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JAIPUR WELCOME

Prime Minister Narendra Modi with French President Emmanuel Macron at a roadshow in Jaipur on Thursday. The two leaders later held talks. Macron will be the chief guest at the Republic Day parade in New Delhi on Friday. **Rohit Jain Paras**

REPORT, PAGE 16

Nitish at U-turn again, BJP holds consultations, allies hold breath

SANTOSH SINGH
& LIZ MATHEW
PATNA, NEW DELHI, JAN 25

THE RULING JD(U)-RJD-Congress alliance in Bihar teetered on the brink Thursday evening with intense speculation in political circles in both Patna and New Delhi that Chief Minister Nitish Kumar could cross over to the NDA again.

Amid talk of a deepening rift, the RJD and JD(U) held separate meetings while BJP state president Samrat Choudhary left for Delhi to hold discussions with

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top BJP leaders. He was accompanied by former BJP deputy chief minister Renu Devi.

While the RJD played down any such possibility, and there was no word from the Congress, INDIA bloc parties were bracing for the damaging blow should one of its tallest leaders exit. If Nitish crosses over, this would be the fourth time he would be switching sides.

On the BJP side, at least three state leaders told *The Indian Express* that for the party, this would be a "win-win," as it

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

EXPRESS NETWORK

PAK ALLEGES 'INDIAN AGENTS' BEHIND TARGETED KILLINGS, INDIA DENIES

J&K POLICE SEEK DETAILS OF VALLEY RESIDENTS, KIN

PAGE 24

Venkaiah & Chiranjeevi among Padma Vibhushan recipients



Former V-P Venkaiah Naidu; actor-politician Chiranjeevi

DEEPTIMAN TIWARY
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

FORMER Vice-President M Venkaiah Naidu, sanitation pioneer and Sulabh International founder Bindeshwar Pathak (posthumous), Telugu actor-turned-Congress politician Chiranjeevi, yesteryear Bollywood actress Vyjayantimala Bali and Bharat Natyam exponent Padma Subrahmanyam have been selected for the Padma Vibhushan this year.

The government on Thursday also announced 17 Padma Bhushan and 110 Padma Shri recipients.

Among the Padma Bhushan awardees are M Fathima Beevi (posthumous), who was the first woman Supreme Court Judge, former Bollywood actor Mithun Chakraborty, singer Usha Uthup, industrialist Sitaram Jindal, Foxconn CEO Young Liu, former BJP Union Ministers Ram Naik, Satyabrat Mookherjee (posthumous) and C P Thakur, veteran BJP leader from Kerala Olanchery Rajagopal, Tamil actor-turned-politician Vijayakanth of the DMK (posthumous), and Mumbai Samachar publisher Hormusji N Camara.

Earlier this week, the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

REPORT ON SURVEY OF MOSQUE COMPLEX IN VARANASI

Hindu temple existed where the Gyanvapi mosque stands: ASI

'Pre-existing structure appears to have been destroyed during reign of Aurangzeb, part of it modified, reused'

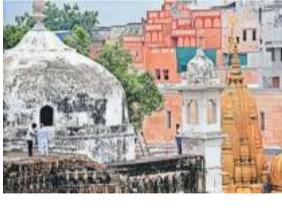
ASAD REHMAN & ANANTHAKRISHNANG
VARANASI, NEW DELHI, JAN 25

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL Survey of India (ASI), tasked by the Varanasi district court in July 2023 to conduct a scientific survey of the Gyanvapi mosque complex, has concluded that "there existed a Hindu temple prior to the construction of the existing structure" at the site.

Hindu litigants have claimed that the mosque was built on the site of the original Kashi Vishwanath temple after its destruction in the 17th century.

The ASI, which was tasked to ascertain whether the mosque was "constructed over a pre-existing structure of a Hindu temple", submitted its report to the court last month in a sealed cover.

Its copies were handed Thursday by the court to Hindu and Muslim



ASI surveyed the Gyanvapi mosque complex last year

litigants in matters related to the dispute over the site.

The report stated: "Based on scientific studies/survey carried out, study of architectural remains, exposed features and artefacts, inscriptions, art and sculptures, it can be said that there existed a Hindu temple prior to the construction of the existing structure."

"The Arabic-Persian inscription found inside a room

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

The test ahead: Law on places of worship, and the challenge it faces

APURVA VISHWANATH
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

THE LEGAL test before the civil court in Varanasi and the Supreme Court is whether a title suit can exist on the Kashi Vishwanath-Gyanvapi mosque disputed site since the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991, puts a constitutional bar on it.

Section 3 and Section 4 of the 1991 Act essentially declare that the religious character of a place of worship, barring the one at Ayodhya, shall continue to be the same as it was on August 15, 1947, and that no person shall convert any place of worship of any religious denomination into one of a different denomination

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



The Hindu women who moved the Varanasi court

Ram temple landmark in re-discovery of heritage: President



President Droupadi Murmu addresses the nation on R-Day eve. Rashtrapati Bhavan

DIVYA
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

CALLING THE consecration ceremony at the new Ram temple in Ayodhya a "landmark in India's continued re-discovery of its civilisational heritage", President Droupadi Murmu on Thursday said the temple was an expression of people's faith, and a testament to their trust in the judicial process.

Addressing the nation on the eve of the 75th Republic Day, Murmu said: "Earlier this week, we witnessed the historic

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



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Ram Niwas Goel
Speaker, Delhi Legislative Assembly

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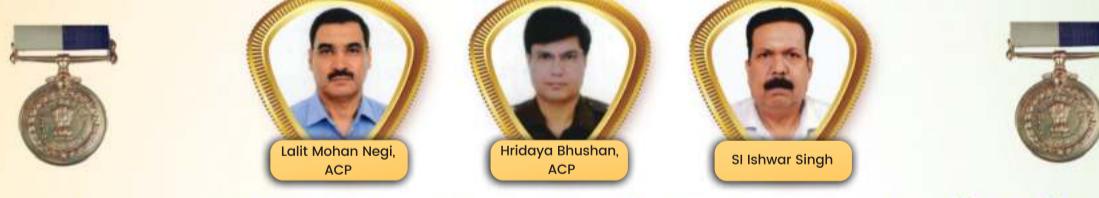
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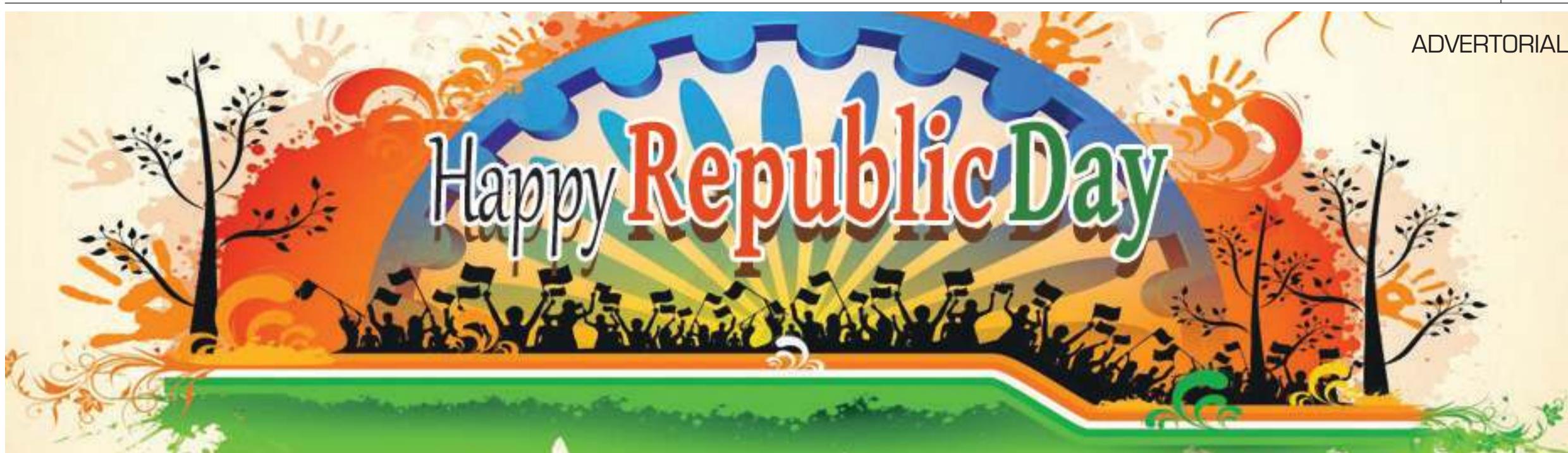
JANUARY 26

"On this Republic Day, let's pay tribute to our brave patriots
and vow to make India No.1. Jai Hind!"

- Arvind Kejriwal

Chief Minister, Delhi





From Dominion to Republic: India's Constitutional Evolution

India's Republic Day transcends celebrating the dawn of a sovereign democracy; it is a continuous commitment to upholding the democratic values that bind Indians together, and help them thrive under the umbrella of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Every year, on 26 January, against the backdrop of the hoisted tricolor, a vibrant tapestry woven with the rich threads of patriotism and national pride unfolds across the geographically and culturally diverse landscape of the Republic of India. January 26 marks the epoch-making day when the Constitution of India came into effect in 1950, replacing the Government of India Act 1935, and thenceforth rendering obsolete the Dominion of India while forging independent India's new identity as a republic.

The historic day entailing the birth of the world's largest democracy through the adoption of its cornerstone, the Constitution of India is celebrated with palpable joy and patriotic fervor as Republic Day throughout the country as well as by the Indian diaspora in every part of the world. The journey to this momentous occasion is etched in the annals of history as a testament to the unwavering determination and dedication that paved the way for the meticulous crafting of a democratic framework for the country that would serve as the guiding light illuminating the path to progress and prosperity for India.

The Dawn of Democracy

While India's struggle for independence from British rule, marked by countless sacrifices and acts of rebellion, bore fruit on 15 August 1947 as India gained independence, the nation's journey to becoming a republic was far from complete then. Despite India's independence from the British Raj in 1947 being a watershed moment,

the newly formed nation's framework for governance was still based on the Government of India Act of 1935, a legacy of colonial rule. However, the dream of a sovereign, democratic India burned bright in the heart of every Indian envisioning a prosperous future for the independent country.

In light of the quest for a truly independent, democratic India having its roots in the drafting of a constitution, a Constituent Assembly, representing the diverse voices of the newly formed nation, embarked on the monumental task of drafting the country's constitution. The Indian Constituent Assembly meticulously crafted a document

that would not only define the structure of the new republic but also enshrine the fundamental rights and principles that would safeguard its future. After two years of meticulous deliberation, on 26 November 1949, the

Indian Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution of India. This document imbued with the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice and hailed as a testament to human rights and democratic ideals became the bedrock of the new republic as it came into effect on 26 January 1950, marking the birth of the Republic of India.

A Date Steeped in Symbolism

On 26 January 1950, India's journey as a republic officially began. The Constitution, a beacon of democracy, established India as a sovereign, socialist, secular, and democratic republic. It enshrined fundamental rights and liberties, guaranteed equality and justice for all, and laid



the framework for a parliamentary system of government, marking a critical turning point, where India shed the remnants of its colonial past.

The choice of January 26 as the day for the constitution to come into effect was deliberate owing to the historical significance of the day, wherein on this very date in 1930, the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, passed the resolution of the Declaration of Purna Swaraj, which demanded India's complete independence from British rule. Choosing the day when the Declaration of Independence of India was proclaimed in 1930, as the very day when the Constitution of India came into force two decades later, marking the observance of India's Republic Day celebrations thenceforth, was a powerful statement – a declaration that the dreams of freedom fighters and ordinary citizens had finally come to fruition.

Celebrating India's Unity in Diversity

Republic Day resonates with patriotic fervor across the

length and breadth of the country, marked by a spectacular display of India's unity in diversity. The grand parade in New Delhi, showcasing India's military might and cultural richness, is the focal point of the celebrations. Regiments of the armed forces march in synchronized unison, making their strength and dedication to serving the nation evident to one and all. Tableaus and vibrant floats depicting the cultural heritage of different Indian states, paint a breathtaking picture of India's multi-faceted identity. Each corner of the country, from bustling metropolises to remote villages, comes alive with the spirit of the day.

Schools and colleges hold cultural programs and debates and organize parades and flag-hoisting ceremonies. The air is redolent with the aroma of festive delicacies, while the sound of patriotic songs and jubilant cheers reverberate everywhere.

Beyond the Pageantry

The significance of Republic Day transcends the grandeur of celebrations as a day to reflect on the values enshrined in the Constitution – democracy, secularism, and social justice – and reaffirm India's commitment to democracy while serving as a reminder of the responsibilities that come with freedom. 26 January is a testament to the transformative power of democracy and the resilience of the human spirit in the unwavering pursuit of a just and equitable society. It is a call to action, reminding us of our individual and collective responsibility to uphold the values enshrined in the constitution, strive towards a more just and equitable society and safeguard the democratic ideals that India proudly stands for.

AS WE celebrate India's 75th Republic Day with great pride and patriotic fervor, it is also a celebration of our nation's progress since becoming a republic and our contributions to building a progressive, resilient and prosperous India with a promising future. The real estate sector has been deeply involved in India's growth story. From developing state-of-the-art residential properties and commercial ones fostering businesses to steering infrastructure development, driving investments, creating jobs and contributing to the GDP, we continue to lay a strong foundation for the thriving future of the world's most populous nation.

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FROM PAGE ONE ■ FULL REPORTS ON
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Hindu temple existed where the Gyanvapi mosque stands: ASI

mentions that the mosque was built in the 20th regnal year of Aurangzeb (1667-77). Hence, the pre-existing structure appears to have been destroyed in the 17th century, during the reign of Aurangzeb and part of it was modified and reused in the existing structure," it stated.

"A series of cellars were also constructed to the east to create additional space and a large platform in front of the mosque for accommodating a large number of people for prayers," it stated.

The "ASI had in its custody record of an inscription engraved on a loose stone which recorded construction of the mosque in the 20th regnal year of Hadrat Alamgir i.e. Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb corresponding to A.H. 1087 (1676-77 CE). The inscription also recorded that in the year A.H. 1207 (1792-93 CE), the mosque was repaired with sahan, etc. The photograph of this stone inscription was recorded in ASI records in the year 1965-66," it stated.

"During the recent survey, this stone with inscription was recovered from a room in the mosque. However, the lines relating to construction of the mosque and its expansion have been scratched out," it stated.

"This is also brought out by the biography of Emperor Aurangzeb, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, which mentions that Aurangzeb issued orders to the governors of all provinces to demolish the infidels' and temples of the infidels' (Jadunath Sarkar tr 1947, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp 51-52). On

"A pillar decorated with bells, niches for keeping lamps on all four sides, and bearing an inscription of Samvat 1669 (corresponding to 1613 CE, January 1, Friday)

September 2, 1669; 'it was reported that, according to the Emperor's command his officers had demolished the temple of Vishwanath at Kashi' (Jadunath Sarkar tr, 1947 Maasir-i-Alamgiri 55)," it stated.

The ASI said that "during the survey, a number of inscriptions were noticed on the existing and pre-existing structures. A total of 34 inscriptions were recorded during the present survey and 32 stamperies were taken".

"These", it said "are, in fact, inscriptions on the stones of the pre-existing Hindu temples, which have been re-used during the construction/ repair of the existing structure. They include inscriptions in Devanagari, Grantha, Telugu and Kannada scripts. Reuse of earlier inscriptions in the structure, suggest that the earlier structures were destroyed and their parts were reused in construction/ repair of the existing structure".

The report pointed out that "three names of deities such as Janardhana, Rudra, and Umesvara are found in these inscriptions. Terms such as Maha-mukutmandapa mentioned in three inscriptions are of great significance".

Under the headline "pillars and pilasters", the report stated, "The pillars and pilasters used in

the existing structure were studied systematically and scientifically. For the enlargement of the mosque and constructing sahan, parts of the pre-existing temple including pillars and pilasters were reused with little modifications. Minute studies of the pillars and pilasters in the corridor suggest that they were originally part of the pre-existing Hindu temple. For their reuse, in the existing structure, Vyalas figures carved on either side of lotus medallion were mutilated and after removing the stone mass from the corners that space was decorated with floral design. This observation is supported by two similar pilasters still existing on the northern and southern wall of the western chamber in their original place." The report stated that "all the objects which were noticed during the scientific survey in the complex were duly noted".

"These objects include inscriptions, sculptures, coins, architectural fragments, pottery, and objects of terracotta, stone, metal and glass. Objects that required first aid treatment were treated at the site," it stated. These objects were then handed over to the district administration in compliance with the court order, the report stated.

On the eve of the consecration ceremony, the President had also penned a note to the Prime Minister, calling the event an uninhibited expression of the eternal soul of India. "We are fortunate to witness the commencement of a new cycle in the resurgence of our nation," she had said.

In her televised address on Thursday evening, Murmu said her heart was filled with pride at seeing "how far we have travelled despite adversities". "The 75th year of the Republic is truly a his-

• Ram temple landmark in India history: President on R-Day eve

consecration ceremony of the idol of Prabhu Shri Ram in the glorious new temple constructed at his birthplace in Ayodhya.. When this event will be seen in the wider perspective, the future historians will consider it a landmark in India's continued re-discovery of its civilisational heritage."

"The construction of the temple commenced after the due judicial process and the decision of the highest court of the land... Now it stands as a grand edifice, giving a befitting expression not only of people's faith but also as a testament to people's enormous trust in the judicial process," she said.

On Wednesday, the Union Cabinet had adopted a resolution congratulating Prime Minister Narendra Modi on the consecration ceremony, stating that while "the body of the country attained independence in 1947, the Pran Pratishtha of its soul was done on January 22, 2024," and "everyone experienced spiritual bliss". The resolution said Modi had fulfilled a dream that "Indian civilisation had dreamt for five centuries".

On the eve of the consecration ceremony, the President had also penned a note to the Prime Minister, calling the event an uninhibited expression of the eternal soul of India. "We are fortunate to witness the commencement of a new cycle in the resurgence of our nation," she had said.

In her televised address on Thursday evening, Murmu said her heart was filled with pride at seeing "how far we have travelled despite adversities". "The 75th year of the Republic is truly a his-

toric milestone in the journey of the nation in many ways. This is an especially festive occasion, just as we celebrated the unique greatness and diverse culture of our nation during the Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav, when we completed 75 years of Independence," she said. "Tomorrow is the day when we celebrate the commencement of the Constitution. Its Preamble begins with the words 'We, the People of India', highlighting the theme of the document, namely, democracy. In India, democratic system is much older than the concept of western democracy. That is the reason why India is called the 'mother of democracy,' she said.

The President also made a mention of several landmark events over the last one year, including the G20 Summit, Chandrayaan landing on the Moon and passage of the women's Bill. "The G20 Summit also boosted India's emergence as the voice of the Global South, adding a necessary element to the international discourse," she said.

On the women's reservation Bill, she said: "When more women will be involved in matters of collective importance, our administrative priorities will be more in tune with the needs of the masses." And on India's space achievements, she mentioned the proposed Gaganyaan mission, the country's first manned space flight. "We have always been proud of our scientists and technology experts, but now they are aiming far higher than before and delivering too," she said.

"The period of Amrit Kaal is also going to be the period of unprecedented technological changes. Technological advances like Artificial Intelligence and ma-

chine learning have moved from headlines into our daily lives at a breathtaking speed. There are numerous areas of concern in the foreseeable future, but there are also exciting opportunities ahead, especially for the youth. They are exploring new frontiers. We need to do all we can to remove hurdles from their path and let them unleash their full potential. What they want is equality of opportunity. What they want is not the same old rhetoric of equality, but the realisation of our cherished ideal of equality," she said.

"India is moving ahead with confidence, which comes from and is also reflected by the robust health of the economy. Our GDP growth rate has remained the highest among major economies in recent years, and we have all reasons to believe that this extraordinary performance will continue in the year 2024 and beyond," she said.

The President also spoke about the Centre's welfare schemes. "The government has not only expanded and enhanced the welfare schemes, but has also redefined the idea of welfare itself. It will be a proud day for us all when India becomes one of those few countries where homelessness is a rarity," she said. Towards the end of her speech, Murmu mentioned the "conflicts that have emerged around the world and how several parts of it have been suffering from violence". In this regard, she recalled how India has shown that non-violence "is not just an ideal that may be difficult to achieve" but "a lived reality for many" -- from Mahavir to Mahatma Gandhi.

• The test ahead: Law on places of worship, and the challenge it faces

Supreme Court had in May 2002 observed that "finding the nature of the religious place" is not barred under the 1991 law. "...the ascertainment of a religious character of a place, as a processual instrument, may not necessarily fall foul of the provisions of Sections 3 and 4 (of the Act)..." it had said.

Essentially, this ascertainment is limited to 1947 and not prior to the construction of the mosque itself. The Supreme Court is, however, yet to hear final arguments to decide whether the 1991 Act bars even the filing of such a plea. So far, only oral observations have formed the basis of this argument

but the Court is yet to conclusively rule on the issue.

Separately, a constitutional challenge to the 1991 Act is also pending in the Supreme Court. It had in 2019 indicated the case could be referred to a larger constitution bench. However, the Centre is yet to file a response in the case.

Though the voluminous Archaeological Survey of India report submitted to the Varanasi court, and to both the parties to the dispute now, suggests "there existed a Hindu temple prior" to the Gyanvapi mosque, it would be considered expert evidence that

could be contested in Court.

Essentially, Courts will have to determine first whether the ASI report can be relied upon conclusively and then what does the existence of a Hindu temple mean to the religious character of the mosque on August 15, 1947.

A similar ASI report in 2003 was cited in the Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhoomi suit. While pronouncing its order in November 2019, the Supreme Court had rejected the ASI report as inconclusive.

The report concludes on the basis of the architectural fragments found at the site and the

nature of the structure that it was of a Hindu religious origin. The report rejects the possibility (urged by the Sunni Central Waqf Board) of the underlying structure being of Islamic origin. But the ASI report has left unanswered a critical part of the remit which was made to it, namely, a determination of whether a Hindu temple had been demolished to pave way for the construction of the mosque. ASI's inability to render a specific finding on this facet is certainly a significant evidentiary circumstance which must be borne in mind when the cumulative impact of the entire evidence is considered in the final analysis," the Supreme Court had said in its Ayodhya judgement.

With the HAM(S) already with the BJP, the two together with the JD(U) can easily replace the current Mahagathbandhan government. While tension within the Mahagathbandhan has been

growing for a while, the speculation became stronger after Nitish Kumar Wednesday appeared to target dynastic rule while paying homage to Kapoori Thakur at his centenary celebrations.

Though Nitish did not name anyone, his comments on Thakur not favouring his family unlike some today were seen, by RJD, as a swipe at its leaders Lalu Prasad and Tejashwi Yadav. The Kapoori Thakur link was particularly touchy as the BJP government, just days ago awarded him the Bharat Ratna.

Then on Thursday morning came the news that Nitish would not attend the January 30 Purnia

Congress. In Bihar, the Congress is demanding eight seats... The ideal thing for forging an INDIA bloc should have been a decision on seat-sharing first – something Nitish Kumar had been stressing on since the outset. Sources in the BJP said that talks between the two sides had been on for the last few days. "But the condition from the BJP state unit was that Nitish should not insist on continuing as CM. However, our top leadership is conscious of what it is doing," a senior leader from the Bihar BJP said.

A senior BJP leader in the know of Bihar affairs said the party had been working on two fronts – the JD(U) crossing over and the BJP getting the CM post; or a split in the JD(U) if it didn't agree on a BJP CM. As per the leader, the BJP wanted Nitish to agree to move to the Centre with the promise of a plum post. However, other leaders said that the BJP is unlikely to insist on the CM post, at least until the Lok Sabha elections.

According to BJP leaders, JD(U) and RJD relations have virtually hit a point of no return, with Nitish unhappy over the RJD refusing to even let it have the 16 Lok Sabha seats it currently holds. In the meetings they held separately Thursday, the RJD and JD(U) told their MLAs to stick in and around Patna. Sources said Bihar Governor R V Arlekar had also been asked to stay put in Patna for the coming few days.

In Delhi, where the Bihar issue reportedly came up for discussions, top BJP leaders Amit Shah and JPNadda were present along with former Bihar Deputy CM Sushil Kumar Modi and Samrat Choudhary. Asked about Nitish changing sides, Sushil Modi said: "We have no information... Whether in 2017 (when Nitish joined hands with the BJP last time) or now, common BJP workers have been against an alliance with Nitish. But if Central leaders take any decision, we will go by it."

The senior JD(U) leader added: "West Bengal CM Mamata Banerjee has unilaterally decided to contest alone, Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal is also not conceding desired seats to the

only say that things do not look good in the INDIA bloc, thanks to the Congress's high-handedness and obstinacy. The Congress is not willing to cede ground to regional parties where it is strong, and is demanding seats where the regional parties are stronger than it."

The senior JD(U) leader added: "West Bengal CM Mamata Banerjee has unilaterally decided to contest alone, Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal is also not conceding desired seats to the

— WITH INPUTS FROM SHUBHANGI KHAPRE, MUMBAI

• Padma awards

government had announced the Bharat Ratna award for former Bihar Chief Minister Kapoori Thakur (posthumous). This year, four of the five Padma Vibhushan awardees are from Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu – two states where the BJP is looking to expand its base.

The award to Chiranjeevi, who received the Padma Bhushan in 2006 under the UPA government, is significant. The actor, who floated the Praja Rajya Party only to merge it with the Congress, has stayed away from active politics for at least five years now. His brother, Pawan Kalyan of the Jana Sena Party, has been in talks with the BJP.

Naidu has been a veteran leader of the BJP and served as a Union Minister in the Narendra Modi government before being chosen for the Vice President's post.

Vijayantimala Bali, the veter-

सभी प्रदेशवासियों को गणतंत्र दिवस

की हार्दिक शुभकामनाएं



किसी भी आपात स्थिति में
फोन उठाएं 112 मिलाएं



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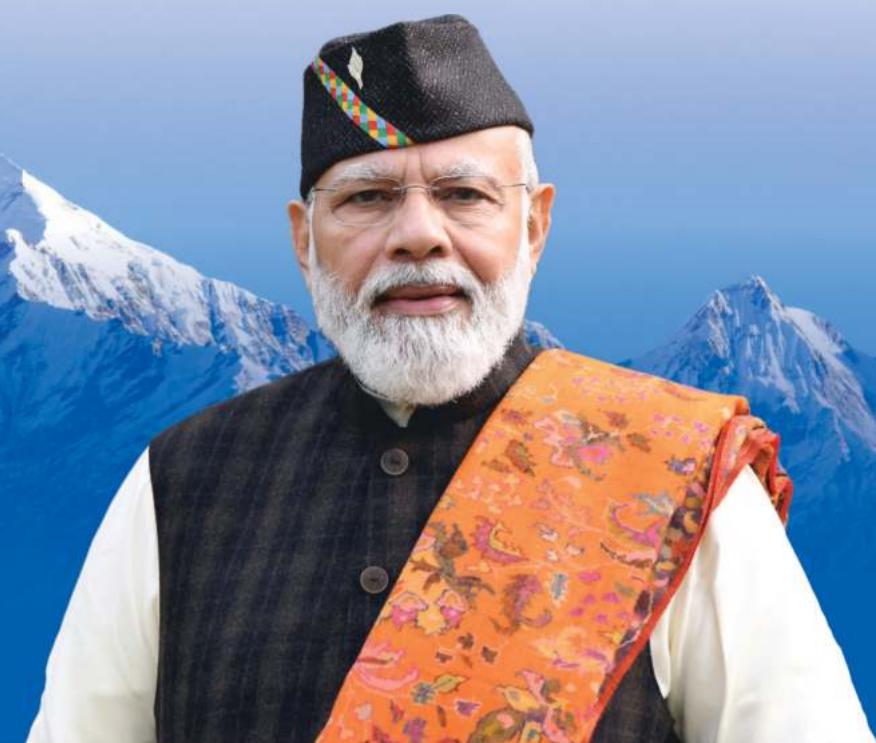
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गणतंत्र दिवस की



माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी ने 21वीं सदी के तीसरे दशक को उत्तराखण्ड का दशक कहा है। हम प्रधानमंत्री जी के विजन के अनुरूप राज्य को हर क्षेत्र में आदर्श राज्य बनाने के लिये विकल्प दृष्टि संकल्प के साथ काम कर रहे हैं।

पुष्ट किंवद्ध धारी मुख्यमंत्री, उत्तराखण्ड

हार्दिक शुभकामनाएँ



केदरनाथ बद्रीनाथ धाम में 1300 करोड़ रुपये के पुनर्निर्माण/पुनर्विकास कार्य, चारधाम यात्रा के दौरान रिकार्ड 55 लाख से अधिक श्रद्धालुओं ने किये दर्शन।



मानसरोवर मंदिर माला भित्ति।



पर्यटन मंत्रालय भारत सरकार द्वारा उत्तराखण्ड को बेस्ट एडवेंचर ट्रूटिंज डेस्टिनेशन का अवार्ड।



रेल कनेक्टिविटी : क्रांतिकारी-कर्णप्रियाग रेल परियोजना, वन्देभारत एक्सप्रेस ट्रेन, टनकपुर बांगेश्वर रेल लाइन।



4000 से अधिक होम-स्टेट विकसित, 16 ईको फूटिंज डेस्टिनेशन का विकास।



मुख्यमंत्री सशक्त बढ़ना उत्सव योजना के तहत महिला समूहों द्वारा निर्मित उत्पादों को प्रोत्साहन।



रोड कनेक्टिविटी : चारधाम ऑल वेदर रोड, दिल्ली-देहरादून एलिवेटेड रोड व अन्य राष्ट्रीय राजमार्गों का विकास।



रोप-वे कनेक्टिविटी : पर्वतमाला परियोजना, गौरीकुण्ड-केदारनाथ रोप-वे कनेक्टिविटी, गोविन्द घाट-हेमकुण्ड, सुरकण्डा देवी रोप-वे।



जमగानी बांध परियोजना को केन्द्रीय कैबिनेट की आर्थिक मामलों की कमीटी ने दी मंजूरी।



ग्लोबल इन्वेस्टर समिट 2023 के लिये 3.5 लाख करोड़ रुपये से अधिक के एमओयू।



स्ट्रेट मिलेट भित्ति में स्थानीय कृषकों से झांगोरा, मंडुवा, सोयाबीन एवं चौलाई का उचित मूल्य पर क्रय।



राजकीय विद्यालयों के साथ राजकीय सहायता प्राप्त (अथासकीय) विद्यालयों में कक्षा 1 से 12 तक के छात्र-छात्राओं को निश्चिल पाठ्य पुस्तकें।



2 हजार करोड़ रुपये की लागत से ठिक्की लेक डेवलपमेंट।



भित्ति एप्पल के तहत राज्य में सेब के 500 बगीचों की स्थापना का लक्ष्य है। भित्ति एप्पल का बजट दुगुना।



राज्य में सोलर पॉवर उत्पादन को प्रोत्साहित करने हेतु नई सौर ऊर्जा नीति लागू।



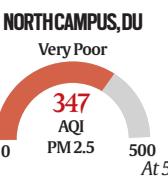
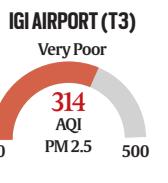
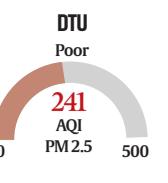
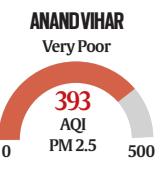
अन्त्योदय निःशुल्क गैस रिफिल योजना के तहत वर्ष में 3 गैस सिलैण्डर रिफिल मुफ्त।

- देश का सबसे कठोर नकल विरोधी कानून।
- लखपति दीदी योजना के तहत 1.25 लाख महिलाओं को लखपति बनाने का लक्ष्य।
- पलायन रोकने तथा रिवर्स पलायन को बढ़ावा देने हेतु “मुख्यमंत्री सीमान्त क्षेत्र विकास योजना”।
- मुख्यमंत्री महालक्ष्मी योजना व मुख्यमंत्री आंचल अमृत योजना।
- भित्ति दालचीनी, भित्ति तिमठ, एटोमा पार्क व एटोमा वैली।

- राज्य में शहीद सैनिकों के परिवारों के एक सदस्य को रोजगार तथा विशिष्ट सेवा मेडल अवार्ड गणी में बढ़ोत्तरी।
- राज्य की महिलाओं को सटकारी नौकरी में 30 प्रतिशत क्षेत्रिक आरक्षण।
- दीनदयाल उपाध्याय सहकारिता किसान कल्याण योजना के अन्तर्गत किसानों को 3 लाख और द्वयं सहायता ममूहों को ₹ 5 लाख तक की धनराशि का व्याज दृष्टि क्रय।

- हॉटिंगल्चर को बढ़ावा देने के लिए 50 हजार पॉलीहाउस का बजट प्रावधान।
- राज्य के युवाओं के लिए “विदेश रोजगार प्रकोष्ठ का गठन”।
- समान नागरिक संस्थान के लिये प्रभावी पहल।
- अटल आयुष्मान योजना में 5 लाख रुपये तक का निश्चिल डिलाइ।





S K Y W A T C H
FORECAST: January 26
Partly cloudy/sky. Moderate
to dense fog in the morning.
Cold day at isolated places
AQI: Very poor
MAX: 20 °C below normal | MIN: 06 °C
2.1°C below normal | 2.4°C below normal

BRIEFLY

Expect cold,
foggy R-Day
morning: IMD

New Delhi: Republic Day celebrations in Delhi are expected to have a cold and foggy start, as per the forecast issued by the India Meteorological Department, but things may clear out when it is time for the much-awaited flypast. According to IMD officials, a cold day is expected in the city on Friday, with the minimum temperature expected to be around 6 degrees Celsius. The maximum is expected to be 20 degrees Celsius. "Moderate to dense fog is expected in the morning till around 8.30 am," an IMD official said. ENS

10 members
of Gogi gang
held: Police

New Delhi: Ten people, including two juveniles and a woman, belonging to the 'Gogi gang' were apprehended for allegedly running an extortion racket here, police said on Thursday. Police said they had recently fired at the house of a businessman in Wazirabad and demanded Rs 50 lakh as extortion money from him. PTI

BELIEVE IN SYSTEM WHERE ALL ARE EQUAL: KEJRIWAL

CM: Inspired by Ram Rajya, AAP govt works on its 10 principles

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

AFTER ORGANISING a citywide commemoration of the Ram Mandir Pran Pratishtha ceremony, Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal likened the Aam Aadmi Party's (AAP) eight-year rule in the capital to 'Ram Rajya' in his Republic Day address on Thursday.

Stating that his government was inspired by the concept, Kejriwal said it had sought to work on 10 principles of Ram Rajya — ranging from free ration to the poor and shelter to the homeless to free electricity, water, education, health, bus travel for women and pilgrimages to the elderly. "We believe in establishing a governance system where everyone has equal rights and opportunities, and everyone lives with love towards each other," Kejriwal said on the eve of Republic Day celebrations at the Chhatrasal Stadium.

"On 22nd January this year, Shri Ram Lalla was consecrated in Ayodhya, and this is a moment of pride for the country and the world. On one hand, we ought to worship Lord Shri 'Ram Chandra', on the other we should take inspiration from his life... it teaches us lessons of love and sacrifice," Kejriwal said.

Recalling episodes from Lord Ram's life and quoting couplets from religious texts dedicated to



Arvind Kejriwal during the Republic Day function in New Delhi, Thursday. Amit Mehra

him, Kejriwal underlined how he willingly chose exile over governing his kingdom out of a sense of sacrifice.

His era, the Chief Minister said, defined as 'Ram Rajya', was the one underlined by happiness, peace and prosperity, which also finds mention in the Ramayana. "In Ram Rajya no one suffers from physical, or spiritual pains, and everyone lives in harmony abiding by their 'dharma' (duties)... Today we are drawing inspiration from the concept of 'Ram Rajya' to run our government... we have formulated it on the 10-point principles," he said.

Recalling episodes from Lord Ram's life and quoting couplets from religious texts dedicated to

The AAP-Delhi government, Kejriwal said, sought to ensure that no one should die of hunger, which it was ensuring through free ration to the poor and night shelters for the homeless. "I'm not claiming that we have attained 100% of our goals, but we're trying... children of the poor get the best education in Delhi. They are getting equal education, now rich people are withdrawing their children from private schools and getting them admitted in Delhi's government schools," he said.

"If you are a doctor or a sanitation worker, you must work hard, honestly, patriotically, work for the society and at the same time worship Lord Ram. I have full faith that if we follow the path shown by Lord Ram, then no power can stop India from becoming the number one country in the world," he said.

Free power, water, pilgrimages for the elderly in addition to enhanced pension for them, the

CM said, were all components of 'Ram Rajya'. "We take elderly people on pilgrimage... we will try to take as many trains as possible to Ayodhya," he said, adding that there had been many requests for it following the consecration ceremony earlier this week.

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"Papa was going to be a sub-inspector. His name had come in the list. We were all very excited. My younger sister had also cleared her pre-exam. However, his death changed everything. He was the sole breadwinner. Now, we are all trying to help the family. The government has

Hard to fill the void he left behind, says family of ASI set to receive gallantry award

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

"HE HAS left behind a void which we have been trying to fill but can't. The past year has been very difficult..."

Gayatri, a student at Deen Dayal Upadhyaya College, wells up as she remembers her father, assistant sub-inspector (ASI) Shambhu Dayal, who died on duty last year.

On January 26, he will be posthumously awarded the President's medal for gallantry.

Narrating the difficulties her family faced after Dayal's death, Gayatri said, "My sister couldn't clear her police exams due to the stress and my younger brother, Deepak, was suddenly inducted into the police. We are still scared that he might be unsafe. I am very thankful to the department but I miss papa every day."

On January 4 last year, Dayal was taking a snatching case accused to the police station when the man stabbed him 13 times. The incident was captured on CCTV camera. Dayal's family said he was brutally injured and couldn't survive the attack.

"Papa was going to be a sub-inspector. His name had come in the list. We were all very excited. My younger sister had also cleared her pre-exam. However, his death changed everything. He was the sole breadwinner. Now, we are all trying to help the family. The government has



Dayal was killed by a snatching case accused

been kind to compensate us and give my brother the same post my father got," said Gayatri.

While Gayatri is pursuing a nursing course, Deepak is busy with training at the Delhi Police training center. Their sister is also preparing for certain entrance exams.

The family, which hails from Rajasthan, said Dayal was a progressive man who wanted all his kids to do well in life. "We would hear his tales of bravery and policing and get excited. He was a caring father. He wanted me to join the medical field," said Gayatri. Deepak, now a sub-inspector, said he is "proud" of his father and "works day and night" to prove himself.

29 police personnel to be feted

A total of 29 personnel of Delhi Police will be conferred with Police Medals for Gallantry, President's Police Medal for

Distinguished Service, and Police Medal for Meritorious Service on the occasion of Republic Day.

The other officers to be conferred with the Police Medal for Gallantry are ACP Rahul Vikram, Inspector Manmeet Malik, Inspector Vikram Dahiya, Inspector Vinay Pal, Inspector Vikram Sangwan, sub Inspector Mohd Akmal Khan, ASI Rajeev Kumar and Head Constable Sikandar Khan. On September 27, 2023, Inspector Manmeet Malik and ASI Rajeev Kumar managed to nab a sharpshooter, Kulwant Dalal, of Gogi gang following a brief exchange of fire.

On October 19, 2023, ACP Rahul Vikram and Inspector Vikram Dahiya managed to nab Lawrence Bishnoi gang member Deepak Kumar who had fled from the custody of Punjab Police. ACP Lalit Mohan Negi, ACP Hridaya Bhushan and SI Ishwar Singh will be awarded the President's Medal of Distinguished Service.

DCP Manishi Chandra, DCP Vinit Kumar, ACP Arvind Kumar, ACP Brahmjeet Singh, ACP Ranvir Singh, ACP Kusum Sharma, ACP Meeenaxi, Inspector Ashok Kumar, Inspector Khurshed Ali, Inspector Lakhan Singh, Inspector Rajeev Srivastava, Inspector Narendra Singh, Inspector Vinod Kumar Gaur, SI (retired) P Lalji, SI Rakesh Kumar Sharma, ASI Bharat Singh and ASI Iqbal Singh will get the Medal for Meritorious Services.

Taking cue from *Ladies vs Ricky Bahl*, man cons women during train, bus journeys, arrested

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

EARLIER THIS month, on January 9, a woman named Rashmi boarded a bus from Dehradun to Delhi. A man sitting next to her struck up a conversation with her, impressing her with his glib talk, offering to help her find a job in Delhi Cantt. He offered her a few sweets and snack items that she readily accepted. A few hours later, she found out that all her gold jewellery was stolen. What's more, he also made her transfer Rs 23,000 to his account through UPI when she was not fully in her senses. Turns out, the food the man, Ankit Choudhary, had offered the woman were laced with sedatives.

Following a complaint by the woman, the man was arrested Monday. Delhi Police found out that Choudhary, 30, was inspired by *Ladies vs Ricky Bahl*, a 2011 Bollywood film depicting the life of a conman targeting women. During questioning, the accused told police he had targeted at least 10 women in the last two years on the pretext of job or marriage.

Buses and trains would be his preferred hunting grounds where he would target women, charming them with his style of talking and impressing them with fake job titles and profile, said police.

Confirming Rashmi's case, a police official said, "During the

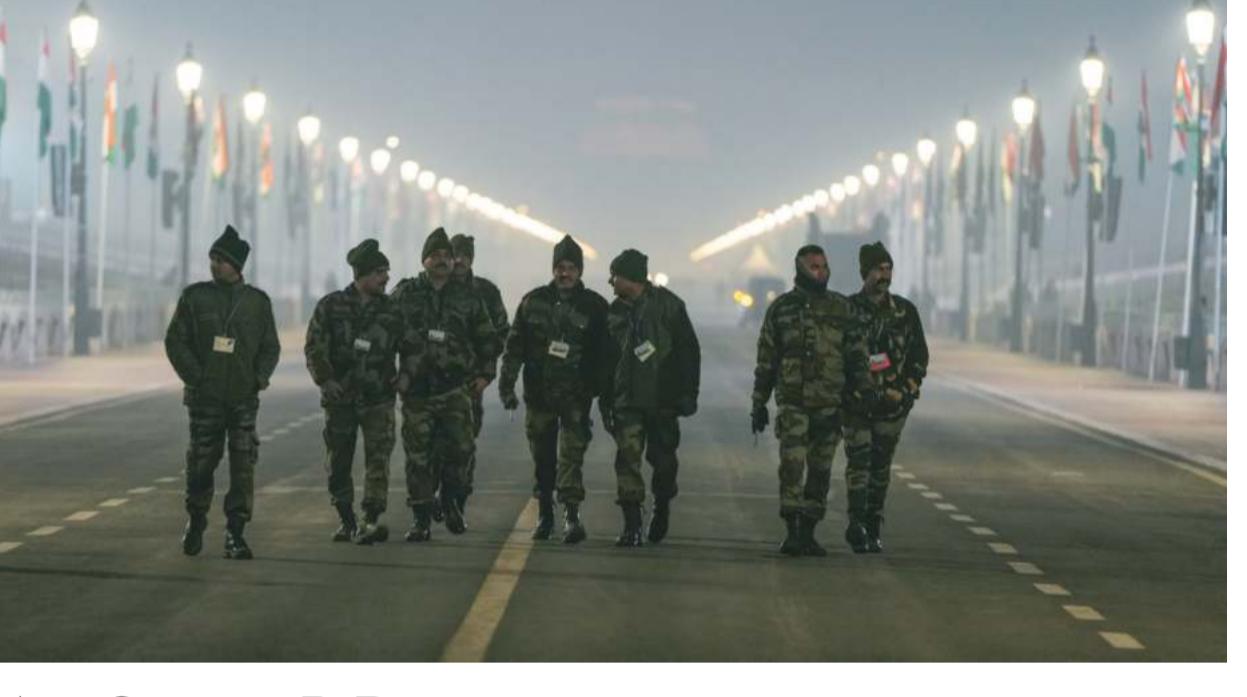
bus journey, he stole all her gold jewellery. He also made her transfer money through UPI when she was not in her senses."

DCP (Southwest) Rohit Meena said a team followed the route of the bus from Noida and checked multiple hotels and taxis. "Technical surveillance was done and informers were deployed. We were told the accused would be coming to Kashmira Gate Bus Terminal. The team apprehended him before he could flee," he said.

The accused is a resident of Saharanpur, police said. Police said they found a necklace, and several rings, earrings and other gold articles in his bag. Many of these items belonged to the complainant. Police said they also traced the cheated money and recovered tablets of Alprazolam drug from his possession. Police said that Choudhary would sedate women using Alprazolam tablets.

During questioning, Choudhary admitted he would mainly target women in buses or trains, said police. "He was inspired by *Ladies vs Ricky Bahl*. He cheated them on the pretext of a job or marriage. He earlier used to work as a conductor/helper with truck drivers. He was caught last year from Bareilly in a similar case but got out on bail," said the DCP.

Officials said that Choudhary had disclosed his involvement in at least 10 similar cases.



ALL SET FOR R-DAY

Security personnel keep a vigil at the Kartavya Path on the eve of Republic Day, in New Delhi, Thursday, PTI

Special guests: 800 tribal persons from across states

SAMAN HUSAIN
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

NEARLY 800 guests from different tribal communities have arrived at the national capital to witness the Republic Day festivities. Two sets of tribal community guests have been invited this year: 663 special guests, which comprises tribal students and teachers, and 130 guests who visit every year.

On Thursday, the Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) took 100 such special guests on a Metro tour. The delegates travelled from INA to Patel Chowk

tribal representatives, one male and one female, from different communities across states and Union Territories. These guests are invited by the ministry of Tribal Affairs every year. Besides witnessing the Republic Day Parade in the capital, these guests meet the President and Prime Minister every year.

Meanwhile, the other special guests include 589 student beneficiaries of a pre-matric scholarship scheme for Scheduled

Metro station on Yellow Line to get a first-hand experience of the Metro system followed by a visit to the Metro Museum situated at Patel Chowk station. "DMRC feels privileged to provide an enriching Metro experience to these special guests while promoting inclusivity and cultural exchange," the DMRC said in its statement to the press.

Tribe (ST) students. As many as 74 teachers who accompanied them as caretakers are also a part of the special guest list.

The special guests were taken to attend an event at the PMO house Wednesday.

A visit to the Humayun's Tomb and Qutub Minar was arranged by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs on Thursday.

On Friday, they will be hosted at the Minister of Tribal Affairs, Arjun Munda's, house in the evening, according to sources from the ministry.

FROM MP'S CHANDERI TO KERALA'S KASAVU: 1,900 VARIETIES TO BE ON DISPLAY DURING PARADE

The thread that counts: This R-Day, the sarees that drape India come to life

UDBHAV SETH
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

AMIDST THE tableau of various states and ministries that would participate in the Republic Day parade this year will be an exhibition of sarees, textiles and embroidery from around India. Titled 'Anant Sutra – The Endless Thread', the exhibition along the Kartavya Path on Friday will feature nearly 1,900 drapes mounted on wooden frames.

Costume designer and exhibition curator Sandhya Raman says, "This exhibition is about the thread that binds us, bridges us across distances, and that women carry on from genera-

tion to generation. The saree has two borders, representing you and me, and a pallu, which represents how we come together to become one. That is the beauty of this garment and country. It is timeless."

She adds, "This exhibition is about the thousands of weavers I work with across India. I have a panel on styles and techniques from every state and Union Territory, from Uttar Pradesh's Banarsi, to Manipur's Moirang Phee, to Odisha's Bomkai, to Kerala's Kasavu, to Madhya Pradesh's Chanderi, to Rajasthan's Leheriya, to Kashmir's Kashida."

One of the artisans whose work will be on display at the exhibition is Zahin Qureshi, a



Artisans work on sarees of different weaves that will be on display at the exhibition. Ministry of Culture



weaver from Chanderi, Madhya Pradesh, who has been involved in the handloom business since he was a child. From the fourth generation of a family of weavers, Qureshi works with nearly 50 people in his village, all of whom weave these sarees from their homes and market to many states and Union Territories (UTs) including Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Maharashtra. "I feel proud that my handicraft will be displayed at the exhibition," he says.

Hitesh Vankar, a weaver from Kachchh, Gujarat, works with 15 families – including 15 men and 22 women – to make stoles, sarees, dupattas and shawls. The saree, Bhujodi, is sold all over India. "It feels good

to know that my work will be displayed at the Republic Day parade," he says.

Nirmala Mudenur, a weaver from Ballari, Karnataka, started her handicraft business with just one woman in 2017, and has since grown her business to hire 150 people. She makes many items, including the Lambani saree, in a workshop. The products were first marketed through Facebook, but soon, a website (soojidaara.in) and Instagram handle were made to facilitate online sales. "I'm just surprised to know that these sarees will be displayed at the parade, maybe they found out about my work from a nearby exhibition in Kaladham," she says.



GOVERNMENT OF
ARUNACHAL PRADESH

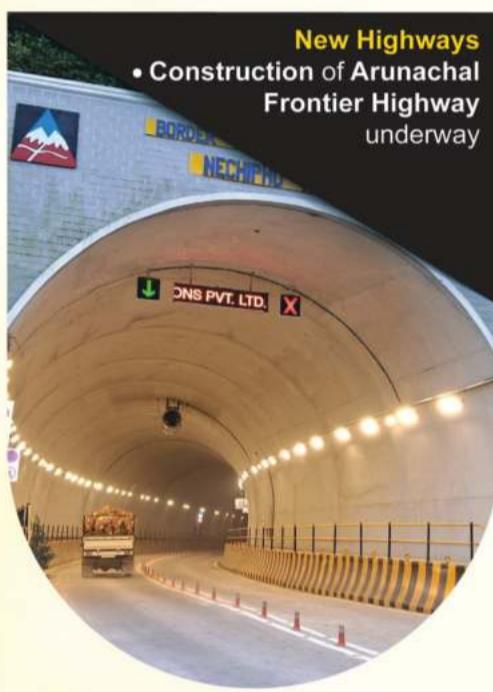
Celebrating
75th

26 January 2024

Republic Day



Towards Viksit Arunachal Pradesh



Nechiphu tunnel inaugurated

- Women Empowerment**
- 85,000 women mobilized into 9,301 SHGs, 851 PLFs and 27 model CLFs
 - ₹ 1,00,000 Fixed Deposit each in bank accounts of 500 SHGs;
 - ₹ 33 crore bank credit to SHGs
 - ₹ 25,000 Fixed Deposit each in accounts of 8,371 girl children
 - ₹ 10,000 Fixed Deposit in bank account of girl children, payable after passing Class XII examination
 - Top up of ₹ 3000 in honorarium to 6225 Anganwadi workers and 6225 Anganwadi helpers

Health

- Arunachal amongst best health human resourced states
- ₹ 450 crore for upgradation of 18 District Hospitals
- 1st Medical College started at TRIHMS; 1st MBBS batch passed out with 100% results
- 1,79,000+ families provided ₹ 5,00,000 cashless health insurance under CMAAY and AB PM-JAY; 25,000+ patients treated with spending of ₹ 39 crore
 - Medicine from the Sky - Drones delivering vaccines and medicines to distant places
- ₹ 3,000 enhancement in monthly honorarium of ASHA workers

Environment Sustainability

- Pakke Declaration with 75 Strategies under Panch Dharas
- 2,400 arms surrendered under Airgun Surrender Abhiyan

Climate Targeted Budgeting

Border Areas

- Vibrant Villages Programme with an investment of ₹ 1,354 crore for development of 455 villages
- ₹ 2205.19 crore for construction of 1022.36 km of roads under Vibrant Villages Programme
 - ₹ 50.45 crore Border Village Illumination Phase-I

- Road Connectivity**
- 9x increase in pace of road construction
 - 64% increase in road length
 - 195 bridges built in 7 years
 - Vijoynagar and Tali connected for first time since Independence
 - 138% increase in National Highway network

- Hydropower**
- 213% increase in installed hydropower capacity
 - Construction of 2,880 MW Dibang Multipurpose Project started - ₹ 31,876 crore
 - 11,523 MW 12 Mega Hydro Projects rejuvenated with investment of ₹ 1.4 lakh crore

₹ 44,000 Cr for new 2,574 km National Highways

- Education**
- ₹ 1,000 crore investment under Mission Shiksha
 - 50 Golden Jubilee Schools with outlay of ₹ 500 crore
 - 12 Eklavya Model Residential Schools setup
 - 2.3% school dropout, much below national average
 - Books on local folk tales
 - Sainik Schools at East Siang and Tawang operational
 - New Arunachal Pradesh State University setup

- Agriculture and Allied Sectors**
- ₹ 400 crore for Atmanirbhar Arunachal benefiting 20,000 farmers and SHGs
 - ₹ 142.67 crore DBT to 99,656 farmers under PM Kisan Samman Nidhi
 - 1,08,262 farmers provided PM Soil Health Cards
 - 96,492 Kisan Credit Cards issued
 - 50 FPOs in 22 districts under Chief Minister's Krishi Samuh Yojana
 - 85 Van Dhan Vikas Kendras set up with 30,000 members
- 1st in Kiwi production in India; 1st to obtain Organic Certification of Kiwi

- e-Governance**
- 22 new citizen-centric initiatives

- Awards**
- Most Proactive State Award under RCS-UDAN Priority Areas
 - Top performer in developing a strong startup ecosystem in the States' Startup Ranking-2022
 - Best Emerging Destination for Adventure Tourism award at ATOAI 15th Annual Convention

- Civil Aviation**
- Pasighat, Tezu and Ziro airfields connected through civil commercial operations
 - ₹ 170 crore new Terminal Building of Tezu Airport inaugurated
 - 8 ALGs and 25 helipads operational

- Surface Transport**
- Naharlagun Railway Station connected to Guwahati, New Delhi and Tinsukia
 - APST fleet upgraded to 387 buses (including Volvo & BharatBenz buses)
 - New Inter State Bus Terminal started

- Telecom**
- 2,401 villages connected with 4G services
 - 1,247 VSATs for connectivity to all girl schools, police stations and PHCs
 - 18 District HQs connected through State Wide Area Network

- Electrification**
- 100% rural electrification across 5,311 villages
 - 20,000 solar streetlights in District Headquarters, Circle Headquarters and Villages



Greenfield Donyi Polo Airport has received all-weather licence

- Indigenous Affairs**
- New Department of Indigenous Affairs established
 - 3 Indigenous Gurukul schools set up
 - Documentation of cultural heritage of 14 tribes
 - ₹ 1,000 honorarium per month to more than 3,000 indigenous priests
 - 50 Indigenous Prayer Centres

Geographical Indication (GI) tags for 20 indigenous products

Adi Kiker, Handmade Carpet, Wancho Wooden Craft, Khaw Tai, Yak Churpi, Arunachal Orange, Monpa handmade paper, Singpho Phalap, Adi Apong, Dao, Angnyat Millet, Marua Apo and Textiles of Tangsa, Apatani, Monpa, Nyishi, Adi, Galo, Tai Khamti and Idu-Mishmi tribes

- Sports and Youth**
- 375 Gold, 259 Silver and 266 Bronze medals won since 2016
 - State Sports Academy at Miao, Changlang

JAI HIND, JAI ARUNACHAL



Satyamev Jayate
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

CENTRAL RESERVE POLICE FORCE

Peacekeepers of the Nation

SALUTE THE BRAVEHEARTS



MEDAL FOR GALLANTRY

66
GALLANTRY MEDALS
TO
CRPF
ON 75TH REPUBLIC DAY
2024

SHAURYA CHAKRA



**BIBHOR KUMAR SINGH
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**SHAHEED CONSTABLE
DHARM DEV KUMAR**



**SHAHEED CONSTABLE
SAKHAMURI
MURALIKRISHNA**



**SHAHEED CONSTABLE
ROUTHU JAGADISH**



**SHAHEED CONSTABLE
SAMAIYA MADVI**



**VINAY KUMAR
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**CONSTABLE
ALYAS AHMED**



**SUB. INSPECTOR
VIKASH YADAV**



**PRADEEP SINGH RATHI
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**WANJARI SUJIIT
BHASHKARRAO
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**HEAD CONSTABLE
MOHD HANIEF**



**CONSTABLE
MUDASSIR YOSUF
BHAT**



**CONSTABLE
SUKHLAL SINGH**



**CONSTABLE
MALOTHU RAMESH**



**CONSTABLE
KANHAIYA LAL**



**CONSTABLE
GOVIND KUMAR
PRAJAPATI**



**RAM GOPAL
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**CONSTABLE
CHANDRA SHEKHAR**



**AJAY SINGH PARMAR
SECOND-IN-COMMAND**



**CONSTABLE
JYOTI DAS**



**CONSTABLE
APURBA GOGOI**



**CONSTABLE
REYAZ AHMAD
KATERIA**



**CONSTABLE
GODRAJ SAINI**



**CONSTABLE
SAILENDRA KUMAR
CHAUHAN**



**CHANDAN KUMAR
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**HEAD CONSTABLE
AJAY KUMAR**



**CT (NOW HC)
ANIL KUMAR CHARK**



**CONSTABLE
HEIKHAM
PRIYONANDA SINGH**



**AKHAND PRATAP
SINGH
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**BHAJAN LAL
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**INSPECTOR
SUBHASH YADAV**



**CONSTABLE
RANJIT KISAN**



**CONSTABLE
RANU PRATAP SAHOO**



**CONSTABLE
PADAGALA MARIRAJU**



**SATENDRA SINGH
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**CONSTABLE
SANDIP MAHATA**



**CONSTABLE
GOPINATH BAR**



**TEJA RAM CHOUDHARY
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**HEAD CONSTABLE
KUSHAL KUMAR DAS**



**CONSTABLE
UTPAL HAJONG**



**ASSTT. SUB INSPECTOR
BRIJ LAL**



**ASI (NOW SI)
RAJESH KUMAR**



**CONSTABLE
RAHUL MELKANI**



**NARENDR YADAV
SECOND-IN-COMMAND**



**AMIT KUMAR
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**SI (NOW INSP)
ADITYA KUMAR**



**CONSTABLE
SAROJ KUMAR**



**CONSTABLE
KISHUN PAL SINGH
JADON**



**CT (NOW HC)
JANGLE SUNIL
NARAYAN**



**HARSHAVARDHAN
COMMANDANT**



**RAVINDER KUMAR
SECOND-IN-COMMAND**



**RAM KUNWAR JAT
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**CT (NOW HC)
IMTIAZ AHMED**



**CONSTABLE
HARVEER SINGH**



**IMSTITOSHI JAMIR
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**TULSI DAS
ASSTT. COMDT.**



**HEAD CONSTABLE
PURANDRA SINGH**



**CONSTABLE
RANA PAUL**



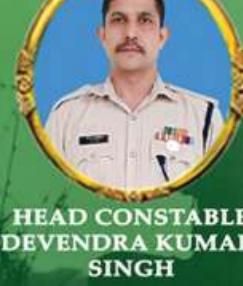
**CONSTABLE
CHAPPA APPALASWAMY**



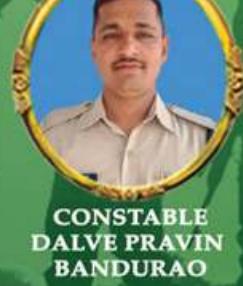
**CONSTABLE
GOVIND KUMAR
PRAJAPATI
GM (1st BAR)**



**ABHAY KUMAR SINGH
AC (NOW DY. COMDT.)**



**HEAD CONSTABLE
DEVENDRA KUMAR
SINGH**



**CONSTABLE
DALVE PRAVIN
BANDURAO**



**CONSTABLE
MALI ARUN SHRAWAN**



**HEAD CONSTABLE
JITENDRA KUMAR**



**HEAD CONSTABLE
SUKANTA PAL**

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The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

REPUBLIC RESTATED

Let January 26 be a reminder of continuity of the republic and primacy of the Constitution that binds it and keeps it honest

THREE TIMES in the life of a republic when it must pause and take stock of the arguments within, and rededicate itself to being its own best version. This Republic Day, the 75th, brings this moment. Today, there are impatient and contending ideas of what the nation is, what it can be. The dominant idea, which has been drawing support electorally, is an exhortation to break from the past, to create, almost, a second republic. One that relocates itself, in Prime Minister Narendra Modi's words, in the space that joins "dev" with "desh", "Ram" with "rashtra". The effusively worded Union Cabinet resolution Wednesday congratulating the Prime Minister on the consecration of the Ram temple at Ayodhya echoes this idea of a new era dawning and a nation reborn – while the "body" of the country attained independence in 1947, it says, "the *pran pratishtha* of its soul was done on January 22, 2024". In a country of the young that is increasingly turning its face to the world, this idea is sought to be articulated in encompassing terms, to fold in not just the past but also future technologies, not just heritage but also modernity, an updated infrastructure as well as more efficient welfare schemes. Republic Day comes as a reminder that any attempt to recast and remake the nation, howsoever tall or righteous its claims, must necessarily be tested against the touchstone of the values and ideals enshrined in the Constitution that, 75 years later, continue to animate and nourish the republic.

India's Constitution has endured over decades because it is capacious and accommodative, because it adapts to change and leaves space for negotiations. It is not a platform for fixities. Even the basic structure that cannot be amended, as interpreted by the apex court, is a set of features very broadly defined. In a time when winner-takes-all seeks to become the reigning dictum, and when the opposition spaces seem to shrink, a restatement of the Constitution's basic features is in order, in letter and spirit. It means, at the very least, the primacy of the rule of law and due process, not the instant state-sponsored vigilantism of the bulldozer. It means that victory must always be leavened by humility – indeed, the PM bracketed "vijay" with "vinay" – and that both the winners and losers should recognise that the rules of the game, anchored in the Constitution, are larger than both, will outlive both.

Let this January 26, therefore, be a reminder of the continuity of the republic. And of what binds it, and keeps it honest, through the ups and downs of politics and history.

GOING SOLAR

Rooftop installations in one crore households is a promising scheme. Past experience with renewable energy offers lessons

IN ONE OF his first decisions after becoming Prime Minister, Narendra Modi had set a target of installing 100 GW of solar power in the country by 2022 – 40 per cent of this energy was to be generated from rooftop installations. Though the country's renewable energy (RE) sector has made appreciable strides in the past 10 years, it missed the 100 GW target by a long margin – the 2022 deadline has been pushed back to 2026. The patchy performance of rooftop installations is a major reason for this failure – the capacity of such systems is currently less than 12 GW. The Pradhan Mantri Suryodaya Yojana (PMSY), a new scheme announced by PM Modi on Monday, can place the decentralised solar power segment on a better footing. It aims to take solar power to one crore households.

Installing solar power is expensive for an individual household. That's why less than a fifth of the rooftop installations are in the residential sector. At the same time, subsidies on energy generated from conventional power sources make RE an unattractive proposition. Central and state government subsidies for solar installations, in contrast, are offset by deterrents such as cumbersome procedures and quality issues. The government's failure to frame convincing solutions, especially its flip-flops, seem to have made the problem more intractable. Its 2019 policy required households availing the subsidy to buy solar panels and inverters from companies empaneled by the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE). The provision was meant to enable the government to monitor the quality of the rooftop systems. But the centralised system restricted consumer choice and three years later, the ministry relaxed this requirement. "The government will publish the lists of solar panel manufacturers and inverter manufacturers whose products meet the expected quality standards," the MNRE noted. By all accounts, the change has not made a perceptible difference.

Companies, too, face difficulties in achieving economies of scale when they target individual households. Vendors, therefore, prefer servicing commercial consumers. Gujarat – the state with the most rooftop installations – has tried to address these issues with aggressive awareness campaigns and timely disbursal of subsidies. But with the grid getting a substantial amount of electricity from households, the state's discoms are confronted with the most difficult problem with RE – intermittent supply. The details of PM Modi's new scheme are not yet in the public domain. The government would do well to learn the right lessons from the country's past experiences with solar power.

WORLD No 1

For Rohan Bopanna, a first men's doubles Grand Slam title will be the next step

DEYING BOTH AGE and expectations, India's top-ranked tennis player who has ensured consistent representation at the Grand Slams in the past few years, Rohan Bopanna, became the men's doubles World No 1 at the Australian Open. Bopanna made history as the oldest World No 1, in any discipline, after reaching the summit of the sport at the age of 43. With a win away from another Grand Slam title, he has proved that age is just a number.

With a big serve and solid forehand, Bopanna was never a typical modern tennis talent in a generation that increasingly veered towards baseline rallies and athleticism. Having pivoted to doubles early in his career, he won four Masters 1,000 titles and a maiden Grand Slam title in mixed doubles. But as he approached 40, injuries and physical issues began to take their toll, and it was Bopanna's emphasis on staying mentally and physically fit that helped him recover from career-threatening knee injuries. His transformation paid off with a late-career resurgence as he reached the US Open final 13 years after his first last year, and he has now become the fourth Indian, after Sania Mirza, Leander Paes, and Mahesh Bhupathi, to become double World No 1.

Doubles, especially on the men's side, no longer has the same star power as the days when Martina Navratilova, John McEnroe, and Steffi Graf used to be the main draws. Eyeballs are far fewer as the doubles format has struggled to captivate fans even as singles tennis veered towards powerful displays of athleticism. For reaching the semifinal, Bopanna will earn less than what women's singles World No 1 Iga Swiatek pocketed for her shock third-round collapse. While that may put things into perspective, it is to Bopanna's credit that he was able to exploit the gaps in the doubles game and make a triumphant return straight to the top of the pile. A first men's doubles Grand Slam title will be the next step.

Old, new, cautious optimism



SUBRATA MITRA

Ram temple and Republic Day commemorations show that past and present jostle for space at state's high table

ON THE 75TH Republic Day, while the country showcases its achievements as "Viksit Bharat" and "Bharat – Loktantra ki matrika", emphasising India's role as a nurturer of democracy, alarming voices, both global and domestic, warn about the potential demise of the secular, democratic Republic, in reaction to the consecration of the Ram temple of Ayodhya. How can we square these two diametrically opposite appraisals of the future? Does the state have the resilience to cope with frenzied masses driven by their collective belief in the divinity of Ram, seeking to reclaim sacred spots, lost, as the legend has it, to invaders centuries back? How legitimate can the modern state anchored in a traditional society as diverse as India be, when a temple, though built with private funds, has the Prime Minister serving as its *mukhya yajman* and performing the *pran pratishtha* ceremony?

These questions gain salience in the context of the chorus of "democracy backsliding", voiced by liberals, both in India and abroad. India's stock image as a poster-child of non-Western democracy has come under intense scrutiny since the arrival of Hindu nationalists in power. For them, emergent India, with the deeply Hindu ethos promoted by the Modi regime, does not conform to the prototype of a modern, secular, democratic and pluralist state. The Ram temple was the tipping point.

So, quo vadis, India?

Any prognosis must take the stance of all major stakeholders into consideration. The conspicuous absence of triumphalism has become the hallmark of statements emerging from the Modi regime. The Prime Minister's new mantra – "Dev se desh; Ram se rashtra (from God to country, and from Ram to nation)" – seeks to transcend the boundaries of religion and embrace the full spectrum of faith, caste, creed and region in India. He has said that the opening of the temple was a moment not just of "vijay (victory)" but also "vinay (humility)" and invited those who opposed the Ram Janmabhoomi movement to "visit the temple and experi-

ence the feeling". His message to the opponents of the temple is that the "construction of this temple of Ram Lalla is also a symbol of peace, patience, harmony, and coordination in Indian society". It is a call to "all of us citizens, to pledge to build a capable, magnificent, and divine India [which is] a step towards nation-building". RSS Sarsanghchalak Mohan Bhagwat has called for an end to the "bitterness", "dispute" and "conflict", and that the *pran pratishtha* ceremony will be the beginning of the campaign for "reconstruction of Bharatavarsh".

As regards the Islamic clergy, the stance of Imam Umer Ahmed Ilyasi, Chief Imam of All India Imam Organization (AIO), which claims to represent half-a-million imams across three lakh mosques in India is significant. He said, "this is the face of new India. Our biggest religion is humanity. For us, the nation is first". Iqbal Ansari, the son of Hashim Ansari who spent a lifetime in courts as a litigant in the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid title suit case, was a special guest at the consecration ceremony. Ansari's position is typical of people closely involved with the litigation who wish to put it behind. Accosted by the press, he said, "They (the journalists) want me to say something controversial. I have no time for reporters who try to dig up the past. That battle is over... The Supreme Court gave an order which we accepted". Dissident voices have come from the Shankaracharyas – Hindu seers – who stayed away from the consecration of what they considered "an incomplete temple", and from major Opposition parties which saw the ceremony essentially as a BJP event, aimed at mobilising support from the Hindu community, with the forthcoming parliamentary election in view.

All these opinions – pro and contra – need to be seen in the context of the vigorous electoral process of India which turns rebels into stakeholders, and generates social choices whose locations shift after each electoral cycle. Contrary to the empirical assertions of those who see the nemesis of Indian democracy in the rise of Hindutva, neither Hindus nor Muslims of India are dense, socially homogeneous bodies. They are composed of groups based on caste, class, region, language, gender and belief systems. Vote-hungry political parties, under the pressure of electoral competition, engage in serious poaching into all possible groups.

The writer is an emeritus professor of Political Science at Heidelberg University, Germany



ANGELLICA ARIBAM AND AKASH SATYAWALI

INDIA'S JOURNEY TOWARDS becoming a republic encompasses several movements and stakeholders who struggled for a progressive agenda. The references to justice, liberty, and equality in the Preamble of the Constitution were a nod of acknowledgement to the aspirations of freedom fighters and social reformers. The feminist movements in pre-independent India played a crucial role in ensuring women's rights were guaranteed in the Constitution. Sadly, their role in forging the republic remains underappreciated.

The most glaring example is the case of the right to vote. It is often claimed that women were "granted" this right at the same time as men. This is misleading and ignores the concerted efforts of women activists.

One of the first official calls for enfranchising women was made in 1917 when a delegation of women activists presented a memorandum of demands to Edwin Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, who had been tasked to formulate a scheme of self-governance for India. The same year, the Women's Indian Association (WIA) was formed to address the socio-economic challenges faced by women. It was the first national body to advocate for female suffrage. In 1918, WIA and others intensified their advocacy, travelling to Britain to garner support for their causes. Sarojini Naidu took the women's rights issue to the Congress party, moving resolutions for women's enfranchisement at Congress sessions in Bijapur and Bombay.

The first victory came with the enactment of the Government of India Act 1919 that allowed provincial legislatures to enfranchise women. In 1921, Madras became the first province to grant women the right to vote, followed by Bombay and the United Provinces.

THE WOMEN BEFORE US

Feminist movements pushed for women's rights in the Constitution

In 1927, several women-led organisations joined hands to form the All India Women's Conference (AIWC). Initially, AIWC focussed on women's education. Later, it pushed for outlawing child marriage, raising the age of consent, and banning polygamy. AIWC believed that women's emancipation was not possible without reforming the various religious laws (personal codes).

The enfranchisement Bill was defeated in the Bengal Legislative Council. Suffragists led by the Bangiya Nari Samaj organised massive awareness campaigns for four years, leading to the passage of the Bill in 1925. Women leaders did not let up after the initial success. The right to vote, while monumental, was conditional upon ownership of property, income, and other statuses which excluded a sizeable number of women. Further, women still did not have a right to sit in legislative bodies.

The Nehru Report, a draft Constitution, prepared by an All Parties Conference in 1929 called for equal civic rights for all citizens. Britain was not keen on expanding this right. To galvanise international support, a delegation led by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Shareefa Hamid Ali travelled to London, and then Geneva to petition the League of Nations. The Government of India Act 1935 expanded the right to vote and paved the way for women in public offices. Several women contested the 1936–37 elections and joined provincial governments. Women leaders created widespread acceptance for the idea of a universal adult franchise.

Their activism extended to social and personal spheres. In 1927, several women-led organisations joined hands to form the All India Women's Conference (AIWC). Initially, AIWC focussed on women's education. Later, it pushed for outlawing child marriage, raising the age of consent, and banning polygamy. AIWC believed that women's emancipation was not possible without reforming the various religious laws (personal codes).

In 1945–46, the AIWC adopted the Indian Woman's Charter of Rights and Duties. The charter demanded equality in all spheres. It specifically made a case for women's eco-

nomic empowerment and highlighted the need to formally recognise the value of domestic work. The charter advocated wholesale reforms to the personal codes, demanding the freedom to divorce, and equal property and inheritance rights. Some of these demands found their way into the Hindu Code Bill and were enacted a decade later.

In the aftermath of Partition, a key issue was the reservations of seats on religious grounds. In the Constituent Assembly, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (a Christian) and Begum Qudsia Aizaz Rasul (a Muslim) made passionate appeals to do away with any special privileges. Eventually reservation was limited to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. AIWC had been against separate electorates and believed that reservation deepened communal divisions – they even argued against women's reservation. These issues caused a rift within the AIWC reflecting the diverse worldviews within the women's movement.

The framers of our Constitution were no strangers to the diversity of thought. The Constitution was envisioned as a living document, allowing future governments to mould the republic as per the contingencies of the time. In the last 70 years, feminists have strived to advance the rights of women leading to the enactment of various laws, policies, and Constitutional amendments. The groundwork was laid by the women who came much before us. This 75th Republic Day is an opportunity moment for us to honour and acknowledge their contributions. Let us forget.

Aribam & Satyawali are authors of the upcoming book *The Fifteen: The Lives and Times of the Women in India's Constituent Assembly*



JANUARY 26, 1984, FORTY YEARS AGO

PM's J&K CRISIS

PRIME MINISTER INDIRA Gandhi is believed to have asked the J&K Governor B K Nehru, and CM Farooq Abdullah to take effective steps to curb anti-national and secessionist forces in the state and improve the law and order situation. Nehru and Abdullah held separate meetings with Mrs Gandhi and discussed the latest political development in the state.

PADMA AWARDS

FILM STARS AMITABH Bachchan, Sivaji Ganesan, and Ben Kingsley, Mahatma

Gandhi's biographer, external affairs officials K Natwar Singh, secretary general of NAM and coordinator of CHOGM and chief of protocol M H Ansari, Punjabi journalist Sadhu Singh Hamdard and Marathi playwright Vijay Tendulkar are among the 69 winners of this year's Padma Bhushan and Padma Shri awards.

FINANCIAL OVERHAUL

THE ENTIRE GAMUT of physical and financial control is proposed to be reviewed along with the issue of giving more powers to nationalised banks and term lending institutions by

a high-level official committee headed by M Narasimham, who until recently was secretary, Economic Affairs, at the Centre. The setting up of the committee follows the recommendations made earlier by the Economic Advisory Council of the Prime Minister.

INDO-BHUTAN TIES

INDIA AND BHUTAN pledged to strengthen their friendship and cooperate in Bhutan's economic development. This was evident from speeches at the banquet President Zail Singh hosted in honour of King Jigme Singye Wangchuck of Bhutan.

After January 22

Attempt to recast the Indian republic requires an ideological challenge that is democratic and draws upon our history of anti-colonial constitutionalism



SUGATA BOSE

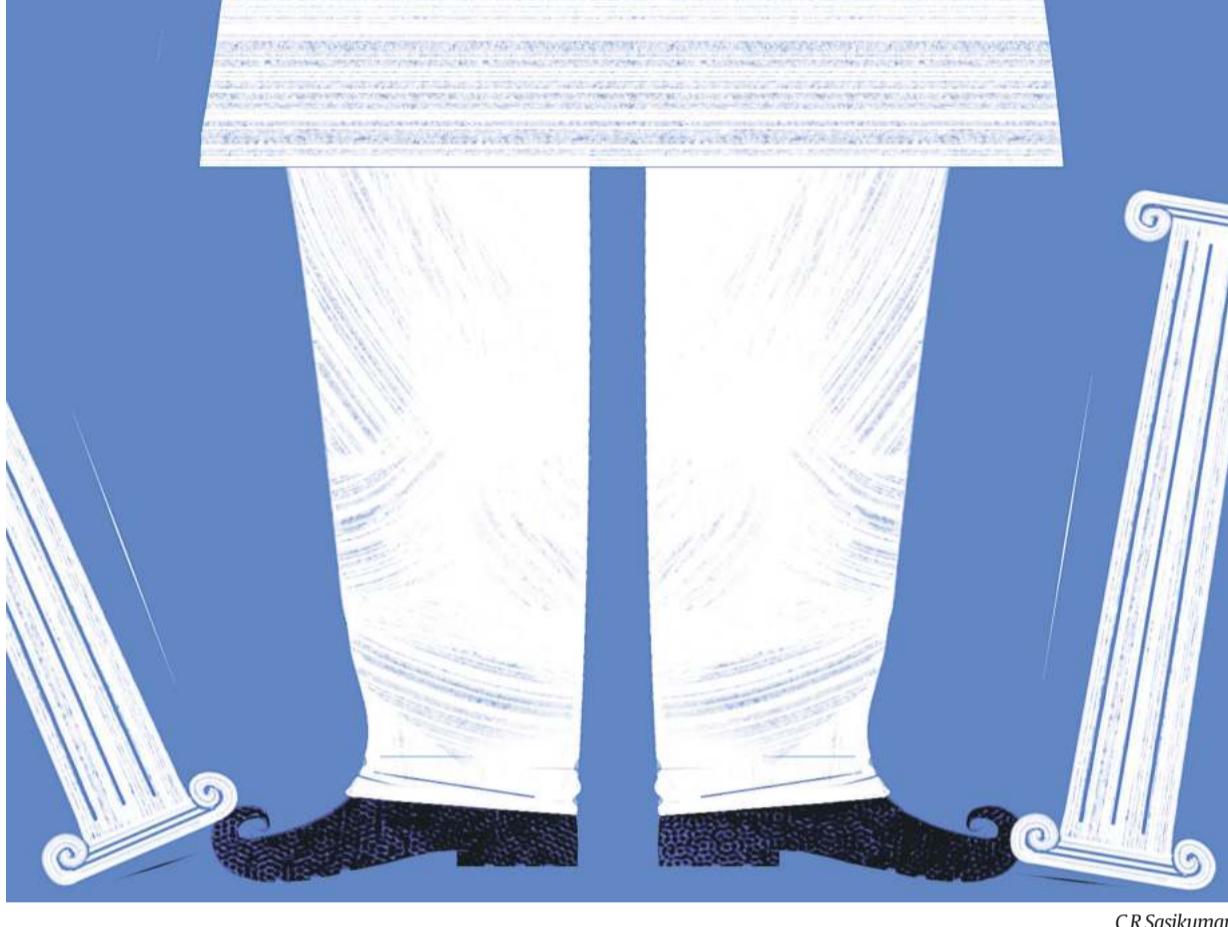
JANUARY 22, 2024, has passed into history. The spectacle enacted with unrestrained pomp on that day is the most decisive step yet in recasting the Indian republic in a religious majoritarian mold. The question now is whether Prime Minister Narendra Modi wishes to transform the de facto Hindu *rashtara* into a de jure one after winning the general elections.

In the face of such a determined onslaught, a status quoist position based on a postcolonial constitution retaining elements of colonial authoritarianism is unlikely to succeed. It must be met with a principled ideological challenge that is genuinely democratic, drawing on our robust history of anti-colonial constitutionalism.

As a child, I was enchanted by stories of the Ramayana that I read with my grandmother. A favourite book was the *Tuktuk Ramayana* by Nabakrishna Bhattacharya that narrated Valmiki's epic in simple Bengali verse. Later in life as a historian, I explored the many iterations of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata that travelled across the Indian Ocean. Rabindranath Tagore believed that the Southeast Asian versions were as original as the ones to be found in India. He called for more comparative studies of the epics. He grumbled that one day some German scholar will do the work and after that, by agreeing or disagreeing with that thesis, Indian scholars will earn PhDs.

I have always been moved by the grandeur of the Ramayana as a literary epic and the religious sensibility of the many who flock to Ram *leelas* performed in the villages of north India. However, the event at Ayodhya had little to do with either literature or religious faith; it simply provided a climax of sorts to a triumphalist political narrative based on religious majoritarian identity. On January 22, I re-read my mother Krishna Bose's speech that she delivered in the Lok Sabha more than two decades ago in a debate on Ayodhya. Explaining that she had learned her Hinduism from Swami Vivekananda, she asserted that if an edifice is built on a foundation of violence and hatred, Shri Ram will not reside there. She pleaded in the name of Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose for good sense to prevail.

The sun did rise on the morning of January 23, 2024, the 127th birth anniversary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the one leader who had assured equal rights for members of every religious community and united them all in the struggle for freedom. His close aide Abid Hasan has recounted how Netaji had turned down an invitation to the Chettiar temple in Singapore saying, "What! Come to your temple where even Hindus of other castes are not permitted entry, not to speak of members of other communities who are equally near and dear to me." He agreed to go flanked by Mohammad Zaman Kiani and Hasan when the precincts were offered as a venue for "an Indian national demonstration". As for Netaji's Azad Hind Fauj, this is how Hasan described the army of liberation: "Every region in India was represented and every religion and every caste, mixed inseparably together not only in



bigger formations but even in small platoons and sections, each unit being a living tribute to the unity of India".

While Netaji's gallant fight for freedom is celebrated, what is less well-known are his thoughts about India's future constitution and his ideas about what he called "an independent federal republic". Even before resigning from the ICS, he wrote to Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das on March 2, 1921: "We must now craft India's Constitution based on Swaraj". In fact, the blueprint of a federal constitution was unveiled by the Swarajists a hundred years ago in 1923 alongside a pact for the equitable sharing of power between Hindus and Muslims. The best in Indian political thought categorically rejected the constitutional devices of the 1919 and 1935 Acts to perpetuate British colonial rule.

Once the pledge of Purna Swaraj was taken, January 26 was observed as our Independence Day from 1930 to 1947. Upon the onset of World War II, Netaji rejected the Congress proposal of a Constituent Assembly under the auspices of an imperialist government. He recalled how Sinn Fein had scorned Lloyd George's Irish Constitutional Convention and the Bolsheviks had walked out of Russia's constituent assembly in 1917. In his view, only after the nationalists seized power could a legitimate Constituent Assembly be elected.

It is a pity that when the British were being forced to quit India as a direct consequence of Netaji's wartime achievements, his tragic death robbed our country of his contribution to the making of the Indian republic. His elder brother Sarat Chandra Bose was elected to the Constituent Assembly from Bengal, but he resigned when the Congress high command accepted Partition along religious lines in exchange for power at the British Raj's unitary centre.

A handful of followers and admirers of Netaji did try to argue in favour of substantive democracy and genuine federalism. K.T. Shah, whom he had inducted into the National

Planning Committee in 1938, brought an amendment to Article 1 to proclaim: "India shall be a Secular, Federal, Socialist Union of States". It was negated. He also wanted to categorically deny the centre any authority to change the name and boundary of any state without the explicit permission of the state legislature. Hari Vishnu Kamath strenuously argued against the Emergency provisions in our Constitution, especially the power to suspend *habeas corpus*. B.R. Ambedkar conceded that these provisions could be misused but expressed the hope that they will remain a "dead letter". By contrast, Sarat Chandra Bose in a January 1950 article in the *Indian Law Review* described the authoritarian features inherited from the colonial Government of India Act as "a time bomb" and potentially a grave threat to Indian democracy.

During the 1975-1977 Emergency, the suspension of *habeas corpus* was deemed to be constitutional by four out of five judges of the Supreme Court. In the recent verdict on Kashmir, the Supreme Court has unanimously acknowledged the constitutional authority of the President, on the advice of the Prime Minister and his cabinet, to alter the status of any state of the union.

Many observers have noticed a second republic in the process of formation. Some see the need of a new Constitution for a new India. The words of the Preamble to our Constitution are indeed very beautiful and inspirational. However, certain clauses of what a recent author has called "the colonial constitution" lend themselves to be interpreted in a way that buttresses authoritarianism at the expense of democracy. To be able to strengthen democracy, it is necessary to draw upon an alternative political tradition of anti-colonial constitutionalism. Federalism, egalitarianism, and religious harmony are its main pillars.

The writer is Gardiner Professor of Oceanic History and Affairs, Harvard University

CR Sasikumar

Planning Committee in 1938, brought an amendment to Article 1 to proclaim: "India shall be a Secular, Federal, Socialist Union of States". It was negated. He also wanted to categorically deny the centre any authority to change the name and boundary of any state without the explicit permission of the state legislature. Hari Vishnu Kamath strenuously argued against the Emergency provisions in our Constitution, especially the power to suspend *habeas corpus*. B.R. Ambedkar conceded that these provisions could be misused but expressed the hope that they will remain a "dead letter". By contrast, Sarat Chandra Bose in a January 1950 article in the *Indian Law Review* described the authoritarian features inherited from the colonial Government of India Act as "a time bomb" and potentially a grave threat to Indian democracy.

During the 1975-1977 Emergency, the suspension of *habeas corpus* was deemed to be constitutional by four out of five judges of the Supreme Court. In the recent verdict on Kashmir, the Supreme Court has unanimously acknowledged the constitutional authority of the President, on the advice of the Prime Minister and his cabinet, to alter the status of any state of the union.

Many observers have noticed a second republic in the process of formation. Some see the need of a new Constitution for a new India. The words of the Preamble to our Constitution are indeed very beautiful and inspirational. However, certain clauses of what a recent author has called "the colonial constitution" lend themselves to be interpreted in a way that buttresses authoritarianism at the expense of democracy. To be able to strengthen democracy, it is necessary to draw upon an alternative political tradition of anti-colonial constitutionalism. Federalism, egalitarianism, and religious harmony are its main pillars.

The writer is Gardiner Professor of Oceanic History and Affairs, Harvard University

Reading the temple

Move towards spirituality is located in cultures of modernity



SANJAY SRIVASTAVA

IF WE CONSIDER the completely this-world contexts of the temple inauguration in Ayodhya — cameras, social media, helicopters, etc — we might say that it fulfills an old Nehruvian dream. Religiosity has been effectively banished from the public life of the nation. However, as delicious as the irony is, it doesn't really tell us very much about the nature of religious beliefs and its completely plastic nature. Older — well-meaning — certainties about what it is don't help us in understanding the present.

Over the past few months, there have been at least two kinds of distinct ideas about the temple. The first suggests that it is the result of a "Hindu" rage based on what happened 500 years ago. And that there is a depth of feeling that has continued to exist in the same form for five centuries. This is a simplistic understanding of identities and how they are experienced through time. The temple owes little to 500 years of constant rage and everything to the circumstances of the present. The most significant of these is the rise of the spectacles and a fundamental shift in thinking where Hinduism is about the outer world and spectacular displays of belief.

We tend to think of the past as if there is a direct and transparent connection between it and the present and assume that we have always felt the same way about, say, religious identity. We know, for example, that in the battle for succession between Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh, each was supported by a nearly

equal number of Hindu kings and nobles. These people were not particularly deeply invested in their Hindu identity. They were interested in deploying whatever strategy they thought might gain them the maximum benefit in staying on the right side of power and maintaining their positions as rulers. To imagine that the current Hindu identity is the same as feelings of religiosity in the past is ill-informed and pernicious. The latter, because it suggests that while it is unfortunate that religious divides have been created for political gain, there are, nevertheless, "genuine" reasons for "Hindu" anger. This thinking and bigotry are first cousins.

The past does not create the present in an unmediated way. The past itself is produced in the present through processes of the present. This is why "better" — or more "accurate" — depictions of the past may have little or no effect on how people react and behave in the present. Our own present is being shaped through three interrelated aspects: The rise of new consumer cultures, the spectacularisation of everyday life and the fundamental shift towards viewing religion as an outer, rather than inner, aspect of one's relationship with divinity. The three are linked, in as much as consumer cultures are fundamentally about the relationship between us and commodities and hence about presenting ourselves publicly — through cars, clothes, mobile phones, whatever — to the world. This informs the great transition in the relationship be-

tween religious identity and its public nature. The second line of thinking has argued that the temple is "inauthentic" as it does not represent the "actual" — hybrid — Hinduism that exists as everyday reality. And that, the temple is about "politics" and not "faith". However, this too assumes that religion has an actual and unvarying reality. In speaking of Hindutva as fake religion, it doesn't address Hindutva's popularity across such a vast swathe of the population — the urban and rural poor; the middle classes, Dalits, Buddhists and a whole range besides. It also doesn't account for the fact that in both modern and earlier times, religion and politics have been intertwined. The idea of an inner "true" faith that exists outside the churn of the times has a very recent history.

The focus on "real" and "fake" belief systems — apart from providing a moral high ground — is both a poor strategy against majoritarianism and inadequate social analysis. The irony is that religious beliefs that have been nurtured in the crucible of consumerism and spectacularisation are not any less "religious" or "fake". Historically, there is no proof of any "authentic" ways of being religious. Marwari businessmen who pioneered Indian capitalism were just as religious as ascetics who severed all relations with the material world. Certainly, within Hinduism, otherworldliness is not the "genuine" mark of a religious person. This is hardly possible in a religion where gods procreate and relish a variety of delicacies. In the continuity between gods and humans,

Hinduism is fundamentally different from the Judeo-Christian traditions of beliefs.

Religion itself has no authentic ways of believing — it entirely depends on how the cultures of believing are nurtured. It is quite possible that once the temple settles into the commerce of life, the monument might primarily become a tourist spot. However, there is little comfort to be gained from suggesting that "real" spirituality will be found in other, more organic, temples. This form of belief is no less real for all the inauthenticity we might attribute to it. Neither feelings of rage (for those who justify the new temple) nor ways of believing (for those who oppose it) have a deep and long history. Just as the present shapes how we think of the past, it also shapes the present. The fundamental change — the move towards spirituality as a matter of spectacular display — has recent roots, located in cultures of contemporary Indian modernity. The response, equally, must be to utilise the processes of the present to re-fashion another narrative. There are very few resources to be found within religion — by referring to Hinduism's "inherent" tolerant nature, for example — that will help in this task. Religion in the time of plastic divinities should encourage us to ask questions about the other contemporary ways in which plastic goods can be made.

The writer is British Academy Global Professor, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, SOAS University of London

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

"Conservative ultras draw inspiration from Trump's seemingly unstoppable march towards nomination as the Republicans' presidential candidate... The apparent lesson is that blood-curdling nationalism, culture wars on a nuclear scale, contempt for democratic norms... are a winning formula." — THE GUARDIAN

The promise of Ram Rajya

As Lord Ram returns to Ayodhya, we will see a stronger, more confident India



G KISHAN REDDY

ON JANUARY 22, 2024, Prime Minister Narendra Modi performed the *pran pratishtha* ceremony for the Ram *mandir* under the guidance of distinguished pandits and vedic Brahmins at Ram Janmabhoomi in Ayodhya. As the Prime Minister performed the first *aarti* of Lord Ram, many devotees across the world prayed either at local temples or from their homes. This spontaneous outpouring was not just because this was a matter of pride for all Sanatanis, but also because Hindus across the world secured the right to build a temple for Lord Ram constitutionally, after waiting for an agonising 500 years.

The wait has not been without its hardships and tribulations. For generations, individual and community memories have surfaced and come together as collective anguish. Take the case of Ayodhya's Suryavanshi Kshatriyas who are considered to be the descendants of Lord Ram. It was the Suryavanshi Kshatriyas led by Raja Gajraj Singh who offered stiff resistance to Babur's army led by General Mir Baqi, when Ayodhya was seized and the mosque built. The Suryavanshis of Ayodhya vowed to not cover their heads with the ceremonial turban till the temple at Ayodhya was restored. Some even shunned footwear. After many generations, the Suryavanshis of Ayodhya are once again donning turbans today. Other faiths have contributed to the reclaiming of the temple and are now joining in the celebrations as well. The Sikh founding Guru, Sri Guru Nanak Dev is said to have visited the Ram temple in 1510 and the Supreme Court considered this as key evidence in its 2019 judgement. In the run-up to the *pran pratishtha*, the "Akhand Path" that involves the continuous recitation of the Guru Granth Sahib for 48 hours was also observed.

Similarly, in September 2007, in an affidavit submitted to the Supreme Court, the Congress government wanted to dismantle the Ram Setu to build the Sethusamudram shipping canal project. In an affidavit filed in the Supreme Court it stated that "mythological texts, which formed an important part of ancient Indian literature cannot be said to be historical records to incontrovertibly prove the existence of the characters or the occurrence of the event".

In a way the run-up to the *pran pratishtha* at Ayodhya is a replay of the events that took place in the run-up to the revival of Somnath just after India attained her independence. Even then the Congress party was totally uncomfortable with our civilisational heritage and mixed this with a bizarre political calculation of slumming the moment thinking it will endear itself to the minority population. This twisted thinking is an insult to the minorities of this nation. A live example of this playing out poorly is the Shah Bano incident in the mid-1980s. The Supreme Court of India decided that Shah Bano, a divorced Muslim woman, be paid maintenance by her husband. The government led by former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi diluted the judgement by enacting a law. Till today, this single incident has led to the continued marginalisation of the rights of Muslim women.

Moments such as the restoration of the temple for Lord Ram in Ayodhya are epochal events that alter the very journey of nations and their people. This will indeed go down in our collective history as a pivotal moment in civilisational awakening.

As Lord Ram returns to Ayodhya, we will see a stronger, more confident India that works for the welfare and upliftment of everyone of her citizens. This is the true promise of Ram Rajya.

The writer is the Union Minister of Culture, Tourism and DoNER. He represents Secunderabad Lok Sabha constituency

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

POLITICS OVER AWARD

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Bharat's Ratna' (IE, January 25). The decision to confer the Bharat Ratna on Karpoori Thakur indicates the significance the Narendra Modi government gives to social justice and recognising leaders, present and past. The Bharat Ratna is not above controversy. Debates rage about omissions as much as they do on whether those recognised deserve it. The onus of naming the Bharat Ratna lies solely with the PM on whose recommendation the president confers the formal honours. For example, neither Rabindranath Tagore nor Bhagat Singh were named as Bharat Ratna. Nor was former PM and architect of economic reforms P V Narasimha Rao. But one can find satisfaction in the deserving recognition of the late Karpoori Thakur.

Kokhan Das, Kolkata

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Bharat's Ratna' (IE, January 25). An award as prestigious as Bharat Ratna granted with a political motive not only disrespects the idea of the award but also the years of hard work of the person to whom it has been granted. Karpoori Thakur deserved this award — but why did it take so long for the government to recognise his contributions? This announcement has been made just when the elections are around the corner. This is nothing but a political stunt.

Reetika Padhi, Bengaluru

A BROADER APPROACH

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Dal, roti, cheeni' (IE, January 25). There is growing apprehension regarding the increasing food prices in India, particularly for essential items such as dal, roti, and cheeni. Despite a decline in global food prices, our nation is confronted with inflation. While the current government's initiatives appear to prioritise consumers, it is essential to adopt a well-rounded approach. Merely implementing export restrictions and import liberalisation might not be adequate. Our focus should be on implementing policies that promote stability, and fostering investment in processing, storage, and research.

Zoya Ahmed, Bengaluru

PEACE IN RAM RAJYA

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'The ideal ruler' (IE, January 24). Among those qualities of humanness represented by Lord Ram, one of the most important is the "rule of law". Amish Tripathi's *Ram Chandra* series represents a Ram who is an ardent follower of law both in a modern and traditional sense. Considering the challenges that India has faced in the implementation of the same, who can be a better brand ambassador for the rule of law than Lord Ram himself? Thus, maintaining peace and striving for order will always be an intrinsic part of the Ram Rajya that we are working towards.

Nayan Rathi, Dewas



Centre writes to EC for data on logistics of simultaneous LS, Assembly, municipal polls

AURAV VISHWANATH,
RITIKA CHOPRA
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

THE CENTRE has written to the Election Commission (EC) seeking data on the logistics of holding simultaneous polls at three levels — Lok Sabha, Vidhan Sabha and municipality.

The Law Commission, studying the feasibility of holding simultaneous polls, meanwhile, is likely to finalise issues surrounding the legality of the move without waiting for the EC's response. It will also bring into focus the issue of a common electoral roll, which is among the promises made by the BJP in its manifesto for the Lok Sabha polls in 2019. At present, at least eight states have

VVPATs, etc., for holding such simultaneous polls". The poll body's response is crucial to decide the logistics of holding simultaneous polls at all three levels.

The Law Commission, studying the feasibility of holding simultaneous polls, meanwhile, is likely to finalise issues surrounding the legality of the move without waiting for the EC's response. It will also bring into focus the issue of a common electoral roll, which is among the promises made by the BJP in its manifesto for the Lok Sabha polls in 2019. At present, at least eight states have

their own voters' list, distinct from the EC's list for local body polls.

Constitutionally, the EC is responsible for conducting polls to the offices of the President and the Vice President of India, to Parliament, state Assemblies and Legislative Councils; the State ECs conduct municipal and panchayat polls. The additional information from the ECs is required as the Centre had expanded the scope of reference to the 22nd Law Commission on the 'one nation, one election' issue.

"The (Law) Commission has received an additional reference from the Law Ministry to also examine the issues relating to holding simultaneous elections of municipalities and panchayats," sources told *The Indian Express*.

The Indian Express had reported in September 2023 that the Law Commission's report backing simultaneous polls was in the final stages and suggested timelines for both 2024 and 2029.

While the term of the 21st Commission ended before the final recommendations were made, the 22nd Law Commission, constituted in 2020, has taken up the issue again.

FULL REPORT ON
www.indianexpress.com

RLJP leaders meet Kovind committee

New Delhi: A delegation of the Rashtriya Lok Janshakti Party, including party president and Union Minister for Food Processing Pashupati Kumar Paras, Thursday met chairman of the 'One Nation One Election Committee' Ram Nath Kovind to extend support for the idea of simultaneous polls.

The RLJP, an NDA ally of the BJP, told Kovind simultaneous polls would "end a lot of... unnecessary expenditure incurred by India, political parties," said a Law Ministry statement. **ENS**

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REGISTRAR

NATIONAL VOTERS' DAY

Should have single voter list: Meghwal hints at electoral reforms in the offing

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25



Hinting at electoral reforms in the offing, Union Law Minister Arjun Ram Meghwal on Thursday said there were "two-three" issues that were under discussion, and that a common electoral roll for Lok Sabha, Assembly and local body elections would be a "big step" in that direction.

Speaking at the Election Commission of India's (ECI) National Voters' Day celebrations in New Delhi, Meghwal recalled the reforms over the years — reduction of the voting age from 21 years to 18 years and the introduction of the voter ID card. He told Chief Election Commissioner

(CEC) Rajiv Kumar that during election campaigns, people often complain of having their names struck off the electoral rolls or they find it difficult in getting enrolled. "There is discussion on two-

three issues now. There should be a single voter list. Rajiv Kumarji, I want to tell you this is a big issue. When we go for elections, people say their names have been struck off or they are having trouble in adding their names. If we move towards a single voter list, it will be a big step," he said.

As of now, the ECI prepares the electoral rolls for the Lok Sabha and state polls through the State Electoral Officers of states and UTs, while the state Election Commissions prepare electoral rolls for the local body polls. The proposal of the government has been under consideration since 2020 when the Prime Minister's Office had organised a meeting with the Law Ministry and EC of officials to discuss the matter.

Only option left is paper ballots: Sam Pitroda on Lok Sabha polls

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25



Indian Overseas Congress chairman Sam Pitroda

"concerned citizen".

MG Devasahayam, coordinator of the civil society group Citizens' Commission on Elections, added that an international civil society group for monitoring the Lok Sabha elections would be set up. The group would include academics and those involved in conducting elections in India and abroad, he said.

"There is a huge trust deficit. It doesn't matter what the Election Commission of India thinks, it matters what the people of India think... The only option today, according to me, is paper ballot," he said.

Pitroda later said he was not speaking on behalf of the Congress, rather as a

75TH REPUBLIC DAY

Six Kirti, 16 Shaurya Chakra winners: 80 gallantry awards announced for Armed Forces

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

Kirti Chakra for an ambush deployed in the Kupwara sector. "Realising the grave danger to his men, unmindful of his own safety, the officer crawled towards the terrorist amid heavy fire and killed him," it stated. "In the ensuing firefight, he came face to face with a second terrorist. Without second thought, he engaged this terrorist in fierce hand-to-hand combat and killed him," it read.

He continued to resolutely control the operation and assisted in elimination of a third terrorist who was pinning down his team. The officer risked his life to safeguard his troops and ensured success of the operation. The operation eliminated five heavily armed foreign terrorists.

Captain Ashman Singh, a medical officer, was awarded Kirti Chakra posthumously for saving four to five individuals during a major fire at the Siachen glacier on July 19, 2023. Other Army personnel who received the Kirti Chakra include Havildar Pawan Kumar Yadav, and Havildar Abdul Majid, and Sepoy Pawan Kumar both of whom got the award posthumously. All awards were for operations in J&K. Of the Shaurya Chakras awarded, seven were awarded to Army personnel and one to a civilian, one was received by a naval officer and two by Indian Air Force officers, four by J&K personnel and CRPF personnel.

Major Deependra Vikram Basnet from the Sikh regiment also received the

1,132 personnel of central, state police to get service medals

MAHENDER SINGH MANRAL
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

THE CENTRAL government on Thursday announced 1,132 service medals, including 277 for gallantry, for personnel of central and state police forces a day before the Republic Day.

On Thursday morning, the Union Home Ministry published a list containing names of personnel who have been decorated with the President's medal for gallantry, police medal for gallantry, President's police medal for distinguished service and police medal for meritorious service. Among the majority of the 277 Gallantry Awards, 119 personnel from Left Wing Extremism-affected areas, 133 personnel from Jammu and Kashmir region, and 25 personnel from other regions are being awarded for their gallant action, a Home Ministry spokesperson said.

The President's Medal for Gallantry (PMG) and Medal for Gallantry (GM) are awarded on the ground of Rare Conspicuous Act of Gallantry and Conspicuous Act of Gallantry in saving life and property, or in preventing crime or arresting criminals, the risk incurred being estimated with due regard to the obligations and duties of the officer concerned.

"Out of the 277 Gallantry Awards, 72 personnel are being awarded for their gallant action in the Jammu and Kashmir region, 26 personnel from Chhattisgarh, 23 from Jharkhand, 18 from Maharashtra, 15

निविदा आमंत्रण सूचना
जल संसाधन विभाग
कार्यपालक अधिकारी का कार्यालय
सिंचाई प्रमंडल, बथनाहा, (अररिया)
(ईमेल-irrigationdivisionbathnaha@bihar.gov.in)
पत्रांक : १८/बथनाहा
अल्पकालीन पुनर्निविदा आमंत्रण सूचना संख्या -१८/२०२३-२४
१. कार्य का विवरण :-
२. विज्ञापन दाता का पदनाम एवं पता
३. निविदा आमंत्रण सूचना निर्गत करने की तिथि :- २०.०१.२०२४
४. निविदा कागजात डाउनलोड एवं अपलोड करने की तिथि :- ०५.०२.२०२४
५. तकनीकी बीड खोलने की तिथि एवं समय
६. वित्तीय बीड खोलने की तिथि एवं समय
७. निविदा खोलने का स्थान
८. निविदा की वेदाना अवधि
९. निविदा मात्र वेदाना इर्रिगेशन बथनाहा पर डाउनलोड एवं अपलोड किया जा सकता है।
१०.



गणतंत्र का गौरवगान



गणतंत्र दिवस के शुभ अवसर पर पूरा देश आदरणीय प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी के मार्गदर्शन में 'एक भारत श्रेष्ठ भारत' के संकल्प की सिद्धि के लिए कृतसंकल्पित है।

सभी प्रदेशवासियों के लिए यह अत्यंत हर्ष का विषय है कि हम आजादी के अमृतकाल में 6 करोड़ लोगों को गरीबी रेखा से बाहर लाने में सफल हुए हैं। देश की दूसरी सबसे बड़ी अर्थव्यवस्था बनने के साथ ही, उत्तर प्रदेश ने श्रीअयोध्या धाम में श्रीरामलला के नूतन विग्रह की प्राण-प्रतिष्ठा से राष्ट्र के सांस्कृतिक गौरव एवं समृद्ध विरासत को पुनर्गतिष्ठित किया है। यह सत्य एवं शाश्वत कल्याण का वह सनातन मार्ग है, जिस पर हम सभी पूर्ण कर्तव्यबोध के साथ चलकर उन महान बलिदानियों एवं स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों को श्रद्धांजलि देंगे, जिन्होंने अपने निष्काम समर्पण से हमें **75वां गणतंत्र दिवस** मनाने का अवसर दिया है।

समस्त प्रदेशवासियों को **गणतंत्र दिवस** की हार्दिक शुभकामनाएं।

- योगी आदित्यनाथ

मुख्यमंत्री, उत्तर प्रदेश

सूचना एवं जनसम्पर्क विभाग, उत्तर प्रदेश

विरासत का सम्मान



75वां गणतंत्र दिवस
(26 जनवरी, 2024)



Asset Recovery Branch :

1st Floor, Steel House, Near Police Check Post, Boring Road, Patna-800001, Email: arb.patna@unionbankofindia.bank

30 Days SALE NOTICE FOR SALE OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY (Appendix IV A)

E-auction Sale Notice for sale of immovable Assets under the Securitisation and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002 and proviso to the rule 8 (6) of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002. Notice is hereby given to the public in general and in particular to the Borrower(s) and Guarantor(s) that the below described immovable property mortgaged/charged to the Secured Creditor, the Possession of which has been taken by the Authorised Officer of **Union Bank of India** the Secured Creditor, will be sold on "As Is where is", "As is what is" and "Whatever there is" on **28.02.2024** for recovery of **Rs 66,11,583.76** (Rupees Sixty Six Lac Eleven Thousand Five Hundred Eighty Three and Paise Seventy Six Only) as on **31.10.2022** with further interest, cost & expenses due to Union Bank of India **Asset Recovery Branch**, the Secured Creditor from Borrower, Co-Applicant and Guarantor -1) The Borrower/s - 1a) M/s Sipada Foods Solutions Pvt Ltd, Plot No. B-28(P), Industrial Area, Darbhanga, Bihar-846004. Also At: 18 kitab Bhawan Road, North S K Puri, Near Boring Road, Patna, Bihar-800001, 1b) Mr. Binit Kumar S/o Late Sh. Rabi Bhushan Prasad, Flat 602, Tower 10 to close South Nirwan Country, Sector 50, South City-2, Gurgaon, Haryana-122018. 1c) Mrs. Bipasha Kumar W/o Mr. Binit Kumar, Flat 602, Tower 10 to close South Nirwan Country, Sector 50, South City-2, Gurgaon, Haryana-122018, 1d) Mr. Satya Priya Madhu S/o Late Devendra Prasad Sinha, Narayani, West Boring Canal Road, Patna, Bihar, 800001. 1e) Mr. Kaushleendra Narayan Shrivastava, S/o Late Devendra Prasad Sinha, Belwaganj, Near Imambari Post Office, Darbhanga, Bihar, 846001.1f) Mr. Brajendra Narayan Bhanu, S/o Late Devendra Prasad Sinha, Kansi, Simri, Singhwara, Darbhanga, Bihar, 847123. The reserve price will be **Rs. 94,35,000/-** and earnest money deposit will be **Rs. 9,43,500/-** with bid increment of **Rs.10,000/-**. Brief description of Property :- All that piece and parcel of Land and Building admeasuring an area of 37 Decimal situated at Khata No. 25(Old) 598 (New), Khesra No. 3585(Old) 4201(New), 3587(Old), 3588(Old), 4203(New), Mauza-Simri, Thana No.106, P.S-Simri, Anchal- Singhwara, Darbhanga, Bihar in the name of Mr. Satyapriya Madhu, Mr. Kaushleendra Narayan Shrivastava & Mr. Brajendra Narayan Bhanu. For detailed terms and conditions of the sale, please refer to the link provided in Union Bank of India's website i.e. <https://www.unionbankofindia.co.in> and <https://www.mstcecommerce.com/auctionhome/lbapi/index.jsp>

Date: 24.01.2024 Place: Patna Authorised Officer



[Rule 8 (1)] POSSESSION NOTICE (For Immovable Property)

Whereas, The undersigned being the authorized officer of the **LIC HOUSING FINANCE LTD.** under the Securitization and Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest (Second) Act 2002 and in exercise of powers conferred under section 13 (12) read with rule 3 of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules, 2002 issued a demand notices on following date calling upon the following loanee under below mentioned loan A/c to repay the below mentioned amount within 60 days from the dates of receipt of the said notice.

The borrower having failed to repay the amount, notice is hereby given to the borrower and the public in general that the undersigned has taken possession of the property described herein below in exercise of powers conferred on him / her under section 13 (4) of the said Act read with rule 8 and 9 of the said Rules on the following date

The borrower in particular and the public in general is hereby cautioned not to deal with the property and any dealings with the property will be subject to the charge of the **LIC HOUSING FINANCE LTD.** for below mentioned amount.

The borrower's attention is invited to provision of Sub-section (8) of section 13 of the Act, in respect of time available to redeem the secured assets.

Name & Address of Borrower & A/c No.	Date of Demand Notice/Amount Dues/ Date of Possession	Description of the Immovable Property
Ms. Sarita Kumari, W/o Umesh Kumar Yadav, At-Vill - Gausa, Saramohanpur, Gausa, Darbhanga, Bihar - 846007	19.10.2023 Rs. 10,06,354.08 + Sarfaesi + Other Charges	All that part and parcel of the flat bearing original Sale Deed No - 8778 / 2018, At - Khata No. - 331 (Old), 2011 (New), Khesra No. - 504 (Old), 570 (New), Under Mauza - Mangrauni, Paragana - Hati, Thana/ Anchal - Rajnagar, Thana No. - 35, Registry / Dist. - Madhubani, in the name of Ms. Sarita Kumari , W/o Umesh Kumar Yadav, Boundary - North - Self Vendor, South - Mala Kumari, East - Road, West - Laxman Choudhary
Mr. Mustaque Alam, S/o Mohammad Daud, At - Gangasagar Bhowara, Ward No. - 12, Bhowara Tola, Kantahi, PO - Bhowara, Madhubani, Bihar - 847212	19.10.2023 Rs. 44,54,144.81 + Sarfaesi + Other Charges	All that part and parcel of the flat bearing original Sale Deed No. - 370 / 2009, At - Khata No. - 42, Khesra No. - 1474 (Old), and 3262 (New) & 3263 (New) Under Mauza - Bhowara Gangasagar out of Town, Paragana - Gopalpur, Anchal - Rahika, Thana No. - 62, Taizi No. - 6424, PS / Sub-Registry / Dist. - Madhubani, in the name of Mr. Mustaque Alam , S/o Mr. Mohammad Daud, Boundary - North - Road, South - Md. Shamim & others, East - Md. Shamir, West - Road
A/c No. 220500000545	20.01.2024	
A/c No. 220500000278	20.01.2024	

Authorized Officer (LIC Housing Finance Limited)

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Azadi Ka
Amrit Mahotsav



Investor Education & Protection Fund Authority

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT

Investors/Depositors whose shares, unpaid dividends, matured deposits or debentures etc., have been transferred to Investor Education and Protection Fund under Companies Act, 1956/2013 can claim refund online.

How to file the claim?

1. Register yourself on www.mca.gov.in.
 2. Refer to "Instruction Kit" on the IEPFA website.
 3. Auto-generated Indemnity Bond should be submitted on Non Judicial Stamp Paper of appropriate state value.
 4. Take print out of acknowledgement and form submitted online & send all original documents to the company for e-verification.
 5. After due scrutiny of the support documents submitted by company along with e-verification report, shares/dividends will be sanctioned by IEPFA.
- Track your Claims/Refund status using your registered User Id & SRN. [www.mca.gov.in>MCA Services>Investor Services>Track IEPF-5 SRN.](http://www.mca.gov.in)

EK KADAM NIVESHAK KI AOR

An initiative of Special Window Facility for Senior Citizens of above 75 years age has been introduced. The facility enables auto prioritization of claims of senior citizens of 75 years age and above through MCA 21 portal while filing for refund/claim settlement.

NOTE:

- Claimants are advised to file e-form IEPF-5, only when all the required documents are available.
- IEPFA acknowledges communication from verified contact details only, provided by the claimants while filling IEPF form 5 online.
- Claims rejected by companies in e-verification report are summarily rejected.
- Claimants may approach companies and their Nodal Officers to rectify discrepancies and file new claim.
- IEPFA Authority recommends nomination in securities to avoid being left unclaimed or unpaid.

*IEPFA never supports engagement of any broker/agent/middleman for the process of claims refund.

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Don't proceed with probe into FIR against ED official: SC tells TN govt

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

THE SUPREME Court on Thursday asked the Tamil Nadu government not to proceed with further investigation into the FIR against Enforcement Directorate (ED) official Ankit Tiwari, who was arrested by the state Directorate of Vigilance and Anti-Corruption (DVAC) on bribery charges.

"Don't start any investigation in this FIR. Don't file any chargesheet," a bench of Justice Surya Kant and Justice K V Viswanathan said, asking the state government to file its response to the ED's plea seeking a transfer of the probe in the case to the CBI in two weeks' time.

Besides seeking a transfer of the probe in Tiwari's case to the CBI, the ED alleged that FIRs in scheduled offences were not being shared with it to enable it to carry out investigation under the PMLA, and sought a direction to the state government to appoint a nodal officer for sharing all such FIRs with it.

FULL REPORT ON
www.indianexpress.com

Ahead of R-Day, Modi, Macron hold roadshow in Jaipur, stop for chai

HAMZA KHAN
JAIPUR, JANUARY 25

PRIME MINISTER Narendra Modi and French President Emmanuel Macron took part in a roadshow in Jaipur on Thursday, after which they had dinner at Rambagh Palace before heading to New Delhi, where Macron will be the chief guest at the Republic Day parade on Friday.

Macron, who arrived in Jaipur earlier on Thursday, was gifted a replica of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya by Modi, who paid for it using UPI and explained the process to the French President. They also stopped to drink some tea from earthen cups. Upon his arrival in the city, the French President was greeted at the airport by External Affairs Minister Dr S Jaishankar, Rajasthan Chief Minister Bhajan Lal Sharma and Governor Kalraj Mishra.

He then visited some of the city's iconic sites, including the historic Amber Fort, one of the six hill forts in Rajasthan recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. On the way there, he was greeted by thousands of school children

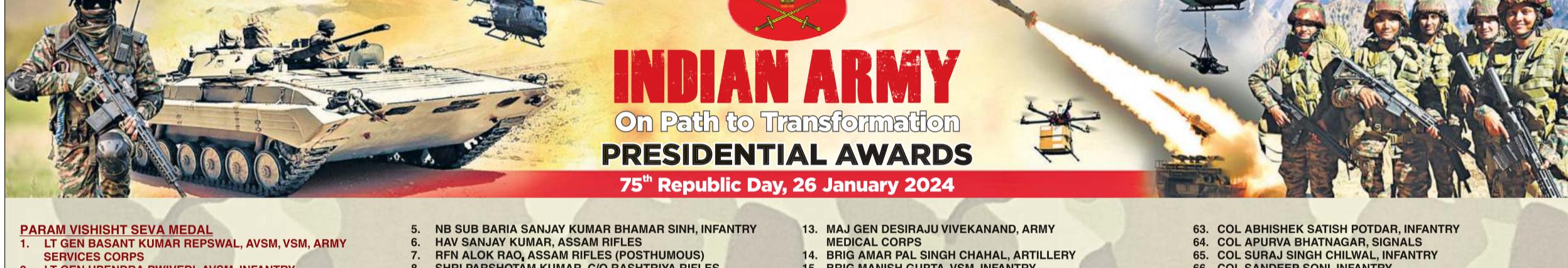


PM Narendra Modi gifts a replica of Ram Mandir to French President Emmanuel Macron in Jaipur on Thursday. ANI

and local residents who had lined the sides of the road. At Amber, Macron, who was accompanied by Jaishankar and deputy CM Diya Kumari, was welcomed with a red carpet, decorated elephants, and Kachhi Ghodi folk dancers. Macron then left for Jaipur's Jantar Mantar, where PM Modi greeted him with a hug.

Modi had arrived in Jaipur

INDIAN ARMY On Path to Transformation PRESIDENTIAL AWARDS 75th Republic Day, 26 January 2024



PARAM VISHISHT SEVA MEDAL

1. LT GEN BASANT KUMAR REPRAWAL, AVSM, VSM, ARMY SERVICES CORPS
2. LT GEN UPENDRA DWIVEDI, AVSM, INFANTRY
3. LT GEN AJAI KUMAR SINGH, AVSM, YSM, SM, VSM, INFANTRY
4. LT GEN SURINDER SINGH MAHAL, AVSM, VSM, ARMoured CORPS (RETD)
5. LT GEN MADHAVAN UNNIKRISHNAN NAIR, AVSM, SM, SIGNALS
6. LT GEN MV SUCHINDRA KUMAR, AVSM, YSM**, VSM, INFANTRY
7. LT GEN NS RAJA SUBRAMANI, AVSM, SM, VSM, INFANTRY
8. LT GEN KULBHUSHAN H GAWAS, VSM, SIGNALS
9. LT GEN ANANANTHARAYAN, YSM, SM, VSM, INFANTRY
10. LT GEN DEVENDRA PRATAP PANDEY, YSM, AVSM, VSM, INFANTRY
11. LT GEN RAVIN KHOSLA, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM, INFANTRY (RETD)
12. LT GEN JOHNSON P MATHEW, UYSM, AVSM, VSM, INFANTRY
13. LT GEN P GOPALAKRISHNA MENON, UYSM, AVSM, INFANTRY
14. LT GEN JAGDISH BALIRAM CHAUDHARI, SM, VSM, MECHANISED INFANTRY
15. LT GEN TARUN KUMAR AICH, AVSM, INFANTRY
16. LT GEN SUBRAMANIAN MOHAN, AVSM, SM, VSM, ARMY AIR DEFENCE
17. LT GEN SAMIR GUPTA, VSM, ARTILLERY
18. LT GEN GURBIRPAL SINGH, AVSM, VSM, INFANTRY
19. LT GEN ASHOK KUMAR JINDAL, AVSM, YSM, ARMY MEDICAL CORPS (RETD)
20. LT GEN AJITH NILAKANTAN, ARMY MEDICAL CORPS
21. MAJ GEN HARIHARAN DHARMARAJAN, AVSM, SM**, VSM, ENGINEERS
22. MAJ GEN RAVI MURUGAN, AVSM, MECHANISED INFANTRY

KIRTI CHAKRA

1. MAJ DIGVIJAY SINGH RAWAT, INFANTRY
2. MAJ DEEPENDRA VIKRAM BASNET, INFANTRY
3. CAPT ANSHUMAN SINGH, ARMY MEDICAL CORPS (POSTHUMOUS)
4. HAV PAWAN KUMAR YADAV, INFANTRY
5. HAV ABDUL MAJID, INFANTRY (POSTHUMOUS)
6. SEP PAWAN KUMAR, INFANTRY, RASHTRIYA RIFLES (POSTHUMOUS)

UTTAM YUDH SEVA MEDAL

1. LT GEN VIRESH PRATAP SINGH KAUSHIK, YSM, SM, INFANTRY
2. LT GEN RASHIM BALI, AVSM, SM, VSM, INFANTRY
3. LT GEN MANISH MOHAN ERY, AVSM, SM, INFANTRY
4. LT GEN HARJEET SINGH SAHI, AVSM, YSM, SM, INFANTRY

BAR TO ATI VISHISHT SEVA MEDAL

1. LT GEN S HARMOHAN IYER, AVSM, ARTILLERY
2. MAJ GEN RAJESH KUMAR JHA, AVSM, ENGINEERS (RETD)

ATI VISHISHT SEVA MEDAL

1. LT GEN TUMUL VARMA, SM, VSM, ELECTRONICS AND MECHANICAL ENGINEERS
2. LT GEN ULHAS VEERAPPA TALUR, VSM, ARMY AIR DEFENCE
3. LT GEN AJAY KUMAR SURI, ARMY AVIATION
4. LT GEN JAGMOHAN SINGH SIDANA, ELECTRONICS AND MECHANICAL ENGINEERS
5. LT GEN K VINOD KUMAR, SIGNALS
6. LT GEN MANJIT KUMAR, SIGNALS
7. LT GEN MANJINDER SINGH, YSM, VSM, INFANTRY
8. LT GEN NAVNEET SINGH SARNA, SM, VSM, ARTILLERY
9. LT GEN RAKESH KAPOOR, VSM, ARMoured CORPS
10. LT GEN SANJAY SETHI, VSM, ARMY ORDNANCE CORPS
11. LT GEN VIPUL SHINGHAL, SM, ARMoured CORPS
12. LT GEN ARVIND WALIA, ENGINEERS
13. LT GEN SARAT CHANDRA DASH, YSM, VSM**, ARMY MEDICAL CORPS
14. LT GEN NARENDRA KOTWAL, SM, VSM, ARMY MEDICAL CORPS
15. MAJ GEN PANTAJALI RAHUL, VSM, ARMY AIR DEFENCE (RETD)
16. MAJ GEN PARAMVIR SINGH SEHRAWAT, SM**, MECHANISED INFANTRY

MAJ GEN VAKAMULLA HARIHARAN, SM, INFANTRY

MAJ GEN ASHOK KUMAR, ENGINEERS

MAJ GEN VINOD T MATHEW, YSM, INFANTRY

MAJ GEN SANDEEP SINGH, ARMoured CORPS

MAJ GEN ANOOP SHINGHAL, SM, ARTILLERY

MAJ GEN SANJIV SHARMA, SM, SIGNALS

MAJ GEN GURPREET SINGH, SM, VSM, ARTILLERY

MAJ GEN PANKAJ MALHOTRA, SM, MECHANISED INFANTRY

MAJ GEN PRIT PAL SINGH, ARMoured CORPS

MAJ GEN RAJAN SHARAWAT, VSM, INFANTRY

MAJ GEN VIKAS LAKHERA, SM, INFANTRY

MAJ GEN CHARNJIT SINGH MANN, VSM, ARMoured CORPS

MAJ GEN YASHPAL SINGH AHLAWAT, YSM, SM, INFANTRY

MAJ GEN AJAY KUMAR SINGH, SM, INFANTRY

MAJ GEN GIRISH KALIA, VSM, INFANTRY

MAJ GEN BHUPESH KUMAR GOYAL, VSM, ARMY MEDICAL CORPS

BRIG GAURAV SINGH KARKI, VSM, ENGINEERS

BRIG AMRENDRA JAHAR, ARMY MEDICAL CORPS

SUB SABLE AVINASH MUKUND, VSM, INFANTRY

SHOURYA CHAKRA

MAJ MANOUE FRANCIS PF, INFANTRY

MAJ AMANDEEP JAHAR, INFANTRY

CAPT MV PRANJAL, SIGNALS, RASHTRIYA RIFLES (POSTHUMOUS)

CAPT AKSHAT UPADHYA, INFANTRY

HAMZA KHAN

JAIPUR, JANUARY 25

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 2024

the old walled city, where they were welcomed by people in large numbers.

The walled city was specially decorated for the occasion, and also had massive cutouts and hoardings of the two leaders. Many onlookers held banners saying "Bienvenue" — French for welcome. The two also clicked a selfie during the roadshow.

Modi and Macron stopped by Hawa Mahal and visited some shops in the old city. Modi bought a replica of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya as a gift for Macron, and paid for it through UPI. In visuals from the shop, Modi could be seen explaining the BHIM UPI payment app to Macron.

They also stopped to have tea in earthen cups at the famous Sahu tea stall. In a video, Macron can be heard talking about the distinctiveness of the earthen cup, and Modi responding that it was "most environment friendly", and that it also gave a "special taste of earth". Here, too, the PM paid for the tea through UPI. The road show continued until Sanganeri Gate. After that, they had dinner at Rambagh Palace in Jaipur, before leaving for New Delhi.

SC dismisses customs' review plea on 'overvaluation' in import of capital goods by Adani firms

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

THE SUPREME Court has dismissed a review plea filed by the customs department against Adani Power Maharashtra Limited (APML), Adani Power Rajasthan Limited (APRL) and others in a case pertaining to alleged overvaluation of imported goods.

A bench of Chief Justice D Y Chandrachud and Justice Sanjay Karol said "there was no error apparent on the face of the record".

"Having perused the review petitions, there is no error apparent on the face of the record. No case for review under Order XLVI Rule 1 of the Supreme Court Rules 2013 has been made out. The review petitions are, therefore, dismissed," said the bench.

The top court was hearing a review petition filed by the customs department challenging the March 27, 2023 order of the apex court dismissing its plea.

"We have heard Balbir Singh, Additional Solicitor General appearing for the appellant(s), and

Mukul Rohatgi, senior counsel appearing for the respondents, at length. We are of the considered opinion that the matters are concluded by the findings of fact recorded by the authorities below and the impugned order(s) does not require any interference at our behest. The appeals accordingly stand dismissed," a bench comprising Justices Krishna Murari and Sanjay Karol had noted.

According to a lawyer associated with the case, the court had found that the project cost of APML and APRL was either similar or lower than the price of their competitors. He said the price was lower than the benchmark per-megawatt cost fixed by the Central Electricity Regulatory Commission (CERC) and the EPC (Engineering, Procurement, and Construction) contract was awarded to the lowest bidder following a worldwide bidding process called International Competitive Bidding (ICB).

The SC had upheld the findings of both the lower authorities — the adjudicating authority as well as the appellate tribunal — and said there was no overvaluation when the equipment were imported by the Adani firms.