff can be punished with a jail term of six months to two years. However, the provision, officials say, is sparingly used as the idea is not to harass. "We did not need to file too many FIRs - some notices were sent in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, and one FIR was filed in Ahmedabad," an official said.

tor. This, according to a senior official associated with TB control, was to ensure "that the doctor does not miss out on his fees etc. That would not work because our point is to reach the patients, see that they complete treatment".

The official said, "In 2017, we had approximately 10 lakh missing TB cases (estimated 27.4 lakhs, detected 17.5 lakhs). In 2019, the gap has now reduced to 2.9 lakh cases (estimated 26.9

lakh, detected 24.03 lakh). Over the last two years, we have been able to track 10 lakh additional cases - 3.5 lakh in 2018 and 6.5 lakh in 2019."

The National Strategic Plan for TB Elimination 2017-2025 says, "India has been engaged in TB control activities for more than 50 years. Yet TB continues to be India's severest health crisis. TB kills an estimated 480,000 Indians every year and more than 1,400 every day. India also has more than a million 'missing' cases every year that are not notified and most remain either undiagnosed or unaccountably and inadequately diagnosed and treated in the private sector."

In 2017, India started an initiative under which TB patients are given Rs 500 per month as nutrition support, as the disease is usually associated with under-nutrition and low immunity. The public diagnostic network has been dramatically expanded, from 14,000 centres in 2017 to 20,000 at present.

According to Health Secretary Preeti Sudan, treatment compliance is very high at 85 per cent, and the number of drug-resistant TB cases is just a fraction of what it is in the western countries. "We have used innovative means such as TB fora and TB champions to reach the unreach and tracked 7 lakh 'missing' TB cases," she said.

# On Day 1, he stays transfer of 31 personnel

SAGAR RAJPUT  
MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 29

HOURS AFTER he took charge as the Mumbai's new Police Commissioner, Param Bir Singh on Saturday stayed the transfers of 31 police personnel, effected by an order issued by his predecessor Sanjay Barve.

On Thursday, two days ahead of his retirement, Barve had issued an order transferring 31 officers, including four assistant commissioners of police (ACP), seven senior inspectors and 20 inspectors.

Singh confirmed that he had put the transfers on hold and said, "Some officers approached us and complained that unfair decision was taken against them, due to which we have brought a stay to the previous transfer order. We are looking into their complaint and necessary decisions shall be taken in future."

# Hours after boy recites poem urging farmers not to end lives, father kills self

MANOJ MORE  
PUNE, FEBRUARY 29

A 35-YEAR-OLD farmer from Maharashtra's Ahmednagar district, Malhari Batule, committed suicide by consuming poison at his residence late on Thursday, only a few hours after his son, Prashant Batule, a Class III student of a Zilla Parishad school, recited a self-composed poem urging farmers not to end their lives.

Prashant was taking part in a poetry-reciting competition on the topic 'Farmers should not commit suicide', organised at the school. As Prashant recited the poem, it drew praise from the crowd. But when he went home after school, he found that his father had consumed poison. Batule was rushed to the hospital, where he was declared dead.

Lahore Borate, a teacher at Prashant's school, said the boy's father was not present when he participated in the event. "I have asked his relatives... his father was probably not aware of the poem read by his son," the teacher said.

Officials from Pathardi police station said Batule probably ended his life because of the pressure of mounting debts.

## DEFAMATION CASE

# For some, reputation may be more valuable than their life: Akbar's lawyer to court

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

CONCLUDING HER final arguments before a Delhi court on Saturday, former Union minister M J Akbar's lawyer Geeta Luthra submitted that for some people, their reputation is more valuable than their life.

Journalist Priya Ramani had levelled allegations of sexual misconduct and harassment against Akbar, who subsequently resigned as Union Minister of State for External Affairs in October 2018 and filed a defamation case against her.

Luthra, who was arguing before Additional Chief Metropolitan Magistrate Vishal Pahuja, submitted, "Educated people like journalists have to act responsibly. Any news on social media travels like wildfire. People have to have a great sense of responsibility.... After writing a whole article, saying that it was about Mr Akbar... it was for the first time in court that they said that the entire article was not about him..."

"There was no corrigendum, no apology. You did it with knowledge," Luthra said about an article by Ramani.

The court has set March 17 as the next date of hearing, when Ramani's lawyer Rebecca John will address her final arguments.

While arguing that conditions for defamation are met in this case, Luthra told the court, "The intention or knowledge or reason to believe is to be seen. Even if we apply the strictest of standards, the conditions are met in this case.... The law envisages: did any right-thinking person find it defamatory? This test is not required in the case of per se defamation."

For some people, she submitted, "their reputation may be more valuable than their life." Reading a judgment of the Bombay High court, Luthra said, "Reputation is understood as what your neighbours and others see (about) you. It is a form of hearsay, but admitted on the ground of necessity."

Arguing that Ramani's allegations were irresponsible, Luthra told the court, "When something is per se defamatory, I have a cause of action - 60-70 years of one's life, and you can't just wash it away by something irresponsible (accusation)..."

During the end of the hearing, Luthra told the court that about Ramani's tweets: "There are four offending tweets and an article. According to one, she says he didn't do anything. In the next, she starts the blame game and the person is left defenceless. Then she says it's a victory. Then she says she intended it generally, and not against him."

# NRC-NPR resolution passed, JD(U) eyes big meet today at Patna to get into election mode

SANTOSH SINGH  
PATNA, FEBRUARY 29

AFTER PUTTING alliance partner BJP somewhat on the back foot by passing a unanimous resolution in state Assembly against the NRC, and NPR in "old format", ruling JD(U) is set to hold its first show of strength before the coming Assembly polls with a meeting of party workers from across the state at Patna's Gandhi Maidan on Sunday.

JD(U) leaders said they expect approximately 2 lakh party workers to take part in the event at the historic venue.

The party has again taken up the state's demand for special category status with the BJP-led Union government, and Nitish is learnt to have discussed the issue with Home Minister Amit Shah during the SEZ meeting in Bhubaneswar, Odisha, on Friday. The party now looks to further put ally BJP under pressure with the proposed show of strength.

The JD(U) has come up with the slogan "2020 (Do hazaar bees), phir se Nitish", an obvious response to the RJD's slogan "2020, finish Nitish."

A JD(U) leader said the planned meeting at Gandhi Maidan will have participation of booth presidents and secretaries from across the state. "We have reached out to every booth now. There will be functionaries from the block level to the district levels. Our national president, Chief Minister Nitish Kumar, would formally set the tone for 2020 Assembly polls,"



Party slogan: Do hazaar bees, phir se Nitish

the leader said. Bihar is scheduled to hold Assembly polls later this year.

Asked whether it is a show of strength, the leader said it is an usual exercise by any party in preparation for the elections.

Another JD(U) leader said speakers for the event have been chosen in a manner that reflects the state's social combination and sends a clear message to the cadre. "It will be no mean feat to get over 2 lakh workers at Patna. It is going to be possible due to our sustained efforts," this leader said.

Sources in the party said now that the Opposition's criticism of the Nitish Kumar government over CAA, NRC and NPR is set to fizzle out following the resolution passed in the House, JD(U) would bring focus back on development of Bihar.

"We are going to make it 15 years of Lalu Prasad versus 15 years of Nitish Kumar, with comparative facts and figures on all major indexes of development," JD(U) spokesperson Neeraj Kumar said.

## FINAL CORONAVIRUS REPORT AWAITED

# Man dies 2 days after arriving from Malaysia

Thiruvananthapuram: Amid lingering threat of the novel coronavirus, a 26-year-old man who reached Kochi from Malaysia died on Saturday. While the initial lab test was negative for coronavirus, the

Health Department is awaiting the final report to ascertain the cause of death.

The man had arrived in Kochi on February 27 with fever and the pneumonia and was immediately shifted to the isolation ward at the medical college.

A health department official said the preliminary lab test was negative for coronavirus and the result of another test was awaited. Even if the final test is negative for coronavirus, the burial would be as per WHO protocol, said the official. **ENS**

## WESTERN RAILWAY

### VARIOUS SURVEY & CONSTRUCTION WORKS & HIRING OF VEHICLE

E-Tender Notice No. Dy.CE(C)/III/ADI/VG-SIOB/48(R1) & Dy.CE(C)/III/ADI/VEH/2019-20/6 (NIT) Date: 27.02.2020 Dy. Chief Engineer (Construction) III, Near Sahar Kotda Police Station, Saraspur, PO: Railwaypura, Western Railway, Ahmedabad-380002 for & on behalf of President of Union of India invites E-Tender for the following work: I. E-Tender No (I) Dy.CE(C)/III/ADI/VG-SIOB/48(R1) (i) Name of work: Balance work of Laying and Linking of Broad Gauge main line. Loops, longhauls loops, including points and crossings, spreading of ballast, tamping of track, destressing of LWR, Dismantling of existing BG track, transportation of P Way material and other miscellaneous works in SUKHPUR yard in connection with Viramgam-Samakhya Doubling project. (ii) Approx. Cost of the work: ₹ 84,65,725/- (iii) Earnest Money: ₹ 1,69,300/- (iv) Completion period: 02 (Two) months (Including Monsoon) (2) Dy.CE(C) III/ADI/VEH/2019-20/6 (i) Name of work: Hiring of One Qualish/Tata Sumo/Gypsy/ Bolero or similar (Non-AC) based at Dhragandhra for AXEN/C/II-Dhragandhra under Dy.CE(C)/III/ Ahmedabad unit. (ii) Approx. Cost of the work: ₹ 5,18,724/- (iii) Earnest Money: ₹ 10,400/- (iv) Completion period: 12 (Twelve) months (Including Monsoon) For All above Tenders: (v) Closing time & Date for submission of Bid: Submission of E-Tender 20.03.2020 up to 15.00 Hrs. (vi) Opening time & Date of Bid: Opening On 20.03.2020 at 16.00 Hrs. (vii) Website particulars Notice Board location where complete details of tender can be seen & address of the office: www.irggs.gov.in Office of Deputy Chief Engineer (Construction) III, Near Sahar Kotda Police Station, Saraspur, PO: Railwaypura, Western Railway, Ahmedabad-380002. Telephone No. 079-22921510. 94 Like us on: facebook.com/WesternRail

**KONKAN RAILWAY CORPORATION LTD**  
(A Government of India Undertaking)

**NOTICE INVITING TENDER**  
Dated: 28.02.2020

Chief Commercial Manager, Konkan Railway Corporation Limited, invites open tender in single bid system through E-tendering on IREPS portal from eligible contractors, for the following work: **Name of Work:** Leasing of 4 Ton space in SLR and 3.9 Ton space in LWLRM for 14 nos. of trains originating over KRCL. Estimated Cost: Rs. 4.29 Crore (Excluding DC & GST). Closing Date/Time: D+21 Days 19.03.2020 up to 17:00 hrs for submission of online Offers/Bids. Opening Date and Time: D+22 Days 20.03.2020 upto 15:30 hrs. Contract Period: Three/Five years. Manual offers shall not be accepted. Please visit [www.ireps.gov.in](http://www.ireps.gov.in) website for details / participation. Corrigendum / addendum will be hosted in this website only.

**NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, SILCHAR**  
(An Institution of National Importance)  
Assam - 788 010  
Phone : (03842) 244879, Web Site: <http://www.nits.ac.in>  
Fax : (03842) 224797, EPABX: 233841-5100/5101

**NOTICE INVITING E-TENDER**  
E-tender invited from experienced and financially sound contractor/agency for the following work:

Sl. No.	Name of Work	Estimated cost (In Rs.)	Earnest Money (In Rs.)	Time of Completion	Cost of tender documents (In Rs.)	Last date for submission of E-Tender
NIT No. NIT-E/Est/2019-20/11	1 Construction of Director Bungalow at NIT Silchar. (Submission of tender date extended)	1,27,12,478/-	2,54,250/-	8 Months	2,500/-	09.03.2020 upto 4.00 PM
NIT No. NIT-E/Est/2019-20/12	1 Levelling, drainage & gate work at Cricket & Football ground NIT Silchar. Re-tender	1,14,88,442/-	2,29,769/-	6 Months	2,500/-	09.03.2020 upto 4.00 PM
NIT No. NIT-E/Est/2019-20/13 (Re-tender)	1 Housekeeping works at all the Hostels of NIT Silchar.	2,32,00,000/-	4,00,000/-	12 Months	10,000/-	13.03.2020

The detailed tender notice may be seen at Institute website <http://www.nits.ac.in>, [www.tenderwizard.com/NITS](http://www.tenderwizard.com/NITS) & Institute notice board. Sd/- Registrar

**GOVERNMENT OF ODISHA,**  
"e"-PROCUREMENT NOTICE  
WORKS DEPARTMENT  
E-mail- [pwdoff\\_khd@yahoo.com](mailto:pwdoff_khd@yahoo.com)  
B-782  
Tender Call Notice No. 65/2019-20

The Executive Engineer, Khurda (R&B) Division, Khurda on behalf of Governor of Odisha invites percentage rate bid in **Double cover** system in ONLINE MODE from eligible class of contractors having valid registration certificate for execution of the **Civil** works as detailed below:

- Nature of Work** : Building
- No. of Work** : 02 Nos.
- Tender Cost** : Rs. 10,000.00 (Online)
- Class of Contractor** : "B" & "A" Class Contractor
- Available of Bid document in the Web site** : From Dt. 19.3.2020 at 10.30 AM to Dt. 03.04.2020 5.00 PM
- Date of opening of Bids** : Dt. 04.04.2020 at 11.30 AM
- Bidders have to participate in ONLINE bidding only. Further details can be seen from the Website: <https://tenderodisha.gov.in>. Any information regarding Addendum/ Corrigendum/ Cancellation of tender can be available in the said website.

Sd/-  
Executive Engineer,  
Khurda (R&B) Division, Khurda  
OIPR-34095/11/0016/1920

भा.क.अ.प.- भारतीय पशु-चिकित्सा अनुसंधान संस्थान  
इज्जत नगर - 243122, (उ. प्र.), भारत

**ICAR-INDIAN VETERINARY RESEARCH INSTITUTE**  
IZATNAGAR - 243122, (U.P.) INDIA

**F. 03/CAAST/19-20** Dated: 26/02/2020

**TENDER NOTICE**

Procurement Officer, CAAST on behalf of the Director, ICAR-IVRI invites tenders for the procurement, installation, satisfactory demonstration commissioning & training etc., in respect of the following equipment from original equipment manufacturers, foreign principals & Indian agents of foreign principals.

Sl. No.	Tender Number	Name of equipment	Qty.	Bid Security (EMD)	Last date for submission of Tender
1.	F.03CAAST/19-20	In-vivo Imaging System	One	6,00,000/-	14.04.2020

The details of the foresaid tender can be seen in the Institute website [www.ivri.nic.in](http://www.ivri.nic.in) and the interested bidders are requested to participate in the tender as per the schedule dates. For administrative reasons/holidays the date(s) of tender opening and closing may be changed which will be displayed on Institute website.

Sd/-  
Procurement Officer, CAAST

**Government of Odisha,**  
e-Procurement Notice  
INVITATION FOR BIDS (IFB)  
Bid Identification No. S.E. Dki.(R&B) 12/2019-20  
Email [Id-sedklpwd@gmail.com](mailto:Id-sedklpwd@gmail.com)

**Letter No** /Dt.  
The Superintending Engineer, Dhenkanal (R&B) Circle, Dhenkanal on behalf of Governor of Odisha invites Percentage Rate bids in double cover system to be received in ONLINE MODE from eligible contractors for construction of Road works as detailed in the table below:

- Name of the work : Road works
- No of works : 02 (Two) Nos
- Estimated Cost : **Rs. 1,10,63,188/- to Rs. 8,51,12,535/-**
- Cost of tender paper : Rs. 10,000.00
- Class of contractor : "A", "B", "Special" & "Super" Class
- Period of Completion of work : 04 (Four) to 11 (Eleven) Calendar months
- Date and time of availability of bid Document in the website : From Dt. 06.03.2020 to 16.00 hours of Dt. 20.03.2020
- Date of opening of bid : Dt. 21.03.2020 at 11.30 hours

The bidders have to participate in ONLINE bidding only further details can be seen from the e-Procurement Portal: [www.tendersodisha.gov.in](http://www.tendersodisha.gov.in). Any addendum/ corrigendum/ cancellation of tender can also be seen in the said website.

**Superintending Engineer,**  
Dhenkanal (R&B) Circle, Dhenkanal  
OIPR/34132/11/0013/1920

**Government of Lt. Governor Jammu & Kashmir (U.T)**  
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER (R&B) SPL SUB DIVISION DODA

**NOTICE INVITING TENDERS**  
NIT No:-72 of 2019-20 Dated:-22-02-2020 (E-tendering)

For and on behalf of the Lieutenant Governor of Jammu and Kashmir Union Territory, Executive Engineer PWD(R&B) Doda are invited e-tenders on **Item rate basis** (as the case may be) from approved and eligible Contractors registered with J&K State(UT) Govt. CPWD, Railways and other State/Central Governments for each of the following works:-

Sl. No.	Name of Work	Est. Cost (Rs. in Lacs)	Cost of T.Doc.(In lacs)	Earnest Money/ Bid Security (In Rs)	Time of Completion	Time & Date of Opening of tender (Technical Bid)	Class of Contractor
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Construction and Upgradation of Bharat Keshwan road upto Ingwan Gali by way of earthwork, walling, cross drainages, pavement, CSB 20mm, WBM G - II (100 mm thick), WBM G - II (100 mm thick), crash barriers, Bituminous Macadam 50 mm thick and Semi dense Bituminous concrete 25 mm thick.	1475.21	10000/-	29,50,420/-	24 Months	On or after 17-03-2020 (11.00 A.M) In the office of Chief Engineer PWD(R&B) Department Lok Nirman Bhawan Rail head complex Jammu	"Super Class/AY"

**Major Head** = MH 5054 C.R.F  
**Position of AAA** = Accorded  
**Position of funds** = Demanded

The Bidding documents Consisting of qualifying information, eligibility criteria, specifications, Drawings, bill of quantities (B.O.Q), Set of terms and conditions of contract and other details can be seen/downloaded from the departmental website [www.jktenders.gov.in](http://www.jktenders.gov.in) as per below schedule:

1.	Date of Issue of Tender Notice	22-02-2020
2.	Period of downloading of bidding documents	From 22-02-2020, 11.00 A.M to 16-03-2020 upto 4.00 P.M.

Sd/-  
(Er. Mohd Ayub Wani)  
Executive Engineer  
PWD (R&B) Division Doda

No :- EE/D/10816-35  
Dated :-22-02-2020





# 10 IDEA EXCHANGE

## NEWSMAKERS IN THE NEWSROOM

(For the 12 per cent target) we have presumed a tax buoyancy of 1.2, which is not very unrealistic. If the economy grows at 10 per cent, then the tax will grow at 12...that is without any overreach”



### WHY AJAY BHUSHAN PANDEY

One of the most powerful bureaucrats in government, Revenue Secretary Ajay Bhushan Pandey has been at the helm of significant reforms such as the sharp reduction in corporate tax rate, introduction of faceless e-assessment, and measures to bring down litigation in tax matters. Under his watch, the government has sought to put

higher burden of taxes on top earners while providing relief to taxpayers at the bottom. Pandey believes that recent decisions by the government, including the option of choosing a tax rate, will help in laying the foundation of a simple tax regime with minimal exemptions, which will benefit both the taxpayers and the tax department



“This (slowdown) is the situation around the world... In India, we are trying to ensure that we continue to grow at a high level. And, unlike in the past, we have made interventions at the right time across sectors

**ANIL SASI:** This year, the Budget projected a nominal growth of 10 per cent, and the tax revenue target is 12 per cent. Is this putting undue pressure on taxmen, which is resulting in some degree of harassment? Or is this an unrealistic projection?

In an ideal situation, if the economy is going to grow by 10 per cent, then the tax collection will also grow by 10 per cent... All of us know that the level of compliance has to be improved. And, therefore, the question of tax buoyancy comes in... (For the 12 per cent target) we have presumed a tax buoyancy of 1.2, which is not very unrealistic. If the economy grows at 10 per cent, then the tax will grow at 12%...that is without any overreach.

**ANIL SASI:** But the tax buoyancy projection this year is 0.5, at least in terms of the numbers in the Budget. So the 1.2 buoyancy presumption is a huge jump from there...

No, I don't think it was 0.5. If you see the tax buoyancy this year, we had estimated the nominal growth rate somewhere around 12, 13, 14 per cent, and there we had estimated our tax growth at somewhere around 17-18 per cent. Again, it (tax buoyancy) was 1.3 or something. Now the nominal growth rate in the current year (2019-20) has come down, and therefore our tax collection will come down... Of course, another thing is the corporate tax cut, because of which the growth rate... But for 2021, if the economy, like we are estimating, grows at 10 per cent, then the 12 per cent growth rate is not an overestimate, it is not unreasonable.

**ANIL SASI:** The corporate tax was implemented in the middle of the year, when most corporates would have already done their planning for the year. Was it a desperate move? Also, doesn't the income tax rejig in this year's Budget over-complicate things?

Normally such things (corporate tax cut) are done at the time of the Budget. However, when we found that our economy needs certain special measures, particularly in the month of July, a conscious view was taken by the government as to why wait till the Budget... We issued an ordinance and later on converted it into an Act... So that we get the benefit right from April 1 (2019) itself. So it was, kind of, a beneficial retrospective legislation.

The personal income-tax rate with different slabs doesn't create any complication. Today, everybody files electronic returns. You don't have to actually calculate it (the tax rate). You have to enter your income, and the system calculates whether it is 5, 10, 15 or 20 per cent. That is how it is done in most modern economies. It is very, very scientific.

**SUNIL JAIN:** Your government talks of stopping tax terrorism, yet tax disputes are rising. Instead of trying to resolve the disputes by asking people to pay the principal but not the penalty/interest in various dispute resolution schemes, why don't the tax boards review the orders passed by the taxman? If the order makes little sense, just revoke it and the tax disputes will fall.

It is a very good suggestion. You know we conducted an exercise just before the Budget, and in the Budget we came up with the 'Vivad se Vishwas' scheme (for resolution of pending tax disputes). The Bill says that if there is an appeal or dispute pending anywhere and if the department has won at, say, the first stage of appeal, then the taxpayer has to pay the tax, but not the interest or the penalty. If, on the other hand, the taxpayer has won at some stage of the appeals process — and the tax department is challenging this in a higher court — then, we're saying, pay 50 per cent of the tax. In both cases, the interest and the penalty are to be waived. Hopefully, going by our experience in the Sabka Vishwas scheme for indirect tax, a large number of people will use this.

The point that you are making is very valid, but that takes care of the disputes now. What happens to the future disputes? We have examined the causes of disputes and identified 20 issues which are the main reason for disputes. We plan to go to the Supreme Court with these issues and get a clear verdict on them. This will, then, settle the issue once and for all and, even in future, there will be no disputes since the SC will already have ruled on the principal. You talked about us needing to be proactive; this is being proactive.

**P VAIDYANATHAN IYER:** In the past few Budgets, including the recent one, we have seen Customs duty being imposed on several items. There

## 'Income-tax rate with different slabs not complicated. It's very scientific, done in most modern economies'

Revenue Secretary Ajay Bhushan Pandey explains why 12% tax revenue growth in 2020-21 is not “unreasonable”, clarifies that the new tax under LRS is not additional, and says information through automatic exchange from foreign countries will help select cases for audit



Revenue Secretary Ajay Bhushan Pandey with National Business Editor Anil Sasi in *The Indian Express* newsroom. Abhinav Saha

seems to be a gradual move towards protectionism. Does the government realise that such protective walls are not a great idea for an economy which wants to open up and be part of a larger global supply chain?

In this Budget itself we have reduced Customs duty and removed anti-dumping duty on raw material. So our general principle is that if a raw material is not available in the country, there should be minimum barrier for it in terms of Customs duty. Also, as far as finished products are concerned, we have to take a very, very balanced view. While we may want manufacturing to be done in our country, it doesn't mean that if there is an inefficient industry, it should be protected. In the finished products segment, we are also becoming competitors. In many countries, hidden subsidies are given... (Because of this) the finished goods, in some sectors, enter our country at a price that is highly incompetent. If we do not balance it with an appropriate amount of Customs duty... Ultimately, domestic manufacturing and 'Make in India' will have to be protected. It is a fine balancing exercise. Customs duty on a finished product should be such that it encourages 'Make in India', but at the same time protect the interest of the final consumer. That is exactly what we have done in this Budget.

For example, while we have said that all parts of mobile phones will be imported without duty, we also want those parts to be manufactured in India. We cannot continue to import those parts for all times to come. Someday India will have to manufacture it, and there should be some incentive for people to make it...

**ANIL SASI:** But has imposing Customs duty helped? In the manufacturing sector, not a single facility has come up. Even in the mobile telephone sector, the whole focus is on assembly and not manufacturing. I don't think the value chain has really been set up. Everything is coming from China or elsewhere.

The duty intervention is just one part of the measures that are being taken. In my personal view, duty alone cannot solve all the problems. The duty can serve as a facilitator but it cannot actually replace the need for other initiatives. For example, corporate tax. Now, if you have reduced corporate tax, somebody can ask if this alone can bring in the required amount of investment to the country. The answer obviously is no, because you also need other policies for it. You need permission for starting an industry, getting land, getting the environment certificate,

getting water and power at appropriate rates... The ministries concerned will have to work on these. This time, what we have tried to address is the taxation part.

**AANCHAL MAGAZINE:** The Vivad se Vishwas scheme is voluntary, and while it is yet to be rolled out, the targets for field formations have been fixed. Won't it put undue pressure on them? Will bigger cases such as Vodafone come under the scheme? Also, under the Sabka Vishwas scheme, is the net amount much lower than the gross amount that you have collected?

Of course, the Vivad se Vishwas scheme is voluntary. The Bill is in Parliament, and once it is passed, it will become a law. We have also begun advance preparations. The total number of cases involved in the dispute is around 5 lakh, and we have close to 10,000 assisting officers. Each assisting officer will have about 50 cases. We have told the department and the assisting officers to make a list of those 50 cases so as to proactively go and facilitate the taxpayers. We don't want a situation where a taxpayer says I want to avail this scheme, but I don't know where to go. We want our officers to talk to the taxpayer and tell them that this is the scheme, you can take advantage of this, it is completely voluntary for you, but if you want any assistance from us... So we have defined the performance expectation in that sense... The exercise is to facilitate things and that is why these protocols have been set up. You can't say that it is to put pressure on the department, or that (officers) will go and harass people... Of course that is not the intention and that can never be tolerated.

**SANDEEP SINGH:** The sunset clause for the SEZ sector is expiring on March

31, 2020. Some big companies in the sector have an offer to set up their campuses in Vietnam, and they are actively considering it. Do you plan to extend the tax benefits for the sector after March?

If my memory serves right, the sunset clause was announced sometime in 2016. All companies had a choice, and they had to organise their affairs in such a manner that any unit set up till March 2020 will continue to get exemptions for 15 years... So that is there. And once a sunset clause has been announced so long ago, and we are moving towards an exemption-free regime... I think if the sun has set, then the sun has set, at least at the official level. This is the stated policy of the government.

**UNNI RAJEN SHANKER:** The new tax under the Liberalised Remittance Scheme (LRS), isn't it double taxation? Also, is it to discourage Indians from going abroad for travel or education?

See, first of all, as for the LRS, I will give you a little bit of background. It is usually not tied to any commercial or other activities. People can send up to \$250,000 every year, almost free. You just have to go to the bank. Now this total remittance and LRS in 2009-10 used to be about US \$780 million. Now, in 10 years, it has grown up to US \$16 billion. This much money is going abroad and there is nothing wrong with it, but when we were doing our analysis, we found that a large number of people were sending huge amounts (abroad) and not filing income-tax papers or showing a very disproportionately lower income. Suppose if someone has to send one lakh US dollars (abroad). Forget about the exceptions, but that person should be approximately in the income-tax range of around Rs 20-25 lakh. Otherwise, why would he send one

lakh US dollars? Now, let's say he claims to have taken a loan from the bank, but the bank wouldn't give you a loan of one lakh dollars unless your income was in that range, or there is some other underlying income. This 5 per cent is like the TDS (tax collection at source, at the rate of 5 per cent for education purpose, imposed under the LRS). So you send the money and save 5 per cent, and then when you are filing and paying your advance tax in that quarter you can make adjustments... This is not an additional tax, it's just TDS. For example, when your employer deducts tax while paying your salary, it is not an additional tax. It is TDS. You can take credit when you file your income tax. Earlier, money laundering and other such activities would happen. We found that in this manner we can curb it. In fact, I will extend this argument. When your salary is paid, the TDS is collected. Somebody can say that why are you asking me for TDS, I will file my returns and will pay the money at that time. But the whole idea is to ensure that most of the people remain in that disciplined regime, where they continue to pay tax as per their expected income.

**P VAIDYANATHAN IYER:** On GST compensation, the law itself says that for the next five years, the GST will take care of the 14 per cent growth rate from the base year and compensate states. Now there is a GST compensation cess also, which the government has said will restrict itself to the cess amount that is collected. In terms of growth rate, if the difference doesn't match up to what is available from cess, how do you take care of that?

You have to see what the Constitution provides as far as the compensation is concerned, and what the compensation law provides. So after a lot of deliberation, the Constitution was amended and the compensation law was passed by Parliament. It's generally accepted by all the states and Union Territories, including the Central government. What does this compensation law say? Compensation law says that at 14 per cent growth, if there is any shortage, it will be met by the compensation fund. Now if there is a shortfall... The shortfall can happen an amount of two things. One is that my overall collection hasn't matched 14 per cent, maybe because the economy didn't grow up to that level so the tax collection didn't grow that far, and therefore you have a gap that you couldn't collect that much base revenue. So your base revenue was much lower

than 14 per cent, and your compensation requirement was very, very high, and you don't have enough money in the compensation fund, and this is exactly what you're asking. Now the answer is given in the compensation law itself. The government has not said that it will restrict... It is what the compensation law says. Compensation law says that the compensation will be paid only out of your compensation fund — so whatever money comes into the compensation fund, only that money will get paid. Now if there is a shortfall which is more than what the compensation fund is giving, then the GST Council has to see what measures it can take to either increase the compensation cess amount or consider the raise.

**RITU SARIN:** I want to ask you about the bank account details we got from Switzerland and other countries abroad via automatic exchange in September. My information is that 10 lakh accounts have come to us, and it has gone to risk assessment. Do we by now know of the accounts we want to act against?

We are sharing and receiving information from about 90 countries. This is the second year when such an automatic exchange has happened... A complete process is going on and every year, around September-October, we finalise a list of those who have to be audited. For example, last year, we selected a few lakh cases for audit and scrutiny. This is based on many factors, and the information that we receive from foreign countries is also used as one of the inputs to select cases for scrutiny. The quality of information is improving and such an automatic exchange is a good thing for all countries.

**KRISHNA KAUSHIK:** How big a concern within the ministry is the slowdown at the moment?

The growth rate is lower than what we had expected. But if you look around the world... Today, the world is so integrated, and if we take a view that the world will go one way, and India the other way, that will not be a very practical approach. So this (the slowdown) is the situation around the world... In India, we are trying to ensure that we continue to grow at a high rate. The amount of interventions that we have made in the last six-seven months across various sectors, along with the steps in this Budget, will ensure growth, despite the fact that there is a worldwide trend of low growth... From our side we are making a sincere attempt to find ways to beat that trend and achieve higher growth.



“It is a fine balancing exercise. Customs duty on a finished product should be such that it encourages 'Make in India', but also protects consumer interest. That is exactly what we have done in the Budget

# 11 SUNDAY STORY

Uddhav Thackeray with NCP chief Sharad Pawar and Congress leaders Mallikarjun Kharge and Balasaheb Thorat at a hotel in Mumbai during a show of strength before staking claim to form the government. Prashant Nadkar



## Three's a Sarkar

It was an unlikely match from the start. So when the Shiv Sena joined hands with the NCP and Congress to form a government in Maharashtra, few gave it a chance. Now, with the coalition set to complete 100 days in office on March 6, SANDEEP A ASHAR & VISHWAS WAGHMODE on the threads that bind the alliance partners and the tugs that pull them apart

**C**HALO AYODHYA! CM #UddhavThackeray will visit Ayodhya on the completion of 100 days in power! @OfficeofUT," Shiv Sena's Rajya Sabha member Sanjay Raut tweeted last month.

Later, talking to mediapersons, Raut said, "We have a relationship with Ayodhya. The relationship is of devotion and trust. We have our government with Uddhav Thackeray as the Chief Minister thanks to the blessings of Lord Ram... It is a matter of faith. Rahul Gandhi also goes to temples. He went to Somnath and other temples. The government runs on social justice, employment and other welfare measures."

The announcement, which served to underline the Shiv Sena's Hindutva credentials, was meant to be a signal as much for its cadres as for its alliance partners, the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) and the Congress. When the three parties came together to form the government on November 28 last year, few gave the arrangement a chance — the Shiv Sena had, after all, parted ways with its long-standing ideological and political partner, the BJP, and tied up with two parties it had always fought against, the NCP and Congress. The only thread that bound them was their insistence that the BJP, the single largest party in the October election that year with 105 seats, must be kept out. But how long before conflicting pulls and pressures do the government in?

Now, with the Thackeray-led coalition set to complete 100 days in office on March 6, many would count its survival as among its biggest achievements. Over the past three months, while the coalition partners have often pulled in different directions, the government has so far held its ground.

### A rough start

The tension was evident within hours of government formation, with the coalition partners bickering and driving a hard bargain for a bigger share of power. While there was consensus that the coalition government would be captained by Thackeray for a full five years, both the NCP and the Congress bargained hard for allocation of more Cabinet portfolios. After over a month's uncertainty, the NCP gained a clear upper hand with the maximum number of Cabinet berths at 12 and also a majority of crucial portfolios such as Home, Finance, Water Resources and Cooperation. The Sena got 11 Cabinet portfolios, and the Congress eight, besides the Assembly Speaker's post. However, this was followed by a near revolt in the three parties by those who had missed out on ministerial berths.

The first sign of the fraught nature of the relationship came as early as December, when the Shiv Sena voted in favour of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act in the Lok

Sabha, after criticising the legislation in its mouthpiece, *Saamna*, and calling it an instrument of "invisible partition".

The Congress, which dithered for days before agreeing to tie up with the Hindutva party, was quick to make its displeasure known. Under pressure from the Congress, Thackeray revised his stand. "We will not support the Bill unless things are clear. They (the government) should make changes when they bring the Bill to the Rajya Sabha," he said, a position the party's MPs cited to abstain from voting when the Bill was tabled in the Upper House.

Last week, following a meeting with Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Thackeray re-asserted his position in favour of the CAA and the National Population Register (NPR), irking both the Congress and the NCP. NCP chief Sharad Pawar, seen as the chief architect of this unlikely alliance, had to step in to douse the tension, with it being decided that the partners will sit together to discuss differences over these issues.

Ideological angularities between the Sena and the NCP had also come to the fore earlier this month, when Pawar publicly took a dig at Thackeray for "consenting to transfer" the Elgar Parishad case to the National Investigation Agency (NIA). Pawar has sought an independent state probe into alleged excesses by the Pune Police in the Elgar Parishad case during the previous BJP-Sena government.

There have been other flashpoints. Congress leader Rahul Gandhi's jibe at Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, the Hindutva ideologue who is admired by the Sena (Gandhi had refused to apologise for his 'Rape in India' comment by saying that his name is not "Rahul Savarkar"), had left the Sena fuming.

On January 16, it was the Congress's turn to get angry when Raut alleged that former prime minister Indira Gandhi had met underworld don Karim Lala. Following a sharp rebuke from the Congress, Raut had to with-

### RECENT FLASH POINTS

**IMPLEMENTATION OF NPR**  
Thackeray has defended CAA and NPR. After his meetings with NCP chief Sharad Pawar, he recently said a committee of senior ministers would check if there are "unnecessary and problematic issues" in the NPR

**VEER SAVARKAR**  
With the Sena open about its admiration for Veer Savarkar, Congress leader Rahul Gandhi's remarks — "My name is Rahul Gandhi, not Rahul Savarkar. I will never apologise for speaking the truth" — left the party uncomfortable

**FREE ELECTRICITY**  
Congress leader and Energy Minister Nitin Raut spoke of a proposal for free electricity to domestic users who consume less than 100 units a month. NCP leader Ajit Pawar, however, said such plan might not be feasible

draw his remarks.

But these differences do not worry Maharashtra's Minorities Development Minister and NCP national spokesperson Nawab Malik. "Political statements do not rock any coalition. The alliance will run its full term. We'll give a successful government," Malik told *The Sunday Express*, adding that people's expectations from the coalition government were "high".

Senior Shiv Sena minister Eknath Shinde, who heads the key Urban Development portfolio, also glosses over the differences. "The alliance is functioning smoothly. We are taking

### EXPLAINED

#### Time for action

THE FIRST 100 days of the Shiv Sena-NCP-Congress government in Maharashtra were mostly spent on the alliance partners getting used to each other's ways. While Chief Minister Uddhav Thackeray spent this time testing governance waters, he will now have to take the plunge and implement big-ticket measures and address concerns of farm distress, shortage of affordable housing in cities, and rising unemployment. The political volatility of the last few months has further tattered market sentiments in already troubled sectors such as real estate, automobile, etc. The coalition can't afford to push these burning issues on the backburner.

bold decisions. Welfare of the last person in the queue is our focus, contrary to the anticipation of the Opposition. The government is working as per the Common Minimum Programme (CMP)," he told *The Sunday Express*.

Requesting anonymity, another Shiv Sena minister too rubbishes talk of differences dragging down the government. "There has been steady progress with emphasis being laid on policy making," he says.

#### A common agenda?

Stung by the 'betrayal' of the Sena that forced it to sit in the Opposition benches, the

BJP hopes the inherent contradictions in the government will pull it down. "This is a government of contradictions. It will not last," predicts Atul Bhatkalkar, general secretary of the BJP's Maharashtra unit, and a serving MLA.

With the BJP keen to exploit the new formation's weak spots, party insiders say the real challenge for the coalition partners will be to work within the confines of the CMP, which was drawn up to situate the government on a middle ground.

Seen as a working solution to bring three ideologically divergent parties on a common platform, the CMP states that "the alliance partners commit to uphold the secular values enshrined in the Constitution", with the "secular" mention said to be at the Congress's behest. "On contentious issues of national importance as well as of state importance, especially having repercussions/consequences on the secular fabric of the nation, the Sena, the NCP and the Congress will take a joint view after holding consultations, and arriving at a consensus," it adds.

The BJP has identified this — "contentious issues of national importance" that "impact the secular fabric of the nation" — as among the alliance's weakest spots. The party has been embarrassing the Sena by bringing up issues such as the demand for Bharat Ratna to Savarkar, the CAA and the NPR — issues on which the Sena and BJP once shared common ground but which the former is now forced to shelve due to coalition compulsions.

Last week, a day after Thackeray favoured the CAA and NPR, Maharashtra BJP president Chandrakant Patil, while saying that the Maharashtra CM has taken a "positive stand", alleged that "the Congress was dragging the Shiv Sena away from Hindutva".

The Congress, meanwhile, has used every such opportunity to wield the CMP.

"All of us have come together to form a government. It should run on the basis of the CMP," All India Congress Committee's general secretary (Maharashtra in-charge) Mallikarjun Kharge said recently.

Says a Maharashtra Congress minister who spoke to *The Sunday Express* on condition of anonymity, "The party leadership's message is loud and clear. We will focus on the CMP's implementation and work in the government as per our ideology."

Following a spate of controversies, the Congress has now advised its ministers against responding to every comment being made outside of the government. Pawar, too, has repeatedly stressed on the CMP. A coordination committee of alliance leaders to chalk out differences is yet to be formed.

### Pace of governance

With no previous administrative or legislative experience, Thackeray, who was chosen as captain to steer a complex alliance, has so far adopted a cautious approach, appearing to be more in the "learning" and "reviewing" mode than in the doing mode.

"The alliance is new. The parties do not share the same ideological interests. The CM had no prior experience of working in the government. But things are now starting to settle down. It is a case of steady progress," says another minister.

What helps is that Thackeray has a fairly experienced ministerial team, with his Cabinet including a former CM (Ashok Chavan), a four-time Deputy CM (Ajit Pawar), and several others who have served in senior positions in the past.

"All ministers have been given a free hand to administer their departments. There is not much interference from the top. The impact of this will be felt within a year," says Malik.

BJP leader and former CM Devendra Fadnis, now Leader of Opposition (Assembly), isn't as accommodating. On February 23, on the eve of the ongoing Budget session of the state legislature, he mounted a scathing offensive against the Thackeray-led coalition. "The government was formed last November, but continues to be directionless and incoherent. It is a U-turn government," slammed Fadnis.

While alleging that the government was suspending ongoing works undertaken by the previous regime, the ex-CM also targeted the government for "slow progress" on development projects.

While Thackeray has denied allegations of going slow, he has reversed some of the decisions taken by his predecessor, among them discontinuation of direct elections for heads of municipal councils and panchayat samitis.

In some ways, Thackeray appears to have drawn from Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal's governance model, focusing on a more people-centric approach of administration. One of Thackeray's first decisions was the opening of desks of the CM's Secretariat across divisional offices. Incidentally, the Congress and the NCP are sparring over state Power Minister Nitin Raut's plan to replicate the Delhi model of providing free power to residential consumers for up to 100 units.

The coalition's focus so far has been on welfare measures such as the farm loan waiver and subsidised food canteen, among others, expenditure on which is likely to raise the budget deficit further. The state's public debt is projected to cross Rs 4.71 lakh crore by March end, worsening the overall fiscal outlook, which has been on a downward clip since 2013.

On the political front, just as it repackages its own brand of Hindutva politics, the Sena is attempting to reinvent itself as a modern political entity, with Thackeray's elder son, Aaditya, being the face of this change.

The first from the Thackeray clan to contest election ever since the Sena was founded in 1966, Aaditya is Minister for Tourism, Environment and Protocol in his father's government. On January 26, his ministry permitted eateries and shopping places in Mumbai's malls and business districts to remain open 24x7. He has also been pushing plans to replicate a London Eye-like tourist attraction and construction of a world-class aquarium in the city.

With Thackeray still learning the ropes, the NCP finds itself in the driver's seat. While Pawar has been "controlling" affairs from outside, his nephew Ajit, the state's Deputy Chief Minister, has effectively taken charge of administrative affairs, emerging as arguably the most powerful minister in the Thackeray Cabinet.

The Maratha party is also acutely aware that while it has let the Sena take the lead in the government, the latter will be beholden to it for the same reason. In the 2019 state polls, the party, with 54 seats, had stood a close third to the Sena's 56. The Congress had 44 seats.

### The road ahead

With the new allies still learning to deal with one another, some of them also admit that not a lot has been done on macro-economic policies, job generation plans, and infrastructure-related policies.

Malik, however, says "employment generation" will be the next big focus of the alliance. "Major announcements in this regard will be made in the coming days," he adds.

Electoral, the first big test of the coalition will come in March and April, when elections to seven Rajya Sabha seats from Maharashtra and 21 Legislative Councils seats are to be held.

Going by how the numbers are currently stacked in Maharashtra's Vidhan Sabha, the BJP stands to lose if the partners contest as a united front.

While the Navi Mumbai civic polls will mark the first time that the new allies contest in a pre-poll alliance, the 2022 elections to the Sena-controlled Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation, besides nine other municipal corporations and 27 Zilla Parishads, are already being spoken of as a mini-Assembly election.

The big question then is: Can the coalition partners overcome their inherent differences and stay together till then? If they do, the gamble would have paid off.

### KEY QUESTION

## What keeps Sena, NCP and Congress together despite odds?

#### EKNATH SHINDE

URBAN DEVELOPMENT MINISTER, SENIOR SHIV SENNA LEADER



"Our government is working as per the common minimum programme. Welfare of the people is our only goal. There is a coordination committee of three parties and all decisions are being

taken unanimously."

#### NAWAB MALIK

MINORITIES DEVELOPMENT MINISTER, NCP SPOKESPERSON



"(On Chief Minister Uddhav Thackeray's proposed Ayodhya visit) An individual has the freedom to visit any place of his religion or faith. It is a fundamental right. Also Ayodhya isn't a disputed

site anymore"

#### VIJAY (BALASAHEB) THORAT

REVENUE MINISTER AND STATE CONGRESS PRESIDENT



"The Congress party's stand on the CAA, NRC and NPR is very clear. We are opposed to these. We are opposed to anything that causes discrimination in society or alters our rich diversity. We will convince our

alliance partners regarding the same."

# Heart of Darkness

India's most densely populated district, with the Capital's lowest number of banks. From its small coaching centres to its little businesses, its open drains to its Metro line, its mixed population to the recent polarisation, what frames the Northeast Delhi violence, leaving 42 dead

PHOTOGRAPHS: PRAVEEN KHANNA



UDIT MISRA & NUSHAIBA IQBAL

**L**AST WEEK in Delhi, as homes and shops were burnt down and gunshots rang through crowded lanes, a part of the nation's Capital was thrust into the nation's consciousness — Northeast Delhi, India's most densely populated district, one of its poorest, holding the highest Muslim population among Delhi's 11 revenue districts and the least number of its bank branches.

The 2011 Census calculated 22.42 lakh residents packed within a 62 sq km space in Northeast Delhi. This density, of 36,155 persons per sq km, makes it thrice as crowded as the average for the National Capital Territory of Delhi and almost double suburban Mumbai's.

But this is also a "new" and "young" Delhi, with none of the history and grandeur that the Shahjahanabad walled city or the Lutyens Bungalow Zone evoke. Half a century ago, the 1961 Census had put Northeast Delhi's population at a mere 38,155 or a 1.4% of the state's total. Even in 1981 it had only 4.87 lakh people, the lowest for any district of the state, barring the 1.44 lakh residing in the exclusive *bahli-neta* enclave of New Delhi.

Northeast Delhi's growth is a phenomenon of the last three decades. The district's population rose to 10.85 lakh in 1991, 17.65 lakh in 2001 and 22.42 lakh in 2011 — or 13.4% of the state's — even as New Delhi's shrank to 1.42 lakh by the last Census. That makes it the real "new" Delhi, which also, however, epitomises the "other" Delhi.

The district has three main tehsils: Seelampur, Seemapuri and Shahdara. While more than 85% of its population lives in the first two, they have essentially grown around Shahdara which, at one point in time, was envisaged as an industrial area. That promise did not particularly materialise. According to Delhi government data, the Jhilmil Tahipur complex near Shahdara houses just 33 industrial sheds, compared to the 437 in Okhla (in South Delhi), 177 on Rohtak Road (West Delhi), and 103 in Wazirpur and 90 on Lawrence Road (Northwest Delhi). More recent are the industrial complexes at Narela and Bawana, which are in North and Northwest Delhi and have emerged as much bigger hubs.

Nor is Northeast Delhi home to any major wholesale market of the Capital like Azadpur (for fruits and vegetables), Bhagirath Palace (electrical goods), Sadar Bazaar (household items), Khari Baoli (spices) and Chawni Bazar (paper, brass and copper), that are all in North Delhi, or Kirti Nagar (furniture) in West Delhi and Gandhi Nagar (readymade garments) in East Delhi.

With no large-scale manufacturing or trading centres, Northeast Delhi's economic profile largely comprises small unorganised units. These are mostly engaged in making injection moulded/extruded plastic products such as bags, bottles, buckets and pipes. The labour force here is predominantly migrant. Bound by the Yamuna on the west and Uttar Pradesh's Ghaziabad on the east, the district has quite naturally attracted people from other states. The 2011 Census showed that out of its 22.42 lakh population, 8.23 lakh were born outside the state. The migrant stock would be larger if one were to also take into account their children born in Delhi.

Equally significant is the ethnic profile: The 22.42 lakh residents of Northeast Delhi in 2011 included 6.58 lakh Muslims (29.3%) and 3.74 lakh Dalits (16.7%). While the share of Muslims was higher at 33.4% in Central Delhi, which also houses the old Walled City area, their absolute numbers were only 1.34 lakh there. Of Delhi's overall Muslim population, 30.5% were in Northeast Delhi, the most numbers of the community in any district of the state.

A good indicator of the underdeveloped and small-scale nature of economic activity in Northeast Delhi is data from the Delhi government's Business Register for 2015. Out of its total 3,521 "traced and working enterprises", more than half — 17,594 — were shops and establishments employing an average of 3.5 persons. The district had 218 "factories", which were just 8% of the total 2,725 for the state.

Our district has limited land. So, the units that started off in one-two rooms remained small. Meanwhile, other areas such as the Okhla industrial estate started coming up and the factories there could expand more and faster," says Narendar Nath, a former Congress MLA from Shahdara. The general lack of space, along with waves of migrants, also meant a proliferation of unauthorised colonies. Northeast Delhi has 174 of them — those that came up without the Delhi Development Authority's (DDA) Master Plan regulations. In November, the Narendra Modi government enacted a law in Parliament paving the way for grant of ownership rights to residents of all unauthorised colonies in Delhi.

The comparative lack of development is reflected in other indicators as well. Out of the 3,521 branches of all banks (public sector, private and cooperative) in Delhi in 2019, Northeast had a mere 187. This was as against 714 for South, 538 for West, 445 for Central, 432 for New Delhi, 383 for Northwest, 293 for Southwest and 258 for East Delhi.

The 2011 Census figures show 72.5% of households in Northeast Delhi discharging wastewater into open drains, the worst for any district, with the state average of 36.6%. According to the National Family Health Survey of 2015-16, the district also lagged behind the Delhi average for the proportion of institutional deliveries (78.5% versus 84.4%), full immunisation (55.2% versus 69.8%) and mothers having at least four antenatal visits (59.3% versus 67.9%).

Finally, a revealing number on the purchasing power of residents: Northeast Delhi does not have a single Apple Store (Delhi has 63 in all) and only three out of the state's 93 Domino Pizza outlets. The only area where the district, perhaps, stole a march on the rest of Delhi was in Metro rail connectivity. On rail connectivity, On 24, 2002, the first 8.5-km section of the Delhi Metro was inaugurated. That one connected Shahdara to Tis Hazari and passed through three other North Delhi stations: Welcome, Seelampur and Shastri Park.

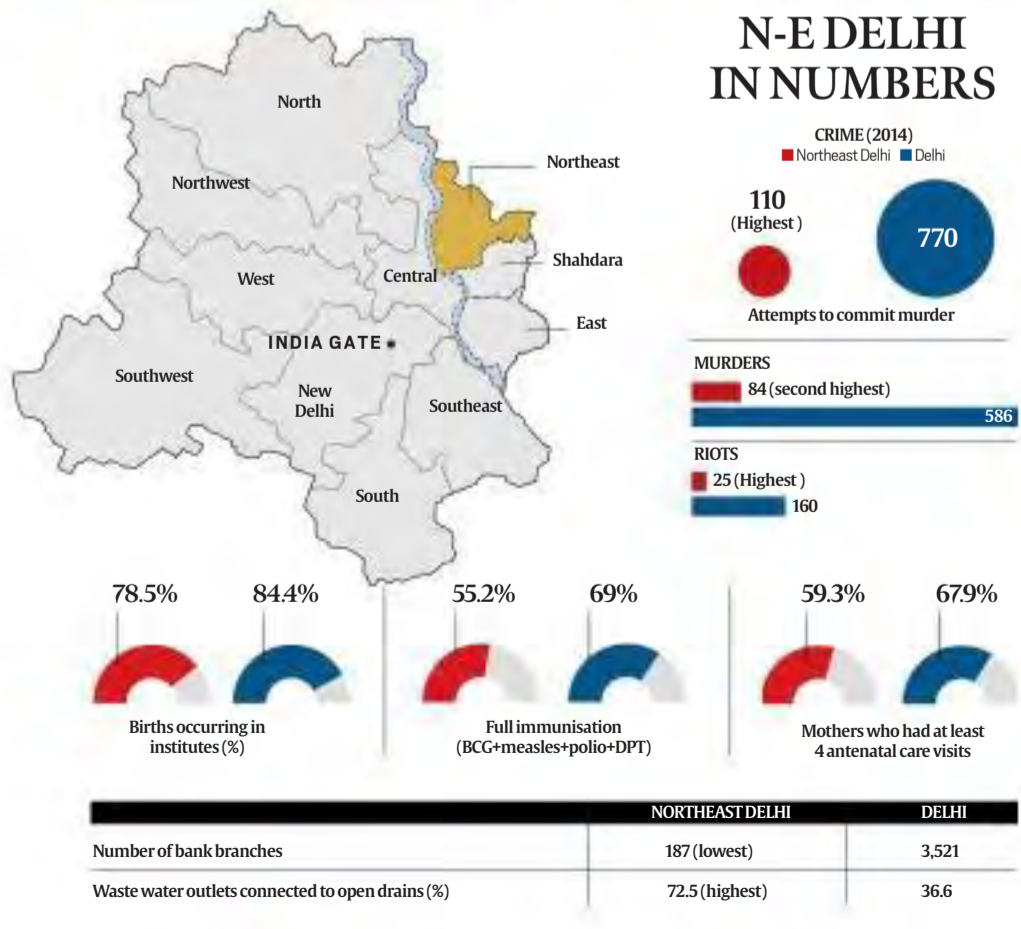
Last week, it was under this stretch of the Metro that the clash, which led to one of the worst Delhi riots in decades, first erupted.



At Chand Bagh, one of the neighbourhoods that witnessed rioting. Praveen Khanna



(From top) The riots were preceded by a sit-in at Jafraabad Metro Station beginning February, followed by a speech by BJP leader Kapil Mishra the next day; the violence also reached Yamuna Vihar, with its wider streets and relatively more well-kept homes, where a Javed Unisex Salon was also attacked; in Northeast Delhi, rows and rows of small shops, and homes in small bylanes stand cheek by jowl. Praveen Khanna



## Not too long ago, polls held a promise, of end of neglect

ANAND MOHAN J. SOURAV ROY BARMAN & DIPANKAR GHOSE

**T**HE COLONIES are indistinguishable from each other, Chajajpur blending into Maujpur, Maujpur into Ghonda, Ghonda into Jafraabad, Jafraabad into Chand Bagh. Each have rows and rows of small shops, and homes in small bylanes standing cheek by jowl. It is now also the address of one of Delhi's worst riots.

What remains in the ruins are deep faultlines threatening what was once a synthetic existence, forged out of lives lived together, eked out jointly on the fringes of the national capital, sustained on its promises, and secured tight by combined struggles. In Bhajanpura, Ali Motor Repair store stands next to Raju Band Baraat, while Chajajpur has a cart serving 'Muslim binyani' parked near Delhi's ubiquitous Agarwal Sweets shop. Many shops have Hindu owners and Muslim workers, as well as the other way around. Most find employment locally, in the dozens of small paint shops, mobile repair shops, local chemists, kirana stores, and autorickshaws and e-auto repair shops.

Yamuna Vihar is dotted with coaching centres, for UPSC to medical entrance. A 22-year-old Muslim youth, refusing to be identified, says he did a course locally hoping to become an apprentice at a tailor shop, graduating "up" from what his father did. "We have gone back 10 years now. I will also cut clothes like my father. There is nothing else in sight for me"

The Metro stations, usually bustling with people and with autorickshaws calling out for customers, are now deserted. The violence was preceded by a sit-in at Jafraabad Metro Station beginning February 22 night, followed by the controversial speech made by BJP leader Mishra near Maujpur Metro Station the next day. Signs remain of that violence still, in the anti-Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA) and anti-National Register of Citizens (NRC) slogans scribbled on the walls at Jafraabad, and calls backing the two government moves at Maujpur. The outside wall of the Maujpur station holds another scribble: 'Nathuram Godse'.

people headed out to factories in Shahdara or Loni, or offices in Delhi. "The people who live in this area are not rich. Either they work locally, at tailor or mechanic shops or other small businesses," the official says. There is another link that snakes through this area: a 15-foot wide and as deep a drain into which flows sewage of the area (excepting the garbage that ends up on the road). Small bridges dot it, used by people to go from one side to the other. The drain is now inseparable from the riots. Bodies of at least four victims of the violence were fished out from it, while local divers have been employed to look for more. The death of one, Intelligence Bureau officer Ankit Sharma, has been linked to AAP councillor Tahir Hussain, since suspended from the party. It was such administrative neglect, as reflected by this drain, that made many here turn to the Aam Aadmi Party over the past few years. The party centred its election campaign in Northeast Delhi this time around civic improvements, winning four of the five Assembly seats — part of its stunning sweep of the Capital. However, it was also here that the BJP's campaign against the anti-CAA protests was seen to have worked, with Northeast seeing several small sit-ins against the law. This is seen to have been the main reason for the BJP's win against well-liked AAP candidate and senior leader Durgesh Pathak. Says a source close to him, "The BJP and RSS worked overtime to polarise the electorate. That was the headwind we had to fight in the polls. And that is what has contributed to this atmosphere."

## SUNDAY PROFILE JUSTICE S MURALIDHAR

## Justice league

Empathetic, fair, unswerving, and honest to the core. From his 14-year stint as judge to his long years as a lawyer, the opinion is unanimous on the judge who pulled up Delhi Police over the riots last week, hours before he was transferred to Punjab and Haryana HC

APURVA VISHWANATH

ON THURSDAY morning, there was a beeline for courtroom No. 38 of the Delhi High Court. While the lawyers seemed restless, the judge whom they were all there for, Justice S Muralidhar, himself walked in appearing unfazed and bearing his trademark grin.

The case before him was *P V Kapur v Standard Chartered Bank*, a PIL on running of commercial establishments in residential areas. Ruling in favour of the residents, the 58-year-old finally acknowledged the elephant in the room. In a brief remark to the lawyers, he said, "This is my last judicial act as a judge of the Delhi High Court."

Those who know Justice Muralidhar say that was typical of the man who, in his 14 years as a judge and before that his long practice as a lawyer, has let his actions speak louder than words.

Last week, as Delhi was engulfed by riots, both his actions and his words stood out — particularly at a time when institution after institution was seen to have abdicated its responsibility. At a hearing held at his residence at 12.30 am on the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, responding to a panic call, Justice Muralidhar intervened to ensure safe passage for injured victims of riots stuck at a hospital in New Mustafabad.

The next day, at a hearing convened to take stock of the situation, Justice Muralidhar pulled up the Delhi Police, asking why FIRs had not been registered against those who had made hate speeches. When police and Solicitor General of India Tushar Mehta claimed they hadn't heard the same, the judge ensured that the speeches were played in open court.

Before the day ended, there was another development. The government cleared Justice Muralidhar's transfer to the Punjab and Haryana High Court, provoking protests by the Opposition. The third-most senior judge of the Delhi HC will now be the second-most senior in the Punjab and Haryana HC. The Delhi HC Bar Association has been opposing his transfer since the Supreme Court collegium first recommended it two weeks ago without stating any reasons.

"Empathetic", "fair" and "unswerving" are adjectives that come up across the board when peers are asked to describe Justice Muralidhar's stints at the Bar and the Bench.

Starting his career as a company secretary, Justice Muralidhar became a lawyer in 1984, and three years later, shifted his practice from Chennai to Delhi. He next worked as a junior to legendary lawyer G Ramaswamy,

who would later become the Attorney General for India. It was while working for Ramaswamy that the classical music enthusiast met Usha Ramanathan, a law researcher who later became his wife.

As an advocate, he appeared mostly in civil liberties cases, including representing Narmada Bachao Andolan activists and victims of the Bhopal gas tragedy.

In 1991, Justice Muralidhar was appointed advocate-on-record for the Election Commission of India, then headed by the iconic TN Seshan. In what was seen as an attempt to dilute his powers, the then Congress-led government appointed two more election commissioners. Seshan took the government to court and picked Muralidhar as his lawyer. Muralidhar first resigned from his EC post to act as Seshan's lawyer to avoid any potential conflict of interest. After the case was over, with the Supreme Court upholding the government's move, the EC re-appointed him as its lawyer.

A senior advocate who began his practice around the same time as Justice Muralidhar says, "A lot of stalwarts argued the case, including Nani Palkhivala (who appeared for Seshan). But Justice Muralidhar's seemingly small act stands out." The advocate adds, "His honesty defines him. Even in a profession where one is constantly peer-reviewed and scrutinised, there is not a single thing one can hold against him."

Justice Muralidhar was also standing counsel for the National Human Rights Commission, and was actively involved in the Supreme Court Legal Aid Committee. Having done PhD from Delhi University, he served as a part-time member of the Law Commission from 2002 for four years. His thesis, 'Law, Poverty and Legal Aid: Access to Criminal Justice', was published as a book in 2004. Two years later, at the age of 45, Justice Muralidhar was appointed as a judge of the Delhi HC.

His name was recommended by the HC Collegium led by its then Chief Justice Markandey Katju. "Justice Katju had the ability to spot potential. It also helped Muralidhar's case that the Supreme Court Collegium was then headed by Chief Justice of India Y K Sabharwal, who was originally from the Delhi HC," a former judge says.

His stint in the HC has been marked by a string of illustrious cases. In 2009, he was part of the bench with Justice AP Shah that delivered the landmark verdict decriminalising homosexuality.

In 2010, Justice Muralidhar ruled that the office of the CJI was within the purview of the Right to Information Act, and ruled in favour of an RTI activist who had sought information on assets of judges. In an extraordinary response to the verdict, the Supreme Court,



Illustration: Suvajit Dey

headed by CJI K G Balakrishnan, in its administrative avatar challenged the HC decision before its judicial avatar. Justice Balakrishnan was later accused of holding disproportionate assets. In November last year, nine years after the HC ruling, the Supreme Court upheld Justice Muralidhar's verdict.

In October 2018, Justice Muralidhar along with Justice Vinod Goel overturned the acquittal of Congress leader Sajjan Kumar by a lower court in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots. He held that the trial court had evaluated evidence on "erroneous considerations", and accused the Delhi Police of "blatantly abetting" the riots.

The same month, Justice Muralidhar cancelled the transit-remand of political activist Gautam Navlakha, who had been arrested in

the Bhima-Koregaon case, after highlighting gaps in the Pune police's actions. The case was recently transferred to the NIA, after the NCP that is part of the ruling coalition in Maharashtra indicated that the Bhima-Koregaon case didn't hold much water.

In November 2018, the bench of Justices Muralidhar and Goel, in another reversal of a trial court judgment, convicted 16 former police personnel in the killing of 42 Muslims in the 1987 Hashimpura massacre.

As a judge, Justice Muralidhar is also remembered for instructing lawyers not to address him as "lordship" or "Milord", and refusing to let ushers pull his chair for him.

A lawyer who went to see Justice Muralidhar preside in court on his last day in the Delhi HC says, "He is simply incorruptible, not just as a judge but as a human being."

When asked to point out one negative, a lawyer who often appeared in cases before Justice Muralidhar laughs, "Yes, if I were a lawyer for a crook and had to appear before him, I would hate him. When he thinks you are wrong, especially on a social issue, there's little use of your arguments... because he would rule against you."

Incidentally, it was by chance that the Delhi violence case came before him on Wednesday, with both Chief Justice DN Patel and the second senior-most judge Justice G S Sistani on leave.

But, the last has probably not been heard of Justice Muralidhar — from now to 2023, when he retires if not elevated to the Supreme Court.

When asked to point out one negative, a lawyer who often appeared in cases before Justice Muralidhar laughs, "Yes, if I were a lawyer for a crook and had to appear before him, I would hate him. When he thinks you are wrong, especially on a social issue, there's little use of your arguments... because he would rule against you"

## A train from Kolkata is all he recalls, 'where is Bangladesh?'

A Mumbai court held that voter ID cards are sufficient to prove Indian citizenship to acquit a couple arrested for being "Bangladeshi infiltrators". But with their papers still with the authorities, they live in fear of another knock on their door

MAYURA JANWALKAR

FIRMLY CLASPING the handle of her beige bag, her head covered with a light blue *dupatta*, Rabiakhatun Shaikh, 43, walks back home from Mankhurd Railway Station on a blistering afternoon. Rabia, who had set off from her home around 6.30 am, is back after working as a domestic help in homes in Reay Road, 10 train stations away. A little after she arrives at her 144-sq-ft room, in the Shanti Nagar slum of Mumbai's grimy eastern suburb of Mankhurd, her husband, Abbas Lalmiya Shaikh, follows. The 48-year-old fisherman is back after another disappointing catch at Vashi creek.

Used as they are to this hardscrabble life, the Shaikhs now have one thing less to worry about. They are relieved that an additional chief metropolitan magistrate recently ruled in their favour and held that they are not "illegal Bangladeshi infiltrators", as the Mumbai Police had claimed in 2017 while arresting them.

On February 11, while acquitting them of offences under the Passport (Entry into India) Rules, 1950, and the Foreigners Act, 1946, Additional Chief Metropolitan Magistrate AH Kashikar noted that while Aadhaar card, PAN card, driving licence or ration card cannot be termed as proof of citizenship, a valid voter identity card can prove Indian citizenship.

The court said in its order, "...original Election Cards of accused no. 2 and 3 (Abbas and Rabia) are sufficient to prove their nationality as an Indian. All these documents which are not rebutted by the prosecution are sufficient to show the Indian citizenship of accused

persons... It is necessary to mention that the person may lie but the documents will never."

Recounting the night of March 1, 2017, when the couple were whisked away to the Special Branch office near Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus, about 20 km from their home, Rabia says, "Police came after midnight. When they knocked, we didn't open. We wondered who it could be. Then they just pushed the door open and entered. There must have been at least four or five policemen and two policewomen. We were just asked to accompany them. We did not even have time to wake our neighbours up, and our son was too young to do anything," says Rabia, adding, "I had fever that night."

Says Abbas, his brows furrowed, "I told them to take me but let my wife be. They didn't listen. They said both of us had to go."

Police told the court that they had received secret information of "illegal Bangladeshi infiltrators" living on Reay Road, from where they had arrested Rabiul Mizi who gave "reckless answers" when police questioned him. Police said Rabiul had led them to Abbas and Rabia in Mankhurd. The trial of Rabiul, a co-accused with the couple, was separated after he went absconding while the trial was still pending.

After Rabia spent nine days at the Byculla women's prison, and Abbas was held for 10 days at the city's Arthur Road jail, the couple say, they were released on bail.

"They (police) said we had come from Bangladesh. We don't even know where that is. Whatever little we have is all here. *Agar yeh hamara desh nahin hai toh phir maar hi daalo humko* (If this is not our country, then just kill



For 3 years, Rabia and Abbas made many trips to the police station. Prashant Nadkar

us). Where do we go?" adds Rabia, tearing up.

Both Rabia and Abbas believe that a call made to Bangladesh by a man who often visited their tea shop landed them in trouble. "I knew him only by face. One day he asked to use my phone. I don't know whom he called. I don't know anyone in Bangladesh, and I can't even use this phone properly," says Abbas.

Gurunath Chowgule, a retired Navy personnel, who has been the couple's neighbour and friend for 25 years, attests that the couple "only know how to receive calls".

Over the last three years, the couple made several trips to Mumbai Police's Special Branch for recording their attendance. The travel also meant additional expenses — for commuting

and eating out — and loss of wages.

"I get Rs 300 for 2 kg of catfish. The catch isn't good every day, and so I look for odd jobs, collect scrap on the other days. My wife earns Rs 4,000 from doing domestic work. Between the two of us, we hardly make Rs 5,000 a month," says Abbas, sitting across from his four-year-old grandson Moin, who is playing with thermacol on the floor.

The couple's two children Mariyam, 24, and Rashid, 17, dropped out of school after Class 6 and 9 respectively. While Mariyam is married and lives in the same slum with her husband and Moin, Rashid waits for odd jobs at construction sites to earn a living.

Pointing to an asbestos sheet next to the

door of her house, Rabia says, "Earlier, that sheet would open like a window. We used to run a tea shop from here. At night, we would close it, and Rashid would sleep on the floor."

Walking up to a single bed placed against an asbestos wall, she says, "We did not have this earlier, it was given to us by a person whose home I worked at... Everything you see in this room was given to us by someone."

Talking about his childhood, Abbas says he faintly remembers a train ride from Kolkata to Mumbai with his sister, many years ago, after they were orphaned. They lived on the streets of Mumbai and did odd jobs until they found their way to Mankhurd. Rabia says she grew up in Mumbai's Cotton Green area and also spent some time in Navi Mumbai's Sanpada with her sister before she got married to Abbas sometime around 1996.

Vouching for the couple, their neighbour Chowgule says, "They are simple people. I backed them in court too. They aren't educated and could not understand much."

While the magistrate's decision has brought relief to the family, they continue to live in fear. "They are yet to get their documents back from court. Their lawyer's signature is required to get the papers back, but he has not been keeping well. Once he gets better and signs the papers, we are told, they will get their documents back. But they will be restless until that happens," says Chowgule.

And the news on television hasn't helped either. "We have heard about the CAA and NRC... Now if anybody comes knocking on our door asking for papers, what will we show them?" says Rabia. "What if there is another knock at midnight?"

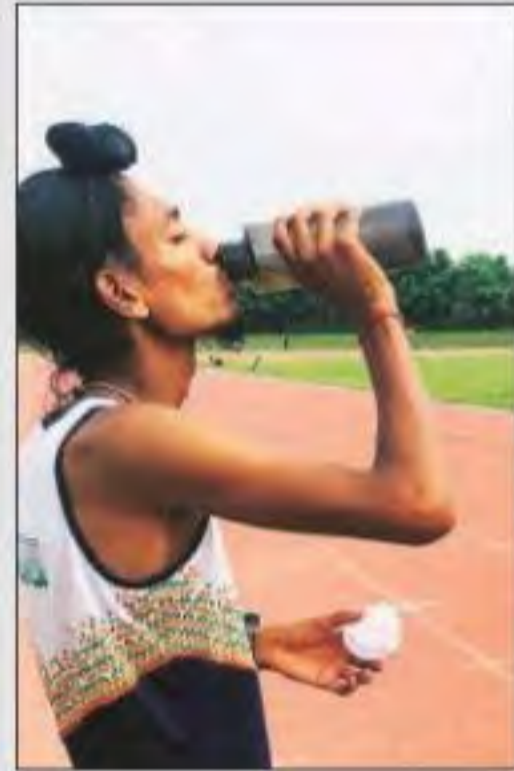
## TAKE 5

FACES ON THE FRINGES OF NEWS

GAGAN, 17,

TWO-TIME KHELO INDIA MEDALLIST FROM PANCHKULA

'Rs 200 is less... In South India, rotis cost Rs 30, dosa Rs 50-60'



'Athletes should get allowance during training days too.' Express

On February 17, Haryana CM Manohar Lal Khattar approved a proposal to hike diet allowance for sportspersons participating in state-level school sports competitions from Rs 125 to Rs 200 per day, and for national-level competitions from Rs 200 to Rs 250. Pointing out that the state, in spite of its small size, ranked second in the last two editions of the Khelo-India Youth Games, Education Minister Kanwar Pal said that the allowance was increased to provide a nutritious diet to players

## 1. How you heard about the increase in allowance?

I got to know about it earlier this month during a felicitation ceremony in Panchkula. Haryana Sports Minister Sandeep Singh was present there, and he spoke about the state government's plans to increase the diet allowance for sportspersons.

## 2. How will the increased allowance help athletes?

I think it's a good step. Even when we travelled within the state for competitions, the Rs 125 allowance for diet was very less, irrespective of the sport. My father, who has a sugarcane juice cart in Panchkula, sells a small glass of juice for Rs 10 and a large glass for Rs 20. Apart from juice and the regular diet, athletes need milk, protein bars and supplements during competitions. Even Rs 200 is less, but any increase is welcome.

## 3. How do athletes get the allowance?

The allowance is given to the district official or, in case of schools, to the PT teacher. They buy food for every player. It's same for national competitions. But sometimes, one meal costs more than Rs 50 or even close to Rs 100 at restaurants. Milk, fruits and other food products are also accounted for in this allowance. In cities in South India, a *roti* costs more than Rs 30, and even a plate of *masala dosa* is priced at Rs 50-60.

## 4. Do you have other demands?

For a player, diet is more important on non-competitions days, and so players should be given diet allowance when they are training too. While on competition days, we run only once, on training days, we run four or five times. Winning a medal is a result of good training, but players tend to get support only after they win international medals. Also, cash awards accompanying medals should be processed faster.

## 5. How much do you spend on your diet during training?

It has decreased now as my father is not being allowed to park his juice cart outside a cinema hall after an anti-encroachment drive in Panchkula. Earlier, he used to earn Rs 500 per day but now he earns only Rs 300. While I eat food at home, more than Rs 200 is spent on juice and curd (twice in the day), protein bar (once in the day), apart from protein-rich items such as *paneer*.

NITIN SHARMA

Across THE AISLE



PCHIDAMBARAM

Website: pchidambaram.in  
Twitter: @Pchidambaram\_IN

NORMALLY, COMMON sense is sufficient to foretell an impending calamity, it does not require a sixth sense. The violence that shattered the peace in Northeast Delhi on February 24 and the following days, and claimed more than 40 lives, was entirely predictable. The only ones who seemed unprepared were the Delhi Police (DP). According to *The Hindu* dated February 25, "The violence erupted in the presence of nearly 100 policemen, who seemingly did not respond to the situation."

It is not important who provided the first provocation or who first threw a stone or who first brandished a gun. What is important is that the fight that was between the government and anti-Citizenship (Amendment) Act protesters has spilled over to the streets and turned into pitched battles between anti-CAA protesters and pro-CAA demonstrators.

Much had happened in different parts of the country since December 11, 2019: sit-ins at Shaheen Bagh, Delhi, and in other cities and towns; marches and rallies; election time rhetoric; and petitions in courts. On February 23, a BJP leader warned the DP, "A three-day ultimatum to Delhi Police — get the streets of Jafraabad and Chand Bagh cleared. After this don't explain anything to us. We will not listen to you. Just three days."

IS THERE A PLAN?

New evidence emerged about the violence that had left hundreds of students

There is growing suspicion that the BJP is working to a plan. Many suspect that the BJP *wants* people with different opinions to harden their positions, *wants* them to take to the streets, and *wants* the polarisation to be complete. This view may be harsh and not correct, but the government's intransigence and refusal to engage with the protesters (not Muslims alone) deepen the suspicion

# A calamity foretold

beaten and broken at Jawaharlal Nehru University, Jamia Millia Islamia (40 per cent of its students are non-Muslims) and Aligarh Muslim University. Fingers were pointed at the brutality of the DP and Uttar Pradesh Police (23 people were killed in firing in UP alone). Hundreds of people, mostly students, had been arrested. As days passed, courts started questioning the truth of FIRs and police reports. Two judges of the Supreme Court spoke in public in defence of dissent and warned against labelling dissenters as anti-nationals.

Yet the government pretended — and acted — as if nothing was wrong. The only statements that came from the government were strident defences of the CAA and the proposed National Population Register (NPR). They sounded more like threats than defences.

There is growing suspicion that the BJP is working to a plan. Many suspect that the BJP *wants* people with different opinions to harden their positions, *wants* them to take to the streets, and *wants* the polarisation to be complete. This view may be harsh and not correct, but the government's intransigence and refusal to engage with the protesters (not Muslims alone) deepen the suspicion.

CAA-NPR SPREADING FEAR

The government says that the NPR is a benign exercise and the CAA is in national interest, and the two are uncon-

nected. It is beyond comprehension how some people can swallow this puerile argument. The NPR is not benign at all, several mischievous questions have been added in the form. As for the CAA, it is patently discriminatory and has been challenged in the Supreme Court. Besides, the CAA and NPR are conjoined. The NPR will be done first to identify the 'usual residents' and those not identified as usual residents will be marked 'doubtful'. Theoretically, the 'doubtful' will belong to all religions. At this stage, the CAA will come in. All 'doubtful' persons who are Hindu, Christian, Sikh, Jain, Buddhist or Parsi will be allowed to put in a simple application for citizenship and they will be granted citizenship. The remaining 'doubtful' will be Muslims who would have no recourse under the CAA.

The fear is that millions of Muslims will be stranded at the end of the NPR exercise. Is there any wonder that millions of Muslims are so alarmed that thousands of Muslim women and children, who usually stay behind doors, are out in the streets and parks braving rain and cold and police *lathis*? What gives them hope and courage is the total support extended by thousands of non-Muslims and several political parties.

UNCARING AND UNDEMOCRATIC

The BJP is emboldened to pursue its partisan agenda owing to the massive majority it enjoys in the Lok Sabha and

the fact that Lok Sabha elections are four years away. The BJP reluctantly fielded six Muslim candidates in 2019 (three in West Bengal, two in J&K, one in Lakshadweep and none in other states), and does not hide the fact that it will not actively seek the votes of Muslim voters. Since forming the government for a second time, the Prime Minister has taken a series of steps that have heightened the fears of the Muslims. The near-universal perception among the Muslims is that their interests will not be safeguarded by the Central government. What is important is the *perception*. Perceptions influence actions and reactions.

A democratic and caring government would have reached out to the people and engaged them in discussions. Nothing of that kind has happened in over two months.

An inevitable fallout will be on the economy. India's reputation worldwide has taken a severe beating in the last few months — witness the statements of the European Union, the US Congress's committees and UN bodies. Many countries have conveyed their concerns to India privately. Legislators, investors and opinion-makers in the developed world read *TIME*, *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, and *The Wall Street Journal*, and they have been scathing in their criticism.

India can behave like an undeclared theocracy. Or it can behave like a secular democracy. Whichever course it takes, there will be far-reaching and enormous consequences for the Indian people and especially the Indian economy.

Fifth COLUMN

TAVLEEN SINGH

Twitter: @tavleen\_singh



# Hate always harms

FIRST, AN ugly truth. Narendra Modi's image as a world statesman has taken a battering since his second term began. His ministers and media managers scoff that they could not care less about the 'liberal' (hated word) western media, but their angry responses indicate that they do care. Modi himself would like very much to be seen, as he was in his first term, as the first real leader of India in a long while.

He took over from a prime minister whose mandate came from the Congress president and not the Indian people. So, Modi was seen by many, including your columnist, as the best man to lead India in the 21st century. That ordinary voters liked the respect Modi had garnered internationally was evident during the election campaign from the number of people who said that they liked that Modi had 'raised India's stature in the eyes of the world'. Modi knows this and likes to flaunt his friendships with world leaders.

This week should have been a moment of triumph. The mighty leader of the free world was in town and accorded a welcome the likes of which few world leaders have seen. The size of the crowd in that cricket stadium in Ahmedabad made Howdy Modi! seem like a genteel tea party. Donald Trump loves big crowds and was clearly delighted with his reception. Then the riots began in Delhi and suddenly all the hype and hoopla of the visit turned to dust and disgrace.

There is a lesson in this for Modi. He can either be a world leader of real stature or one who is reviled as a 'fascist' and a 'racist'. As an old fan of Pink Floyd, I was taken aback to hear Roger Waters use these words to describe the new citizenship law. He then recited a poem by an Indian poet called Aamir Aziz which was powerful even in translation. 'Kill us, we will become ghosts, and write of your killings, with all the evidence. You write jokes in courts, we will write justice on the walls. We will speak so loudly that even the deaf will hear. We will write so clearly that even the blind will read. You write injustice on the earth, we will write revolution in the sky.'

Modi has himself to blame. Not just for the horrible violence in Delhi in which over 40 people lost their lives, but also for the hate speeches he allowed his senior ministers to make. It was hate speeches that caused the violence and hate speeches that have alienated most Indian Muslims. This campaign of hate began long before the discriminatory amendment to the citizenship law. It was during Modi's first term that Muslims began to feel alienated. It began with the violent activities of cow vigilantes that led not just to the lynchings but to Muslim and Dalit communities losing jobs and businesses. So when that amendment was made to the citizenship law, Muslims were already deeply alienated. Home Minister Amit Shah then proceeded to repeat in speech after speech that the new law would be followed by a National Register of Citizens (NRC) and real panic set in. When the protests in Jamia Millia University were dealt with brutally by the Delhi Police, the women of Shaheen Bagh decided that it was time for them to take a stand. Not a single member of the Modi government bothered to ask them why they were risking their lives and the lives of their children to continue their protest through cold winter nights. If they had, they would have found that the women were genuinely concerned that the NRC would harm only Muslims if they did not have the documents to prove their Indian citizenship.

Instead of dialogue, a campaign of hate was unleashed in which they were called traitors, jihadis and Pakistanis. No action was taken against the BJP leaders who led the hate campaign and no action was taken against BJP spokesmen who continue to rant on television against Shaheen Bagh. At this point, it is important for me to mention that some private TV channels have been so obsequious in their loyalty to Modi that they have fortified the echo chamber around him. In doing this, they have done a disservice not just to Modi but to India. They have also provided a platform for people who paint all Muslims as jihadis and traitors. And, in doing this they have made the walls of the echo chamber impenetrable.

If this had not happened, the Prime Minister would surely have noticed the rage building up in Delhi before it exploded into violence. It is possible that the violence will now die down. What will not die down is the hatred that caused the violence. Personally, I cannot remember a time when tensions between Hindus and Muslims have been as high as they are today. The reason is that in the 'new India', angry, hate-filled Hindu men and women believe they have sanction from the highest leaders in the land to treat Muslims as lesser citizens of India. The Prime Minister, as their great hero, is the only person who can put a stop to the hate campaign that has so diminished his personal stature. It is important to do this also because it is not good for India if nearly 200 million of her citizens continue to remain alienated.

inside TRACK

COOMI KAPOOR



TRUMP'S STUMBLES

ON THE EVE of the US President's visit to India, a senior administration official in Washington indicated that issues concerning religious freedom, Kashmir and the Citizenship (Amendment) Act would be taken up seriously during talks between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Donald Trump. But at Trump's press conference in New Delhi, he breezily dismissed these issues as India's internal concerns. It seems there are differences on US-India policy between the old-school bureaucrats in Washington and the recent Trump appointees, including his own family members. Trump went along with the latter, although a communal riot broke out in Delhi during his visit. Incidentally, there was unhappiness on all sides with Trump's speechwriters and content providers for the trip. An old India hand wondered why the mention of Mahatma Gandhi was almost negligible when Trump was in Ahmedabad. The criticism from Trump's people was that there were far too many long-winded, unpronounceable Hindi words in the text. Trump stumbled on "Vivekananda", as he read from the teleprompter, as well as mispronounced *chaiwallah*.

CASH STRAPPED

An issue which the US Embassy hopes was resolved during the talks between Modi and Trump is handing over possession of Lincoln House, formally the US Consulate in Mumbai, to Cyrus Poonawalla. The vaccine manufacturer and his son Adar successfully bid Rs 750 crore for the two-acre former Wankar Palace back in 2015. But later, there was a dispute between the Defence Ministry and the Maharashtra government over who owns the lease rights. Poonawalla has held back full payment till he gets the clear title and possession, but the US Embassy has already purchased a new Consulate building. The Embassy's embarrassing financial shortfall will reportedly soon come up before the US Congress's budget appropriation committee.

PM'S WARNING

Several Central ministers are still recovering from the dressing down they received from Prime Minister Modi after a recent Cabinet meeting. Modi generally warned them that it had come to his knowledge

that some of their children and sons-in-law were running questionable NGOs. The PM based his information on the feedback he had received from intelligence agencies. When he first came to power, Modi had emphasised to Cabinet colleagues the dangers of a sting operation. He did not want to face the predicament of PM Manmohan Singh, whose second term in office was overshadowed by scandals and stings. In his address, Modi focused on NGOs run by ministerial relatives and questioned where the funds for such organisations came from. Modi also cautioned ministers and their kin to keep a distance from people of dubious reputation and not to accept too many invitations for diplomatic parties.

TUKDE-TUKDE GANG

In 2004, the personable scions of political dynasties such as Sachin Pilot, Jyotiraditya Scindia, Milind Deora, Sandeep Dikshit and Jitin Prasada were dubbed part of the Rahul Gandhi brigade. In Parliament, they hung around with Rahul. By 2009, most were rewarded with junior minister posts. But today the gang members are the first to proclaim their dissatisfaction with the leadership drift in the party. Dikshit came out strongly last week demanding that leadership elections be held. Shashi Tharoor, who is also perceived as being close to the Gandhi family, tweeted Dikshit's interview. Another former favourite, Jairam Ramesh, compared the party's electoral debacle in Delhi to the coronavirus. Milind Deora set the cat among the pigeons by praising the Aam Aadmi Party for its Delhi victory and financial management of the state. Scindia has threatened to take to the streets against Kamal Nath's government in Madhya Pradesh, while Rajasthan Deputy CM Pilot is in a permanent state of war against CM Ashok Gehlot. Clearly, the media got it wrong dubbing the entitled, young blood as part of Rahul's gang or else, loyalty being a two-way street, the brigade resents Rahul's failure to stick up for them.

NO THREE IN ONE

The speculation is that Priyanka Gandhi Vadra could be elected to the Rajya Sabha in March since the Congress is in a position to win around nine Upper House seats. Vadra's name was floated by Sajjan Singh Verma, a minister in the Madhya Pradesh government, who is close to CM Kamal Nath. The CM would like to cut to size his rivals Digvijaya Singh and Jyotiraditya Scindia, both of whom are hoping for a Rajya Sabha seat. However, Vadra's entry to the Rajya Sabha is unlikely. Three members from one family in Parliament sends the wrong message, particularly when Rahul is preaching to his party people not to promote family members.

History HEADLINE

TC RAGHAVAN

tcraghavan@gmail.com



# Pak's Ambedkar, and two stories far apart

BJP talks of Jogendra Nath Mandal to argue for CAA, while Yogi Adityanath calls him a traitor. Mandal must be seen in context of Partition, and a failed dream

THE POLITICAL career of Jogendra Nath Mandal (1904-1968) encompasses many dimensions. Before 1947 he was variously a supporter of the Indian National Congress, the West Bengal head of Babasaheb Ambedkar's All India Scheduled Caste Federation and also a minister in the Muslim League governments in Bengal from 1945. His political efforts can also be seen to be directed towards creating an autonomous Dalit space in Indian politics separate from the Hindu-Muslim binary and the Congress-League divide.

He was selected by Mohammad Ali Jinnah to be a minister in the interim government of India just before Independence. Post-August 1947, he was the first Chairman of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly and thereafter a minister in its federal cabinet as the only minority representative in it. For some of Pakistan's embattled liberals today, Mandal's presence in the first cabinet represented that elusive hope of a genuinely liberal and non-denominational Pakistan that subsequent events so spectacularly belied.

Mandal was to continue in the Pakistan Cabinet till his resignation in October 1950. He simultaneously renounced his allegiance to Pakistan and settled in India, where he was to spend the rest of his life in relative obscurity. This was in effect a very public confession of a colossal error of judgment that Scheduled Castes could receive a fair deal in Pakistan. Whatever may be the different perspectives on Mandal, it is the act of first choosing Pakistan and then the renunciation of that choice that has formed the defining narrative of his life. The issue was not so much of a Scheduled Caste or a Hindu staying on in Pakistan or occupying a high office in its government. Despite the comprehensive ethnic cleansing that took place in West Pakistan, in East Pakistan (or divided Bengal), very substantial minority populations remained post-1947. There were also former congressmen in the provincial legislature and the federal constituent assembly. Some of them grouped themselves into the newly formed 'Pakistan National Congress'. Nevertheless Mandal stood in a different category — more than a minority representative marooned in Pakistan because of a larger geo-political shift that the



Mandal (third from right) with B R Ambedkar (second from left)

Partition of India represented. Possibly he felt that if Partition was inevitable, then in Pakistan, free from the perceived domination of upper castes of the Congress and Indian politics, an independent political space for Scheduled Castes existed or would come about to secure their social and economic advancement.

He, of course, was to be disappointed, and the emerging structural characteristics of Pakistan politics made his an impossible dream. Maintaining a distinction between higher-caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes was difficult given an all-encompassing Pakistani meta narrative of the Hindu-Muslim divide. Post the ethnic cleansing of 1947, the vast numbers of Hindus in Pakistan, including the Scheduled Castes, were now concentrated in East Pakistan. The Bengali-Urdu linguistic divide and federal issues between the eastern and western wings of the country overlapped a great deal with this minority factor. The East-West divides had also as a subtext the suspicion in Karachi that stronger federal features would mean empowering the minority population in East Pakistan and this would, or so it was felt, strengthen India. The India factor was also never absent in any discussion in Pakistan about minorities.

These contradictions would mature and come dramatically to the surface only between 1965 and 1971. They were nevertheless strong enough to ensure that the

independent political space and social advancement that Mandal sought for the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal would remain an impossibility.

Mandal's final days in Pakistan in 1950 coincided with a period of great trauma for minorities in East Bengal. His letter of resignation to Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan brings out that the distinction between upper and Scheduled Castes that he had sought to maintain in his politics was now impossible to maintain in the face of an onslaught of violence and ethnic cleansing: "I have come to the conclusion that Pakistan is no place for Hindus to live in and that their future is darkened by the ominous shadow of conversion or liquidation".

Coincidentally, Mandal's mentor Babasaheb Ambedkar resigned his Cabinet position in India the following year. But the commonality ends there, as the Ambedkarite legacy remains a cornerstone of the Indian polity and its politics. Mandal on the other hand has retreated into becoming a more shadowy figure. The differences in the political structures of India and Pakistan account for this: There is no politics of diversity in Pakistan — minorities are not a political factor there, while in India they are.

T C Raghavan is former high commissioner to Pakistan. He is currently Director General, Indian Council of World Affairs. Views are personal

Out of MY MIND

MEGHNAD DESAI



IS THIS India's version of coronavirus? The death toll is rising every day and no sign that people are being isolated to stop further spread. Watch out that it does not break out in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar next, then all over the Hindi belt.

The surprise is not that violence in Delhi broke out, but why it took so long. Why did it take the virus of communalism 70-plus days (since the day police rushed into Jamia Millia Islamia) to claim its first victims, and that too on a day Narendra Modi would have preferred to show Delhi

# Why Delhi CM should be in charge of police

at its best to his friend Donald Trump? The incubation of the communalism virus rarely takes so long. It is normally sudden, unexpected and murderous.

Recall 1984. It was not a Hindu-Muslim riot. It was a pogrom driven by Congress goons, erupting as news came that Indira Gandhi had been assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards. Police stood by. Sikhs died by the thousands, with no ability to retaliate. The then Home Minister became Prime Minister seven years later.

This time we have had peaceful protests by citizens across the country for more than two months without any instigation by opposition political parties. The protesters cite the Constitution and wave the Tricolour.

The protest has been against a law — the Citizenship (Amendment) Act — not against any party or political leader. The protesters have been from all communities, but the central fear has been about likely loss of citizenship of Muslims.

This fear could have been, should have been, removed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, if he had used his powers of communication to explain the contents of the CAA as well as the context in which it was going to be used. He could have explained that the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and National Population Register (NPR) are not new policies of his government but have been contemplated in the past. The CAA has been passed after

discussions by both Houses of Parliament. The NRC had been carried out under the supervision of the Supreme Court for Assam. Even in Assam, the percentage of 'doubtful' cases — 1.9 million compared to 30 million 'clean' cases — amount to just 6%. Even these 6% have a right of appeal and redress. All this is in the public domain and could have been communicated to the protesting citizens.

This was not done. Even so, the protests stayed peaceful. The danger at that time was that police may fire upon the Shaheen Bagh protesters on some excuse. But that did not happen. Even the rhetoric labelling protesters as traitors who should be shot (by whom?) did not incite violence. What was

it that, a fortnight after the Delhi election results, incited someone to spoil the Modi-Trump party in Delhi? Does it reflect the divisions within the Delhi BJP, between the hard and the soft factions?

The last major Hindu-Muslim riot was in Muzaffarnagar, UP, during the Samajwadi Party government, when the UPA-II was in power. All are in this together, the secular parties as well as the nationalists. All parties have to help to keep the virus from spreading across the country.

One thing is clear. Delhi cannot go on having a dual government. Make it a state so the Chief Minister can take charge of security. The Central government is too remote.



# Department of Social Welfare Govt. of NCT of Delhi GLNS Complex Delhi Gate, New Delhi-110002

Department of Social Welfare in association with Lady Hardinge Medical College & smt. Sucheta Kriplani Hospital is organizing a General Disability Camp for areas of DISTRICT NEW DELHI on 05<sup>th</sup> March 2020 (Tuesday) and 6<sup>th</sup> March 2020 (Friday).

## DO NOT MISS THIS OPPURTUNITY

Date: 05<sup>th</sup> March 2020 (Thursday) and 06<sup>th</sup> March 2020 (Friday).

Time: 10:00 A.M. to 04:00 P.M. (Registration time from 10:00 A.M. to 02:00 P.M.).

Venue: Opposite Kalawati Saran Children Hospital, in front of Emergency, Bangla Sahib Road, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110001.

Entrance from - Gate No- 5, Kalawati Saran Children Hospital, Bangla Sahib Road, New Delhi-110001.

Areas of Distt New Delhi to be covered in the camp—ACs – (40) New Delhi, (41) Jungpura, and (42) Kasturba Nagar

### Contact Persons

Contact Person	Phone No.	May also contact	Phone Number
01. Sh.Pankaj Kumar Verma, District Social Welfare Officer (New Delhi)	9868258705	1. Shewta Shahi, Kiwanis Club of New Delhi	(M) 8287458351 (O) 011-26567041
02. Sh. Ram Chander (Supdt.)	8447480101	2. Smt. Shobha Tuli Thalasseemics India	(M) 9810019950
03. Ms. Rashmi (Welfare Officer)	8700915455		

The following services will be provided to the persons with disabilities residing in the area of District New Delhi:-

1. Issuance of Disability Certificate to the eligible persons with disabilities for **Locomotor Disability, Muscular dystrophy, Leprosy Cured, Dwarfism, Cerebral Palsy, Low Vision, Blindness, Deaf, Hard of Hearing, Speech & Language disabilities, Multiple sclerosis, Parkinson's disease, Haemophilia, Thalassaemia, Sickle Cell disease,** and Multiple disabilities in the camp itself.
2. For other Disability Acid attack victims registration shall be done on camp days and suitable date for assessment/tests shall be intimated.
3. Issuance of Bus Passes by DTC.
4. Issuance of Railway Concession Pass.
5. Issuance of Identity Card by SDM Office.
6. Registration in Integrated Schools by Education Department.
7. Distribution of artificial limbs and referral to treatment centre for Cerebral Palsy by the NGO Kiwanis Club of New Delhi
8. Awareness about UDID card project

### DOCUMENTS REQUIRED

- 1) 4 Passport size photographs for Disability Certificate and 6 Passport size photographs for other services.
- 2) **Proof of residence- Any one of the following-** (a) Ration Card, (b) Voter identity card, (c) Driving license, (d) Bank passbook, (e) PAN card, (f) Passport, (g) Telephone, Electricity, Water and any other utility bill indicating the address of the applicant, (h) A certificate of residence issued by a Panchayat, municipality, cantonment board, any gazetted officer, or the concerned Patwari or Head Master of a Government school, (i) In case of an inmate of a residential institution for persons with disabilities, destitute, mentally ill, and other disability, a certificate of residence from head of such institution. (j) Aadhaar number or Aadhaar enrollment number, if any.

### PARTICIPATING DEPARTMENTS AND NGOS

Department of Social Welfare, GNCT of Delhi, GLNS Complex, Delhi Gate, New Delhi in collaboration with Lady Hardinge College & Smt. Sucheta Kriplani Hospital, Office of District Magistrate (Revenue District New Delhi), Directorate of Education, Delhi Transport Corporation, other Govt. Departments and NGOs - Kiwanis Club of New Delhi & Thalasseemics India.

**Director**  
Department of Social Welfare

DIP/Shabdarth/1412/19-20

## Nripendra Misra visits Ayodhya, talks held on shifting of idol for Ram Temple project

AVANEESH MISHRA  
LUCKNOW, FEBRUARY 29



Nripendra Misra in Ayodhya. PTI

ON HIS first visit as head of the committee for construction of a Ram temple at Ayodhya, Nripendra Misra on Saturday said a panel of experts will study the 66.7 acres allotted for the project and prepare a master plan.

The report they prepare would be submitted to the Shri Ram Janmabhoomi Teerth Kshetra Trust for approval. Former principal secretary to Prime Minister, Misra was appointed head of the Mandir Nirman Committee by the Trust at its first meeting on February 19.

Trust member Kameshwar Chaupal said one of the most important decisions taken at a meeting held in Ayodhya Saturday was that the Ramlalla idol kept at the site would have to be shifted. "There will be digging and lifting of heavy stones for construction of the temple. Though a date will be decided once Nripendra ji holds meetings in Delhi, several factors would go into shifting the idol. These will include taking into account providing space for devotees at the new site, ensuring undisturbed daily worship, a muhurat as per Hindu rituals, along with security arrangements," said Chaupal.

Apart from Misra and Chaupal, Trust general secretary and VHP vice-president Champat Rai, member of the Ayodhya royal family and Trust receiver Vimlendra Mohan Pratap Mishra, Ayodhya District Magistrate Anuj Kumar Jha and Trust member Anil Mishra were present at the meeting.

Chaupal said the main reason for Misra coming to Ayodhya was to take blessings of Ramlalla and to get an idea of the site. He said that with Uttar Pradesh located in a zone with likelihood of earthquakes, the need was felt for a proper survey. "It was decided that proper soil testing should be done by experts. Nripendra ji said he will form a committee. Trust members have been asked to give their suggestions on the master plan..."

He added that he expected the survey to not take more than 20-25 days.

### TAMIL NADU

## Questions raised over CID idol wing ex-chiefs seizures, recoveries

ARUN JANARDHANAN  
CHENNAI, FEBRUARY 29

FOR OVER a year, he was the go-to man for the Madras High Court regarding idol theft cases and seizures, and Inspector General of Police A G Ponn Manickavel, who headed the Idol Wing-CID team of the Tamil Nadu Police, is said to have made 1,125 idol seizures and recoveries.

However, months after Manickavel's retirement, an affidavit in court has raised questions about his seizures and recoveries, as well as his probe reports.

In July 2017, the High Court had ordered a probe into idol thefts by an SIT led by Manickavel. Despite controversies and lack of coordination between him and the state police force, Manickavel, upon his retirement in November 2018,

was given a year-long extension, and was appointed as a Special Officer.

Submissions and affidavits he filed as the head of the Idol Wing investigation team before the High Court bench that monitored the probe are being challenged. A plea in court has accused Manickavel of having submitted false data regarding his track record to get himself appointed Special Officer. The petitioner said it was "not yet confirmed by the Idol Wing where those 1,125 idols were stolen from, and the so-called stolen idols were not yet retrieved to any temples so far".

The government's reply, filed by P A Sundaram, Deputy Superintendent of Police of the idol wing-CID, has raised further questions about the probe reports submitted by Manickavel.

The government's affidavit stated, "The idol wing-CID unit has no document or record to show that 1106 idols were meant to be exported out of India as claimed by the then special officer (Manickavel)."

The idol wing recommended a detailed probe by an independent agency about the details provided by Manickavel before the court in his report.

Responding to the charge, Manickavel had in January said that "a few ministers, HR&CE (Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments) department officials, bureaucrats, police officials and others are peevish by the formation of a SIT to inquire into idol theft cases..."

25. लायसेंस/लायसेंस का हस्तान्तरण :- वर्ष 2020-21 में भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के समूह के लायसेंस/लायसेंसों की अवधि के दौरान, यदि किसी लायसेंस/लायसेंसों का हस्तान्तरण स्वीकृत किया जाना आवश्यक पाया जायेगा तो, लायसेंस/लायसेंसों की शेष अवधि को लायसेंस फीस आदि का भुगतान करने के लिए एवं लायसेंस को शर्तों का पालन करने के लिए मूल लायसेंस (अंतरणकर्ता) तथा वह व्यक्त, जिसके नाम लायसेंस का हस्तान्तरण किया जायेगा (अंतरणग्राहिता) दोनों ही वाध्य रहेंगे।

26. टेण्डर की कार्यवाही में न दिखने गये ऑफर को स्वीकार न करना :- वर्ष 2020-21 के लिए किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति को ऑफर, जिसने भाग, भांगघोटा एवं भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के समूह के टेण्डर के समय अथवा पुर्ननिष्पादन यदि हुआ हो, तो पुर्ननिष्पादन के समय ऑफर न दिया गया हो, विचार योग्य नहीं होगा।

27. वर्ष 2020-21 के लिए निष्पादन की कार्यवाही पूर्ण करना :- वर्ष 2020-21 के लिए निष्पादित किये गये भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के लायसेंस के अन्तर्गत होने के पश्चात् यदि संबंधित टेण्डरदाता द्वारा शर्तों का पालन न किये जाने के कारण अथवा कलेक्टर/आबकारी आयुक्त के आदेशानुसार किसी भांग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के समूह के लायसेंस का निष्पादन फिर से किया जाना आदेशित किया गया हो और उसके लिए, यदि निष्पादन के दौरान ही पुर्ननिष्पादन की तिथि की घोषणा न कर दी गई हो, तो पुर्ननिष्पादन की सूचना पुर्ननिष्पादन के दिन से कम से कम 5 दिन पूर्व जारी की जायेगी तथा उसके लिए शर्त क्रमांक 28 का पालन किया जायेगा। पुर्ननिष्पादन की तिथि संबंधित कलेक्टर द्वारा निर्धारित की जायेगी। इसी प्रकार यदि भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के लायसेंस की किसी समूह का किसी भी कारण से निवर्तित किंवा निष्पादन सम्पन्न/अन्तिम नहीं होता है, तो उसके निष्पादन हेतु कलेक्टर आगामी तिथि निवर्त करेगा। जिसकी घोषणा निष्पादन स्थल में ही की जा सकती है।

28. वर्ष 2020-21 की अवधि में पुर्ननिष्पादन करना :- वर्ष 2020-21 के लिए अथवा वर्ष के मध्य में भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के समूह के लायसेंस का पुर्ननिष्पादन करने की स्थिति उत्पन्न होने पर, लायसेंस की सुनवाई का अवसर दिये जाने के पश्चात्, कलेक्टर द्वारा सभी पुर्ननिष्पादन किया जा सकेगा। पुर्ननिष्पादन हेतु सूचना पर पुर्ननिष्पादन के प्रस्तावित दिनांक से कम से कम पांच दिन पूर्व जारी किया जायेगा।

29. प्रतिरूप करार प्रस्तुत किया जाना :- वर्ष 2020-21 के लिए निष्पादित किये गये भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के समूह के लायसेंस के उच्चतम टेण्डरदाता को समस्त वाणिज्य औपचारिकताओं की पूर्ति के साथ, निर्धारित प्रारूप में प्रतिरूप करार भी निष्पादित करना होगा। प्रतिरूप करार निष्पादन के उपरान्त ही उसे संबंधित दुकान का लायसेंस जारी किया जायेगा।

30. भाग की ड्यूटी दरें :- वर्ष 2020-21 में भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की निष्पादित की गयीं दुकानों तथा उपरोक्त से भिन्न उपयोग हेतु अर्थात् भांग मिलाकर बनाये जाने वाली औषधियों के लिए भाग की ड्यूटी दर निम्नानुसार रहेंगे:-

क्र.	विवरण	ड्यूटी दर
1	भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की निष्पादित की गईं दुकानों के लिए, भाण्डगार से प्रदाय लेने पर	रूपये 100/- (एक सौ) प्रति किलो ग्राम
2	उपरोक्त से भिन्न उपयोग हेतु अर्थात् भांग मिलाकर बनाई जाने वाली औषधियों के लिए, भाण्डगार से प्रदाय लेने पर	रूपये 200/- (दो सौ) प्रति किलो ग्राम

31. भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई दुकानों से विक्रय की व्यवस्था :- 31.1 भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के लायसेंस को देय ड्यूटी के अग्रिम भुगतान के बिन्दू, भाण्डगार से प्रदाय

की गयीं भाग की सीलबन्द थैलियों से ही भाग का विक्रय करना होगा। एक थैली की भाग समाप्त होने पर ही दूसरी थैली की सील खोली जायेगी।

31.2 भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के लायसेंस को सामान्य लायसेंस शर्त 13 एवं एच.डी.-7 लायसेंस की शर्त 3 (डी) के अनुपालन में 100, 50, 20, 10, 5, 2 एवं 1 ग्राम के बांट तथा तराजू दुकान में रखना होगा। भांग की बिस्की हेतु उन्हें ही उपयोग करना होगा। यह बांट एवं तराजू नाप-तोल विभाग से विक्रमान्त वर्ष के लिए प्रमाणित होना चाहिए।

31.3 भाग के फुटकर विक्रय के लायसेंसों को भांग का विक्रय सीधे क्रेता को विधिवत् सीलकर करना होगा। पुष्टि अथवा पैकेट में पूर्व से ही पैक कर रखे हुए भाग का विक्रय नहीं किया जायेगा।

31.4 भाग के फुटकर विक्रय की दुकानों के लायसेंसियों को किसी भांग की गोली बेचने की जो सुविधा वर्तमान वर्ष 2019-20 में प्रचलित है, वह सुविधा वर्ष 2020-21 के लिए भी यथावत् रहेगी। इस हेतु भांग ठेकेदारों को प्रपत्र एच.डी.-8 में लायसेंस प्राप्त करना होगा। जिसकी लायसेंस फीस रूपया 3/- दैनिक होगी। लायसेंस को इस हेतु आवेदन-पत्र जिले के सहायक आबकारी आयुक्त/जिला आबकारी अधिकारी को प्रस्तुत करना होगा। जिससे उन्हें प्रपत्र एच.डी.-8 में लायसेंस देने पर विचार किया जा सके। लायसेंस को रूपया 3/- प्रतिदिन की दर से देय समोक्त लायसेंस फीस, अग्रिम जमा करानी होगी। जो संबंधित दुकान की वार्षिक लायसेंस फीस में समायोजन योग्य नहीं होगी।

32. उपरिलिखित शर्त क्रमांक 27 एवं शर्त क्रमांक 28 के अधीन पुर्ननिष्पादन की तिथि की घोषणा, यदि निष्पादन के दिन निष्पादन स्थल पर ही, उस दिन की कार्यवाही पूर्ण होने के पूर्व नहीं की जाती है, तो ऐसे पुर्ननिष्पादन की सूचना जिसकी अवधि कम से कम पांच दिन की होगी, समाचार-पत्र में प्रकाशित की जायेगी और सूचना-पत्र का प्रदर्शन, संबंधित जिला कलेक्टर तथा सहायक आबकारी आयुक्त/जिला आबकारी अधिकारी के कार्यालय के नोटिस बोर्ड पर भी किया जायेगा।

33. आबकारी आयुक्त, मध्यप्रदेश किसी भी भाग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकानों के लायसेंस/लायसेंसों के समूह के टेण्डर ऑफर के अन्तिम किये जाने के उपरान्त भी निष्पादन संबंधी शर्तों का उल्लंघन पाये जाने पर अथवा/तथा राज्य के हित में, विहित शर्तों के अधधीन, उन्हें पुर्ननिष्पादन करने के आदेश, निष्पादन अन्तिम होने के 07 दिवस की अवधि में अथवा जैसा उचित समझें, दे सकेंगे। इसके लिए कोई कारण बताना आवश्यक नहीं होगा। 07 दिन की गणना करने में निष्पादन की कार्यवाही का दिन एवं सार्वजनिक अवकाश के दिन छोड़ दिये जायेंगे।

34. अन्य कर :- वर्ष 2020-21 में यदि केन्द्रीय या राज्य सरकार के किसी विभाग द्वारा किसी अभिनियम अथवा नियम के अन्तर्गत मादक पदार्थों पर कोई कर लगाया जायेगा, तो लायसेंसों इस बाबत लायसेंस में किसी छूट अथवा क्षतिपूर्ति का हकदार नहीं होगा। इस संबंध में उसको कोई आपत्ति मान्य नहीं होगी।

35. भांग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के समूह के लायसेंस के निष्पादन के संबंध में अन्य सभी प्रवृत्तान एवं व्यवस्थाएं निष्पादन उल्लेख इस विज्ञापित में नहीं किया गया है, से व्यवस्थाएं वर्ष 2019-20 में प्रचलित व्यवस्था के अनुरूप ही रहेंगी।

36. जिले की भांग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकानों के निष्पादन द्वारा निष्पादन से संबंधित शर्तों के संबंध में तैयार किये गये विक्रय आपन की प्रति, रूपये 500/- (रूपये पांच सौ) पृथक से संबंधित जिले के सहायक आबकारी आयुक्त/जिला आबकारी अधिकारी के पक्ष में भुगतान साईबर ट्रेजर में ऑनलाईन राशि जमा करने पर, संबंधित जिला आबकारी कार्यालय से उपलब्ध हो सकेंगी।

37. आबकारी आयुक्त, मध्यप्रदेश ग्वालियर के आदेश पर पुछें. क्रमांक 7-ठेका/2016-17/202 दिनांक 03.06.2016 की कण्डिका (3) अनुसार, भविष्य में आबकारी विभाग से संबंधित राज्य संबंधी किसी भी विभागीय लेन-देन के संव्यवहार के लिये केनरा बैंक की किसी भी शाखा द्वारा जारी किया गया कोई भी बैंक इंस्ट्रुमेंट यथा बैंक ड्राफ्ट/बैंकर्स चेक/बैंक केश आर्डर/सावधि जमा अथवा बैंक गारण्टी आदि को स्वीकार नहीं किया जायेगा।

38. भांग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकान/दुकानों के समूह के लायसेंस/ लायसेंसों का निष्पादन, मध्यप्रदेश आबकारी अभिनियम,

1915 (1915 का क्रमांक 2) जैसा कि अब तक संशोधित हो चुका है और होगा एवं उसके अन्तर्गत बनाए गये नियमों और प्रतिबन्धों के अन्तर्गत एवं समय-समय पर संशोधित किए गए नियमों और राज्य शासन, आबकारी आयुक्त, कलेक्टर, सहायक आबकारी आयुक्त/ जिला आबकारी अधिकारी द्वारा परितर आदेशों/अनुदेशों के अधधीन रहेगा।

(राजेश बहुगुणा)  
आबकारी आयुक्त, मध्यप्रदेश  
परिसर-“क”  
परिसर-“क”

वर्ष 2020-21 के लिये मध्यप्रदेश में भांग, भांगघोटा तथा भांग मिठाई की फुटकर बिस्की की दुकानों के लायसेंसों के निष्पादन की कार्यवाही हेतु निम्न केन्द्र (स्थल)

क्र.	जिले का नाम	निष्पादन स्थल
1	2	3
1	इंदौर	कलेक्ट्रेट, इन्दौर
2	झाबुआ	कलेक्ट्रेट, झाबुआ
3	खरगोन	स्वामी विवेकानंद समागृह, कलेक्ट्रेट, खरगोन
4	बड़वाडी	कलेक्ट्रेट, बड़वाडी
5	धर	कलेक्ट्रेट, धर
6	खण्डवा	आबकारी भवन परिसर, खण्डवा
7	भोपाल	सहायक आबकारी आयुक्त कार्यालय, भोपाल
8	राजगढ़	नवीन कलेक्ट्रेट, राजगढ़ (ब्यावर)
9	विदिशा	कलेक्ट्रेट, विदिशा
10	होशंगाबाद	कलेक्ट्रेट, होशंगाबाद
11	हरदा	कलेक्ट्रेट, हरदा
12	बैतूल	जिला आबकारी कार्यालय, बैतूल
13	जबलपुर	कलेक्ट्रेट, जबलपुर
14	सिवनी	कलेक्ट्रेट, सिवनी
15	छिंदवाड़ा	नवीन कलेक्ट्रेट, छिंदवाड़ा
16	कटनी	कलेक्ट्रेट, कटनी
17	मण्डला	कलेक्ट्रेट, मण्डला
18	नरसिंहपुर	न्यू कलेक्ट्रेट, नरसिंह भवन, नरसिंहपुर
19	ग्वालियर	कलेक्ट्रेट, ग्वालियर
20	सूरना	कलेक्ट्रेट, सूरना
21	भिण्ड	कलेक्ट्रेट, भिण्ड
22	शोपुर	जिला आबकारी कार्यालय, चम्बल कालोनी, शोपुर
23	गुना	कलेक्ट्रेट, गुना
24	अशोकनगर	कलेक्ट्रेट, अशोकनगर
25	शिवपुरी	न्यू कलेक्ट्रेट, शिवपुरी रोड, शिवपुरी
26	दतिया	संयुक्त कलेक्ट्रेट भवन, दतिया
27	सागर	कलेक्ट्रेट, सागर
28	दमोह	कलेक्ट्रेट, दमोह
29	पन्ना	कलेक्ट्रेट, पन्ना
30	टीकमगढ़	संयुक्त कार्यालय भवन, जिला आबकारी कार्यालय, टीकमगढ़
31	छतरपुर	कलेक्ट्रेट, छतरपुर
32	रीवा	सहायक आबकारी आयुक्त कार्यालय, रीवा
33	सतना	कलेक्ट्रेट, सतना
34	राहडोल	संयुक्त जिला कार्यालय, राहडोल
35	उमरिया	कलेक्ट्रेट, उमरिया
36	उज्जैन	कलेक्ट्रेट, उज्जैन
37	शाजापुर	कलेक्ट्रेट, शाजापुर
38	आगर (मालवा)	कलेक्ट्रेट, आगर (मालवा)
39	मन्सौर	जिला आबकारी कार्यालय, मन्सौर
40	नामक	कलेक्ट्रेट, नामक
41	रतलाम	कलेक्ट्रेट सभागृह, रतलाम
42	देवास	कलेक्ट्रेट सभाकक्ष, देवास

(राजेश बहुगुणा)  
आबकारी आयुक्त, मध्यप्रदेश

जी-23484/20

**भारतीय विज्ञान शिक्षा एवं अनुसंधान संस्थान भोपाल**  
Indian Institute of Science Education and Research Bhopal  
Advt No: IISERB/DOAA/2020/01 March 01, 2020

**Admissions Year 2020**  
Applications are invited for the semester commencing from August 2020.

**Ph.D. Programme**

**Disciplines:** Biological Sciences, Chemical Engineering, Chemistry, Earth and Environmental Sciences, Economic Sciences, Electrical Engineering & Computer Science, Humanities and Social Sciences (English, Philosophy and Linguistics), Mathematics and Physics.

Details of qualification, eligibility, application form and application procedure are available on [www.iiserb.ac.in/phdadmission](http://www.iiserb.ac.in/phdadmission)

**Integrated Ph.D. Programme**

**Disciplines:** Mathematics and Physics.

Details of qualification, eligibility, application form and application procedure are available on [www.iiserb.ac.in/iphd-admission](http://www.iiserb.ac.in/iphd-admission)

**Last Date for Receipt of Application: April 01, 2020 (Wednesday)**  
अधिष्ठाता, शैक्षणिक कार्य

**INDIAN COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS**  
Sapru House, New Delhi

**REQUIRES RESEARCH FELLOWS**

Applications are invited for the appointment of Research Fellows (Six) with requisite experience & qualifications for undertaking research, on a contract of two years at fixed gross monthly lumpsum remuneration. The existing vacancies in the Council are for the following specializations : China; Russia; Central Asia; Persian Gulf; West Asia and Europe. **However, scholars specializing in other fields of international affairs, strategic analysis and diplomatic history are encouraged to apply.** Applications in sealed covers addressed to Deputy Director General, ICWA must be received at ICWA, Sapru House by **20 March, 2020**. Intimation of application may be emailed to [ddgoffice@icwa.in](mailto:ddgoffice@icwa.in). Application forms, terms & conditions, qualifications etc. are available at: [www.icwa.in](http://www.icwa.in).





TWITTERATI

BERNIE SANDERS, US PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

"Why does this president repeatedly think that scientific facts are hoaxes? This is the most dangerous president in the modern history of our country. He is putting our people's lives at risk. He must be defeated"

TOP OF THE WORLD



John Ratcliffe

USA

Trump picks controversial ally as intel chief

Washington: US President Donald Trump announced Republican lawmaker John Ratcliffe as his intelligence chief Friday, sparking fresh controversy over a crucial position that has lacked a permanent office holder for months. The 53-year-old Trump loyalist was nominated as director of national intelligence after Dan Coats stepped down in July last year, but withdrew from consideration after strong criticism of his credentials. Trump has been determined to place someone politically close to him as chief of the intelligence community, which he views as hostile and full of leakers.

UK

Man jailed for dumping body of Indian-origin date

London: A man who pleaded guilty to supplying drugs and preventing the lawful burial of his Indian-origin gay lover during a date last year has been sentenced to six years' imprisonment at a UK court for dumping the body rather than alerting the police. Hiran Chauhan's body was discovered by some schoolchildren after it was buried in a park by Neil Cuckson. "To save your own skin, and to thwart a police investigation, you embarked on an elaborate plan to dispose of his body," the judge told him.

PAKISTAN

At least 20 killed as train, bus collide

Karachi: A horrific collision between a speeding train and a passenger bus at an unmanned crossing killed at least 20 people, including children, and left scores injured in Pakistan's southern Sindh province, officials said. The accident took place on Friday at the Kandhra railway crossing, near the Rohri railway station in the province, when the '45 Up Pakistan Express' train coming from Rawalpindi towards Karachi collided with the passenger bus. Sukkur Commissioner Shafiq Ahmed Mahesar confirmed that at least 20 people, including children, died in the incident.

UK

Civil servant at centre of Priti Patel row quits

London: The top civil servant in the UK Home Office at the centre of a row over a strained relationship with Home Secretary Priti Patel resigned on Saturday and said he plans to sue the government over his "constructive and unfair" exit. Philip Rutnam, Permanent Secretary in the department led by Patel, said there had been a "vicious and orchestrated campaign" against him. "The Home Secretary (Patel) categorically denied any involvement in this campaign to the Cabinet Office. I regret I do not believe her," he said in a statement.

HISTORIC PACT INKED IN DOHA

In Afghanistan, US-Taliban peace deal greeted with mistrust, hope

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA KABUL, FEBRUARY 29

AFGHANS EXPRESSED unease and cautious hope about a historic deal signed Saturday that aims to have all foreign forces leave Afghanistan within 14 months in exchange for Taliban guarantees, with many people doubting the insurgents' intentions.

War-scarred Afghans have long sought an end to the onslaught of bombings and airstrikes over the past 18 years, but as the accord was signed many said they feared what comes next. "I believe the Americans have been stranded here and with this deal they are looking for a way to flee the country," Kabul shopkeeper Najeeb Haleemi said.

"I am pessimistic about the deal and worried about what will happen after," the 50-year-old added, echoing concerns expressed by others in the country. Fellow shopkeeper Husain Ahmad said that while Afghans were "hungry for peace", the agreement represented a victory for the insurgents.

Immediately after the deal was signed, Taliban political spokesman Suhail Shaheen told AFP that Afghan women "should not worry about their rights". "We accept their rights and acknowledge their right to education and to work," Shaheen said.

"We also request them as Muslim women to observe the Islamic hijab, only that." But activist Zahra Hussaini said she had no faith in such claims. "I don't trust the Taliban, and remember how they suppressed women when they were ruling," the 28-year-old said in Kabul.

"Today is a dark day, and as I was watching the deal being signed, I had this bad feeling that it would result in their return to power rather than in peace," she said.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.



Afghan President Ashraf Ghani (centre) with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and US Secretary of Defense Mark Esper in Kabul on Saturday. AP

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

Some were celebrating the end of the war and expressing hope that it would unite the country. "We are very optimistic about this deal, and are impatiently waiting for the foreign invaders to leave..." said Arefullah Saad, a resident of eastern Khost.

EXPLAINED Crucial first step, but many risks remain

THE treaty, which could pave the way for peace in Afghanistan, will be claimed as a political victory for President Donald Trump. However, many risks remain, including the fact that a key stakeholder — the Afghan government — has been excluded from the process so far. Now, with talks between the government and Taliban set to begin, issues from women's rights to internal stability will have to be hammered out. The chances of a gridlock are significant, and there appears to be little clarity on how the US will respond if the Taliban does not comply with the conditions of the peace treaty. If handled improperly, the consequences could be dire for the US and for Afghanistan.

Complicated talks between Afghans, reduced violence — the road ahead

MUJIB MASHAL & RUSSELL GOLDMAN DOHA, FEBRUARY 29

THE AGREEMENT between the United States and the Taliban unlocks a difficult but crucial next step: negotiations between the Taliban and other Afghans, including the government, over future power-sharing. Those talks are expected to start soon, within 10 days or so.

But the Taliban refuse to recognise Afghanistan's democratic government. The goal of their insurgency has been returning to power and establishing rule based on their view of Islam. Divisions inside Afghanistan

**A WARNING**

■ The US "will not hesitate to nullify" its deal with the Taliban if the insurgents renege on their security guarantees and commitment to hold talks with the Afghan government, US Defense Secretary Mark Esper said Saturday. Esper warned that "should the Taliban fail to honour their commitments they will forfeit their chance to sit with fellow Afghans and deliberate the future of their country" PTI

will complicate the negotiations. The democratic side has been bitterly divided by a disputed election, with the main challenger declaring he would form his own government after President Ashraf Ghani won a second term in office.

The Taliban also commit to keeping Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups from using Afghan territory to stage attacks against the United States and its allies. The US and the Taliban are to establish a joint monitoring body in Qatar to assess progress.

The US also committed to working to release 5,000 Taliban prisoners, held by the Afghan government, and 1,000 from the Afghan side by March 10. NYT

Turkey says destroyed 'chemical warfare facility' near Syria's Aleppo

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA ISTANBUL, FEBRUARY 29

A TURKISH official said Saturday that Turkey destroyed a chemical warfare facility after dozens of its soldiers were killed by Syrian regime fire in the last-rebel enclave of Idlib province.

The Turkish army destroyed overnight "a chemical warfare facility, located some 13 kilometres south of Aleppo, along with a large number of other regime targets," the senior official told reporters.

However, the Syrian

Observatory for Human Rights, which relies on sources inside the war-torn country, said that Turkey instead hit a military airport in eastern Aleppo, where the monitoring group says there are no chemical weapons.

Thirty-three Turkish soldiers were killed in an air strike by Russian-backed Syrian regime forces in the Idlib region on Thursday, the biggest Turkish military loss on the battlefield in recent years.

The latest incident has raised further tensions between Ankara and Moscow.

Erdogan asks Putin to 'step aside' in Syria

Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan said on Saturday that he had asked President Vladimir Putin for Russia to step aside in Syria and leave Turkey to deal with Syrian government forces alone. Speaking in Istanbul, Erdogan said he had told Putin in a phone call to stand aside and let Turkey "to do what is necessary" with the Syrian government alone. He said Turkey does not intend to leave Syria right now.



GREEK POLICE CLASH WITH MIGRANTS: A migrant stands during clashes with Greek police, at Turkey's Pazarkule border crossing with Greece's Kastanies. The police fired tear gas while some migrants lobbed rocks. Reuters

GLOBAL DEATH TOLL OVER 2,800

First virus death in US confirmed, South Korea faces spike in infections

AGENCIES SEOUL/SEATTLE, FEBRUARY 29

A PERSON has died in Washington state of the coronavirus, COVID-19, state health officials said Saturday, marking the first such reported death in the United States.

State officials issued a terse news release announcing the death, gave no details and scheduled a news conference. State and King County health officials said "new people (have been) identified with the infection, one of whom died." They did not say how many new cases there are.

Amy Reynolds of the Washington state health department said in a brief telephone interview: "We are dealing with an emergency evolving situation."

South Korea urged citizens on Saturday to stay indoors as it warned of a "critical moment" in its battle on the coronavirus after recording the biggest daily jump in infections, as 813 new cases took the tally to 3,150.

South Korea is grappling with the largest outbreak of the virus outside China, as a new death took the toll to 17, amid a record daily increase in infections since the country confirmed its first patient on January 20.

"We have asked you to refrain from taking part in public events, including a religious gathering or protest, this weekend," Vice health minister Kim Kang-lip told a briefing.

Sixty-five cases of the virus have been reported in the US, but until this week, all of the cases could be explained by overseas travel or contact with



In South Korea, Saturday. AP

someone who had been ill. Three new cases on Friday, and a case earlier in the week, in California, were the first in the US where the cause was mysterious and unknown — a sign, experts warned, that the virus, which has killed more than 2,800 people worldwide, might now be spreading in the US.

Trump accuses media of exaggerating threat

President Trump and members of his administration mobilised on Friday to confront the threat of the coronavirus — not just the outbreak, but the news media and the Democrats they accused of exaggerating its danger.

Trump said news outlets like CNN were "doing everything they can to instill fear in people," while some Democrats were "trying to gain political favour by saying a lot of untruths."

"Now the Democrats are politicising the coronavirus," Trump said. "We did one of the great jobs. You say, 'How's President Trump doing?' They go, 'Oh, not good, not good.' They have no clue..."

MALAYSIA

Crisis as Mahathir rejects new PM, says he has the numbers

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA KUALA LUMPUR, FEBRUARY 29

MALAYSIA'S POLITICAL crisis deepened Saturday after 94-year-old Mahathir Mohamad rejected a decision by the king to pick his rival as the next prime minister, insisting he had enough backing to return to the role.

Ex-interior minister Muhyiddin Yassin was earlier named for the job by the monarch, who appoints the country's premiers after deciding who has backing from MPs, signalling a defeat for Mahathir and the return of a scandal-plagued party to power. It capped a week of turmoil that began when Mahathir's "Pact of Hope" alliance collapsed and he resigned as prime minister following a bid by rivals to form a new government and push out leader-in-waiting Anwar Ibrahim.

Their alliance stormed to a historic victory in 2018 that broke the six-decade stranglehold on power of a corruption-riddled coalition, but it was riven by infighting over who should succeed the world's oldest leader.

The victory of Muhyiddin and his coalition, which is dominated by the country's ethnic Malay Muslim majority, was a shock as Mahathir had appeared to be in the lead, and it sparked widespread public anger.

Addressing supporters outside his Kuala Lumpur house, Muhyiddin said: "I urge all Malaysians to take the decision that has been made by the palace today well."

The palace earlier said the king believed Muhyiddin had enough support and he would be sworn in Sunday.

But after meeting his political allies, Mahathir said he had received the backing of 114 MPs to be prime minister — the required number is 112 — and released a statement listing their names. Mahathir said he would send a letter to the king explaining this, and added the number of MPs that Muhyiddin claimed to have supporting him was "not accurate".



Muhyiddin Yassin. AP

'DISTINGUISHING POLANSKI IS SPITTING IN THE FACE OF ALL VICTIMS'

Actors walk out after Polanski wins award at France's Oscars

ALEX MARSHALL LONDON, FEBRUARY 29

ROMAN POLANSKI, the film director who fled the United States in 1978 while awaiting sentencing for unlawful sexual intercourse with a minor, was a big winner Friday night at the César, France's equivalent of the Academy Awards, leading several actors to walk out of the ceremony in outrage.

He was named best director for "J'accuse" (The English title: "An Officer and a Spy") about

Alfred Dreyfus, the Jewish military officer wrongly convicted of treason in what remains France's most notorious miscarriage of justice.

"Very few" people applauded Polanski's best director award, said *Le Monde*, the French newspaper.

Adèle Haenel, one of France's most prominent young actresses who said she had suffered from sexual abuse in the country's film industry, was one of those who left the room at the César ceremony, waving an arm in disgust and appearing to say, "Shame."

Several others followed Haenel when she walked out, in-



Protests Near the venue of the Cesar awards ceremony. AP

cluding Céline Sciamma, the director of "Portrait of a Lady on Fire," which starred Haenel. The 31-year-old actress also shouted, "Well done, pedophilia" as she left the hall, according to videos shared on social media.

Haenel previously complained this month in an interview with *The New York Times* about his nominations. "Distinguishing Polanski is spitting in the face of all victims," she said. "It means raping women isn't that bad."

Polanski's film won two other awards, having led the nomina-

tions with 12, the most of any movie. But he was not there to collect any of the prizes. He announced on Thursday that he would not attend the ceremony because he feared a "public lynching" from protesters.

"We know how this evening will unfold already," Polanski said in a statement. "What place can there be in such deplorable conditions for a film about the defense of truth, the fight for justice, blind hate and anti-Semitism?"

On Friday, the French police fired tear gas outside the Paris concert hall hosting the César Film Awards in a clash with people protesting the director.

Florence Foresti, the actress and comedian who hosted the event, started the evening by welcoming "predators" in the audience. "There are 12 moments when we're going to have an issue," she said in a reference to Polanski's 12 nominations.

Foresti, who was not onstage when he was named best director, did not return for the end of the ceremony.

She wrote on Instagram she was "disgusted." NYT

# The Genteel Guerrilla

Montek Singh Ahluwalia's memoir of the reform years presents a complicated picture, but his contribution to the process remains single-mindedly stoical

PRATAP BHANU MEHTA

WHEN I arrived in Oxford as an undergraduate in 1985, on my very first day my economics tutor asked me if I had heard of a Montek Singh Ahluwalia. I awkwardly said, "No." In a tone that suggested that I had failed some test, he informed me that Montek was one of the most brilliant students ever to have passed through Oxford. He then added, "He is quite patriotic, you know. Left the World Bank to go back to change your country. If he can't, no one can." Montek (as he is now universally addressed) had already set the standard which few could measure up to. In some ways *Backstage* is a straightforward chronicle of that legendary, brilliant, self-assured and suave economist participating in the momentous changes in India that mirrored his own career. It chronicles the transformation of the Indian economy from a middling performer to a growth dynamo after the reforms.

As a chronicle, it has three singular virtues. The first is the remarkable consistency and clarity of its intellectual outlook. In an age where there is so much condescension of posterity about economic reform, it is worth acknowledging that Montek got the big picture right. Liberalisation and globalisation were a vote of trust, of quiet confidence in the capacity of Indians to rise to any challenge, if only they were let free. It is too easy to dismiss reformers like Montek as elitist. They may make errors of judgment, but they often had more faith in Indians than many of those who yelled loudly in the name of the poor. The book gives a clear, step by step account of the key moments in that reform process and is particularly useful on the build-up to 1991. Second, it is a narrative centred on "reform by stealth". Reform, for most of India history, was akin to guerrilla warfare. Montek approvingly uses Mao's advice that guerrillas must move amongst the people like fish in water. But it is important to be clear about what this means. In this case, it does not mean dissimulation or faking positions. It is rather more like knowing when to assert and when to be reticent, when to make a case and when to be satisfied with half-won battles. This appears to be Montek's singular virtue.

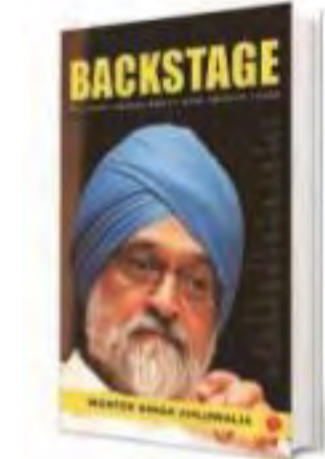
And third, there is the personal humility. The book is telling India's story; it is remarkably free of the narcissism of so many policy-makers. It also displays a singular commitment to being nice, a determination not to make enemies. Except for mild intellectual irritation at the obtuseness of India's far left, the book does not have a single negative thing to say about virtually anyone. There is, *sotto voce*, an implied criticism of the Gandhi family for constraining Manmohan Singh. There is also the rather curious case of VP Singh — who is a surprising figure in this reform story — being removed from the Finance Ministry. Both episodes raise questions of how the Gandhis, at key moment, have frittered away the party's talents.

But in some ways, Montek's virtues unintentionally end up showing what went wrong with the establishment of which he was a part. The intellectual clarity and consistency sometimes comes at the price of not taking criticism too seriously. Montek



Montek Singh Ahluwalia Express archives

is entirely right about the left's intellectual framework. He mentions, but gives relatively short shrift to those who argued that the Achilles' heel of India's model of development was its abysmal failure in health and education. And perhaps more interestingly, for someone who spent a lot of time thinking about exports and infra-



BACKSTAGE: THE STORY BEHIND INDIA'S HIGH GROWTH YEARS

MONTEK SINGH AHLUWALIA  
Rupa Publications India  
464 pages  
₹ 595

structure, there is relatively little acknowledgement of the fact that the choice of reforms did not do as much for India's export competitiveness as many had hoped. We were integrating into the global economy without the preconditions that made us competitive. Did India prematurely de-industrialise as a result? Does the intellectual clarity come at the price of being hard-nosed about our reality?

Montek rightly thinks the UPA gets less credit because it did not propagate its achievements. But that was not just because the PM was personally humble. In all fairness, Narendra Modi had to create a narrative about himself to gain legitimacy; the Congress felt so entitled to rule that it thought narratives were irrelevant. But was the problem more interesting? The enticing combination of brilliance, guerrilla tactics, and personal decency and gentility, can work in government only if it is combined with a stoic detachment. Both in the book, and as a policy-maker, Montek comes across as the ultimately detached stoic. The only trace of emotion is the use of the word "traumatic" to describe the anti-Sikh riots of 1984, when Arun Shourie had to drive Montek's parents to safety amidst the carnage. But on almost all other matters, even with hindsight, there is a supreme reluctance to call out dangerous

nonsense. The issue is not personal gossip; it is holding principals to account.

Montek is clear that UPA2 went off the rails. He hints that Pranab Mukherjee was one of the culprits. But you do want to know what Montek was thinking, when Pranab Mukherjee was taking a wrecking ball to the economy with the PM and him watching. One simple sentence is actually quite a takedown of the RBI. Montek argues that an independent regulator for banks would have done a better job. It is now clear that one of our most dismal regulatory failures has been the RBI's supervision of banks, across governments.

But can something as disastrous as the regulation of Indian banking be contemplated with a lapidary detachment? Does guerrilla warfare then become another synonym for not offending anyone to the point that the line between being a reformer and being the establishment becomes meaningless? The ultimate price of stoicism was that guerrilla warriors of reform became hard to distinguish from the corruption and lethargy of the establishment. But whatever the end of UPA2, no one can take away from the fact that this brilliant reformer did help change India for the better, in ways that few can rival.

Mehta is contributing editor,  
The Indian Express

## CHAPTER 1, LINE 1

"Many years later, as he faced the firing squad, Colonel Aureliano Buendía was to remember that distant afternoon when his father took him to discover ice"—*100 Years of Solitude* (1967), Gabriel García Márquez

## Many Reasons Why

A debut novel that shows promise but falters in the execution

SHASHANK BHARGAVA

THE PLOT is intriguing — identical twins, Layla and Tanya are found starving in their apartment in an upmarket housing society in Delhi. They are in their mid-twenties, and when they are found, weigh only 18 and 22 kg respectively.

It comes to light that the sisters weren't short of money, nor were they being held hostage. So what happened? Why have two adults decided to withdraw from society and starve themselves? A media ruckus follows the discovery, and one of the journalists covering the story is the rather cynical investigative reporter, Raman. Though reluctant at first, Raman finds himself drawn into the sisters' lives as he begins talking to Tanya, who tells him the tale of their dark past. The rest of the book alternates between the present and the past, revealing to us in bits and pieces, the events that led up to the present moment and the ongoing police investigation into the case.

So *All is Peace*, Vandana Singh-Lal's debut novel, has all the ingredients you'd expect from psychological thriller — the kind you read from cover to cover in one sitting, all the while on the edge of your seat.

But this is not that book. Lal takes the more scenic route through the plot, and it's not the external but the internal elements that drive the story. Tanya's stories, both the ones she tells the readers directly and those she tells Raman, are about her childhood, grief and Layla's relationship with her boyfriend Deepak — familiar stories that unfortunately mirror the plight of countless women in the country. With them, the book focuses on the suffocating constrictions that a patriarchal society puts on its women, and how the conditions that it fosters, often normalised, can turn nightmarish at any moment.

Unfortunately, that is not all that the book focuses on. Instead, through her characters, Lal comments on everything from capitalism, consumerism and class divide to the environment, the current state of journalism and social media — pretty much everything that the story even tangentially touches upon. And while the points she raises are valid, there are far too many of them, and so frequently do they occur, that they make the book feel exhausting. The commentary doesn't help the story move forward. Instead, they act as speed bumps on a road already packed with traffic.

The actual plot seems incidental to the author's social and political commentary, acting instead as merely a vehicle for them. The characters seem to exist only to put those points across, and the author's voice seems to overlap and even merge with both Tanya and



SO ALL IS PEACE  
VANDANA SINGH-LAL  
Penguin Viking  
416 pages  
₹ 499

Raman's. Other characters in the book, like Deepak and Sanjay Deol (the president of the residents' welfare association), are stereotypes that fail to pass muster. Perhaps this, more than anything else, is why a reader might find it hard to imagine these characters having a life beyond what is revealed in the book.

Even though it slows down the storytelling, it would still have been fine to use fictional characters so blatantly to make larger comments about society, had these comments shed fresh light upon the issues raised. Instead, Lal offers nothing new in terms of insight, and only manages to touch the surface of the problems she highlights. Quite in the vein of someone frustrated with the world who rants to a friend over a drink, or to their followers on Twitter, the commentary in this book fails to dig deep.

Of course, there are no easy answers to the problems the book brings up. But if we are to turn to fiction as a medium to approach these problems, one of the things it offers is an opportunity for us, as readers, to feel what the characters are feeling, to vicariously let us experience what they are going through. It offers us a chance to immerse ourselves in a world remarkably different from our own, helping us improve our understanding of something we thought we already knew everything about. Lal's book, in many ways, fails to take advantage of that opportunity.

So *All is Peace* tells its readers how rigged the system is, how unfairly skewed it is in favour of men and how it is the complicity of men in taking advantage of their position in a patriarchal setup that leads to the horrors we see in the news everyday. It tells us, in language that is often verbose, but it fails to, for the most part, show us those horrors. This, perhaps, is the book's biggest lack.

## EXPRESS EDITORS RECOMMEND

MOTHER JONES AND HER ARMY OF MILL CHILDREN  
JONAH WINTER; NANCY CARPENTER (Illustrator)

THE "MOST dangerous woman in America", as she's often described, helped usher in crucial child labour laws. Now there's a stunning picture book that takes young readers through the historic journey of Mary "Mother" Jones — and the 100 children who marched from Philadelphia to New York in a fiery protest against child



labour. It's an excellent visual primer to the story of the woman who — in her sixties, decided that it was about time children stopped toiling for long hours in dangerous factory jobs. She organised and helmed numerous protests and, in the Children's Crusade of 1903, she led one hundred young boys and girls on a march right upto President Roosevelt's Long Island home. The book is narrated in first-person by *New York Times* bestselling author Jonah Winter, and features the work of the acclaimed illustrator, Nancy Carpenter.

## 'I am a ruthless novelist'

American writer Elizabeth Gilbert on shaking up literary templates and holding up her scars to the light

PAROMITA CHAKRABARTI

IT TOOK American writer Elizabeth Gilbert 16 years to return to India, after her maiden visit in 2004, a visit she chronicled in her phenomenally successful memoir *Eat, Pray, Love* (2006). "But the person I am now is nothing like who I was then. Time and love and loss do that to you," says Gilbert, 50, when we meet in New Delhi. The intervening years has seen Gilbert produce several volumes of non-fiction and two more novels — *The Signature of All Things* (2013), and, most recently, *City of Girls* (2019, Bloomsbury). It has also seen her negotiate relationships with candour — the end of her decade-old marriage, her subsequent relationship with her best friend, the Syrian writer, director and musician Rayya Elias, whom Gilbert lost to cancer in January 2018. The journaling that began with *Eat, Pray, Love* now continues on social media, where Gilbert shares intimate details of her life in the hope that other women will learn from her experiences. "I really, truly believe in the saying, 'The god of woman is autonomy (Alice Walker)'. Culture will teach you otherwise but somewhere in our souls, we know that's not true," she says. In this interview, she speaks of shaking up literary templates, writing that is her quietest place and talking about her scars. Excerpts:

A woman who survives her desires is

unusual in literature. What was the journey like from the cerebral Alma Whittaker in *The Signature of All Things*, who spends a life in longing, to the visceral Vivian in your latest novel, *City of Girls*?

There are so many things that led to writing *City of Girls* but what I haven't spoken about much is that it was a response to *The Signature of All Things*. Alma could never have sex, never know that experience, and part of me said, "Let's just rip the corset off this time and let the woman go wild." I also wanted to write a character who, unlike Alma, was not an intellectual. Vivian is bright but she is not a scholar. She is visceral, artistic and she is a New Yorker. She won't be sitting in a laboratory or library. But they both created really independent lives. My books are about women who, in completely different circumstances, have created their autonomy.

What made you stir up the literary template?

Those books, plays and operas about the ruined woman — it's a literary trope for a reason. It's a good, dramatic story. That's why the world loves Anna Karenina. It's got everything — despair, sex and suicide. But it's not an accurate representation of women's lives, not then or now. The story says that the ruined woman cannot survive disasters, but all evidence points to the contrary. If women could not survive our terrible decision-mak-

ing when it comes to sex, love and romance, there would not be a woman left alive in the world. We make really bad choices. But we can survive our stupidities. Later in life, if you become a good friend to yourself — which is my ongoing project — then not only do you survive yourself, you become very fond of yourself.

Does this forgiveness not come easily in literature because more men write women?

Traditionally, it's true. But even when women get hold of the narrative, they often tend to be about, "Can I or can I not find true love? Will somebody claim me? Will I be able to belong to someone?" As I get older, I am less interested in that story and more interested in stories about who a woman becomes, regardless of her partnership interests.

You finished writing the book when you were mourning the loss of your partner Rayya Elias, but did the #MeToo debate influence how *City of Girls* was conceived?

I was certainly aware of that. So much extremely justified anger was coming out, and I am a passionate defender of the #MeToo movement. Men have gone too far forever and they are still going too far. Why is it that we have a rapist in the White House who has had dozens of accusations of sexual assault? The anger is extremely justified. This, how-



ever, was not that story. For years, I had been wanting to tell the story of a promiscuous woman whose life is not destroyed by her choices, and I would go ahead and tell her story, and not allow either the politics of the

day or my own politics to influence it. So there had to be a separation of myself between the political activist and the novelist. Sometimes, I think political activism can be an art ruiner. Somebody asked me, do you feel artists have a social responsibility? I don't. I think citizens do.

There's a lot of you in your books and on social media. Do you ever feel the need to keep something for yourself?

No, because I am a ruthless novelist. It's all grist to the mill. I am very careful about rescuing other people but I am not very concerned about exposing myself. I think Brené Brown (at the University of Houston, who researches the linkage between courage, vulnerability, shame and empathy) said it best — you don't write from your wounds, you write from your scars. Your open wounds should not be put into the world. But when it is no longer causing me direct pain, when I have learned something and come out on the other side, why wouldn't I share it? I don't want to do it within the actual moment of pain because then it's just me pouring blood on to the page.

What has grief taught you?

Grief is such a humility lesson. It's love lost, love taken away and if you didn't have the love, you wouldn't have the grief. I had no control over either. I like to really be in control of my life and grief and love both remind me that I am really not. I think of grief as a kind of god whom you have to kneel before. That's something my friend Gigi, who is Rayya's ex-wife, who was with me at the end of Rayya's life, taught me. Gigi is a dancer, she is into her body the way that I am into my head. She taught me that grief is a physiological tsunami when it hits you. It's not just a loneliness or a craving, it's very physical. The

sobbing, weeping, anger — those are bow-down moments, where your only job is to stop all resistance, to go completely limp. You let it take you because any resistance would just make it worse. But because we want to control our emotional experience, because we are so afraid, it's very difficult to let go.

How did it change you?

If you are able to sit with yourself while you are going through your most difficult emotions and not abandon yourself, then I think you have come back to life. If you can learn how to do that with yourself, then other people's outrageous emotions stop being so frightening. I can sit with somebody who is in deepest sorrow and not feel frightened by the huge operatic reactions that they are having. The Buddhist teacher Jack Kornfield says, whenever you see somebody behaving in a way that you think is too much, it's "me on a different day". There are very few emotions that you could ever have that I haven't had, very few reactions that anyone can have that I haven't also had.

How different is writing from the many public speaking events that you do?

Writing's the quietest space that I have, the most private thing I do. It's odd because once it's done, it becomes the most public thing I do. But the space that I have to go into in order to create a book is so intimate, so silent and so private — it's the happiest home of my life. It used to be difficult for me in my twenties when I had three jobs, lived in a tiny apartment and always had roommates. Now, I am blessed enough that I can do what I just did in India. I went to Goa for 17 days and finished a new book [on grief]. I did not speak to another human being except waiters in restaurants. It was just me and the story, alone with each other.

# 20 ECONOMY

## ADJUSTED GROSS REVENUE DUES

# Bharti Airtel pays additional ₹8,004 cr, claims compliance with SC judgment

Sum includes ₹5,000 crore to cover any differences arising from reconciliation exercise

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

BHARTI AIRTEL on Saturday said based on its self-assessment of the adjusted gross revenue (AGR) to be paid, it had deposited an additional sum of Rs 3,004 crore with the Department of Telecommunications (DoT). In addition to the Rs 3,004 crore, the company has also deposited a sum of Rs 5,000 crore as ad-hoc payment with the DoT to cover any differences that may arise from the reconciliation exercise being undertaken by the ministry.

In a filing with the exchanges, the company said the self-assessed AGR calculation was for the period between FY2006-07 and December 31, 2019, whereas the interest on AGR was paid for up to February 29, 2020. With the payment of these funds, the company said it has fully complied with the Supreme Court's October 24, 2019 judgment on AGR.

On October 24, 2019, the SC upheld the DoT's definition of AGR and said since the licensees had agreed to the migration packages, they were liable to pay the dues,

## EXPLAINED Focus now on what Voda Idea does next

WITH BHARTI Airtel having claimed to pay the entire AGR dues based on its internal calculations, the spotlight is back on Vodafone Idea, which is said to be struggling with raising funds for AGR payments.

The company is under the lens of rating agencies which believe that the telco does not have adequate funds to make the payments by 17 March 2020, given lack of clarity on "promoter equity infusion, severe erosion in refinancing flexibility and insufficient cash balance".

the penalty on dues, and the interest on penalty due to delay in payments. The apex court had then given the telcos three months to clear their AGR dues.

That three-month deadline ended on January 23, before which the telcos had unsuccessfully tried to persuade the DoT to give them more time to pay the dues. Having failed there, the telcos again approached the apex court seeking a review of the October 24 judgment, which was

also turned down.

The telcos had then filed a modification plea before the apex court, seeking its permission to sit down with DoT and negotiate a timeline. It was during the hearing of this modification plea on February 14 that the top court had come down heavily on the telcos as well as the DoT for not complying with its orders.

Following the SC's wrath, Bharti Airtel wrote to the DoT offering to pay Rs 10,000 crore by

TELCO	AGR PAID SO FAR	GOVT ASSESSED AGR
Bharti Airtel	13,004	35,586
Vodafone	3,500	53,039
Tata Teleservices	2,197	14,000
Reliance Communications	NA	20,400
Reliance Jio	195	195

February 20, and did so. The company has, so far, paid Rs 13,004 crore and an additional Rs 5,000 crore as the principal, and the interest component of its AGR dues.

The total payment made by Bharti Airtel is half of the government's calculations on the AGR dues payable by the company. The DoT has estimated that Bharti Airtel's needs to pay more than Rs 36,000 crore as AGR dues. Reliance Jio, too, last month cleared all its AGR-related dues amounting to Rs 195 crore well within the Supreme Court's January 23 deadline.

With Reliance Jio and now Bharti Airtel having paid their self-assessed AGR dues, the spotlight is back on Vodafone Idea, which is

said to be struggling to make the payments. The company which owes around Rs 53,000 crore towards AGR-related dues, has paid around Rs 3,500 crore to the DoT. This the company had said, is half of the principal amount of the self-assessed AGR dues.

Top executives from Bharti Airtel and Vodafone Idea have, starting February 14, regularly met various DoT officials, the telecom and the finance minister trying to work out some way from the huge AGR payouts they face. There has been no relief from the DoT so far, even as talks of a possible bailout package being offered to the telecom companies have been doing the rounds.

## Tax revenues pick up in Jan, but shrink in Apr-Jan; total receipts at ₹12.82 lakh crore

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

EVEN AS tax revenues picked up during January, the government's cumulative gross and net tax revenues posted a contraction during April-January, declining by 2 per cent and 2.1 per cent, respectively, data released by Controller General of Accounts Friday showed.

With this contraction, meeting the Revised Estimates would be a stiff aim for the government, as for the remaining two months of this fiscal gross tax revenues need to clock a growth rate of 22.1 per cent over the previous year.

Direct tax collections during April-January have declined 4.9 per cent to Rs 7.45 lakh crore, which accounts for 63.7 per cent of the Revised Estimate for the full financial year. The government now needs to collect 36.3 per cent, or Rs 4.24 lakh crore, in the remaining two months, a task which would be tough given the average monthly direct tax collections have, so far, stood at around Rs 75,800 crore in this financial year.

The government has, so far, in the 10 months of this fiscal garnered 66.3 per cent of the net tax revenue estimated in the revised estimates of this fiscal as against 68.7 per cent of the full year estimate previous year. With the government restricting expenditure in

## DIRECT TAX COLLECTIONS IN APRIL-JANUARY

■ With this contraction, meeting the Revised Estimates would be a stiff aim for the government, as for the remaining two months of this fiscal gross tax revenues need to clock a growth rate of 22.1 per cent and net tax revenues need to grow at a steep rate of 70

per cent over the previous year

■ Direct tax collections during April-January have declined 4.9 per cent to Rs 7.45 lakh crore, which accounts for 63.7 per cent of the revised estimate for the full financial year

January-March to 25 per cent of the estimate for the full financial year, compared with the earlier norm of 33 per cent, the government has a limited window to spend in February and March, with the total expenditure compression expected to be over Rs 2 lakh crore. Taking into account expenditure compression, the usual trend of revenue collection in the last quarter and the expected from the proposed Vivad se Vishwas scheme, the government's net tax collections are likely to fall short of the revised estimate.

The government's total receipts during April-January period of current fiscal stood at Rs 12.82 lakh crore, with tax revenue at Rs 9,98,037 crore, while non-tax revenue stood at Rs 2,52,083 crore. Non-debt capital receipts stood at Rs 32,737 crore, which includes Rs 18,351 crore of disinvestment proceeds. Rs 5,30,735 crore has been transferred to state governments as 'devolution of share of taxes' by the Centre in same period, which is Rs 11,003

crore lower than the previous year.

For April-January, total expenditure was Rs 22.68 lakh crore, or 84.1 per cent, of Revised Estimates, of which Rs 20,00,595 crore is on revenue account and Rs 2,67,734 crore is on capital account. Out of the total revenue expenditure, over Rs 4.71 lakh crore is on account of interest payments and over Rs 2.62 lakh crore is on account of major subsidies.

During April-January, the fiscal deficit touched 128.5 per cent of the whole-year Budget target. The deficit in the year-to-date period was 121.5 per cent of the corresponding target. The government has targeted to restrict the fiscal deficit (RE) at Rs 7,66,846 crore for the year ending March 31, 2020. In the Union Budget for 2020-21, presented in Parliament earlier this month, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman had raised the fiscal deficit target to 3.8 per cent of the GDP, from earlier estimate of 3.3 per cent for 2019-20 due to revenue shortage.

## BRIEFLY

### Allahabad Bank lowers external benchmark

New Delhi: Allahabad Bank Saturday announced a cut of up to 40 basis points in benchmark-linked products.

### Shareholders nod for stake sale in GMR Airports

New Delhi: GMR Infrastructure Saturday said it will seek shareholders' nod for stake sale in airport business.

### ₹400 cr income unravelled in I-T Dept search

Chennai: Searches in the premises of a Chennai-based business group have unravelled unaccounted income over Rs 400 crore, the I-T department said.

### REL buys 14.36% in RFL from PE investors

New Delhi: Religare Enterprises has said it has acquired additional 14.36 per cent in Religare Finvest from private equity investors.

### Internet giants unhappy with Pak regulations

Islamabad: Facebook, Google and Twitter have threatened to suspend their services in Pakistan over the new censorship rules. PTI

## What Britain wants from the EU on trade

Britain has unveiled a tough negotiating mandate for talks with the European Union, underlining its desire for future economic and political independence that pits London on a collision course with Brussels. Here are some key sections from the mandate document



### TIMING

The two sides have until June to get what London's negotiating team called "the broad outline of an agreement" to be finalised by September, otherwise Britain would head for an Australian-style agreement, a looser trading arrangement.

### FINANCIAL SERVICES

Britain said it wants "legally binding" obligations on access to the European Union financial market coupled with arrangements for maintaining trust as rules evolve.

### STATE AID

"The agreement should ensure that the UK and EU's state owned enterprise operate in a fair and transparent manner and do not discriminate against businesses in the other party when buying and selling on commercial markets," the document said.

### REGULATION

The agreement should include provisions on good regulatory practice and regulatory cooperation, in relation to business activities. They should include reciprocal commitments to regulation-making processes that are robust, transparent, evidence-based and proportionate.

### STANDARDS

Britain wants its trade agreement with the European Union to include commitments not to weaken protections on labour laws and standards.

### FISHING

Britain wants to a separate agreement on fishing alongside its free trade deal with the European Union, with annual negotiations on dividing up the total catch between them. Source: Reuters

## China Feb factory activity contracts at record pace as coronavirus bites

REUTERS  
BEIJING, FEBRUARY 29

FACTORY ACTIVITY in China contracted at the fastest pace ever in February, even worse than during the global financial crisis, highlighting the colossal damage from the coronavirus outbreak on the world's second-largest economy.

China's official Purchasing Managers' Index (PMI) fell to a record low of 35.7 in February from 50.0 in January, the National Bureau of Statistics said on Saturday, well below the 50-point mark that separates monthly growth from contraction.

Analysts polled by Reuters expected the February PMI to come in at 46.0.

The sombre readings provide the first official snapshot of the Chinese economy's state since the outbreak of the coronavirus epidemic which has killed almost 3,000 people in mainland China and infected about 80,000.

The data foreshadows that the economic disruption from the virus will likely extend to the whole first quarter of 2020 since the disease outbreak has caused widespread transport curbs and required tough public health measures that have paralysed economic activity.

"We expect year-on-year growth in all activity data to be negative in January-February as China's economy has been severely constrained since 23 January," said analysts at Nomura.

## SBI Cards raises ₹2,769 cr from anchor investors

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 29

SBI CARDS and Payment Services has raised Rs 2,769 crore from 74 anchor investors, ahead of its initial share sale starting on March 2.

Anchor investors are institutional investors who are offered shares in an initial public offering (IPO) ahead of its opening.

Singapore government, Monetary Authority of Singapore, HDFC Mutual Fund, Government Pension Fund Global and Birla Mutual Fund are among the anchor investors.

Shares have been allotted at the offer's upper price band of Rs 755 apiece, as per a regulatory filing.

There are 12 mutual funds among the 74 anchor investors,

Singapore government, Monetary Authority of Singapore, HDFC MF, Government Pension Fund Global and Birla Mutual Fund are among the anchor investors

who have been allocated 3,66,69,589 shares and its value stood at Rs 2,768.55 crore.

The price band for the share sale—which would be open from March 2 to 5—has been fixed at Rs 750-755 apiece.

SBI Cards expects to raise around Rs 9,000 crore through the IPO.

## USTR vows to push for trade deals with Britain, EU; seeks broader reset at WTO

REUTERS  
WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 29

THE TRUMP administration on Friday said it would focus on concluding new trade agreements with Britain, the European Union and Kenya over the coming year, while strictly enforcing trade laws and pushing for reforms of the World Trade Organization.

In its annual report to Congress, the US Trade Representative's office said members of the global trade body needed to fundamentally rethink what it called "an outdated tariff framework" that no longer re-

flected economic realities.

USTR delivered a scathing indictment of the WTO in the 338-page document, calling it an organization that had "strayed far from its original mission and purpose," while highlighting the Trump administration's push over the past year to confront what it called China's unfair trade policies and practices.

It said 2019 was "a historic year for American trade" in which the administration reached trade agreements with China and Japan, and secured congressional approval of a new North American trade deal with Mexico and Canada.

REUTERS  
NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 29

HEDGE FUND Elliott Management Corp has amassed a stake in Twitter Inc and is pushing for changes, including removal of the social media firm's chief executive, Jack Dorsey, two people familiar with the matter said Friday.

Twitter is one of the few US technology companies headed, but not controlled, by one of its founders. It has given shareholders equal voting rights, making Dorsey, who owns only about 2 per cent of the company, vulner-

## DORSEY OWNS ONLY 2% OF TWITTER

■ Twitter is one of the few US technology companies headed, but not controlled, by one of its founders. It has given shareholders equal voting rights, making Dorsey, who owns only about 2 per cent of the

company, vulnerable to a challenge from an activist investor such as Elliott

■ It is not clear who Elliott would like Dorsey replaced with and how big its stake in Twitter is

able to a challenge from an activist investor such as Elliott.

Twitter shares fell last year when the company disclosed that its platform experienced glitches that hindered its ability

to target ads and share data with partners. The San Francisco-based company's reluctance to expand beyond its core platform has also left it with limited scale compared to its larger social me-

dia peers.

Elliott, founded by billionaire Paul Singer, will be seeking to install its own nominees to Twitter's eight-member board when three of the company's directors stand for election at its upcoming annual shareholder meeting, the sources said.

It is not clear who Elliott would like Dorsey replaced with and how big its stake in Twitter is. The New York-based hedge fund has more than \$40 billion in assets under management, and has targeted companies in recent months ranging from eBay Inc to SoftBank Group Corp. The sources asked not to be

identified because the matter is confidential. Elliott declined to comment. Twitter did not immediately respond to a request for comment. Bloomberg News first reported on Friday on Elliott's position in Twitter.

Dorsey, 43, is one of Silicon Valley's most prominent entrepreneurs, and also runs Square Inc, a mobile payments company he co-founded.

While investors have tolerated this arrangement since 2015, when Dorsey became Twitter's CEO for the second time, his announcement in November that he would like to move to Africa for up to six

months raised questions among analysts about his management.

Dorsey, who helped conceive Twitter in 2006, first served as CEO until 2008, when he was replaced by one of his co-founders Ev Williams. Williams had accused Dorsey of being a poor manager and not focusing enough on Twitter's profitability.

Dorsey returned as interim CEO after his predecessor Dick Costolo stepped down. Dorsey's knowledge of the company and quick launch of new products convinced Twitter's board to hand him the reins on a permanent basis a few months later.



# Achilles' heel



Vinesh Phogat has hit a Japanese wall. Mayu Mukaida, who will be considered a failure in Japanese wrestling world if she wins anything less than gold at Olympics, has brutally taken down the Indian in all their three bouts. It's a contest between a Japan's tailored techniques and India's entirely unisex approach. MIHIR VASAVDA finds out why Mukaida has occupied prime real estate in Vinesh's headspace.

BEHIND THE inscrutable face, you can sense a storm brewing.

Vinesh Phogat doesn't look up, breathes heavily and nods at the last-minute instructions rattled out by her Hungarian coach Woller Akos. The wrestler with the guile of a street fighter is facing an opponent she has never beaten. This time, in the opening round of the Asian Championship bout, at her home, Phogat looks very determined.

The bell rings. The bout begins. And the thoughts start to collide.

The gameplan is to keep the scores close and stay in the hunt till late. But for that, she has to curb her natural instincts to attack. So, she stays evasive, blocking her opponent's moves. Stubbing them out before they burn her up.

The referee, though, won't let her to linger long with that approach. "BLUE! ACTION!" he barks. Phogat frowns. But she can't stay passive anymore, else she will be penalized and yield a point. She starts looking for an opening to launch an attack but ends up compromising her movements in the process. An alarmed Akos yells, "MOTION! Phogat swiftly realigns herself.

Her dilemma is now apparent: preoccupied in getting her movements right, thrown off by the passivity-warning and confused by the fakes and feints of her opponent that was forcing her to constantly second-guess the next attack. Mental walls close in. And it's only been two minutes into the bout.

Phogat seems mentally drained out. The concentration slips for a split-second. Mistake. Phogat's ankle is in the clutches of her opponent, who pins her down and rolls on the mat. Akos shakes his head in dismay. Phogat is on her knees. There is no coming back.



The grass was greener on the other corner. An element of calmness pervaded those six brutal minutes.

Mayu Mukaida's arms were being furiously massaged by Hideo Sasayama. A gentle smile spread on his face, he doesn't talk much though he maintained his gaze straight into her eye. When she is battle-ready, Sasayama slaps Mukaida on the back and whispers, in Japanese, 'you are the best'. These are the first and last words, in monosyllabic English, the Japanese wrestling star hears from her coach before and after every bout; before and after every training session.

Mukaida isn't the best – at the moment. There are other wrestlers in the 53kg category better than her. But those four words transform her; from a flaccid body language, she turns into a classic opportunistic apex predator.

Seen those videos on National Geographic, the ones where a Nile crocodile goes after its catch? Watching Mukaida take down her opponents, chief among them Phogat, is a similar experience: viscerally captivating for the watchers but must be terrifying for the ones being hunted down.

Mukaida will lurk patiently, waiting for her opponent to make a mistake that she knows is coming. Until then, she will feed on anything she can claw on: hair, shoulders, hips... anything really. But she never takes her eyes off the ankle. Then, without warning, she'll explode, grasp her victim and pin her down until the referee stops the move or the bout.

It's never rough. Just enough violence to demonstrate her strength.



Each time they have met, most recently

in New Delhi on February 21, Mukaida has devoured Phogat in this fashion. It can't be called a rivalry when the competition history is so lopsided. But their fates are intertwined.

Both these giants of women's wrestling, one at the peak of her powers and another who is striving to get there, are obsessed with the idea of a podium finish at the Olympics. But for different reasons.

Phogat, 25, is fighting to step out of the shadows of her celebrity cousins, Geeta and Babita. A medal in Tokyo will not just ensure it but will catapult her to legendary status in Indian sport.

Mukaida, anointed as the successor to Japan's wrestling queen Saori Yoshida, is fighting for reputation. A gold medal will get a place among the world's elite. But in a nation that mass produces wrestling champions, just one gold might not be enough for that.

Anything less than gold? That could be perceived as a colossal failure.



The key ingredient in Japanese wrestling's success is the same that enhances the taste of chowmein sold on Indian streets: Ajinomoto. The Japanese seasoning brand backs the national training centre in Tokyo. Hundreds of wrestling gems, spotted from clubs and universities across the country, are polished and turned into world-beaters at the multi-million-dollar facility.

"The journey usually begins when a child is three or four years old," says Kohei Nakajima, a member of United World Wrestling's medical committee and physio of the Japanese team. There are over 200 wrestling clubs across the country for kids aged five and under. "Some are from wrestling families. A few are recruited from other sports. Our coaches go to judo academies for scouting," Nakajima says. "The kids are trained by former wrestlers, just like they show in (Bollywood movie) Dangal, to compete in the national championships for that age group."

Thousands take part in the national championships for the under-5 age group (in India, the youngest age-bracket at a national level is under-14). The kids scouted from the nationals progress to schools that have dedicated programmes, and then the universities, which form the bedrock of Japanese wrestling – at the Asian Championship, the Yamanashi Gakuin University would have finished sixth in the men's freestyle medals tally if it would have entered a team on its own, according to United World Wrestling.

"We have 10,000 registered wrestlers in Japan, which includes 2,000 kids," Nakajima says.

It's this system that's made the 2020 Olympics host the most formidable nation in women's wrestling – comparable only to the American basketball or Chinese table tennis teams. Since the time women's wrestling was introduced at the Olympics, in 2004, Japan has won 11 out of the 18 gold medals on offer. In the World Championship, they have won a total of 161 medals, which includes 87 golds. China, the next best, has 'only' 73 medals and 26 gold (India has five bronze medals and no gold).

It's unparalleled. But also, unforgiving. The ruthlessness inherent to the system weeds out anyone perceived as underperforming. They did not even blink when the 11-time world and 3-time Olympic champion Saori Yoshida, a pioneer of women's wrestling and the reason why most Japanese women have taken to wrestling, was sidelined by national coach Kazuhito Sakae for winning 'just a silver' at the Rio Olympics. Yoshida was the undisputed queen of

the 53/55kg weight class. But in 2017, after the Rio 'failure', Sakae, who is to Japanese wrestling what Pulella Gopichand is to Indian badminton, decided to focus solely on Mukaida. "Now, I am putting 100 percent on Mukaida, not Yoshida," Sakae was quoted as saying by Tokyo Sports. "I want Mukaida to win the gold medal this time."



Before she was anointed as successor to Yoshida, Mukaida had forged a reputation in Japan, according to its media, of being a 'cry baby'. "Every time she lost, Mukaida would cry for hours," says a wrestling journalist. "She was mocked a lot for that."

A story goes that after she lost in the final of the 2016 World Championship, the then 19-year-old Mukaida put a photo of her – standing on the podium with a muted expression, silver around her neck – as her phone's wallpaper. She was burning with humiliation. But realized there was no time to sulk.

Sakae identified that Mukaida lacked dexterity. So, he began to make up for it by strengthening her upper body. All her squat time was spent climbing ropes and building biceps. Those drills, combined with relentless mat training, turned Mukaida into an unbeatable force.

It was really that straightforward. There isn't any secret to what Mukaida, or for that matter any other Japanese, does. A lot of repetition and, as they all keep saying, 'hard work'. "It's just very long hours of training," Nakajima says. "There is no special food or special training. Only very hard work."

Andrew Cook, a former American freestyler who now coaches India's women, testifies to it. "It's just extraordinary discipline. They, from the beginning, have got the best coaches. All homegrown," he says. "So, you take really good girls, who are very, very, smart and intellectual, and you give them the very best coaches. What will happen?"

What happens is a Mukaida, who then reaches the final of every major international tournament she has competed since the 2016 World Championship. She has been a cadet world champion twice, a junior world champion, a Youth Olympic champion, has two senior World Championship golds, and half-a-dozen other titles.

Against Phogat, particularly, her dominance is so one-sided that when the Indian stole two points off her in the 6-2 defeat in Delhi at the Asian Championship, it felt like a moral victory of sorts. After the bout, Phogat was candid: "I accept that I am not better than her. But I am trying. The thing is, you can't beat her head-to-head (on strength). You have to beat her technically."

That, too, as Phogat is learning, isn't turning out to be easy.



What is it about Mukaida that makes her so good?

Cook reads Japanese like a book. He lists six key components in a wrestling match: position, motion and angle for setting up a move; level change, penetration and drive-and-lift to finish it. "The Japanese," Cook says, "are the very best at motion and angle."

Japan's entire philosophy has been designed on these two aspects from the time they began focusing on women's wrestling, since the late 1980s. In India, it wasn't until the 2000s that people started taking women's wrestling seriously. And even then, the coaches copy-pasted the same techniques that were used for the men across the akharas of Haryana and Punjab



Illustration: Sujajit Dey

## TALE OF THE TAPE

**MOTION AND ANGLE:** There are at least six key components to wrestling: For setting up an attack, it's position, motion and angle; level change, penetration and drive-and-lift to finish it. Japan's philosophy is based on motion and angle, with coaches playing on a lower centre of gravity and more flexibility in the upper body.

**LINEAR TO CIRCULAR:** The biggest adjustment Phogat has made to her game to just challenge Mukaida, let alone beat her, is changing her motion on the mat from linear to circular. That is done to block Mukaida's left-hand attacks, which give her a unique angle. The circular motion also makes it tough for the Japanese to get hold of Vinesh's ankle.

## 3-0

Mukaida and Phogat have faced each other thrice since their first meeting at last year's Asian Championships. Back then, the 22-year-old Japanese won 10-0, and followed it up with a 7-0 wallpopping at the 2019 World Championships. At the continental championship in Delhi last month, Phogat, for the first time, stole points off her but still lost 6-2.

and used them for the women's game.

But Sakae, a former world championship bronze medallist who has been associated with Japanese women's game since the beginning, realised that because of the physical differences between the men and women, there was a need for new tactics.

Working on the assumption that women have a lower centre of gravity compared to men and had more flexibility in the upper body, Sakae redesigned some of the freestyle techniques. He made it more about, "position (and) angles of attack than physical power, more movement and less contact," according to a United World Wrestling report in 2016.

"They wrestle from an angle, stay outside and remain elusive. And because of their relentless, speedy attacks, it becomes difficult for a wrestler to maintain balance," Cook says. "The whole time, you're trying to get yourself to feel like you're in the right position, and then they can make you step where they want to step. That's how they can pick attacks from an angle."

The way Cook explains, it seems like an obvious way to approach a bout. But no one in India, he says, plays like that.

Phogat, however, isn't like any other Indian wrestler. She is among the few in the world who has upset a Japanese wrestler in a major championship. In the 2018 Asian Games final, Phogat rattled Yuki Irie with subtle tweaks to her style and clinched the gold.

Then, she changed her weight category and stumbled upon Mukaida. There are others in the 53kg category, of course, especially the North Korean world champion Pak Yong-mi and China's Qianyu Pang, another wrestler who has troubled Phogat.

None, however, seem to have occupied so much space in Phogat's mind as much as the Japanese: so much so that she and Akos have been scheming for almost a year. New tilts and holds have been added to her armoury – like the two-on-one and headlock positions, and the underhook. There's been renewed attention on transitions af-

ter a takedown or a leg-attack.

But the biggest change has been in Phogat's motion on the mat – turning from linear to circular. "For us, it was important that we block the opponent's left hand. So you have a motion from left to right," Akos says. "We need to have fakes to the right leg after attacks to the left. Vinesh needs to be more aggressive on this but the strategy is working."

Mukaida, though, finds a way out. All the time.



As much as their training, Cook feels, it is the belief system that adds to the aura of Japanese women.

Sakshi Malik, who won the Rio Olympics bronze, has often said that it is tough for Indians 'to match Japanese wrestlers in this lifetime or next.' "We would have to take rebirths in order to beat them," she has said before. The mindset has changed a bit. You see Phogat now not completely dismissing her chances as she did a couple of years ago.

But the approach is still radically different. "They put the belief system in... they always keep on saying they are the best," Cook says. It is true: the Japanese wrestlers, coaches, support staff and even the media constantly keep repeating those words. "Speaking into existence is a big deal. Thoughts become words, words become actions, actions become habit and habit become character," Cook says. Self-hypnosis by a wrestling country.

Given her (bad) luck with the draw, it's likely Phogat will face Mukaida in Tokyo at some stage. The bout will decide if she will win a medal – and which colour, if they meet deep into the competition. It'll be a riveting movie script material: exacting revenge on her biggest rival, on her home turf, at Olympics.

But Phogat wears the mask of inscrutability again. "The good thing is," she says, "she is helping me get my best version out. That's all that matters right now."

**BRIEFLY**

**Aizawl FC hold Real Kashmir 2-2**

**Srinagar:** Relegation-threatened Aizawl FC pulled off a spectacular come-from-behind 2-2 draw against hosts Real Kashmir FC in the I-League here on Saturday. The Snow Leopards were given the lead by Scotsman Mason Robertson (36th minute) in the first half and it was looking quite comfortable for the hosts after Englishman Kallum Higginbotham (54th) doubled it at the beginning of the second. However, young Rochharzela (84th and 87th) had other ideas, coming up with a double-strike in the space of three minutes to stun the home supporters present in the stands. Kashmir join the likes of Chennai City and Churchill Brothers on 19 points to enter the top five at least momentarily after 13 games, while Aizawl secure a crucial point to climb just above the relegation zone with 16 points from 14 matches. **PTI**

**Dutee wins 100m gold at Khelo India**

**Bhubaneswar:** India's fastest woman Dutee Chand clinched gold in 100m dash while long distance runner Narendra Pratap Singh bagged his second title at Khelo India University Games here on Saturday. The 24-year-old sprinter, representing Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology (KIIT), raced ahead to take a massive lead within no time. With her competitors nowhere close to Dutee, the national record holder bagged gold with a timing of 11.49 seconds. The second best, Dhanalakshmi S from Mangalore University, clocked 11.99 seconds and Sneha SS from Mahatma Gandhi University clinched the bronze with a timing of 12.08 seconds. In men's 5000m race, Narendra Pratap Singh of Mangalore University bagged the gold, his second of the Games after the 10,000m win. **PTI**

**Bad back forces Woods to skip event**

**Miami:** Reigning Masters champion Tiger Woods will skip next week's Arnold Palmer Invitational to rest a stiff back and continue preparations for Augusta National, according to multiple reports Friday. ESPN and Golf Digest reported that the 15-time major winner will not compete at Bay Hill, a course where he has captured eight titles. "He's not going to play," Woods's agent, Mark Steinberg, told ESPN. "Back still stiff and just not quite ready." Woods, 44, felt back stiffness at Riviera two weeks ago, saying it was his new normal after multiple back surgeries. He skipped last week's WGC Mexico event. His next chance to compete will be in two weeks at the Players Championship, a major tuneup for the year's first major tournament next month in Augusta. **PTI**



**Alonso brace saves Chelsea the blushes**

**London:** Midfielder Marco Alonso struck twice for Chelsea as they stormed back from a goal down to snatch a 2-2 draw away to AFC Bournemouth in their Premier League clash at the Vitality Stadium on Saturday. With both sides playing open, attacking football, Chelsea took the lead in the 33rd minute when Reece James crossed for Olivier Giroud to send his effort onto the crossbar, with Alonso on hand to smash home the rebound. Bournemouth bounced back with a headed goal from Jefferson Lerma nine minutes after the break and three minutes later they were ahead, Joshua King tapping the ball home from close range after a superb ball in from the right by Jack Stacey. Jolted into all-out attack, Chelsea substitute Michy Batshuayi had a goal ruled out for offside moments after coming on, but they continued to bombard the Bournemouth box with set-pieces and crosses. **REUTERS**

# Speed thrills but kills

Rush-of-blood batting hurts Team India as they are bowled out for 242; Jamieson takes 5 for 45



**EXPRESS IN NEW ZEALAND**

**SANDIP G**  
WELLINGTON, FEBRUARY 29

IT WAS an uncharacteristic, routine-breaking day at the Hagley Oval. The ground-staff expected a trickle of spectators, they poured in like a deluge; the outrageously grassy and green surface winked temptingly at the bowlers, it hardly swung or seamed; the weathermen predicted a warm afternoon, but it turned out to be bone-chillingly cold; Cheteshwar Pujara is a model of sturdiness and discipline, yet he got out playing a hook shot.

How else would you explain Pujara perishing when attempting a hook of all shots? How else would you comprehend the shrewdest of Indian batsmen, Virat Kohli, failing to comprehend a usual set-up routine? How else would you reason Hanuma Vihari's rush-of-the-blood pull shot three balls before tea? How else would you explain India's first-innings score of 242 on the flat-test surface they've encountered in the Test series? Everything that could have gone well for India went well. Yet, they contrived to find themselves in a spot where everything that could have gone wrong went wrong. It was as if they felt too apologetic to accepting good fortune that they outrightly refused it.

Sample the Pujara dismissal. Forget the stroke for a while, after all he's not un-schooled in stroke-making, what was more unseemly was the timing of the stroke. Just eight balls after Vihari's dismissal in the last over before tea. Routinely, in situations such as these, Pujara is the least of suspects to waste his wicket in so trivial a fashion. These are junctures wherein, his patience and composure usually shine the brightest, and for the most part of the innings, he batted in a familiar manner, until that moment.

Even if he's not scoring briskly, he weathers the storm, blunts the attack and incrementally reverses the pressure, as he had been doing in the 81-run stand between him and Vihari, who was gullible of throwing his wicket away himself.

Understandably, Pujara was so gutted that he kept kicking the turf and admonishing himself as he walked disconsolately back to the pavilion. Wondering, why on earth did I? Rarely has he been so expressive after getting out. But, it was the day of the bizarre.

So did Vihari, who kept staring disbelievingly at the pitch. It was no fault of the pitch, but his own. For he had looked in divine touch, took on and neutered a short-ball barrage by Neil Wagner and Co, counter-punched them to submission, and then self-implored. Like Pujara, it was so unusual of him playing the wrong shot at the wrong time. You would expect men like Prithvi Shaw to get out this way, given his natural



Kyle Jamieson dismissed Rishabh Pant who had given two chances in consecutive deliveries during a 14-ball stay. **Reuters**

aggressive disposition. But not Pujara or Vihari, Test specialists who are schooled in the art of the waiting game. But it was as if they were trying to slip into a second skin, by trying to be artificially positive. True that Vihari's counter-punching paid off, but the time had come to retreat to the old avatar, that of a steady stroke-maker.

But in their over-enthusiasm to embrace a different, artificial skin, they shot themselves in the foot and squandered the advantage. The score of 190/4 towards the end of second session, called for classical Test-match batting. This was no time for machismo or hyper-aggression, rather it was the perfect put-your-head-down-and-grind moment. Inexplicably, both failed to read the situation. Later, Vihari confessed of getting out at the wrong time: "It was a wrong time to get out obviously, just before tea. We had a good session. We scored 110 runs and lost only one wicket prior to that. I was batting positively but I played one shot too many."

**Injudicious strokes**

It could be true for most Indian batsmen. Once they realised that the colour of the strip was a mere facade and the New Zealand bowlers were not as sharp or cunning as they were in Wellington, a false sense of security wrapped them. They began looking out frantically for boundaries and ended up playing injudicious strokes. Barring Ajinkya Rahane, and Kohli to an extent, none could console themselves that they lost their wicket to a

**The stroke-making looked exciting while it lasted, it was thrill-a-minute stuff from Shaw and later Vihari, but in the end, a clutch of 50's on a good surface barely acquires match-winning dimensions.**

terrific delivery. Mayank Agarwal swiped across the line, an expansive drive cost Shaw his wicket, Rishabh Pant, dropped twice in two balls, slashed at a wide delivery to get himself bowled.

As for Kohli, you would expect a batsman of his calibre to out-read the usual away-curler and nip-backer double bluff. He didn't. Good as the ball was, his hands got too far ahead of the ball and the alignment went haywire. Not often do you see him so dishevelled in his follow through.

The stroke-making looked exciting while it lasted, it was thrill-a-minute stuff from Shaw and later Vihari, but in the end, a clutch of 50's on a good surface barely acquires match-winning dimensions. What India desperately needed was some century-makers. And sadly no one took a lead.

Perhaps their approach would have been different, perhaps more watered-down on this surface, had they been not sitting on 1-0 deficit in a two-Test series. So, there was a

desperation to stamp themselves. To illustrate their intent, Vihari reasoned: "But that's the name of the game. Sometimes it goes your way and sometimes it doesn't. Today it didn't go my way but I will look to play positively again when I get another chance."

His word encapsulates the philosophy of the team—a side that prides itself as a watchable, aggressive side. Kohli repeatedly emphasises this. "I don't think being cautious or wary will help because you might stop playing your shots. You will start doubting that if even singles are not coming in those conditions, what will you do? You are just waiting for when that good ball will come and you will be dismissed," he had quipped after losing the Wellington Test.

All great teams have this streak, but they also make the sweaty, hard runs when the situation demands it. Flexibility of approach is the fundamental pillar of any great team or individual across the sporting world. A bit of attrition would have served India better.

Under Kohli, India's batting unit has been as ruthless, impregnable and attractive as any in the world — when the conditions suit. The problems begin when conditions are friendlier to bowlers, where their template wouldn't always work, where just a thin line separates aggression and silliness.

And in this particular instance, it wasn't even a case of a devilishly swinging wicket or high-class bowling. And this would hurt India more. But then, it was the day of the bizarre and unlikely.

**SCORECARD** >>  
New Zealand vs India

2nd Test | Christchurch | Toss: NZ

<b>INDIA</b>	<b>242 IN 63 OVS</b>
<b>P Shaw</b> c Latham b Jamieson	<b>54</b> (64b, 8x4, 1x6)
<b>M Agarwal</b> lbw b Boult	<b>7</b> (11b, 26x4, 1x6)
<b>C Pujara</b> c †Watling b Jamieson	<b>54</b> (140b, 6x4)
<b>V Kohli</b> (c) lbw b Southee	<b>3</b> (15b)
<b>A Rahane</b> c Taylor b Southee	<b>7</b> (27b, 1x4)
<b>H Vihari</b> c †Watling b Wagner	<b>55</b> (70b, 10x4)
<b>R Pant</b> † b Jamieson	<b>12</b> (14b, 2x4)
<b>R Jadeja</b> c Boult b Jamieson	<b>9</b> (10b, 2x4)
<b>U Yadav</b> c †Watling b Jamieson	<b>0</b> (4b)
<b>Md Shami</b> b Boult	<b>16</b> (12b, 1x4, 2x6)
<b>J Bumrah</b> not out	<b>10</b> (11b, 1x4)

**Extras:** (b 4, lb 6, w 5) **15**  
**Fall of wickets:** 1-30 (Agarwal, 5.4 ov), 2-80 (Shaw, 19.1 ov), 3-85 (Kohli, 24.1 ov), 4-113 (Rahane, 32.1 ov), 5-194 (Vihari, 53.4 ov), 6-197 (Pujara, 55.2 ov), 7-207 (Pant, 57.2 ov), 8-207 (Yadav, 57.6 ov), 9-216 (Jadeja, 59.2 ov), 10-242 (Shami, 62.6 ov)

<b>Bowling:</b>	
<b>T Southee</b>	13-5-38-2
<b>T Boult</b>	17-2-89-2
<b>C de Grandhomme</b>	9-2-31-0
<b>K Jamieson</b>	14-3-45-5
<b>N Wagner</b>	10-2-29-1

**NEW ZEALAND 63/0 IN 23 OVS**

<b>T Latham</b> not out	<b>27</b> (65b, 4x4)
<b>T Blundell</b> not out	<b>29</b> (73b, 4x4)

**Extras:** (b 4, lb 3) **7**

<b>Bowling:</b>	
<b>J Bumrah</b>	7-1-19-0
<b>U Yadav</b>	8-1-20-0
<b>Md Shami</b>	7-1-17-0
<b>R Jadeja</b>	1-1-0-0



Hanuma Vihari top-scored for India with 55, one of the 3 half-centurions. He was out at the stroke of tea trying to pull Neil Wagner. **AP**

## Without making a show of it, Southee has Kohli's number

**SANDIP G**  
CHRISTCHURCH, FEBRUARY 29

UNLIKE TRENT BOUT, his trusted accomplice, Tim Southee hardly does theatre. Bout, in his follow through, is almost within a touching distance of the batsman; he appeals vociferously, celebrates wickets with vein-popping fist-pumps. Contrastingly, Southee's follow through is standard, his appeals are apologetic and celebrations not over the top.

Like when he nailed Virat Kohli in front of the wicket with a supreme exhibition of cerebral bowling. The appeal was a quiet query, the celebrations that followed were not frantic. A sheepish grin, handshakes and reluctant hugs. As Boult himself put it cheekily: "He needs to take a course on celebrating wickets from me."

Perhaps, he didn't animatedly celebrate Kohli's dismissal because he has gotten so accustomed to dismissing one of the most-prized scapals in the world that it has ceased to excite him. A certain kind of boredom has set in. With the latest instance, he has ejected him 10 times across formats, the most success any bowler has enjoyed against the

Indian skipper. Thrice in Tests, six times in ODIs and once in T20Is. So much so that he could legitimately claim that he's Kohli's kryptonite, he could rightfully brag that he knows how to outwit Kohli.

Southee-Kohli showdowns are not as much about raw thrill as it's about the battle of wits. Southee trying to fasten the noose around his neck while the latter trying to wriggle out of it.

The latest dismissal was a classic instance. Before that, as soon as Kohli strode in, Kane Williamson replaced Neil Wagner, who had bowled just an over, with Southee. It was a sharp psychological move. For, the more you get a batsman out the more it becomes psychological. A batsman starts thinking about it and starts making something of it in his head. The bowler looks forward to bowling at them, he's confident when he is running in, he knows that the previous instances are in the back of the batsman's mind.

So he wants to build the pressure, make sure the batsman knows exactly what is going on, really making it known that they feel they have got the wood on them. Most of the great batsmen have had their boogymen: Glenn McGrath was Brian Lara's (14); Derek



Tim Southee has now dismissed Virat Kohli 10 times across formats. **AP**

Underwood was Sunil Gavaskar's (12).

But the familiarity can also backfire, for the batsman knows the pattern of the bowler. It's where Southee differs. It's his out-swing that has troubled Kohli the most, the default method most bowlers employ against him when he's fresh at the crease. So he begins with an in-swing that's too leg-

sidish. He quickly corrects the line, and starts peppering him with his stock-ball, the out-swing. The next five balls are full balls, swinging away, outside the off-stump, tempting Kohli to drive through covers, usually unmaned. Kohli sternly resists, as lunch is nearing. In the second over of the spell, he begins with an in-swing on off-stump that he check-drives to mid-off. He slips one further up, which Kohli stoutly defends.

Southee's intentions are clear—suck him into driving and pull the length back a bit, he might nick one behind.

Instead, he makes the ball duck back into him, but is pitched outside the off-stump to convey to Kohli an impression that he's homing in on his outside edge.

The sequence of deliveries might have been playing in the back of his head, he comes prepared for that. But instead, Southee hits his nip-backer on the perfect length and line, good length on off-stump. Though Kohli spots it, he is too late to make the requisite adjustment and ends up playing a feeble, nothing stroke. Neither a full defensive shot nor a full-blooded drive. It was reminiscent of his dismissal at Eden Park in the second ODI, where again he was beauti-

fully set up — a few out-swingers and wider deliveries to get the skipper shuffling, before darting in an off-cutter that glanced his front pad onto the stumps.

Kohli sought an incredulous review, but what he saw on the screen might have rankled him more, beaten again by his serial killer. But an understated one, seldom hyped up or talked about as James Anderson, his tormentor in England. Maybe, it's because most of his Kohli dismissals have come in the shorter versions that people associate it with plain coincidence.

Then that's how all worthy duels begin. It might simply be that he has bowled a couple of cracking balls or that a batsman has played a bad shot or two.

Sometimes it can happen without either of them really noticing. But then it grows on the batsman, and the bowler automatically gets into the business. Suddenly, the batsman starts thinking on the grounds of a technical flaw. Suddenly, he's weighed down by the burden of the past.

But ten times can't be happenstance. It might not be a technical flaw necessarily, but it definitely is morphing into a psychological scar.

## Like old wine, Anustup gets better with age

**SHAMIK CHAKRABARTY**  
KOLKATA, FEBRUARY 29

A TALE of two oldies; that was the first day's play in microcosm. Anustup Majumdar played arguably the innings of his life to keep Bengal in the game. Abhimanyu Mithun bowled the ball of the day to remove Shahbaz Ahmed, when the left-hander was threatening to take the game away from Karnataka. Majumdar is 35 years old and Mithun is 30.



Anustup Majumdar, 35, was batting on an unbeaten 120. **PTI**

In 2016, Majumdar resigned from his job at Indian Railways and returned to Bengal. The team was in search of a dependable middle-order batsman and then Bengal captain Manoj Tiwary initiated the move to bring Majumdar back, along with spin-bowling all-rounder Arnab Nandi. Majumdar always had the game, what he needed was confidence boost. This term, he benefited from Bengal head coach Arun Lal's positive vibes and also a demanding pre-season that significantly

raised the team's collective fitness level. At 35, Majumdar looks fighting fit. And he is enjoying a second wind. In the quarterfinal against Odisha, his match-winning 157, coming when the team was at 46/5 in the first in-

nings, had been terrific. But Karnataka was a different ball game and on Saturday at Eden Gardens, the hosts were reeling at 67/6 after being sent in on a greenish pitch.

They finished the day on 275/9, with Majumdar unbeaten on 120. Coming into the season, the senior batsman had seven centuries in 56 first-class matches. Into his 63rd match at this level, Majumdar now has nine hundreds. Back-to-back centuries in the quarterfinal and semifinal had been preceded by a 99 against Delhi. But quitting a permanent job was never easy. Majumdar did it because he wanted to play for his home state. Here, at times, he wasn't given the backing that he deserved.

But Majumdar hung on. The Bengal top-order failed yet again. Tiwary, too, fell cheaply. Both Sudip Chatterjee and Shreevats Goswami were out leg-before, playing across the line. Majumdar, on the other hand, executed his plans perfectly against the Karnataka

bowling attack comprising Mithun, Prasidh Krishna, Ronit More and K Gowtham. All along, he was flawless. Bengal took the attack to the opposition, when Ahmed came and started playing fearless cricket.

A special delivery from Mithun, from around the wicket, castled him — the ball came in with the angle before straightening. It could have gotten any left-hander out. But a 72-run seventh wicket partnership initiated the hosts' fightback, while Akash Deep played a lovely hand and added 103 runs with Majumdar for the eighth wicket.

Both Ahmed and Akash, though, survived dropped chances. Coming back to Mithun, apart from bowling a beauty to Ahmed, he took two more wickets to return as Karnataka's most successful bowler on the opening day. **BRIEF SCORES:** Bengal 275/9 in 82 ovs (Anustup Majumdar 120 not out, Akash Deep 44; Shahbaz Ahmed 35; Abhimanyu Mithun 3/65) vs Karnataka.

## Gujarat bowlers keep Saurashtra on a leash

**Rajkot:** Led by Arzan Nagwaswalla's three wickets, Gujarat bowlers produced a disciplined show and restricted Saurashtra to 217 for five on the opening day of their Ranji Trophy semifinal here on Saturday.

For the hosts, only Sheldon Jackson (69 not out) was able to convert his start at the SCA stadium. Initially, it seemed Gujarat skipper Parthiv Patel's decision to put Saurashtra in backfired, but the bowlers made a splendid comeback and pegged the hosts back on two occasions. Saurashtra openers Harvik Desai (35) and Kishan Parmar (37) gave the hosts a sedate start and negated the early challenge well, especially the questions posed by medium pacer Chitan Gaja (0-42).

Parmar got a life when he was caught off a no ball and then he survived a few thick edges. Gujarat missed another chance as Roosh Kalaria dropped Parmar on 36. Despite the reprieves, Parmar couldn't

convert his start and was cleaned up by left-arm spinner Axar Patel (2-47). The openers added 62 runs for the first wicket.

Avi Barot (27) then joined Desai as Saurashtra took lunch at 87 for one.

However, post lunch Gujarat bagged two wickets in two overs.

First, Desai departed after being caught by Bhargav Merai off medium pacer Nagwaswalla (3-40), and in the very next over, Barot played recklessly and was caught by Dhruv Ravel, as the hosts slipped to 102 for three. Then, Vishwaraj Jadeja (26) and senior pro Jackson, steadied the ship and lifted Saurashtra to 160 for three at tea.

But, right after tea, Nagwaswalla grabbed two wickets in two balls to leave Saurashtra tottering at 162 for five. **BRIEF SCORES:** Saurashtra 217/5 in 90 Ovs (Sheldon Jackson 69 no; Kishan Parmar 37; Arzan Nagwaswalla 3-40) versus Gujarat.

# Vegetable seller's daughter is India's star against Lanka

From gully cricket scuffles with boys, bowling at Prithvi Shaw to shining for Team India, Radha makes her mark

DEVENDRA PANDEY  
FEBRUARY 29

PRAFUL NAIK, 61, still remembers the day in 2012 when he spotted India's left-arm spinner at the on-going T20 World Cup in Australia. Radha Yadav, play tennis ball cricket in the building compound of Kandivali, a Mumbai suburb. The one-time club cricketer turned coach was there to see his niece but what caught his eye was Radha, just 11 then, charging towards a boy who was stubbornly holding on to the bat despite getting out, and grabbing his collar.



Radha Yadav's 4 for 23 helped India beat Sri Lanka by seven wickets in the last league game of T20 World Cup. ICC

Naik, who learnt the finer points of the game from Mumbai's legendary coach the late Ramakant Achrekar, was impressed by Radha's passion for the game and also her skills with both bat and ball. He would ask Radha to take him to her father, a vegetable seller. Naik was doing a Achrekar. He wanted to take charge of the girl with a spark and for that he wanted parental approval. Initially, the father was reluctant but what saw him change his mind was Naik's pitch about cricket having the potential to get her daughter permanent employment. "I knew that they couldn't afford this sport. The family of five — Radha's parents and her two brothers — lived in a very small house. I told the father that if nothing else cricket can get Radha a job in the Railways. This clicked and he straightaway said yes and since that day he gave full responsibility of his daughter," Naik recalls.

a crossroad. The part-time coach Naik, who used to work as a captain at Hotel Centaur, was retiring. Tired of Mumbai's hectic life, he wanted to move to Baroda, along with his daughter, Radha's best friend and a budding cricketer. Suddenly, Radha's cricketing dream seemed over. Naik wasn't going to be around when she needed her coach and mentor the most.

That's when the Yadavs took a life-changing call. "Her father said, she is your daughter, please take her along," Naik explained. But things weren't that simple. The coach first checked with Baroda cricket body if Radha could switch states. He was told that all that was needed was an address proof. "And for that I had to be Radha's legal guardian and so I and her father signed a legal document," recalls Naik. Now, Naik was much more than a coach to Radha.

Moving base from Mumbai to Baroda proved to be a blessing in disguise for Radha. She went to lead Baroda under 19 and the senior team and later went onto play for India. Her graceful action, teasing loop and precise break made Radha an asset to any team she played. Her ability to hold back the ball and force the batters to play a false shot played a big role in the giving India important breakthroughs in Melbourne today.

Interestingly, spin was not Radha's first choice. As a child playing gully cricket, she had a long run-up, loved to run in fast and bowl quick. However, Naik immediately after taking Radha under his wings asked her to shorten the run-up. Later, he suggested her to try left-arm spin. The switch from pace to spin is proving to be a game-changer for Radha.

Naik says her action is natural but adds that he did take his student to former India cricketer Mohinder Amarnath for a second opinion. "He (Amarnath) said don't worry the girl will do well. Lot of hard work has gone in the making of Radha. We used to do endless sessions of spot bowling, we taught her how to use the bowling crease and vary the pace. We played in rains with rubber balls which are hard to control," Naik revealed. As Radha grew in stature, she got BCCI's central contract. Life for her family too changed. The father no longer sells vegetables. He manages a shop that's called Radha General store.

While Radha was growing up, the profile of the women's game in India was growing. In Mumbai, with the clubs wanting to give the girls competitive games, mixed games in the under-16 category were organised. Radha was now pitted against Mumbai's best young talent. In age-cricket, she has matched her wits against the city's batting prodigies — India opener Prithvi Shaw and Mumbai Ranji star Sarfraz Khan.

In 2015, Radha found herself at India 116/3 (Verma 47) by 7 wickets

## El Clasico: Zidane says clash won't decide Liga title, Setien piles pressure on Real

ZINEDINE ZIDANE said the Clasico on Sunday will not decide the title race even if Real Madrid lose to Barcelona and fall five points behind them in La Liga. Yet opposite number Quique Setien believes Barca's two-point cushion at the top makes the match at the Santiago Bernabeu "much more important for Madrid" than his team. Victory for the Catalans

would effectively give them a six-point advantage over Madrid, given that would be a superior head-to-head, with 12 games left to play. But Zidane insists there would be still be a way back.

"I don't think anyone will lose anything this weekend," he said on Saturday. "There are still 12 games left, we'll still be in the title race regardless of the result. But we're go-

ing to try to win, 100 per cent." Setien, also speaking Saturday, said the pressure was all on Real. "For Madrid this match is certainly much more important than for us. In relation to their situation in the table, it is a key match, I don't know if it's decisive, but it's very important." After Madrid, Barcelona will only have one away game left

against the top six, when they face Sevilla in April, yet Setien thinks there will be more twists to come. "A victory would give us an advantage but I don't know if it would be enough," said Setien. "I think probably not because we've already seen a lot of surprises." Both teams have endured a bumpy few weeks but Barcelona arrive in a better mood after

Madrid's 2-1 defeat to Manchester City on Wednesday made it one win from five games. Asked if his job would be under threat if they fail to win the title this term, Zidane said: "I don't know, that's a question for someone else. We're going to try to win something, that's what we're working for but you can only have one winner." AFP

This is a public announcement for information purposes only and does not constitute an invitation or offer to acquire, purchase or subscribe to securities nor is it a prospectus announcement. Not for release, publication or distribution, directly or indirectly, outside India.

## SBI CARDS AND PAYMENT SERVICES LIMITED

Our Company was incorporated as "SBI Cards and Payment Services Private Limited" on May 15, 1998, as a private limited company under the Companies Act, 1956, at New Delhi, with a certificate of incorporation granted by the Registrar of Companies, National Capital Territory of Delhi and Haryana at New Delhi ("RoC"). On the conversion of our Company to a public limited company pursuant to a special resolution passed by our shareholders on August 2, 2019, our name was changed to "SBI Cards and Payment Services Limited" and a fresh certificate of incorporation dated August 20, 2019 was issued by the RoC. For details of the change in the registered office of our Company, see "History and Certain Corporate Matters" on page 167 of the Red Herring Prospectus dated February 18, 2020 read with corrigendum and clarification dated February 27, 2020 published on February 28, 2020 in all editions of Financial Express and Jansatta ("RHP").

**Registered Office:** Unit 401 & 402, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor, Aggarwal Millennium Tower E-1.2.3, Netaji Subhash Place, Wazirpur, New Delhi 110 034, India; Tel: +91 (11) 6126 8100. **Corporate Office:** 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Tower-B, Infinity Towers, DLF Cyber City, Block 2 Building 3, DLF Phase 2, Gurugram, Haryana 122 002, India; Tel: +91 (124) 458 9803. **Contact Person:** Ms. Payal Mittal Chhabra, Company Secretary and Compliance Officer; Tel: +91 (124) 458 9803; E-mail: investor.relations@sbiocard.com. **Website:** www.sbiocard.com. **Corporate Identity Number:** U65999DL1998PLC093849

OUR PROMOTER: STATE BANK OF INDIA

**INITIAL PUBLIC OFFERING OF UP TO [•] EQUITY SHARES OF FACE VALUE OF ₹ 10 EACH ("EQUITY SHARES") OF SBI CARDS AND PAYMENT SERVICES LIMITED (OUR "COMPANY" OR THE "COMPANY") OR THE "ISSUER") FOR CASH AT A PRICE OF ₹ [•] PER EQUITY SHARE (INCLUDING A SHARE PREMIUM OF ₹ [•] PER EQUITY SHARE) (THE "OFFER PRICE") AGGREGATING UP TO ₹ [•] MILLION, COMPRISING A FRESH ISSUE OF [•] EQUITY SHARES BY OUR COMPANY AGGREGATING UP TO ₹ 5,000 MILLION ("FRESH ISSUE") AND AN OFFER FOR SALE OF UP TO 130,526,798 EQUITY SHARES (THE "OFFERED SHARES") AGGREGATING UP TO ₹ [•] MILLION, INCLUDING UP TO 37,293,371 EQUITY SHARES AGGREGATING UP TO ₹ [•] MILLION BY STATE BANK OF INDIA ("SBI") ("PROMOTER SELLING SHAREHOLDER") AND UP TO 93,233,427 EQUITY SHARES AGGREGATING UP TO ₹ [•] MILLION BY CA ROVER HOLDINGS ("CA ROVER") ("INVESTOR SELLING SHAREHOLDER") AND TOGETHER WITH THE PROMOTER SELLING SHAREHOLDER, THE "SELLING SHAREHOLDERS" AND SUCH OFFER, THE "OFFER FOR SALE" AND TOGETHER WITH THE FRESH ISSUE, THE "OFFER").**

**THE OFFER INCLUDES A RESERVATION OF UP TO 1,864,669 EQUITY SHARES, FOR SUBSCRIPTION BY ELIGIBLE EMPLOYEES (THE "EMPLOYEE RESERVATION PORTION") AND A RESERVATION OF UP TO 13,052,680 EQUITY SHARES, FOR SUBSCRIPTION BY SBI SHAREHOLDERS (THE "SBI SHAREHOLDERS RESERVATION PORTION"). THE OFFER LESS THE EMPLOYEE RESERVATION PORTION AND THE SBI SHAREHOLDERS RESERVATION PORTION IS HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS THE "NET OFFER". AGGREGATING UP TO [•] EQUITY SHARES. THE OFFER AND THE NET OFFER SHALL CONSTITUTE [•] AND [•] OF THE POST-OFFER PAID UP EQUITY SHARE CAPITAL OF OUR COMPANY, RESPECTIVELY.**

\*A discount of ₹ 75 per Equity Share is being offered to Eligible Employees bidding in the Employee Reservation Portion.

QIB Category: Not more than 50% of the Net Offer | Retail Category: Not less than 35% of the Net Offer | Non Institutional Category: Not less than 15% of the Net Offer

Employee Reservation Portion: Up to 1,864,669 Equity Shares | SBI Shareholders Reservation Portion: Up to 13,052,680 Equity Shares

Price Band: ₹ 750 to ₹ 755 per Equity Share of face value of ₹ 10 each. | The Floor Price is 75 times the face value and the Cap Price is 75.5 times the face value of the Equity Shares.

Bids can be made for a minimum of 19 Equity Shares and in multiples of 19 Equity Shares thereafter.

ASBA\*

UPI

UPI-NOW AVAILABLE IN ASBA FOR RETAIL INDIVIDUAL INVESTORS AND SBI SHAREHOLDERS BIDDING IN SBI SHAREHOLDER RESERVATION PORTION (UP TO ₹ 2,00,000)\*\*

Investors are required to ensure that the bank account used for bidding is linked to their PAN.

Simple, Safe, Smart way of Application - Make use of it!!!

Mandatory in public issue from January 1, 2016. No cheque will be accepted.

\*Applications supported by blocked amount (ASBA) is a better way of applying to issues by simply blocking the fund in the bank account. For further details, check section on ASBA below.

\*\*UPI-NOW available in ASBA for Retail Individual Investors ("RIIs") and SBI Shareholders Bidding in the SBI Shareholder Reservation Portion (Up to ₹ 2,00,000) applying through Registered Brokers, DPs & RTAs. Retail Individual Investors and SBI Shareholders Bidding in the SBI Shareholder Reservation Portion (Up to ₹ 2,00,000) also have the option to submit the application directly to the ASBA Bank (SCSBs) or to use the facility of linked online trading, demat and bank account. ASBA has to be availed by all the investors except Anchor Investors. For details on the ASBA and UPI process, please refer to the details given in ASBA Form and abridged prospectus and also please refer to the section "Offer Procedure" beginning on page 404 of the Red Herring Prospectus. The process is also available on the website of AIBI and Stock Exchanges in the General Information Document. ASBA bid application forms can be downloaded from the websites of BSE Limited ("BSE") and National Stock Exchange of India Limited ("NSE") and together with BSE, the "Stock Exchanges" and can be obtained from the list of banks that is available on the website of SEBI at www.sebi.gov.in. List of banks supporting UPI is also available on the website of SEBI at www.sebi.gov.in. HDFC Bank Limited has been appointed as Sponsor Bank for the Offer, in accordance with the requirements of the SEBI circular dated November 1, 2016, as amended.

Risks to Investors

- I. The six merchant bankers associated with the Offer have handled 46 issues in the past three financial years, out of which 17 issues closed below the issue price on listing date.
- II. There are no listed peers in India engaged in Issuer's line of business.
- III. The Price/Earnings ratio based on diluted EPS on a restated consolidated basis for FY19 for the Issuer at the upper end of the Price Band is 80.06 and is higher as compared to the NIFTY 50 index Price/Earnings ratio of 27.50 (as on February 20, 2020).
- IV. Average cost of acquisition of Equity Shares for the Selling Shareholders is in the range of ₹ 28.69 to ₹ 81.19 per Equity Share and the Offer Price at upper end of the Price Band is ₹ 755 per Equity Share.

OPENS ON MONDAY, MARCH 02, 2020

CLOSES ON (FOR QIB BIDDERS) WEDNESDAY, MARCH 04, 2020

CLOSES ON (FOR ALL OTHER BIDDERS) THURSDAY, MARCH 05, 2020

In case of a revision in the Price Band, the Bid/Offer Period will be extended for at least three additional Working Days after such revision of the Price Band subject to the Bid/Offer Period not exceeding a total of ten Working Days. In cases of force majeure, banking strike or similar circumstances, our Company and the Selling Shareholders, in consultation with the BRLMs, may for reasons to be recorded in writing, extend the Bid/Offer Period for a minimum of three Working Days, subject to the Bid/Offer Period not exceeding ten Working Days. Any revision in the Price Band and the revised Bid/Offer Period, if applicable, will be widely disseminated by notification to the Stock Exchanges, by issuing a public notice, and also by indicating the change on the respective websites of the BRLMs and at the terminals of the Syndicate Members and by intimation to Designated Intermediaries and the Sponsor Bank.

The Offer is being made in terms of Rule 19(2)(b) of the Securities Contracts (Regulation) Rules, 1957, as amended, (the "SCRR") read with Regulation 31 of the Securities and Exchange Board of India (Issue of Capital and Disclosure Requirements) Regulations, 2018, as amended ("SEBI ICDR Regulations"). The Offer is being made through the Book Building Process, in compliance with Regulation 6(1) of the SEBI ICDR Regulations, where not more than 50% of the Net Offer will be Allotted on a proportionate basis to Qualified Institutional Buyers ("QIBs") (the "QIB Category"), provided that our Company and the Selling Shareholders in consultation with the BRLMs, may allocate up to 60% of the QIB Category to Anchor Investors, on a discretionary basis (the "Anchor Investor Portion"), of which one-third shall be reserved for domestic Mutual Funds, subject to valid bids being received from domestic Mutual Funds at or above the price at which Equity Shares are allocated to Anchor Investors. Further, 5% of the QIB Category (excluding the Anchor Investor Portion) shall be available for allocation on a proportionate basis to Mutual Funds only and the remainder of the QIB Category shall be available for allocation on a proportionate basis to all QIBs (other than Anchor Investors), including Mutual Funds, subject to valid bids being received at or above the Offer Price. Further, not less than 15% of the Net Offer shall be available for allocation on a proportionate basis to Non-Institutional Investors and not less than 35% of the Net Offer shall be available for allocation to Retail Individual Investors, in accordance with the SEBI ICDR Regulations, subject to valid bids being received at or above the Offer Price. All Bidders (other than Anchor Investors) shall mandatorily participate in the Offer through the Application Supported by Blocked Amount ("ASBA") process, and shall provide details of their respective bank account (including UPI ID for Retail Individual Investors and SBI Shareholders Bidding in the SBI Shareholder Reservation Portion (Up to ₹ 2,00,000), using UPI Mechanism) in which the Bid Amount will be blocked by the SCSBs or the Sponsor Bank, as the case may be. Anchor Investors are not permitted to participate in the Anchor Investor Portion through the ASBA process. For details, see "Offer Procedure" on page 404 of the RHP.

Bidders/Applicants should note that on the basis of PAN, DP ID and Client ID as provided in the Bid cum Application Form/Application Form, the Bidders/Applicants may be deemed to have authorised the Depositories to provide to the Registrar to the Offer, any requested Demographic Details of the Bidders/Applicants as available on the records of the depositories. These Demographic Details may be used, among other things, for any correspondence(s) related to the Offer. Bidders/Applicants are advised to update any changes to their Demographic Details as available in the records of the Depository Participant to ensure accuracy of records. Any delay resulting from failure to update the Demographic Details would be at the Bidders/Applicants' sole risk. Bidders/Applicants should ensure that PAN, DP ID and Client ID and the UPI ID, as applicable, are correctly filled in the Bid cum Application Form/Application Form. The PAN, DP ID and Client ID provided in the Bid cum Application Form/Application Form should match with the PAN, DP ID and Client ID available in the depository database, otherwise, the Bid cum Application Form is liable to be rejected. Bidders/Applicants should ensure that the beneficiary account provided in the Bid cum Application Form is active.

Contents of the Memorandum of the Company as regards its Objects: For information on the main objects and other objects of our Company, see "History and Certain Corporate Matters" on page 167 of the RHP and Clause III of the Memorandum of Association of our Company. The Memorandum of Association of our Company is a material document for inspection in relation to the Offer. For further details, see the section "Material Contracts and Documents for Inspection" on page 478 of the RHP.

Liability of the members of the Company: Limited by shares.

Amount of share capital of the Company and Capital Structure: The authorised share capital of our Company is divided into 1,500,000,000 Equity Shares of face value ₹ 10 each constituting ₹ 15,000,000,000. The issued, subscribed and paid up share capital of our Company is ₹ 9,323,342,780 divided into 932,334,278 Equity Shares of face value of ₹ 10 each. For further details, see "Capital Structure" on page 78 of the RHP.

Names of initial signatories to the Memorandum of Association of our Company and the number of Equity Shares subscribed by them: The initial signatories of the Memorandum of Association are State Bank of India and Mr. Om Prakash Setia who

subscribed to one Equity Share each of face value of ₹ 10 each of our Company. The liability of the members of the Company is limited. For details of the main objects of the Company as contained in the Memorandum of Association, see "History and Certain Corporate Matters" on page 167 of the RHP.

Listing: The Equity Shares offered through the Red Herring Prospectus are proposed to be listed on the BSE and NSE. We have received in-principle approvals from the BSE and NSE for the listing of the Equity Shares pursuant to letters dated December 6, 2019 and December 16, 2019, respectively. For the purpose of the Offer, BSE is the Designated Stock Exchange. A signed copy of the Red Herring Prospectus has been filed with the RoC and the Prospectus shall be filed with the RoC in accordance with Section 26(4) of the Companies Act, 2013. For details of the material contracts and documents available for inspection from the date of the Red Herring Prospectus up to the Bid/Offer Closing Date, see "Material Contracts and Documents for Inspection" on page 478 of the RHP.

Disclaimer Clause of SEBI: SEBI only gives its observations on the draft offer documents and this does not constitute approval of either the Offer stated in the specified securities or the offer document. The investors are advised to refer to page 378 of the RHP for the full text of the disclaimer clause of SEBI.

Disclaimer Clause of BSE (the Designated Stock Exchange): "It is to be distinctly understood that the permission given by BSE should not in any way be deemed or construed that the RHP has been cleared or approved by BSE nor does it certify the correctness or completeness of any of the contents of the RHP". The investors are advised to refer to page 384 of the RHP for the full text of the disclaimer clause of BSE.

Disclaimer Clause of NSE: "It is to be distinctly understood that the permission given by NSE should not in any way be deemed or construed that the offer document has been cleared or approved by NSE nor does it certify the correctness or completeness of any of the contents of the offer document". The investors are advised to refer to page 384 of the RHP for the full text of the disclaimer clause of NSE.

General Risks: Investments in equity and equity-related securities involve a degree of risk and investors should not invest any funds in the Offer unless they can afford to take the risk of losing their investment. Investors are advised to read the Risk Factors carefully before taking an investment decision in this Offer. For taking an investment decision, investors must rely on their own examination of our Company and the Offer, including the risks involved. The Equity Shares have not been recommended or approved by the Securities and Exchange Board of India ("SEBI"), nor does SEBI guarantee the accuracy or adequacy of the contents of the Red Herring Prospectus. Specific attention of the investors is invited to "Risk Factors" on page 28 of the RHP.

BOOK RUNNING LEAD MANAGERS

<p style="text-align: center;"> <b>KOTAK</b></p> <p style="font-size: x-small;"><b>Kotak Mahindra Capital Company Limited</b> 1<sup>st</sup> Floor, 27 BKC, Plot No. C-27, "G" Block, Bandra Kurla Complex, Bandra (East), Mumbai 400 051, Maharashtra, India Telephone: +91 22 4336 0000 E-mail: sbicard ipo@kotak.com Investor Grievance E-mail: kmccredressal@kotak.com Website: www.investmentbank.kotak.com Contact Person: Mr. Ganesh Rane SEBI Registration No.: INM000008704</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> <b>AXIS CAPITAL</b></p> <p style="font-size: x-small;"><b>Axis Capital Limited</b> Axis House, Level 1, C-2 Wadia International Centre, P. B. Marg, Worli, Mumbai 400 025 Maharashtra, India Telephone: +91 22 4325 2183 E-mail: sbicards_ipo@axiscap.in Investor Grievance E-mail: complaints@axiscap.in Website: www.axiscapital.co.in Contact Person: Ms. Simran Gadh SEBI Registration No.: INM00012029</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> <b>BoFA SECURITIES</b></p> <p style="font-size: x-small;"><b>DSP Merrill Lynch Limited</b> Ground Floor, "A" Wing, One BKC, "G" Block, Bandra Kurla Complex, Bandra (East), Mumbai 400 051, Maharashtra, India Telephone: +91 22 6632 8000 E-mail: dg.sbicard_ipo@bofa.com Investor Grievance E-mail: dg.india_merchantbanking@bofa.com Website: www.mf-india.com Contact Person: Mr. Ahmed Koisawala SEBI Registration No.: INM000011625</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> <b>HSBC</b></p> <p style="font-size: x-small;"><b>HSBC Securities and Capital Markets (India) Private Limited</b> 52/60, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Mumbai 400 001, Maharashtra, India Telephone: +91 22 2268 5555 E-mail: sbicardipo@hsbc.co.in Investor Grievance E-mail: investor.grievance@hsbc.co.in Website: https://www.business.hsbc.co.in/en-gb/in/gen/cip/ipo-open-offer-and-buyback Contact Person: Ms. Sanjana Manar SEBI Registration No.: INM000010353</p>
--	---	---	--

REGISTRATION TO THE OFFER

**LINK Intime India Private Limited**  
C-101, 1<sup>st</sup> Floor, 247 Park, Lal Bahadur Shastri Marg, Vikhroli (West), Mumbai - 400 083, Maharashtra, India, Telephone: +91 22 4918 6200, Email: sbicard\_ipo@linkintime.co.in, Website: www.linkintime.co.in, Contact Person: Shanti Gopalkrishnan, SEBI Registration No.: INR000004058

COMPANY SECRETARY AND COMPLIANCE OFFICER

Ms. Payal Mittal Chhabra, Company Secretary and Compliance Officer; E-mail: investor.relations@sbiocard.com  
**Registered Office:** Unit 401 & 402, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor, Aggarwal Millennium Tower E-1.2.3, Netaji Subhash Place, Wazirpur, New Delhi 110 034, India; Tel: +91 (11) 6126 8100. **Corporate Office:** 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Tower-B, Infinity Towers, DLF Cyber City, Block 2 Building 3, DLF Phase 2, Gurugram, Haryana 122 002, India; Tel: +91 (124) 458 9803. **Website:** www.sbiocard.com. **Corporate Identity Number:** U65999DL1998PLC093849

Investors can contact the Company Secretary and Compliance Officer or the BRLMs or the Registrar to the Offer in case of any pre-offer or post-offer related problems such as non-receipt of letter of Allotment, non-credit of Allotted Equity Shares in the respective beneficiary account, non-receipt of refund intimations and non-receipt of funds by electronic mode.

\*SBI is proposing to participate as a Selling Shareholder in the Offer for Sale. SBI Capital Markets Limited ("SBI-CAP") has signed the due diligence certificate and has been disclosed as a BRLM for the Offer. SBI and SBI-CAP are associates in terms of the Securities and Exchange Board of India (Merchant Bankers) Regulations, 1992, as amended (the "SEBI Merchant Bankers Regulations"). Accordingly, in compliance with the proviso to Regulation 21A of the SEBI Merchant Bankers Regulations and Regulation 23(3) of the SEBI ICDR Regulations, SBI-CAP would be involved only in the marketing of the Offer.

Availability of RHP: Investors are advised to refer to the RHP, and the "Risk Factors", beginning on page 28 of the RHP, before applying in the Offer. Full copy of the RHP is available on the website of SEBI at www.sebi.gov.in, websites of the BRLMs at www.investmentbank.kotak.com, www.axiscapital.co.in, www.mf-india.com, https://www.business.hsbc.co.in/en-gb/in/gen/cip/ipo-open-offer-and-buyback, www.nomuraholdings.com/company/group/asia/india/index.html and www.sbiicaps.com and the websites of BSE and NSE i.e. www.bseindia.com and www.nseindia.com, respectively.

Availability of Bid-cum-Application Forms: Bid-cum-Application Forms can be obtained from the Registered Office of the Company, SBI Cards and Payment Services Limited, Tel: +91 (11) 6126 8100, the BRLMs: **Kotak Mahindra Capital Company Limited**, Telephone: +91 22 4336 0000; **Axis Capital Limited**, Telephone: +91 22 4325 2183; **DSP Merrill Lynch Limited**, Telephone: +91 22 6632 8000; **HSBC Securities and Capital Markets (India) Private Limited**, Telephone: +91 22 2217 8300, at selected location of the sub-Syndicate Members, Registered Brokers, RTAs and CDPs participating in the Offer. Bid-cum-Application Forms will also be available on the websites of BSE and NSE and the Designated Branches of SCSBs, the list of which is available at websites of the Stock Exchanges and SEBI.

APPLICATIONS SUPPORTED BY BLOCKED AMOUNT (ASBA): Investors have to apply through the ASBA process. ASBA has to be availed by all the investors except Anchor Investors. For details on the ASBA process, please refer to the details given in ASBA Form and Abridged Prospectus and also please refer to the section "Offer Procedure" on page 404 of the RHP. ASBA Forms can also be downloaded from the websites of BSE and NSE. ASBA Form can be obtained from the list of banks that is available on the website of SEBI at www.sebi.gov.in.

Banker(s) to the Offer: Escrow Collection Bank/Public Offer Account Bank/Refund Bank: State Bank of India.  
Sponsor Bank: HDFC Bank Limited

UPI: Retail Individual Investors and SBI Shareholders Bidding in the SBI Shareholder Reservation Portion (up to ₹ 2,00,000) can also Bid through UPI mechanism.  
All capitalised terms used herein and not specifically defined shall have the same meaning as ascribed to them in the RHP.

**Date:** February 29, 2020  
**Place:** New Delhi

**SBI Cards and Payment Services Limited** is proposing, subject to receipt of requisite approvals, market conditions and other considerations, an initial public offering of its equity shares and has filed the Red Herring Prospectus with the Registrar of Companies, National Capital Territory of Delhi and Haryana at New Delhi. The Red Herring Prospectus is available on the websites of SEBI, Kotak Mahindra Capital Company Limited, Axis Capital Limited, DSP Merrill Lynch Limited, HSBC Securities and Capital Markets (India) Private Limited, Nomura Financial Advisory and Securities (India) Private Limited and SBI Capital Markets Limited at www.sebi.gov.in, at www.investmentbank.kotak.com, at www.axiscapital.co.in, at www.mf-india.com, at www.business.hsbc.co.in/en-gb/in/gen/cip/ipo-open-offer-and-buyback, at www.nomuraholdings.com/company/group/asia/india/index.html and at www.sbiicaps.com, respectively. Investors should note that investment in equity shares involves a high degree of risk and for details refer to the Red Herring Prospectus, including the section titled "Risk Factors".

This announcement does not constitute an invitation or offer of securities for sale in any jurisdiction, including the United States. The Equity Shares have not been and will not be registered, listed or otherwise qualified in any other jurisdiction outside India and may not be offered or sold in any such jurisdiction, except in compliance with the applicable laws of such jurisdiction. The Equity Shares have not been and will not be registered under the US Securities Act of 1933 ("U.S. Securities Act") or any state securities laws in the United States and may not be offered or sold within the United States, except pursuant to an exemption from, or in a transaction not subject to, the registration requirements of the U.S. Securities Act and in accordance with any applicable United States state securities laws. Accordingly, the Equity Shares are only being offered and sold (i) to "qualified institutional buyers" as defined in Rule 144A under the U.S. Securities Act in transactions exempt from or not subject to the registration requirements of the U.S. Securities Act; or (ii) outside the United States in offshore transactions in reliance on Regulation S under the U.S. Securities Act and the applicable laws of the jurisdiction where those offers and sales occur.

For SBI Cards and Payment Services Limited  
On behalf of Board of Directors  
Sd/-  
Company Secretary and Compliance Officer

## TRACKING THE VIRUS

### Wrestling qualies without host again

Kyrgyzstan's capital Bishkek has pulled out as host for next month's Asian Olympic wrestling qualifying event. The March 27-29 event was originally scheduled to be held in Xian but was moved out of the Chinese city amid the outbreak of the coronavirus. The Kyrgyzstan government has postponed all sporting events in the country. A 14-member Indian squad, including Jitender Kumar and Sonam Malik, will compete in the tournament.

### 5 Serie A games postponed

Five Serie A matches which had been scheduled to go ahead behind closed doors this weekend, including the clash between Juventus and Inter Milan, have been postponed. Italy's soccer League said on Saturday. All five games, which also include AC Milan v Genoa, Parma v Spal, Sassuolo v Brescia and Udinese v Fiorentina, will now be played on May 13, Serie A said in a statement. The Coppa Italia final, due to be played May 13, was moved to May 20.