

DMs, SPs PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE
for ensuring only goods cross state borders

SUPPLY OF ESSENTIAL GOODS
being maintained for minimum 10 days: Centre

WORKERS MUST GET THEIR WAGES
where they are, Centre tells states and UTs

Govt doubles down on lockdown

Day 5: To stem flow of migrants, state borders are sealed

KRISHN KAUSHIK,
DEEPTIMAN TIWARY
& ABANTIKA GHOSH
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

AS THE lockdown that gradually started from last Sunday entered the second week, the government indicated it was not going to deviate from this containment and mitigation strategy against coronavirus, despite initial hiccups through the week.

While Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday underlined that this was the only way to fight COVID-19, the Home Ministry directed states to ensure effective sealing of the borders. The Defence Minister chaired a meeting of an informal Group of Ministers to take stock of the situation. The ministers were told that supply of a minimum 10 days' essential goods was being maintained.

The Union Home Ministry said that in an order under the Disaster Management Act, "Directions were issued that district and state borders should be effectively sealed. States were directed to ensure there is no movement of people across cities or on highways." Only goods movement should be allowed, it said, adding that district magistrates and police superintendents would be personally responsible for implementation of these directions.

The Centre also asked states and Union Territories to make adequate arrangements for the poor, including migrant labourers at their place of work. State Disaster Relief Funds are to be used for the purpose, with the Centre saying "sufficient" money was available under this head.

Following the Centre's order on Sunday, several states, including Delhi, announced that they were stopping movement across borders.

The advisory called for enforcement of 14-day quarantine for those travelling in the

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Migrants queue at Petrol checkpost on NH48 in Gujarat's Dahod district, on the state's border with Madhya Pradesh, around 1 pm on Sunday. Bhupendra Rana

Delhi officers overseeing movement of migrants face Centre action

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

THE CENTRE on Sunday suspended two senior bureaucrats of the Delhi government and initiated disciplinary proceedings against two others for alleged dereliction of duty during the COVID-19 lockdown. Sources said action had been taken against the bureaucrats over the exodus of migrant workers seen in the national capital over the past couple of days.

The suspended officials include Additional Chief Secretary (Transport) Renu Sharma and Principal Secretary (Finance) Rajeev Verma. Disciplinary proceedings have been initiated against Additional Chief Secretary (Home) Satyagopal and the Seelampur SDM. Both have been sent showcause notices. The order also recommends penalty against Sharma.

As the Divisional Commissioner, Verma coordinated with all state district magistrates and their teams. The responsibility to make arrangements to distribute food and provide shelters to the

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INSIDE

DELHI SEES HIGHEST SPIKE; 23 CASES IN A DAY, 200 ON WATCH

PAGES 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12

Cases cross 1,000, govt sets up 11 groups to fight spread

ABANTIKA GHOSH
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

EIGHT DEATHS of novel coronavirus (COVID-19) patients were reported in the last 24 hours — the highest single-day toll so far — taking the total toll to 27. With 151 fresh cases being confirmed on Sunday, the number of positive cases has now touched 1,024, of which 95 have recovered.

At the daily briefing, Lav Agarwal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, did not give details of those who died in the last 24 hours, but said that "most cases of death have seen old age and co-morbidity play a very major role."

An analysis of the 19 deaths till March 27 shows that 14 were aged above 60 years; 12 had con-



Migrants waiting for buses are sprayed with water from a fire tender at Transport Nagar in Jaipur on Sunday. Rohit Jain Paras

firmed co-morbid conditions such as hypertension, diabetes and asthma; seven had a history of travel abroad.

A 38-year-old man who died in Patna had a history of chronic

kidney disease. A total of 34,931 samples have been tested so far.

The government on Sunday set up 11 empowered groups to

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In Kerala, only 4 cases out of 202 needed to be put under critical care

ARUN JANARDHANAN
CHENNAI, MARCH 29

THE NUMBERS are reassuringly still low for comparison with global hotspots, the trajectory of the coronavirus's spread is still unclear, but experts in Kerala, fingers firmly crossed, say there is a glimmer in the state.

Of the 202 cases that tested positive for COVID-19 in Kerala until Sunday, 181 are still in hospital and only four of them needed critical care — admission

in the Intensive Care Unit. Of these four, one passed away Saturday, a 54-year-old man who had returned from the Gulf, the other three are being closely monitored.

This is a significant number even if we are in the early stage of the outbreak, said A S Anoop Kumar, a senior expert and the member of advisory panel for Kerala government's COVID-19 treatment and prevention. It works out to just under 2 per cent.

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BUSINESS AS USUAL

By UNNY

Lord, give us this day our daily inter-state...



THE GOVERNANCE PAGE



THE EXPRESS INTERVIEW

DR CHINMAY TUMBE
ECONOMIST, IIM-AHMEDABAD

'THERE IS BLATANT DIFFERENCE IN GOVT ATTITUDE TOWARDS MIGRANTS FROM ABROAD AND HERE'

No more essential and non-essential: curbs on goods transport lifted

AVISHEK G DASTIDAR
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

IN YET another change in guidelines for enforcing the lockdown, the Centre on Sunday allowed transport of "all goods" and not just essential commodities.

Union Home Secretary Ajay Bhalla sent a letter to chief secretaries of all states and UTs clarifying what is allowed as per the latest order. This followed a video conference of trade and industry stakeholders with Railways and Commerce Minister Piyush Goyal on Saturday, where they said a protocol must be set in place so that factories can start production again, and that existing stocks would last only around three more weeks.

The Home Secretary's letter

CORONA COUNT

1024 CASES
27 DEATHS
96 RECOVERED

said, "transportation of all goods, without distinction of essential and non-essential, (has) been allowed." "Groceries include hygiene products such as hand-washes, soaps, disinfectants, body wash, shampoos, surface cleaners, detergents and tissue papers, toothpaste/oral care, sanitary pads and diapers, battery cells, chargers etc," it said, adding that newspaper supply chain was also included in this.

Praveen Khandelwal, national CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Informal sector workers not registered, officials flag problems in paying wages

AANCHAL MAGAZINE
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

THE CENTRE and several states have asked shops and establishments, and other commercial units, to pay wages to their workers during lockdown, but the informal nature of these entities, and non-registration of many unorganised workers with states, would restrict the states'

ability and administrative control to enforce such orders, said government officials, who did not wish to be named.

Some state government officials *The Indian Express* spoke to said besides the state's capacity to ensure its orders were met, they were grappling with two other issues: many unorganised sector workers are not registered with the state government, and most states did not have signifi-

cant corpus of funds to meet such contingencies.

"Most establishments in India are informal sector establishments, most are not registered. Some may be registered under the Shop and Establishments Act, but a lot of them are not. So, the problem of locating them, how many were employed there and then making the money available to them.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

PAGE 1 ANCHOR

Last call of man who died walking: *Lene aa sakte ho toh aa jao*

DIPANKAR GHOSE
MORENA (MP), MARCH 29

THE AUDIO file is 42 seconds long. On one end is a loud, animated voice. Screaming, beseeching. "Ask someone to give you a lift till Morena. Hello? Hello?" Silence. Then more urgently: "Call 100. Is there no ambulance? Can they not drop you? Hello?" Still silence. Then, a heavy breath crackles through. Defeated by the lockdown that made him walk over a hundred kilometres from Delhi in a desperate bid to reach home in Madhya Pradesh. And, perhaps,

the knowledge that these were the last words to his family. "*Lene aa sakte ho toh aa jao* (Come get me if you can)."

This was the last time they heard the voice of 38-year-old Ranveer Singh, before he collapsed due to exhaustion and died of a heart attack Saturday in Agra, well over 100 km still to go.

Ranveer was one among the countless migrant workers walking home from big cities to their villages, where new rules of isolation and quarantine await. And his story is emblematic of their plight, and the trauma of waiting families.

On Sunday, Ranveer's wife

Mamta huddled with their three children in Badfara village, their voices barely above a whisper, exhausted by the tears.

The house is sparse, red brick and cement, the family still in debt because of its construction. On March 22, Mamta had spoken to Ranveer on the phone, asking him to return. "Two other boys of our village were returning from Delhi. He said he couldn't. He worked as a delivery boy with a restaurant in Tughlakabad, and they were still open. He asked us to take care of ourselves, and that he would be fine," she said.

Ranveer lived alone in a shanty next to the DDA colony in



Ranveer's wife Mamta at their home in Morena. Gajendra Yadav

Kalkaji. For food, he depended on the restaurant. Between the debt for the house, and the expenses back home, there was no money. So on Friday, at 2 pm, he called his eldest daughter Deepa, a Class 12 student in a school in Ambah, 2 km from Badfara. He was coming home, he said. "How?" she asked. "*Koi saadhan nahin hai. Na bus chal rahi hai, na train... paidal aa raha hoon* (There is nothing here. No bus, no train... am walking home)," he replied.

At 5 pm, he was still walking, dodging police, he said on another call. At 9 pm, there were the first signs of trouble. Pinky Singh, one of his two younger

siblings, remembers him saying that he had found a truck to take him a little ahead. "But he was exhausted. He said he wanted to lie down. I told him that we wanted him back alive," she said.

On Saturday, the family woke up early, having barely slept. At 5 am, Pinky called him. "He said he had reached Sikandra Road in Agra. But he couldn't breathe, couldn't say anything. All he said was he had a pain in his chest," she said.

In panic, Pinky rushed to wake up other family members, asking them to call him, pick him up, do something. At 5.30 am, Arvind Singh, his brother-in-law,

spoke to him — it was that 42-second call.

Two sets of relatives swung into action. One rushed to the village doctor, convinced him to hand over his ID card, got a ride on a motorcycle and rushed to Agra.

Another set of cousins took out their jeep, used to transport threshed wheat, and went to the Ambah Police Station. "We needed a pass. Otherwise, we wouldn't have been let through. They gave it to us but it took time," a relative said.

In Agra, they found his body in a hospital, covered in a white

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3 THE OUTBREAK

THE CITY



People and their belongings being sprayed with disinfectant at Anand Vihar bus terminal, Sunday. East Delhi mayor Anju Kamalkant said the disinfectant was also sprayed at several other places by MCD workers. A senior MCD official said sodium hypochlorite mixed with water is being used. Prem Nath Pandey

NIZAMUDDIN WEST UNDER SCANNER, OVER 1,000 BEING TRACED

23 more cases in city: 'Likelihood of a surge in the coming days'

ASTHA SAXENA
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

DELHI RECORDED a 47% spike in coronavirus cases as 23 more people tested positive for the disease Sunday, taking the total number of cases in the capital to 72.

This is the highest single-day jump in the city so far.

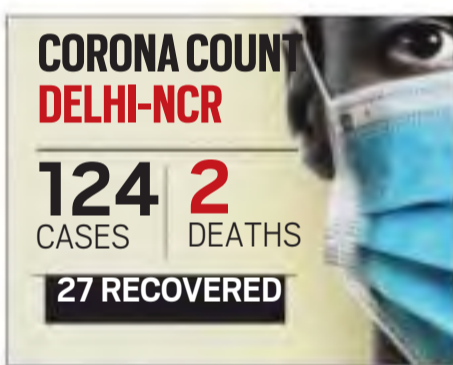
Of the 23, six people, who have been admitted to AIIMS Jhajjar, are part of the Tablighi Jamaat outfit and attended an event held at a Nizamuddin West mosque last month, a Delhi health department official said, adding that more people who were part of the gathering

or may have been in touch with the group are being identified and quarantined. The six are not residents of Delhi.

Officials zeroed in on Nizamuddin West after an 80-year-old resident of the area tested positive for COVID-19 on Saturday. According to sources, around 200 people have been quarantined from the area so far, and over 1,000 are being traced.

Of the 200, 99 with symptoms have been sent to various hospitals.

"People who attended the event are not just from Delhi, but other states as well — positive cases have been reported from Telangana and the



Andamans. When health officers in those states began contact tracing, they discovered that the patients had visited Nizamuddin. That's how we discovered the mosque, which has now been closed for sanitisation," said an official.

A team of doctors has been posted at Nizamuddin to assess people with symptoms.

Apart from the six who attended the Tablighi Jamaat event, 13 who tested positive Sunday have a travel history, while four are cases of local transmission.

Of the 72 cases, five have been discharged while two people — a 68-year-old resident of West Delhi and a 60-year-old Yemeni national — have died.

When contacted, Dr S K Sarin, head of the five-member committee formed by Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal to prepare the city's health set-up for possible community transmission, told *The Indian Express*: "There is a possibility that samples which have been lying pending for long have

been put on testing since testing kits have been increased by the ICMR (Indian Council of Medical Research). But the picture will be clear in a day or two only. There is also a fear that these 23 new cases may have transmitted the virus to a fair number of people. There is a likelihood of a surge in cases in the coming days. The only thing we need to do right now is ensure self-reporting of cases. People should start going to the Integrated Disease Surveillance Programme to report themselves and take all people who they have been in contact with. Delhi is completely ready for stage 1, which means recording 100 cases a day."

DJB denies UP govt claim: No water connections cut

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

THE DELHI Jal Board Sunday denied allegations made by the Uttar Pradesh government that water connections of migrant labourers were snapped.

In a statement Saturday, the UP government had claimed that migrants were leaving the capital because the Delhi government has snapped their power and water connections.

"Water supply has been maintained as normal, no connection in any area has been cut. We are also regularly supplying tankers to areas not connected to our network," said Shalabh Kumar, member (water supply) at the DJB, adding that all officers have been asked to be more vig-

ilant about services of the department. Kumar said special focus is on areas that house people from economically weaker sections.

Another senior DJB officer said, "This is a time to ensure uninterrupted supply. We have not cut water connections recently." Earlier this month, on March 20, the DJB had also decided to suspend meter reading and billing for the month until March 31, directing that customers who were left out would be billed in the following months.

Power department functionaries, too, said the allegations were incorrect. "If we look at the past week, there has been no big change in the number of active power connections. These are political allegations; they have nothing to do with ground reality," said an official.

11 Italian tourists discharged, one remains on ventilator

ASTHA SAXENA
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

A 79-YEAR-OLD Italian tourist who tested positive for COVID-19 and was admitted to Gurgaon's Medanta Hospital has been on ventilator support for two weeks, with doctors saying her lungs are not responding well to treatment.

She is among 14 Italian tourists who were admitted to the hospital as suspected cases of COVID-19. Eleven of them have since been discharged after they recovered and tested negative for the disease. Two other tourists also tested negative and will be discharged on Monday, said officials at the hospital.

"There is only one patient



The 79-yr-old is among 14 Italians who were admitted to Medanta hospital

who has not recovered yet, she has been on ventilator support for two weeks now. As her lungs are not in good shape, we have not been able to take her off ventilator support. Her other parameters such as liver, kidney and heart are well-maintained," said

Dr Sushila Kataria, director of internal medicine at Medanta.

"When she was admitted, she had an existing cardiac issue and hypertension. But she was in a good enough condition to travel to India. The COVID-19 infection has affected her condition. We are closely monitoring her situation. There have been a few days when she showed improvement," Kataria said.

A total of 24 people, including 21 Italian tourists and three Indians who were in contact with another Italian national who tested positive for coronavirus in Jaipur, were shifted to the ITBP Chhawal facility for testing. On March 4, on special request of the government, 14 asymptomatic tourists were shifted to the hospital.

Speeding truck kills 5 migrant workers on expressway in Gurgaon

SAKSHI DAYAL
GURGAON, MARCH 29

FIVE PEOPLE, including a woman and a child, died after a speeding truck ran over them on the Kundli-Manesar-Palwal (KMP) Expressway in Gurgaon late Saturday night. The victims are believed to be migrants returning to their villages amidst the countrywide lockdown, who were stopped at the Tauru border by police.

"The truck driver, a UP resident, was arrested," said Gurgaon Police PRO Subhash Boken.

The incident took place at 12.10 am near the toll plaza. In a complaint to police, Kuldeep, an eyewitness who hails from UP and was among several people standing near the toll, said the speeding vehicle came from the direction of Farrukhnagar.

"The truck first hit an auto parked on the side, and rammed another auto. We screamed at the driver to stop... but he drove towards us, running over some of my friends and other bystanders before ramming the vehicle into the divider," he alleged.

Police said the truck was loaded with tomatoes and travelling from Ahmedabad to Ghaziabad. "Five people, including a woman and a child, were killed in the incident, while seven others sustained minor injuries. One of the victims has been identified as the driver of the auto, which the accused had hit. Four-five people in his vehicle were also injured," said Deepak Saharan, DCP (Manesar).

An FIR has been registered at Bilaspur police station under relevant IPC sections including 279 (rash driving) and 304A (death by negligence).

5 more cases in Noida, all linked to private firm

AMIL BHATNAGAR
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

FIVE FRESH COVID-19 cases were reported in Noida Sunday taking the district's tally to 31, the highest in UP. At least 20 of the 31 cases — including Sunday's cases — are directly or indirectly linked to a fire safety firm in Sector 135, whose MD and other employees had tested positive. The firm also has health departments of other districts on alert as a case in Ghaziabad and Bareilly each have been linked to it.

According to officials, an FIR was filed at Expressway police station against the MD of the firm for not informing health authorities about the travel of a UK national in mid-March, which led to the outbreak.

"Samples of five persons linked to the firm have returned positive; we have begun contact tracing. Among the fresh cases is a 34-year-old man whose sample had initially tested negative but he had passed on the infection to his mother and wife," said Dr Anurag Bhargava, CMO, Gautam Budh Nagar.

According to officials, among the patients are three employees of the firm: a 19-year-old from Sector 27; the 34-year-old man from Sector 137; and a resident of a village in Dadri. Officials said Block F in Sector 27 and the village in Dadri have been sealed.

Two fresh cases were reported in Ghaziabad Sunday, taking the total cases to seven. Officials said one patient is linked to the Noida firm.

MOST HAIL FROM ASSAM

Under shadow of Gurgaon towers, ragpicker colony runs out of supplies

SAKSHI DAYAL
GURGAON, MARCH 29

FOR THE first time since he moved to Gurgaon 15 years ago, Abdul Halim, a ragpicker, asked his parents in Assam to send him Rs 1,000 so he could buy food for his family of four. "I usually earn around Rs 200 a day picking up bottles, cartons and selling them. This is normally enough to sustain my family... I also manage to send around Rs 1,500-Rs 2,000 to my parents. This month, I don't even have money to feed

my family," said Halim.

For Halim and 400 others who live in a slum near the community centre in Sector 21, the lockdown has come as a sudden blow. Located under the shadow of Infospace Limited Business Complex — a cluster of high-rise buildings that house offices of banks and several international organisations — the slum is home to 107 families. While most are employed as ragpickers, some work as drivers. A majority of the families hail from Assam, and a few from Bihar and UP.

"What we earn varies from day to day, and from person to person. Ragpickers make Rs 100-300 a day, and a handful of drivers earn better, around Rs 500," said Mohammad Ayub, another ragpicker.

Residents of every shanty *The Indian Express* spoke to said they had no money, no work, and no idea how to feed their families. Hesitant to venture too far fearing police harassment, they spend their days sitting at home, hoping help will reach soon.

Even as they hear from their acquaintances in other parts of the



city about food packages and ration being provided by the administration and social workers, they are yet to receive anything. A possible reason, they say, is because their slum is in a corner of the city. "If we were in people's line of vision, maybe we would get help as well, but our homes are hidden by these large offices and boundary walls. If people do not even know we are here, how can they

The slum in Sector 21 is home to more than 100 families. Amit Mehra

help us?" said Kalchan Ali, another ragpicker from Assam.

"Our ration is running out. If we do not get help, we will starve in a day or two. Some families are already out of ration, but we are all pooling in to ensure nobody goes hungry," he said.

In the past week, help arrived once — from an NGO in Delhi. But provisions, they say, was enough to provide one meal to about 50 residents. "They left some rice, lentils, flour, but we have kept aside as much as we could. If we cook all, fights could break out," said Jiarur Rahman, a resident.

Water supply, too, is uncertain due to lack of income. The community usually procured water through tankers, at Rs 50 for a drum. "A few tankers came today and gave water at half price, so we will be able to manage for a day or two... after that, we don't know what will happen..." said Halim.

"If the government extends this lockdown, we may have to look for a way to return to Assam. We want to follow orders and not move around, but the government needs to give us basic provisions to survive," he said.

4 THE OUTBREAK THE CITY

EMPLOYER TO LANDLORD, HELPING HAND WAS MISSING



SAROJ DEVI, 35
Family members: 4
Profession: Labourer in Bawana
Earning: Rs 300 a day; Headed towards: Jhansi

WHY SHE LEFT: "My husband and I have no money and we're scared of this disease... We have been waiting for a bus to take us home for three days now... our children are in the village."



MAKHAN LAL, 32
Family members: 1
Profession: Labourer in Azadpur
Earning: Rs 400 a day; Headed towards: Jhansi

WHY HE LEFT: "There's no work. Police told us to gather on one side of the road (at Anand Vihar), saying buses will come there, so we did. Then they said go to the other side. It is so difficult here."



ASHIYA, 25
Family members: 2, including 6-month-old daughter
Profession: Factory worker in Mehrauli
Earning: Rs 300 a day; Headed towards: Moradabad

WHY SHE LEFT: "My husband and I work at a home factory; we help with the packaging. But they removed us after the lockdown, so we came walking here to take a bus home."



RAMA DEVI, 35
Family members: 3
Profession: Construction worker in Ghaziabad
Earning: Rs 300 a day; Headed towards: Damoh

WHY SHE LEFT: "We have been waiting here for two days as the contractor didn't give us the money. Where do we go? We have no food to eat, and we have two children to feed."



SIYA BAI, 55
Family members: 1
Profession: Construction worker
Earning: Rs 200 a day; Headed towards: Jhansi

WHY SHE LEFT: "There is no work at all, we have been sitting here since 7 in the morning. We need to go back home, but we cannot find a bus that goes to MP."



RUCHI SINGH, 30
Family members: 3
Profession: Housewife, her husband works in a hotel
Earning: Nil; Headed towards: Pratapgarh

WHY SHE LEFT: "My husband earns Rs 15,000 a month; we have just Rs 2,000-3,000 left. If we don't go home, we will starve. We left at 11 am today... We just have biscuits and some milk."



SUNITA, 25
Family members: 4
Profession: Labourer in Nangloi
Earning: Rs 300 a day; Headed towards: Badaun

WHY SHE LEFT: "The contractor stopped giving us money, and the landlord locked us out saying that unless we pay rent, he won't allow us to stay. We had to leave as we have no food."



MOTILAL, 62
Family members: 1
Profession: Labourer in Naraina
Earning: Rs 200-300 a day; Headed towards: Lucknow

WHY HE LEFT: "I started walking around 8 am... How long will we sit here? I don't think I can avail ration as I'm not a Delhiite."

REPORTING BY ANANYA TIWARI, PHOTOS BY PREM NATH PANDEY

Lockdown intensifies as police try to get a grip

MAHENDER SINGH MANRAL, ANANYA TIWARI & JIGNASA SINHA
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

HOURS AFTER the Union Home Ministry told the chief secretaries of each state and union territory to arrange food and shelter for stranded migrant workers, Delhi Police stopped those trying to leave the capital on foot, sealed borders and barricaded arterial roads, especially those leading to the Delhi-Uttar Pradesh border. The Ministry also told states that those who have been walking have violated the lockdown, and must be quarantined after screening for 14 days.

"We are stopping and asking them why they are leaving. They are then being told about the arrangements the state and Centre have made," said a senior police officer. He said police are also telling migrant workers about how such a mass movement can spread COVID-19.

The Centre has asked states to utilise the State Disaster Response Fund to provide food and shelter. "Earlier, SHOs were directed to arrange food for the poor in their areas. Now, they have been told to focus on law and order instead, and stop migrants from leaving," the officer said.

Delhi Police spokesperson Mandeep Singh Randhawa said, "We have sealed all borders and blocked the exit of migrant workers. We have also blocked entry and are now providing them facilities arranged by government departments. We are either dropping them at their place or shifting them to the shelters." Personnel have been told to be polite, but take legal action if anyone violates CrP section 144. Delhi Police Commissioner S N Shrivastava also visited several areas in the capital to check preparedness. At Anand Vihar, where thou-



Migrants crossing the Yamuna floodplain in a bid to avoid police barricades nearby, Sunday. Abhinav Saha

sands had gathered on Saturday night to catch buses to their villages, some confusion remained. While empty buses waited on the road, the entrance to the terminal was barricaded by police, as hundreds of migrants gathered, pleading to be let in.

Kamlesh (40), who earns Rs 400 a day as a labourer at a tile factory in Trilokpuri, said, "We were left with a day or two of work money, with hardly anything to eat." She said she had to think of her five children. "We don't have money to pay rent. Our neighbours are not helping us. We have even taken loans from people," she added.

As people were stopped from gathering at Anand Vihar, many started walking to Ghaziabad, hoping to reach the Lal Kuan bus stop. As the day passed, police got stricter. By evening, security was increased at the borders and only a few labourers were seen standing near the Anand Vihar bus terminal.

Santosh Mishra (33), a labourer who lives in Shahdara, hid in one of the lanes there. He said, "I have been waiting since morning, but police won't let anyone go. My wife and sister are

waiting at a shop nearby. We want to return home to Badaun."

A few people tried moving towards Anand Vihar railway station, but found barricades on the way. Deepak Kumar (45), a fruit seller, said his family lives in Moradabad and he had come to Delhi a month ago for his cousin's wedding. "I can't live alone. I want to go back to my children but police are not allowing it," he said.

In a wireless message sent out to personnel, the police chief instructed them to increase picket deployment and stop the movement of every bus going outside the capital. "All district DCPs, ACPs and SHOs have been instructed to make announcements in areas with migrant population that the government will pay them their full wages and also create awareness among them about the threat of spread of coronavirus and also to warn them that strict action will be taken if they are seen on the roads," he added.

Meanwhile, the owner of three private buses and his three drivers were arrested during picket-checking at Dhaula Kuan flyover on Sunday for allegedly carrying passengers in violation of lockdown orders.

'FOLLOW PM MANTRA, STAY WHERE YOU ARE'

Stay put, no one will go hungry: CM

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

REITERATING HIS appeal to people to stay indoors, Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal Sunday urged everyone to rise above political differences and ensure no one has to go hungry due to the lockdown and restrictions on economic activities.

Without naming any party, Kejriwal asked AAP volunteers to not get into squabbles and focus on serving people in distress.

The BJP-led Uttar Pradesh government had Saturday accused AAP of creating a situation that forced migrants to leave the capital. This prompted a sharp response from Deputy Chief Minister Manish Sisodia, who called the allegations petty and ridiculous.

"Yesterday, an opposition party had levelled certain allegations against us. We should not get into any form of squabbling. If we are told about shortcomings, we need to rectify. When confronted with such allegations, put the record straight politely. If you are still abused, just ignore. The need of the hour is to save this country and serve its people," he said, pointing to the alarming spread of COVID-19 in countries such as Italy, UK and USA.

What started as a trickle out of the city had turned into a flood of migrants on Saturday, as thousands headed to their villages, mostly in UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand.

Kejriwal pointed out how other states — Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Odisha, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh



CM Arvind Kejriwal at Sunday's press conference

Haryana and Punjab, among others — have also been witnessing similar scenes: "I appeal to them — when the PM had announced the lockdown, he had made one statement — 'jo jahan hai, wo wohi rahe'. This, I believe, is the mantra. If we fail to stick to it, the fight against coronavirus will fail."

"Those returning should know they run the risk of contracting the virus from someone in the crowd. If one such person contracts the virus, he will take it to his village. The villages are still unaffected. If this spreads, controlling it will be very difficult," he said.

The CM once again listed the arrangements made by the AAP government in terms of food and lodging for migrants. He said many schools where facilities have been put together are now lying empty.

"We will also make arrangements at stadiums. I also want to appeal to those with wealth, the industrialists — this is the time

to give back to society. We earn all our lives but at the end, nothing matters. What matters is what we give back. Please don't let anyone starve," he said.

Kejriwal added that the government will not hesitate to act against landlords evicting tenants over rent or forcing them to pay. "Postpone their rents for some time. After a month or two, when things get better, I assure you if a tenant is unable to pay rent due to poverty, the government will bear the loss," said the AAP chief.

Kejriwal also made a "personal" appeal to people to make good use of the lockdown period and recite the *Bhagavad Gita*: "If you are a true *desh bhakti*, the biggest *desh bhakti* is staying at home. The *Bhagavad Gita* has 18 chapters and the lockdown has 18 days left. Since yesterday, we are at home, the entire family, have started reading it. It takes half an hour. If you're so inclined, you can too."

Late night rush sees a packed bus depot in capital

MALLICA JOSHI & AMIL BHATNAGAR
NEW DELHI, MARCH 29

FOR THREE years, Ramesh Singh (26) has longed to return home to UP's Badaun. But the urge to make the 280-km-long journey has never been as strong as it is now.

A father of two boys, Singh, a waiter, lives in South Delhi's Kotla Mubarakpur. For three days, he was apprehensive as he saw his neighbours leaving for their villages on foot. But on Saturday, news reached him that UP Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath had "arranged for buses at the Delhi-UP border." "After walking three hours, we reached Anand Vihar in the evening. Four hours on, we are still waiting to get into a bus. My wife and children are inside the terminal, I am outside looking for a way to get home," said Singh on Saturday night.

With restaurants shut, Singh is running out of money and patience: "My employer has given me two-thirds of my salary. I can't blame him, he is suffering massive losses too." At 10 pm Saturday, roads leading to the Anand Vihar Interstate Bus Terminal were packed with people and buses. By evening, the UP and Delhi governments had arranged close to 1,000 buses. Some of these were at Lal Kuan in Ghaziabad, Meerut and Sahibabad. Around 11 pm, several buses began taking people away. But more and more people continued walking towards Anand Vihar.

Police tried to stop workers and divert them to shelters. "We said we will ensure they get shelter and food in Delhi, but nothing is working. They are yearning for their villages and



At Anand Vihar ISBT, Saturday night. Amit Mehra

families," said a police constable on duty at the terminal.

Till Saturday night, many people were still being allowed to pass through. The order to stop movement and seal borders was passed by the MHA on Sunday. By 2 am, migrant workers were told they will now get buses at Ghaziabad's Lal Kuan — 20 km away. Sheshaag (36) asked 15 people in an hour about his bus to Bareilly. He went to Lal Kuan but returned after he failed to get one. "My wife and four sons are inside the terminal. In the last three-four hours, there have been announcements that buses are finally leaving from Lal Kuan. I will take them to Lal Kuan again to see if it is actually coming," he said.

Delhi Police could be seen looking for Ghaziabad policemen to confirm the plan of action. Soon, an announcement was made to send people to Lal Kuan. At 3 am at Lal Kuan, policemen announced about buses leaving for Kanpur and Lucknow. With no streetlight for 200 metres, crowds huddled in the dark so no one got lost.

"Officials told us there is a disease and we need to avoid travelling. For us, the disease means nothing. If we don't have wages, hunger will kill us first," said Ashfaq, who is headed to Aligarh.

By 3.30 am, more people found seats and the buses left.



THE EDITORIAL PAGE

WORDLY WISE

SUSPICIONLESS SURVEILLANCE DOES NOT BECOME OKAY SIMPLY BECAUSE IT'S ONLY VICTIMISING 95 PER CENT OF THE WORLD INSTEAD OF 100 PER CENT. — EDWARD SNOWDEN

The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

A shrunken welfare state



CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT AND UTSAV SHAH

Keeping poor and vulnerable safe in lockdown is state responsibility, not an act of charity

CARELESS TALK

War on COVID-19 is infringing on citizens' right to privacy — without adding significantly to the effort

IN TIMES OF crisis, governments may curb fundamental rights in the national or public interest. During World War II, for instance, the right to free speech was reduced — British installations were plastered with a poster that read, "Careless talk costs lives," and the people of a blisteringly outspoken nation agreed that the curb was necessary. Now, the war on COVID-19 is infringing on the fundamental right to privacy, without adding anything to the effort. The details of 722 airline passengers who landed in Delhi this month are being shared online, some state governments are revealing the identities of the quarantined and the Corona Kavach app released by the government, which evaluates the risk status of users and informs them of the proximity of potential carriers, is in public beta. In addition, the quarantined (who may be negative) have been stamped with indelible ink and their phone GPS is monitored.

Doctor-patient confidentiality is being breached and data is shared on digital networks, apparently to contain the pandemic. India does not respect the right to be forgotten, digital data remains etched in silicon, and may determine the social status and health insurance burden of the quarantined in the future. Attitudes to data privacy vary from West Bengal, where authorities regard the maintenance of patient confidentiality as a social duty, to Delhi, where the identity of those in quarantine, whether positive or not, is announced to unhealthy curious neighbours in a poster by the front door. Responses have been ad hoc, since the emergency legislation pressed into service against the coronavirus predates the question of privacy. Even the Personal Data Protection Bill speaks only of "processing" data without consent in emergencies. Is pasting a notice branding the quarantined a legitimate process?

In the absence of clear legal sanction, the law applies the tests of logic and proportionality. Does the public sharing of personal information advance the fight against coronavirus? And does any advantage won justify the erosion of privacy? The nations hit hardest by the virus are locked down — with varying degrees of efficiency and intelligence — because in the absence of a vaccine or a cure, social distancing is the only known deterrent. It is a blunt instrument to be applied rigorously, indiscriminately and blindly by everyone, with respect to everyone else. The strategy is absolutist and information-agnostic. The citizen must keep all others at a distance, whether they have been overseas or not, whether they have symptoms or not, and whether they are in quarantine or not. Information about health status is irrelevant to the efficiency of social distancing, and sharing it outside the community of doctors, researchers and administrators, who do need to know, is irresponsible and callous.

ESSENTIAL PROTECTION

There is urgent need to ensure that those keeping supply chains of essential items running are protected against COVID-19

EVER SINCE PRIME Minister Narendra Modi announced the 21-day nationwide lockdown on March 24, the Union home ministry has issued four classificatory notes to expand the list of essential supplies and services that are to be available and accessible during this period. Given the initial uncertainty and panic following the PM's announcements, the move to ensure that supply lines for essential items — food, medicine and goods and services essential for agriculture, among others — is a necessary one. However, it will not do to forget that those actually involved in keeping these supply chains going are as vulnerable to COVID-19 as anyone else, that being part of an "essential service" also makes a citizen more vulnerable to exposure. Moving forward, the task for governments at the Centre and in the states is twofold. First, they must ensure that the representatives of the state on the ground — the police and other civic administration officials — do not harass or obstruct those who work. At great risk to themselves, for the greater good during the lockdown. Second, and perhaps more importantly, every precaution must be taken to ensure that those working on every link of the supply chain are protected against the virus.

Complex supply chains for food items, for example, involve a large number of people interacting and handling produce, increasing the risk of a COVID-19 infection, as well as its spread to the general public. As on March 24, India had conducted only 25,144 tests, according to the Indian Council of Medical Research. This number is low — just 18 tests per million of population. The government's strategy — understandable given the country's population and inadequate medical infrastructure — has been to follow the "Italy model" rather than the "South Korea model". While the former relies on isolation, social distancing and quarantines, the latter also includes mass testing. So far, it also appears that the number of positive coronavirus cases emerging from various states is directly proportionate to how much they have been testing; Kerala and Maharashtra, which have reported a large number of cases, have had more widespread testing than, say, Jharkhand, which has zero confirmed cases so far. Governments at the Centre and in the states are reportedly going to expand testing. As they do so, special care must be taken to ensure that supply chains, particularly for food and medicine, are not crippled by the pandemic.

Wherever possible, protective gear must be provided and protocols for testing and immediate quarantines, where necessary, must be put in place. This will not be an easy task — it will require monitoring and raising awareness about symptoms and self-isolation, in the field, from those involved in transport to mandis and warehouses to the retailer and the vegetable vendor.

FREEZE FRAME

E P UNNY



THE ONGOING LOCKDOWN across India has been compared to the demonetisation episode of 2016. And for good reason. The nation-wide lockdown was a sudden decision announced by the Prime Minister. It has huge implications for society, the poor in particular. This style of governance was evident in the implementation of GST also. It reflects a concentration of power at the highest level in the government, recalling the premiership of Indira Gandhi. But in contrast to government-functioning in the 1970s, the current order has seen a shrinking of the state.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's 2014 motto — "minimum government, maximum governance" — is materialising in an unexpected manner. Today, it finds expression in three different ways. First, the society has been requested to take care of itself. In his last speech, PM Modi invited the rich to take care of the poor and asked each well-off family to support nine poor families during the lockdown. This approach is well in tune with the traditional RSS view, in which the society prevails over the state apparatus. RSS ideologue Deendayal Upadhyaya had started fighting the Nehruvian state-building paradigm in the 1950s itself, when the first post-Independence public hospitals were being built by the Centre. The social welfare-oriented activities of the Sangh Parivar, including Seva Bharati, follow this perspective and assume that charities can make the welfare state partly redundant.

Second, the Sangh Parivar believes the society also has to take care of itself through self-regulation. A soft version of this idea has been epitomised by the "Janata Curfew". But self-regulation can also mean self-policing. The practice of naming and shaming initiated by the UP government against anti-CAA activists and the facilitation of vigilantism reflect this vision. Vigilantes are not only looking for cows that some Muslims are suspected to take to slaughter-houses, they also, now, seem to be involved in enforcing the lockdown.

Third, the state has retreated from critical domains such as public education and public health — this is a function of the liberalisation. India spends less than 1.2 per cent of its GDP on public health. The coun-

The Sangh Parivar believes the society also has to take care of itself through self-regulation. A soft version of this idea has been epitomised by the 'Janata Curfew'. But self-regulation can also mean self-policing. The practice of naming and shaming initiated by the UP government against anti-CAA activists and the facilitation of vigilantism reflect this vision.



DUTEE CHAND

FOR A RUNNER TO STAND STILL

Cancellation of Olympics, quarantine, are not easy. But they are necessary

I AM AT home in Bhubaneswar right now and like the rest of the country, observing social distancing because of the coronavirus outbreak. My routine has changed since the lockdown has been enforced, but I am not complaining because at present, everybody's priority is to stop the virus from spreading.

I usually train twice a day and upwards of six hours. The Kalinga Stadium in Bhubaneswar, where I go to train every day, is locked. I have been doing basic exercises at home and trying to stay as fit as possible. Yet, this past week, I felt like I have lost all my strength. Missing a day of training sets one back by a week. For athletes, if we don't go out and run or follow our regular training regime, we feel empty. Imagine one day you are doing high-intensity work-out and the next day you are hardly moving. It makes you lethargic.

I have also had to change my diet. For this period, I am not taking supplements and have reduced my protein intake because I am hardly training. I am also unable to sleep at night, as I have naps during the day. Earlier, because of training day-in and day-out, I would fall asleep as soon as I hit the bed.

The upside is that I have got a lot of time to watch movies, listen to music and do household chores. I am also exchanging



ONE OF 800 MILLION A VOICE, UNDER 35

For those who had already qualified for the Olympics, it would have been a blow because they thought that they would be in Tokyo in four months' time and would have planned their training regimen and competition schedule accordingly.

messages with athletes who are my friends and for all of us not being able to train or compete is a new experience. Nobody is stepping out and everyone is at home. That said, what an athlete has to forgo in these difficult times is nothing compared to those who have been affected.

Around the world, all events have either been cancelled or postponed. Athletes have been preparing for the Olympics for the past four years, so it does impact us when it is postponed. It was the right decision to postpone the Games because the health and well-being of everyone comes first. In such times, sports has to be on the back-burner.

For those who had already qualified for the Olympics, it would have been a blow because they thought that they would be in Tokyo in four months' time and would have planned their training regimen and competition schedule accordingly. It was the right decision to postpone the Games because the health and well-being of everyone comes first. In such times, sports has to be on the back-burner.

For someone like me, who was still hoping to qualify as the deadline to make the cut was in late June, the postponement means I will get more time. As the Tokyo Games are

now going to be held in 2021, I guess the qualifying period window will open again and this will be an opportunity. Of course, there are many uncertain factors like, what if an athlete gets injured later in the year. Also, everyone will be a year older and that could make a difference.

I was planning to make Germany my training base and also participate in competitions in Europe in a bid to qualify for the Olympics. But because of the pandemic, this won't be possible. Just see how things change. Right now, no one can even think of going to Europe.

All our other athletes who were abroad are now back in India and in quarantine or following lockdown instructions. These are difficult times for everyone. But the key is to bounce back as a country. Everyone must not only think of themselves but also of other people and must do their best to ensure that the coronavirus does not spread. The efforts and sacrifices of healthcare workers, doctors, nurses and those who are part of essential services, in the private sector and government, who have to go out everyday must be applauded.

Clearly, the distress of the most vulnerable sections of the society is not just financial. The lockdown has been implemented in such a way that it has already resulted in their disempowerment. The quantity of additional food that needs to be distributed under the PDS has been underestimated in many states — Kerala is an exception and a model for other states.

Keeping the poor and vulnerable safe is a matter of responsibility for the state and the private sector, not an act of charity. Leaving migrant workers to fend for themselves and forcing them to return to their villages will only enable the spread of coronavirus. In this regard, a clear distinction in the provision of aid for the urban and the rural poor must be made so that resources are better allocated amongst the poor.

The financial situation of India is precarious, of course. The banks are still burdened by NPAs, an issue that governments have let grow over the years. India's debt-to-GDP ratio is already high. At 69 per cent, it is higher than that of most of the emerging countries (except Brazil) — a clear indication that fiscal discipline was on par with other forms of indiscipline. But these are unprecedented times — as the RBI governor Shaktikanta Das said last week — and therefore, India may have to borrow more money for making the welfare state work.

The time has come for the government to revive vital functions of the welfare state. And, it needs to minimise the concentration of power at the Centre in the name of maximum governance and maximise aid to the poor and vulnerable, instead of minimising government.

Jaffrelot is senior research fellow at CER-I Sciences Po/CNRS, Paris and professor of Indian Politics and Sociology at King's India Institute. Shah is a student of International Economic Policy at Sciences Po



MARCH 30, 1980, FORTY YEARS AGO

BENGAL CLASHES A VIOLENT CLASH between the police and the Chhatra Parishad (I) workers in Calcutta marked the Parishad's "economic blockade" of Assam on the sixth day of the movement. About 300 parishad volunteers demonstrated before the Indian Airlines office in Chittaranjan Avenue in Calcutta, raising the slogan "stop all bookings to Assam". After they had shouted slogans for two hours, the police sought to disperse them. Initially, appeals were made which fell on deaf ears. Then suddenly, brickbats were thrown and the police had to resort to lathi-charge. The police fired six rounds of teargas shells and dispersed the gathering. Thirty demonstrators have been arrested.

JANATA CONFUSED THE TWO-DAY CONVENTION called by Jagjivan Ram began with amid confusion created by the declaration that it was the first representative convention of the Janata Party and assertions by several prominent leaders, including Arjan Singh Bhadoria that it was the foundation day function of a new party. Sitting on a lone chair on a huge dais in a big pandal that was three-fourths vacant, Jagjivan Ram spoke, saying that while the May 1977 convention was of the supporters of the Janata Party, this was the first session of the party. Only two MPs — Satyadeo Singh of the Lok Sabha and Ganpat Bhagat of the Rajya Sabha — were present among the 1,000-odd dele-

gates at the beginning of the convention.

ARAFAT'S CONCERN

YASSER ARAFAT, CHAIRMAN of the PLO, voiced the concern of the Arab countries over American presence in Persian Gulf area. Answering questions at a press conference in New Delhi, he said: "All this troop massing constitutes a danger and directly affects the Palestinian cause and the security of Arab nations." He said that India's diplomatic recognition of the PLO "will help our struggle for self-determination and liberation". Arafat also said that he did not discuss with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi the issue of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

THE STATE AND COVID-19

Everything's under control

Big government is needed to fight the pandemic. What matters is how it shrinks back again afterwards



A health worker checks a man's temperature at a checkpoint on the outskirts of Duhok, Iraq, earlier this month. Reuters

IN JUST a few weeks a virus a ten-thousandth of a millimetre in diameter has transformed Western democracies. States have shut down businesses and sealed people indoors. They have promised trillions of dollars to keep the economy on life support. If South Korea and Singapore are a guide, medical and electronic privacy are about to be cast aside. It is the most dramatic extension of state power since the second world war.

One taboo after another has been broken. Not just in the threat of fines or prison for ordinary people doing ordinary things, but also in the size and scope of the government's role in the economy. In America Congress is poised to pass a package worth almost \$2trn, 10% of GDP, twice what was promised in 2007-09. Credit guarantees by Britain, France and other countries are worth 15% of GDP. Central banks are printing money and using it to buy assets they used to spurn. For a while, at least, governments are seeking to ban bankruptcy.

For believers in limited government and open markets, covid-19 poses a problem. The state must act decisively. But history suggests that after crises the state does not give up all the ground it has taken. Today that has implications not just for the economy, but also for

the surveillance of individuals.

It is no accident that the state grows during crises. Governments might have stumbled in the pandemic, but they alone can coerce and mobilise vast resources rapidly. Today they are needed to enforce business closures and isolation to stop the virus. Only they can help offset the resulting economic collapse. In America and the euro area GDP could drop by 5-10% year-on-year, perhaps more.

One reason the state's role has changed so rapidly is that covid-19 spreads like wildfire. In less than four months it has gone from a market in Wuhan to almost every country in the world. The past week logged 253,000 new cases. People are scared of the example of Italy, where almost 74,000 recorded cases have overwhelmed a world-class health system, leading to over 7,500 deaths.

That fear is the other reason for rapid change. When Britain's government tried to hang back so as to minimise state interference, it was accused of doing too little, too late. France, by contrast, passed a law this week giving the government the power not just to control people's movements, but also to manage prices and requisition goods. During the crisis its president, Emmanuel

Macron, has seen his approval ratings soar.

In most of the world the state has so far responded to covid-19 with a mix of coercion and economic heft. As the pandemic proceeds, it is also likely to exploit its unique power to monitor people using their data. Hong Kong uses apps on phones that show where you are in order to enforce quarantines. China has a passporting system to record who is safe to be out. Phone data help modellers predict the spread of the disease. And if a government suppresses covid-19, as China has, it will need to prevent a second wave among the many who are still susceptible, by pouncing on every new cluster. South Korea says that automatically tracing the contacts of fresh infections, using mobile technology, gets results in ten minutes instead of 24 hours.

This vast increase in state power has taken

One reason the state's role has changed so rapidly is that COVID-19 spreads like wildfire. In less than four months it has gone from a market in Wuhan to almost every country in the world. The past week logged 253,000 new cases

place with almost no time for debate. Some will reassure themselves that it is just temporary and that it will leave almost no mark, as with Spanish flu a century ago. However, the scale of the response makes covid-19 more like a war or the Depression. And here the record suggests that crises lead to a permanently bigger state with many more powers and responsibilities and the taxes to pay for them. The welfare state, income tax, nationalisation, all grew out of conflict and crisis.

As that list suggests, some of today's changes will be desirable. It would be good if governments were better prepared for the next pandemic; so, too, if they invested in public health, including in America, where reform is badly needed. Some countries need decent sick pay.

Other changes may be less clear-cut, but will be hard to undo because they were

backed by powerful constituencies even before the pandemic. One example is the further unpicking of the euro-zone pact that is supposed to impose discipline on the member-states' borrowing. Likewise, Britain has taken its railways under state control—a step that is supposed to be temporary but which may never be retracted.

More worrying is the spread of bad habits. Governments may retreat into autarky. Some fear running out of the ingredients for medicines, many of which are made in China. Russia has imposed a temporary ban on exporting grain. Industrialists and politicians have lost trust in supply chains. It is but a small step from there to long-term state support for the national champions that will have just been bailed out by taxpayers. Trade's prospects are already dim; all this would further cloud them—and the recovery. And in the long term, a vast and lasting expansion of the state together with dramatically higher public debt is likely to lead to a lumbering, less dynamic kind of capitalism.

But that is not the biggest problem. The greater worries lie elsewhere, in the abuse of office and the threats to freedom. Some politicians are already making power grabs,

as in Hungary, where the government is seeking an indefinite state of emergency. Israel's prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, appears to see the crisis as a chance to evade a trial for corruption.

The most worrying is the dissemination of intrusive surveillance. Invasive data collection and processing will spread because it offers a real edge in managing the disease. But they also require the state to have routine access to citizens' medical and electronic records. The temptation will be to use surveillance after the pandemic, much as anti-terrorism legislation was extended after 9/11. This might start with tracing TB cases or drug dealers. Nobody knows where it would end, especially if, having dealt with covid-19, surveillance-mad China is seen as a model.

Surveillance may well be needed to cope with covid-19. Rules with sunset clauses and scrutiny built in can help stop it at that. But the main defence against the over-mighty state, in tech and the economy, will be citizens themselves. They must remember that a pandemic government is not fit for everyday life.

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SPAIN

The emergency room

Spain has suffered more COVID-19 deaths than any country save Italy

WITH ITS carefully spaced empty white beds laid across the dark floor, the pavilion of Madrid's exhibition centre looked like an installation left over from last month's contemporary art fair. In fact it is a field hospital, set up by the army in 18 hours on March 22nd. Three days later it housed more than 300 covid-19 patients, and was being expanded to take up to 5,500. It is the front line in what Spain's Socialist prime minister, Pedro Sánchez, has called "the most serious situation the country has faced since the civil war".

After Italy, Spain is the country worst hit by covid-19, with 78,797 cases and 6,528 dead as of March 29th, with both numbers still rising steeply. It has now overtaken China on the death count. Officials see this week as crucial. With the health system in Madrid, the centre of the outbreak, close to breaking point, the government hopes that a state of emergency and lockdown imposed on March 14th will ensure that the peak of infection will pass by the end of the month. Whatever happens, Spain's economy is heading for deep recession. Its prized health system faces criticism; its politics may be changed.

This week a spectral parliament agreed to extend the state of emergency until Easter. Mr Sánchez has rejected calls from some regional governments to tighten the lockdown further. This already confines most Spaniards to their homes, with no outdoor exercise allowed. It has shut most shops and

all bars, restaurants and hotels, but allows factories, farms and building sites to continue. The prime minister notes the restrictions are among the most severe in Europe; tightening them would have an even bigger impact on livelihoods.

The priority now is to get through the health crisis. There are several pressure points. Hospitals and their intensive-care beds in the capital are all but full. As well as the new field hospital, the government has commandeered a dozen hotels for patients with milder symptoms and has ordered private hospitals to admit patients from the public system. The army is ferrying others to quieter areas.

Spain's outbreak has several peculiarities. The high death rate is partly because the virus has cut a swathe through nursing homes, many of which lack medical staff. Spaniards are more tactile than north Europeans and interact much more with older and more vulnerable relatives. It is also because the government and health services, which are decentralised to regional administrations, were slow to react, with almost no testing until long after the virus had gained a hold. Only now have 650,000 test kits arrived, with another 1m on the way. "The lockdown is very important, but not enough," says Daniel López-Acuña, a former official at the World Health Organisation. "It has to be backed up with testing."

Lack of readiness showed itself too in the infection of many health workers (14% of total cases), who lacked protective gear. Spaniards have hailed their steadfastness with nightly applause from balconies. The government hopes to recruit some 50,000 retired or former health workers. Lastly, the virus is now spreading rapidly around the country (faster than in Italy), with Catalonia now accounting for around 20% of cases, behind only Madrid (around a third).

The next worry is the economy. It depends heavily on tourism and the car industry, both of which have shut down completely. Economists are forecasting that GDP will shrink by up to 15%, depending on how long the emergency lasts. Much of that will not be recovered. "Tourists who come later on won't eat two dinners a night," says Toni Roldán of Esade-EcPol, a think-tank.

The government has unveiled an aid package worth up to €200bn (around 16.5% of GDP), half in credit guarantees and €17bn in extra spending on health services and income support. It has guaranteed that workers temporarily laid off (some 1.5m so far) will get unemployment benefit. That will not help the 2.5m workers on short-term contracts or the 3.7m self-employed. Officials say they are working on measures for these groups. "The key issue is immediacy," says Mr Roldán.

How is all this to be paid for? The fiscal



People wearing protective face masks rearrange their shopping for their households in Madrid, on March 29. Reuters

deficit could swell to 10% of GDP this year, and, with interest costs rising, push public debt to 120%. No wonder Mr Sánchez is pushing hard for the EU to help out, such as by issuing "coronabonds".

By common consent the government, an inexperienced and uneasy coalition between the Socialists and far-left Podemos, erred in its tardy reaction to the virus. In what now seems another world, ministers were fixated on healing their divisions with a big feminist demonstration on March 8th. But since the start of the state of emergency, which centralised policing and health services, Mr

Sánchez has seemed more sure-footed.

His critics have their own difficulties. The conservative People's Party (pp) has oscillated between loyalty and sniping. It runs the Madrid regional government, which was more aggressive than others in cutting health spending and privatising some provision. Quim Torra, the separatist head of the Catalan government, called for the "total confinement" of his region, but has failed to handle the virus well. In a poll this month his was the only region where respondents gave higher marks to the central government than their local one.

Mr Sánchez has made verbose and repetitive televised speeches, much mocked by opponents. But many Spaniards like the fact that he is engaging with the problem and with them, says Charles Powell of the Elcano Royal Institute, a think-tank. Spaniards have generally been more disciplined than other Europeans in observing the lockdown. "There's an element of Spanish patriotism, not nationalism, in this," says Mr Powell. "My prediction is that Sánchez will come out of it looking stronger."

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15 TALK ART, MUSIC, STYLE, FOOD



FRESH SOUND

Nobel Laureate and global music phenomenon Bob Dylan has released a new song after a gap of eight years...

ON THE LOOSE

The Post-Covid World

What the threat of contagion is going to do to how we socialise



LEHER KALA

THE LAST movie I saw in a theatre was the Oscar-nominated Little Women in February. Despite the convenience of online streaming networks...

new destinations. Maybe, we undervalue ordinary moments and overvalue superlatives.

Perhaps the good that will emerge from this pandemic is that it will force us into new ways of seeing; that trivial day-to-day activities, making tea and coffee and one's own bed...

Many of us have come to terms with the lockdown and settled down into some sort of routine. I am on my 15th day home as I write this, learning many lessons in patience...

hutkiayfilms@gmail.com



(From left) Lavanya Tagra and her mother cooking for the elderly in Gurgaon; Sakshi Kapoor delivering meals in Delhi; Aakash Shah's initiative for seniors in Pune

Home, But Not Alone

Youth organisations and sensitive neighbours are rushing to the aid of senior citizens, left stranded in the face of the lockdown

PALLAVI CHATTOPADHYAY

SUNDER HINGORANI, 79, resident of a co-operative housing society in Bandra, had little inkling of the challenges that lay ahead after undergoing a knee-replacement surgery last month...



GET IN TOUCH

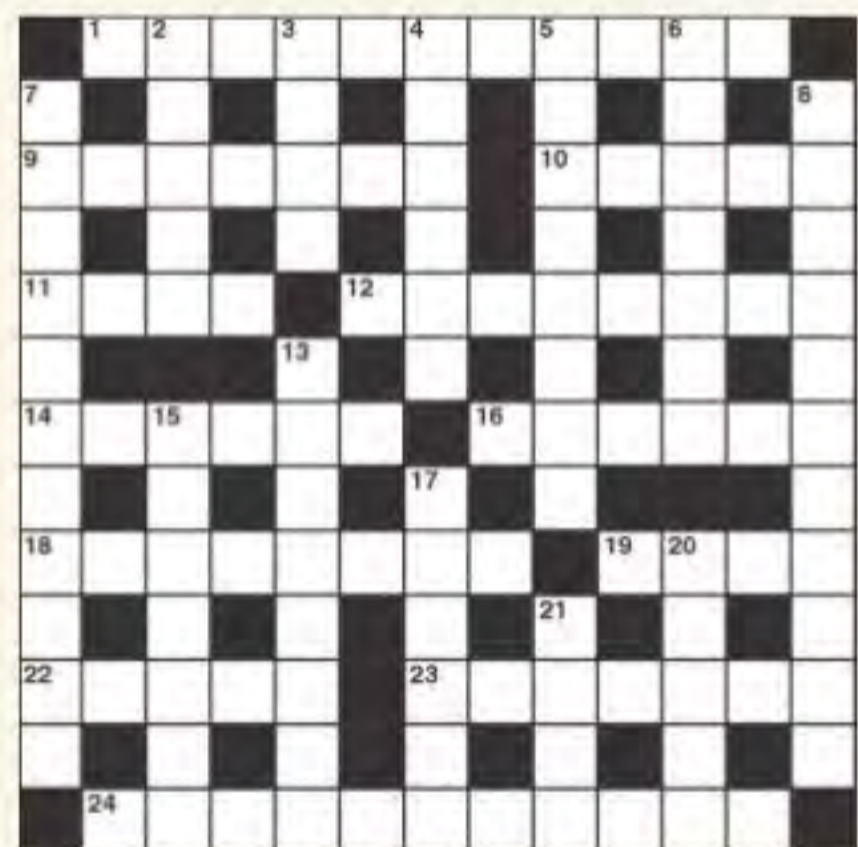
Table with 4 columns: Location, Name, Phone Number. Includes Gurgaon, Pune, Pan-India, Mumbai.

lockdown, she has been dropping dalia, poha, roti, vegetable curry and dal at their doorstep, free of cost, keeping social distancing in mind.

After receiving calls from her panic-stricken school friends settled in the US and the UK to help their parents stock up groceries for a month, Mahita Nagaraj from Bengaluru took up the cause.

know about this," says Hingorani, a former Air India employee who worked at the Mumbai airport for 39 years.

CROSSWORD 4078



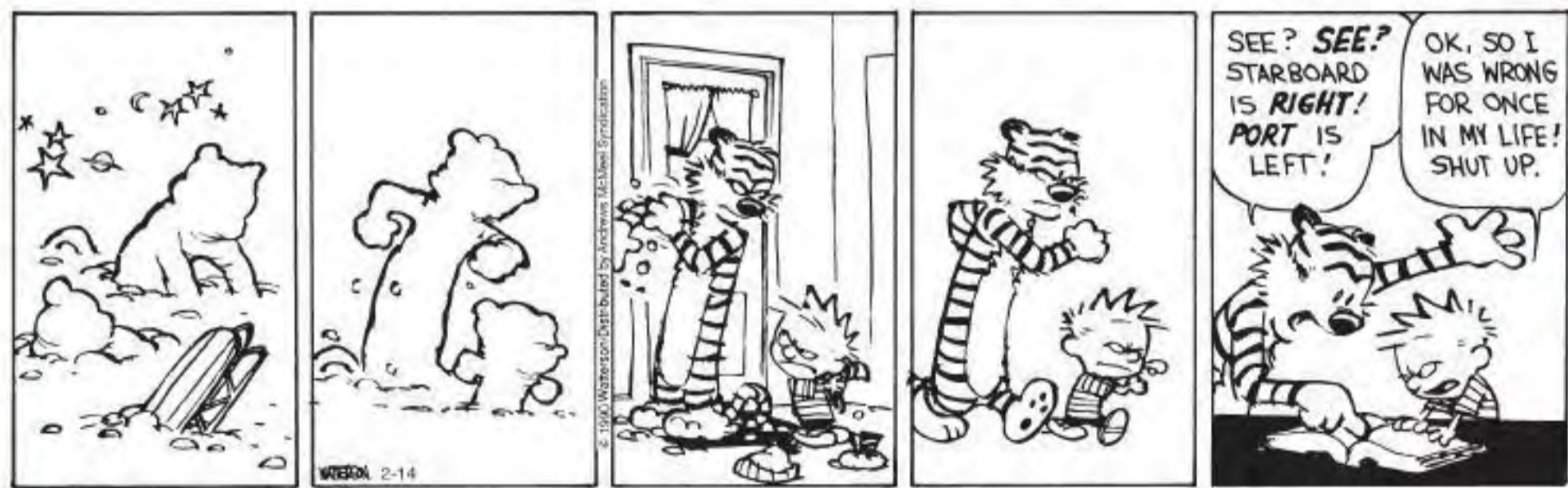
- ACROSS: 1 They follow, one falls but the other breaks (5,3,3); 9 Settle how a monk may live (7); 10 City investment? (5); 11 Fairly large stock company (4); 12 Ingenuity about beginning (8); 14 Smiled wryly when given the wrong directions (6); 16 Make an offer for a boat (6); 18 Scandinavian of manner so strange (8); 19 Come very close to a qualification (4); 22 Not inclined to build (5); 23 Meeting of former associates in Rouen, perhaps (7); 24 Anyway, it's where papers like to have reporters (2,3,6); 21 Third power block (4).

Solutions Crossword 4077: Across: 1 Thrush, 4 Obedient, 9 Kaiser, 10 Mountain, 12 Salt, 13 Dozen, 14 Once, 17 Forging ahead, 20 Literary lion, 23 Ivor, 24 Haste, 25 Mail, 28 Port Said, 29 Spools, 30 Resident, 31 Excess, Down: 1 Takes off, 2 Rallies, 3 Stem, 5 Broken hearts, 6 Done, 7 Elaine, 8 Tended, 11 Congregation, 15 Minim, 16 Satyr, 18 Pinafore, 19 Analysis, 21 Nipper, 22 Boards, 26 Used, 27 Apex.

OVER THE HEDGE by Michael Fry & T Lewis



CALVIN & HOBBS by Bill Watterson



MARVIN by Tom Armstrong



JUMBLER WORDS

Given below are four jumbled words. Solve the jumbles to make proper words and move them to the respective squares below.

GSEEE, EGNULT, DEZIS, AELVDV. Includes a grid for anagrams.

SUDOKU 4164

Difficulty Level 5s Instructions To solve a Sudoku puzzle, every digit from 1 to 9 must appear in each of the nine vertical columns...

Sudoku puzzle grid with numbers.

Difficulty Level 1s = Very easy; 2s = Easy; 3s = Medium; 4s = Hard; 5s = Very Hard; 6s = Genius

SOLUTION SUDOKU 4163

Solution for the Sudoku puzzle 4163.

DAY TODAY

BY PETER VIDAL

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20) The Moon has now spread its emotional sway over all your relationships.

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23) The key to contentment lies in your ability to get on with people with whom you are increasingly being forced into very close contact.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21) There does seem to be some cause for discretion today, although exactly why, is not clear.

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23) Over the next two weeks you will show an increasing tendency to look on the bright side of life and, if you continue to believe that others are certain to help you on your way...

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21) If you have been a mite frustrated or muddled as a result of partners' failure to see what was staring them in the face...

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 22) Mercury and Mars' intelligent alignments indicate that, where you have gone ahead without consent, you must now reach a retrospective agreement.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23) The Moon's influence on the uppermost reaches of your solar chart should remind you that you were born under one of the so-called 'cardinal' signs...

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20) If there's one thing that's certain, it's that nothing is certain. The Sun is but a short distance away from its passage into a whole new sector of your chart.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23) Although you are likely to receive some help and assistance today, when other people start lending a hand they may begin to take over.

AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19) Superficially it looks like decision time, but no matter how hard others try to persuade you to make up your mind, it seems unlikely that any firm choices will be taken.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23) You need to know where to draw the line. Only if you take a much firmer stand now will other people respect you.

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20) If you've been flogging a dead horse at work, you must now give it a rest. Otherwise it may come as a greater shock when you realise you've been heading very fast down the nearest cul-de-sac.

