***TheIndian EXPRESS**

JOURNALISM OF COURAGE

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2022, MUMBAI, LATE CITY, 14 PAGES

SINCE 1932

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Telangana CM K Chandrashekar Rao with Maharashtra CM Uddhav Thackeray in Mumbai on Sunday. Ganesh Shirsekar

KCR calls on Thackeray, Pawar, says need to preserve democracy

VISHWAS WAGHMODE MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

AS PART of his outreach to regional parties to form an anti-BJP Telangana Chief Minister K Chandrashekar Rao met Maharashtra Chief Minister Uddhav Thackeray and Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) chief Sharad Pawar in Mumbai on Sunday and said that there was a need to preserve democracy and also provide an alternative to the way the country was

"A change in the way the country is being run today is required. We have agreed that a 'parivartan" (change) is required. We want all people to coexist in harmony. We will also hold talks with regional and national parties. I believe that the morcha that starts from Maharashtra leads to success. The country got a lot of inspiration from Shivaji Maharaj, Balasaheb Thackeray and Maratha warriors. We want to follow the same inspiration. We want to fight against injustice, immorality and also preserve CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

50-YEAR LOANS

Centre's loans for capex push ties our hands, say Opp states

AANCHAL MAGAZINE & SUNNY VERMA NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

THE CAPITAL expenditure push directed at states in Budget 2022-23 is being viewed with apprehension Opposition-ruled states that they might end up mortgaging their fiscal independence and sovereignty to the Centre for an extended period.

States are flagging specific concerns about how the 50-year loans, specifically earmarked for capex in the budget for next fis-Constitutional obligation under Article 293 (3), under which they need to seek the Centre's permission for any borrowing in future.

...They have taken two accounting tricks, what I called as exquisitely creative accounting. Because of Article 293 (3), the previous AIADMK government, which was a coalition partner of the BJP, never felt like taking it

NDCC and VENCOBB recommended today's Eggs and Broiler Chicken rates Ex Farm Broiler Chicken Rate

₹ 100 per kilo

Live

₹ 128 per kilo

₹ 158 per kilo

₹ 62 per Dozen

Dressed (with skin)

Retail Rate Per Dozen of Eggs

QUEEN ELIZABETH

TESTS COVID +VE P11



Lock-in terms

UNDER ARTICLE 293(3), states need to seek Centre's consent for additional loans. A 50-year term without a facility to pre-pay, states like TN and Chhattisgarh argue, robs them of fiscal independence. Especially when the amounts are relatively low.

(the Centre's loan), because at that time it was very clear that it was just bait, because the amounts were trivial, around Rs 500 crore for Tamil Nadu... even the previous regime saw the concern that they would use this to trigger Article 293 (3), because it is not repayable in advance. It locks you for 50 years," said

GEORGE MATHEW

& SANDEEP SINGH

MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

AT LEAST one in three initial

public offerings (IPOs) this finan-

cial year since is currently trad-

ing below its issue offer price. In

the past 10-plus months since

April 1, 2021, in FY 2021-22, as

many as 50 companies mopped

up a record Rs 1,11,156 crore;

state-owned Life Insurance

Corporation too expects to mo-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

POLL SPEECH IN U.P.

'Cycle & bombs': PM targets SP on terror, says it withdrew cases against accused

'SP poll symbol bicycle...surprised it was used to plant bombs in Ahmedabad'

LALMANI VERMA & MANISH SAHU LUCKNOW, FEBRUARY 20

DAYS AFTER 38 convicts were sentenced to death in the Ahmedabad blasts of 2008, and with just a fortnight left in the UP elections, Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday accused the Opposition of being soft on terror and singled out the Samajwadi Party (SP) for attack,



PM Modi at the rally in UP's Hardoi, Sunday.

linking its election symbol, the bicycle, to those used to plant some of the bombs then.

Addressing a public meeting in Hardoi, where polling is scheduled on February 23 in the fourth phase, Modi also targeted the previous SP government for deciding to withdraw cases against some of those accused of CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

STRAY CATTLE POLICY COMING PAGE 6 At Prayagraj coaching hub, years spent in wait for job, in hope of god or govt

SHYAMLAL YADAV PRAYAGRAJ, FEBRUARY 20

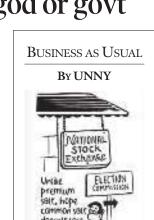
"I HAVE a question for Modiji and Yogiji who claim to have given jobs to crores. Just give us the break-up of those jobs. They will stand exposed," says Mayank Rai, a native of Ghazipur, a B.Tech from Kanpur, who gave up a private job after three years to try to crack the Uttar Pradesh PCS (Provincial Civil Services) exams and join the Provincial Police Service.

Rai has been here, in Prayagraj's coaching hub, now for five years, and made it to the PCS Mains thrice, without get-



At University road, home to many coaching centres. Express

ting through. "I only applied for the police service," says Rai, 29, CONTINUED ON PAGE 2





INDIA TELLS DIPLOMATS' KIN TO LEAVE UKRAINE

Family of Nagaur rape victim says police forcibly moved body

DEEP MUKHERJEE JAIPUR, FEBRUARY 20

THE BODY of a 35-year-old Dalit woman, who was raped, abandoned and found in a critical state six days later, was shifted in the early hours of Sunday from Jaipur to her native village in Nagaur district amid heavy po-

Her family members, who have been refusing to cremate her body for the past three days demanding Rs 50 lakh and government jobs for her children, said the body was moved forcibly from the mortuary in Jaipur.

Geegraj Jodli, a Dalit activist who was with the family at the time, said: "Around 3 am, 200-300 jawans held us forcibly and moved the body. Police were barbaric."

Late on Sunday night, the Nagaur district administration said an agreement had been reached with the family and the protest called off. "It has been agreed that the investigation will be done under the monitoring of

DECISION A h

TURNOUT

UTTAR PRADESH PHASE 3 60.31% (2017: 62.2%)

> **PUNJAB** 64.88% (2017: 77.63%)

Voters at Balongi village in Punjab's Mohali constituency on Sunday.

Punjab voter turnout may not touch 2017 mark, AAP bastions among lowest was in Amritsar, including

MANAMAN SINGH CHHINA CHANDIGARH, FEBRUARY 20

EVEN AS talk of a "wave" had gathered ground ahead of Punjab voting, the state's polling numbers hovered around the 64% mark at 5 pm. While voters were still trickling in and a final figure will be released only Monday, the numbers were expected to be short of the 77.63% recorded last time.

Among the lowest turnouts

high-profile faceoff, between the Congress's Navjot Singh Sidhu and the Akali Dal's Bikram Singh Majithia. It saw a 53% turnout. Amritsar's overall polling of 57.74% was just behind Mohali's, which at 53.10% ranked the lowest. While Punjab recorded

Amritsar East which had the most

65.14% polling in 2002, the numbers had been high since -75.42% in 2007, 78.3% in 2012 and 77.36% in 2017.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

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Saha flags journalist's 'threat' tweets, BCCI to ask for his name

DEVENDRA PANDEY MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

sages purportedly sent by a journalist to Wriddhiman Saha, the Bengal wicketkeeper who was not picked in Team India for the Test series against Sri Lanka, is at the centre of the latest controversy in Indian cricket.

A day after Saha tweeted a screenshot of the messages from someone he described as "a respected journalist", who appeared

bilise over Rs 50,000 crore

period, the benchmark sensitive

index (Sensex) of the Bombay

Stock Exchange gained over 16.5

per cent, BSE mid-cap and small-

cap indices rose 18 per cent and

34 per cent, respectively during

out of 50 listed are sitting on

losses, several others have gen-

erated only marginal gains. Of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

If investors in 18 companies

the period.

During the same 10-month

through an IPO this year itself.



Saha posted a screenshot of the on Twitter

to be demanding an exclusive interview. The Indian Express has learnt that the BCCI will ask the cricketer to reveal the unnamed person's identity before deciding on its course of action.

Saha, meanwhile, has received

One in three IPOs this fiscal

trading below its issue price



CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

DEA

EXCHANGE

'First step for

recovery is to create

jobs and put money

in people's hands'

NAUSHAD FORBES,

CO-CHAIRMAN, FORBES MARSHALL

PAGE 7

LIC IPO

Reservation for Policyholders

To participate, policyholders must meet the following criteria:





Policyholder's PAN details should be updated with the Corporation on or before February 28, 2022.

Please also refer draft red herring prospectus dated February 13, 2022

DEMAT Account Opening

Go to the nearest Common Service Centre (CSC) to open a DEMAT account. OR

Visit either of these websites for registered Depository Participants (DP) to open a DEMAT account:

NSDL: https://nsdl.co.in/Open_NSDL_Demat_Account.php

CDSL: https://www.cdslindia.com/DP/dplist.aspx

Singed last yr, Simlipal reserve villagers vigilant as fire season approaches again

PAGE 1 ANCHOR

WORLD

AISHWARYA MOHANTY MAYURBHANJ, FEBRUARY 20

TWICE A week since the beginning of this month, 40-year-old Sushila Devi and 12 others in her self help group (SHG) have been going from door to door in Barehipani village, forming community groups and holding awareness meetings on ways to prevent forest fires.



A forest official conducts an awareness programme in Barehipani village. Aishwarya Mohanty

AN EXPRESS SERIES **ODISHA**

The visits are part of collaborative efforts by the Mayurbhanj district administration and the forest department to manage fires in the jungle this year. Members of Sushila's SHG were trained for the task by forest rangers and officers. Although awareness campaigns are CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

LIFE INSURANCE CORPORATION OF INDIA is proposing, subject to applicable statutory and regulatory requirements, receipt of requisite approvals dated February 13, 2022 ("DRHP") read with the corrigendum dated February 15, 2022. The DRHP is available on the websites of SEBI at www.sebi.gov.in, websites of the Stock Exchanges i.e., BSE at www.bseindia.com and NSE at www.nseindia.com, respectively and is also available on the websites of the BRLMs, i.e. Kotak Mahindra Capital Company Limited at https://investmentbank.kotak.com, Axis Capital Limited at www.axiscapital.co.in, BofA Securities India Limited at www.ml-india.com, Citigroup Global Markets India Private Limited at www.online.citibank.co.in/rhtm/citigroupglobalscreen1.htm, Goldman Sachs (India) Securities Private Limited at www.goldmansachs.com, ICICI Securities Limited at www.icicisecurities.com, JM Financial Limited at www.jmfl.com, J.P. Morgan India Private Limited at www.jpmipl.com, Nomura Financial Advisory and Securities (India) Private Limited at www.nomuraholdings.com/company/group/asia/india/index.html and SBI Capital Markets Limited at www.sbicaps.com. Potential investors should note that investment in equity shares involves a high degree of risk and for details relating to such risk, please see the section titled 'Risk Factors' of the RHP, when filed. Potential investors should not rely on the DRHP filed with SEBI for making any investment decision. Specific attention of the investors is invited to "Risk Factors" beginning on page 23 of the DRHP.

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भारतीय जीवन बीमा निगम Har Pal Aapke Saath

PM targets SP

terror attacks in the state.

Referring to the Ahmedabad blasts, when he was Chief Minister of Gujarat, Modi said: "Maine uss rakt se geeli hui uss mitti ko utha karke main sankalp liva tha ki meri sarkar inn atankwadiyon ko pataal se bhi khoj karke saja degi... aapne dekha hai abhi do din pehle he Ahmedabad bomb dhamake ke doshiyon ko saja mili hai. Jo hum Rharativon ko tabah karna chahte thhe unhein adalat ne saja sunai hai. Anek atankwadiyon ko faansi

("I had taken a pledge with that bloodsoaked soil that my government will find these terrorists even in hell and punish them. ago that punishment was announced by the court to those guilty in the bomb blasts who wanted to destroy us Indians. The death sentence has been announced for several terrorists.")

Modi said that he was speaking about the issue especially because "certain political parties" have been "merciful" towards terrorists and adopted a "soft" approach to terrorism "for the sake of vote banks". He described this approach as a "threat to the nation" and said every citizen must realise that.

Referring again to the perpetrators of the Ahmedabad blasts, Modi said: "Lekin inhone kya kiva... Yahan Samaiwadi Party ka ioh chunav symbol hai na. unka chunav ka nishan hai na, toh shuru mein jo bomb dhamake hue woh saare ke saare unhone bomb cycle par rakhe hue thhe. Cycle par bomb rakhe hue thhe... aur jaĥan log sabzi wagairah kharidne ke liye aate hain, wahan cycle park karke chale gaye thhe, aur ek samay chaaron taraf yeh cyclon par rakhe hue bomb dhamake phute."

("What did they do? The Samajwadi Party's election symbol here, it is their election symbol. In the blasts that occurred first, bombs were planted on bicycles and these bicycles were parked at places where people come to buy vegetables, etc. These bombs planted on bicycles bombs went off simultaneously.")

"Main hairan hun yeh cycle ko unhone kyun pasand kiya (I am surprised why they preferred the bicycle)," Modi said.

On July 26, 2008, 22 blasts took place within 70 minutes at various locations in Ahmedabad, with explosives placed in buses and cars, and on parked bicycles.

On Sunday, Modi went on to refer to the blasts at the Sankatmochan temple and the Varanasi Cantonment railway station in 2006, when the SP was in power. He said that when the SP came to power again in 2013, its government took the decision to withdraw the case against the accused Shamim Ahmed.

"Is it acceptable to you? Was the decision to withdraw the case against the accused in the Kashi blasts appropriate?" Modi said. He then asked the crowd: "Yeh logon ko aap kabhi bhi mauka denge to yeh apni wardaten karenge ki nahin karenge (If you will give them opportunity, will they cre-

ate similar incidents or not?") Modialso accused the SP government in 2013 of deciding to withdraw cases against Tariq Qasmi, who was accused in a terror attack in Gorakhpur in 2007. He pointed out that the court did not accept the decision and sentenced the accused to 20 years.

Modi also said the SP government in 2013 had withdrawn cases against the accused in the blasts at court premises in Lucknow and Avodhya in 2007. "But the court in that matter did not allow the conspiracy of the Samajwadi government and pronounced life term imprisonment for the terrorist," he said.

Asserting that the SP government had issued orders for the withdrawal of cases against terror accused in 14 cases, he said: "Is it okay to show mercy to terrorists? Are these games of protecting terrorists okay?"

"Aur aaj lipapoti karne nikle ho. Yeh log visphot kar rahe thhe, dhamake kar rahe thhe, aur Samajwadi Party sarkar in atankwadiyon par mukadma tak nahin chalne de rahi thi. Atankwadiyon ko case wapsi ka return gift diya ja raha tha," he said

(And you [SP] have come out to cover it all up. They were doing blasts and the Samajwadi Party government was not even allowing trials to be conducted against those terrorists. The terrorists were being given return gifts in the form of case with-

drawal.") Modi also targeted the Congress and alleged that the party addressed Osama Bin Laden as "Osama ji", and that it cried over the killing of terrorists in the Batla House encounter, and insulted

Indian Army and the police.

In 2013, following up on its

poll promise that it would withdraw terror cases against innocent Muslim youths, the SP government ordered withdrawal of charges against 19 people, citing insufficient evidence in courts.

The Allahabad High Court stayed the government's move while hearing a PIL filed by advocate Ranjana Agnihotri, along with five others. Agnihotri's lawyer, Hari Shankar Jain, said: The (then) state government filed a Special Leave Petition in the Supreme Court against the stay, and it is still pending."

Among the 19 were alleged HuJI operatives Shamim Ahmed and Tariq Qasmi.

Ahmed was booked for allegedly planting a bomb in Varanasi in 2016 — the bomb did not explode. He was named in the chargesheet along with a cleric, Waliullah, and three students in Deoband from Bangladesh.

Waliullah's lawyer Aarif Ali said: "The trial of Waliullah has reached the final stage (in a local court) as arguments have been completed. The three other accused and Shamim were never caught. Waliullah is currently lodged at Dasna jail (Ghaziabad)."

Qasmi, a Unani practitioner from Azamgarh, was arrested in Barabanki after police claimed to have recovered explosives from his possession in December 2007. He was subsequently booked in three other cases related to blasts that occurred earlier that year in the Lucknow and Faizabad courts, and in Gorakhpur — five people were killed.

The SP government filed withdrawal applications in two cases linked to the blasts. But the courts rejected the government's plea, "Tarig has been convicted to life imprisonment in all the four cases. An appeal in all four cases have been filed in Allahabad High Court and are pending," said his lawyer Mohammad Shoaib. Qasmi, who is married and has four children, is lodged in Barabanki jail.

Nagaur rape

the ADG Crime and the family will be given a financial package as per the provisions of the SC/ST Act," Nagaur district collector Peeyush Samariya said.

Jodli said the body will be handed over to the family and the cremation was likely on

Nagaur SP Ram Moorty Joshi said they had to deploy a big force to move the body due to the tension surrounding the protests. On acting in the wee hours, police sources said they wanted to avoid a sustained

dharna in Jaipur. The BIP has been protesting against the Gehlot government over the incident, and claimed the involvement of "politically influential people". On Saturday, the family said a local Congress worker of Nagaur district, Aaydan

Ram Dara, was involved. Two Nagaur police officials were earlier suspended for failing to do enough to locate the woman, including through use

of her call details. The Nagaur police has arrested a Dalit, identified as Suresh Meghwal, and detained a juvenile for the rape and murder of the woman, who went missing on February 4 and was rescued on February 10. She passed away in Jaipur on February 17,

while undergoing treatment. Police said Meghwal had raped the woman and then, with the help of his juvenile friend, strangled her, leaving her in the forest thinking she was dead. Police had termed her rescue a "miracle".

Punjab turnout

The voter turnout was also considerably low in AAP bastions in the Malwa region, from where a majority of its 20 MLAs had won in 2017. The polling in Mansa, Barnala, Bathinda, Faridkot, Muktsar and Sangrur districts was lower than in 2017. In Malwa region, Gidderbaha recorded the highest polling, at 77.80%.

Chamkaur Sahib and Bhadaur, from where Chief Minister Charanjit Singh Channi is seeking to be elected, recorded polling of 70% and 71.30% respectively till 5 pm. Channi is the sitting MLA from Chamkaur Sahib.

In Dhuri, where AAP CM face Bhagwant Mann is a candidate, 68% had voted till 5 pm.

The strongholds of the Badals at Lambi and Ialalabad from where former CM Parkash Singh Badal and SAD president Sukhbir Singh Badal are contesting saw 72.40% and 77% voting respectively.

Mansa saw 77.21% polling, Malerkotla 72.84%, Fazilka 73.59%, Sangrur 70.43% and Muktsar 74.12%.

Patiala city, from where former CM Capt Amarinder Singh is seeking re-election, saw

The BJP stronghold of Sujanpur, in Pathankot district, recorded 71.5%, the highest voting percentage in the Majha region. In Doaba region, Sultanpur Lodhi recorded 68.1%.

The Election Commission restrained actor and philanthropist Sonu Sood from visiting polling booths in Moga following complaints that he was trying to influence voters. His vehicle has also been impounded by police, officials said. Sood denied the charges, saying other candidates were trying to buy votes. His sister Malvika Sood Sachar is a Congress candidate from Moga.

The Aam Aadmi Party raised multiple complaints of booth capturing in several areas and also alleged bogus voting. The state coincharge, Raghav Chadha, alleged mismanagement by election staff at booths, where dysfunctional voting machines were not replaced for a long time.

WITH ENS, DELHI

Coaching hub

still optimistic, with 11 years to go for the upper age limit of 40.

For decades now, Prayagraj and its satellite localities of Naini, Jhunsi and Phaphamau have hosted students like Rai — from backward districts of eastern UP to Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Uttarakhand – with aspirations of a government job. Approximately 5 lakh students stay here, many of them enrolled at the nearly 2,000-odd centres, preparing for everything from the elite IAS, IPS to PCS to lowerrank government jobs like police constable. This coaching hub comes at prices far lower than places like Delhi and Lucknow.

The BJP's "Sankalp Patra" for UP polls claims that since 2017, 5 lakh youths have got government jobs in the state and 3 lakh contractual jobs, "without any discrimination". It also promises to fill all vacancies in the state government at the earliest.

One week to go for voting in Prayagraj, in the fifth phase on February 27, those numbers ring hollow. An echo of this was heard more than 200 km away in Gonda on Saturday, where angry youths demanding Army recruitment obstructed a rally of Union Defence Minister Rajnath Singh with slogans.

Recently, Prayagraj was one of the places where protests erupted over a change in railway recruitment exams, leading to them being postponed for now.

The BJP has fielded Harshvardhan Bajpai, a sitting MLA from a prominent political family. His main opponent is Samajwadi Party youth wing leader Sandeep Yadav. The Yogi Adityanath government, that changed the name of the city from Allahabad to Prayagraj, takes credit for a lot of infrastructural work before

Kumbh 2018 here. Avnish Pandey, from Deoria, arrived in Prayagraj back in 1998 with hopes of joining the IAS. He reached the interview stage in the Civil Services exam twice and in the PCS four times. Now 40, he teaches at coaching institutes. He says he kept trying for the above two services, and did not look for others. "But there are many examinations for which you apply and only god knows when the final results come.'

Pandey would have been the first in his family with a government job. The same dream brought Survakant Yaday, from Pratapgarh, here 21 years ago. He has since then got degrees in MSc (Maths), MA (Ancient History), LLB and BEd, and cleared TET (Teacher Eligibility Test), CTET (Central Teacher Eligibility Test) and a UGC NET in History. But only now does Yadav, 39, have a job. "I have appeared in around a hundred examinations and am finally going to join as a Junior Assistant in the next few months."

At the Amarnath Jha Hostel, which has produced several top bureaucrats, PhD scholar Amarjit Singh says he is tired of exams being put off again and again over "leaks". "I am a staunch supporter of the SP," he says. "But paper leaks have happened both under the SP and BJP, and they just pass the buck to each other.'

The last such leak was of the TET paper in November 2021. The exam was held again last month. Students say it takes up to four years at times before final results are declared.

Pushpendra Pratap Singh, 36, got the job of a primary teacher after spending over 15 years here, and still resides in Chhota Baghada, an area where most students live in cheap rented accommodation. He says the government appears to have turned exams into a means of revenue generation. "The UPSC charges Rs 100 as fees for the Civil Services exam Aptitude Test and Rs 200 for the Mains. For PCS the

fee is Rs 125, for B.Ed entrance

exam, they charge Rs 1,500, and for TET Rs 1,200," Singh lists.

Around 5 lakh students appeared for the B.Ed examination held in August 2021 in UP, over 18 lakh for the TET last month, while nearly 10 lakh applied for the Aptitude Test for the Civil Services and nearly 7 lakh for PCS in 2021.

Power Minister Shrikant Sharma, who was earlier spokesperson for the UP government, says, "We inherited several problems, but we have made all systems of recruitment transparent. If there is still any problem, we will solve it as well, finish recruitment in time."

KCR

democracy," Rao told mediapersons after a meeting with CM Thackeray at the latter's official residence, Varsha. The meeting, which was a result of the Maharashtra CM's invite to his Telangana counterpart, lasted for more than two hours.

Thackeray said the existing political and social environment in the country was worrisome. "The atmosphere in the country is getting turbulent day by day. Vendetta politics is being played....Vendetta politics is not the tradition of our country and this is not our Hindutva at all. If such things continue, then what is the future of the country? Someone needed to think about it. Hence, we have started thinking about it and a new beginning has started today. But, it will take some time to take shape,' Thackeray said.

The Maharashtra CM also spoke about the "targeting of political opponents" by the Central government. "Instead of addressing the fundamental issues of the country, opponents are being defamed and lies are being spread about them. This should be stopped," said Thackeray.

Rao also said that agencies were being misused by the Central government. "We condemn the misuse of central agencies. The Centre should change its policy. Else, they will have to pay price for it in future,"

The Telangana CM said he discussed several issues at length with Thackeray, including the country's progress, accelerating the pace of development and bringing structural and policy reforms. "We have agreed on almost all issues and have decided to work together. Because there are many other likeminded people in the country, we are holding talks with them

too," he added. After his meeting with Thackeray, Rao drove down to the residence Sharad Pawar. Following his meeting with the NCP Chief. Rao suggested that a meeting of like-minded parties could be called at Baramati, the hometown of Pawar. "We will start work by bringing together those who want to come with us," he added.

The NCP, however, was guarded with Pawar stating that there was "no political discussion" and that only "developmental issues" were discussed in the meeting. "Our focus is only on development, development and development. We will meet again," Pawar said.

"Today, the country is facing problems of poverty and unemployment. We discussed what can be done to find a way out of

this," Pawar added. A statement issued by the Maharashtra CM's office said a detailed discussion on interstate joint irrigation projects as well as ways to enhance cooperation in various fields also took place between Thackeray and

The Telangana CM was accompanied by senior leaders of his party, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), and actor Prakash

Raj during both the meetings. Rao did not meet any leaders from the Maharashtra State Congress during his Mumbai visit. Rao, in response to a question on keeping Congress out of the non-BIP front, said that talks would be held with the leaders of regional and national parties soon after which a decision would be taken on the issue.

State Congress president Nana Patole, though, welcomed Rao's efforts. "He has seen the true face of the BIP and his efforts to unite the regional parties against the BJP's dictatorship are welcome. But without the Congress party, the opposition front against the BJP will not be complete and successful," said

Patole Rao is the second CM from a non-BJP party to have visited Maharashtra in the last few months and spoken about the need for a front against the ruling party at the Centre. In December 2021, West Bengal

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CM Mamata Banerjee met both Pawar and Thackeray in Mumbai as part of Trinamool Congress's outreach programme to build an opposition front ahead of the 2024 general elections.

1 in 3 IPOs

32 trading at a premium as on February 18, a dozen generated capital gains of up to 15 per cent which includes seven that have risen by up to 10 per cent, according to data compiled by The Indian Express.

Amongst the losers, investors in CarTrade Tech and One97 Communications (Paytm) suffered the maximum value erosion with shares trading over 60 per cent below their issue price. Even Zomato witnessed a sharp 36 per cent correction over the last one month; it is currently trading at Rs 86, which is 13 per cent over its issue price. FSN Ecommerce (Nykaa) saw its share price fall from Rs 2,071 on January 17 this year to Rs 1,397 on February 18. The issue was priced at Rs 1,125. Data Patterns dropped from Rs 815 to Rs 652.20 during the same period.

The sharp fall must be seen in the context of a larger selling pressure in tech stocks. While the BSE Tech fell 8 per cent against the Sensex fall of 0.7 per cent since December 31, the Nasdaq has lost 13.4 per cent compared with the 6 per cent in Dow Jones.

Half-a-dozen IPOs are quoting at a premium of over 100 per cent and another six have returned between 50 per cent and 100 per cent capital gains since their listing. The CEO of an asset manage-

ment company said investors should be careful when there are many IPOs. "It is always seen that when the markets are on a high, IPOs tend to bunch up as companies hope to command a high premium. In such cases, promoters don't leave much on the table for investors: they make the most," said the CEO, who did not wish to be named.

The CEO further raised concern over the huge valuation demanded by new age technology companies and investor appetite. "If these companies could not make profit in lockdown when everything turned online, I am not comfortable with them when the economy has opened up," he said.

The top ten gainers appreciated between 58 per cent and 273 per cent with Paras Defence and Space Tech topping the list with a gain of 273 per cent; its shares jumped from Rs 175 to Rs 654 after listing October 1, 2021.

The top loser is CarTrade Tech which came out with an IPO at Rs 1,618 per share. This share is now trading at Rs 586, a discount of 63.8 per cent. Investors also lost in the highprofile IPO of Paytm. The company which offered its shares at Rs 2,150 is now quoting at Rs 833.9 on the exchanges. The market capitalisation of Paytm has crashed from the IPO valuation of Rs 1.5 lakh crore to Rs 54,057 crore as on February 18.

"The large size of Paytm's IPO coupled with a complex business model and high valuation metrics dampened the performance post listing. Despite this, the IPO story of India races ahead and the IPOs which were launched after Paytm, such as Go Fashion and Tega Industries proved to be extremely successful," said Mohit Ralhan, Managing Partner & Chief Investment Officer of TIW Private Equity.

The year 2022 is expected to witness IPOs from LIC, Ola, Byju's and Delhivery. India is home to 79 unicorns; 42 emerged in 2021 alone. "India is the thirdlargest startup hub in the world and has developed a strong ecosystem of entrepreneurs and venture capital investors, supported by favourable government policies, which will continue to feed into India's accelerating IPO boom. The story has just begun, and the future

looks quite bright," Ralhan said. An investment banker said

the fate of the IPO market is linked to the strength of the stock market. If the stock market remains volatile and shows major correction, some of the issuers might postpone their IPO plans. On top of this, if issuers price their IPOs at high levels without leaving anything on the table for retail investors, there are bound to be some post-listing disasters.

With the US Federal Reserve planning to hike rates and tighten the monetary policy, foreign portfolio investors (FPIs) have started exiting from newly listed IPOs along with secondary

Market regulator SEBI is also concerned about valuations. The IPO market price discovery is not as "transparent and efficient" as secondary market price discovery, SEBI Chairman Ajay Tyagi said while addressing a CII summit in September last year. In a consultation paper last week, SEBI said new age companies should make disclosures about their valuations based on issuance of new shares and acquisition of shares in the past 18 months before filing draft offer documents.

Capex push

Tamil Nadu Finance Minister Palanivel Thiaga Rajan.

TS Singh Deo, Chhattisgarh's Health Minister and representative to the GST Council, said the capex loans are a burden on the states' repayment amount and add to the debt burden for future governments. "Chhattisgarh will get Rs

3,400 crore, it is interest-free to be repaid in 50 years, so each annual tranche would be smaller. Yet it is money to be given back...It is neither a devolution nor a grant and it is burdening us with loans because we have to show it as capital expenditure. Are we in a position not to take it? We are starving for funds. they are thrusting things down our throats. Where is the option? We are losing more than that this year in GST and then every year we are going to lose Rs 5,000 crore in GST," he said.

In Budget 2022-23, states have been allowed to borrow up to Rs 1 lakh crore from the Centre through 50-year "interest-free loans" to make capital investments. In 2021-22, the Centre had allowed states an additional Rs 15,000 crore for capital investment under a similar window. The Budget proposed a hike in the capital expenditure by 24.47 per cent to Rs 7.5 lakh crore compared with the revised estimate for 2021-22 at Rs

6,02,711 crore. Thiaga Rajan questioned the condition of no prepayment being allowed. "On what logic does it make sense, what purpose is served by not allowing prepayment. If I'm the lender, I should be happiest if it's prepaid because I'm getting it in advance where it actually means something," he said.

Former Finance Secretary Subhash Chandra Garg said the apprehensions are understandable. "The Central government used to give a lot of loans to the states for capex and other expenditures but that had been discontinued in 2005...By restarting this practice, states would now remain indebted to the Centre for 50 years. So, for such a small amount, the state may end up mortgaging their fiscal independence and sovereignty to the Centre," he said.

Queries sent to the Finance Ministry did not elicit any response. A senior Finance Ministry official, however, said that as of now, most states are obligated to take consent of the Government of India under Article 293 (3), given their ongoing loans commitments, including multilateral loans.

"All external loans to States get routed through Gol. The choice would be with States to remain untied and not take this **EXPRESS** AUDIO

Using SRK to understand womanhood and the Indian economy

NEW EPISODE EVERYDAY

assistance. Prepayment is a mat-

ter of terms and conditions. But

who will take a high-cost loan to

prepay a zero cost debt?" the of-

Indian Express earlier this

month. Finance Secretary TV

Somanathan had said capital ex-

penditure by states will have a

quicker effect since it has a

greater geographical spread

and a greater diversity of proj-

ects" compared to capex by the

Centre. Also, state projects ben-

efit small and medium enter-

According to Article 293 (3),

"a State may not without the

consent of the Government of

India raise any loan if there is still

outstanding any part of a loan

which has been made to the

State by the Government of India

or by its predecessor

Government, or in respect of

which a guarantee has been

given by the Government of

India or by its predecessor

sent under clause (3) may be

granted subject to such condi-

tions, if any, as the Government

Incidentally, in recent years,

of India may think fit to impose.'

states, in aggregate, have in-

curred a higher level of capital

expenditure than the Union

an outpouring of support from

former cricketers who have ex-

pressed solidarity and urged him

to reveal the journalist's name.

Former India spinner Pragyan

Oiha, the Indian cricketers' associ-

ation representative, tweeted

that "we will make sure our

cricket community boycotts this

had posted the screenshot with

a tweet: "After all of my contri-

butions to Indian cricket..this is

what I face from a so called

"Respected" journalist! This is

Following the interview re-

quest, which included the line

'Choose whoever can help the

most", another message from the screenshot read: "You did not

call. Never again will I interview

you. I don't take insults kindly.

a storm on social media, Virender

Sehwag tweeted: "Extremely sad.

Such sense of entitlement, nei-

ther is he respected nor a journal-

ist, just chamchagiri. With you

Harabhajan Singh: "Wridhi you

just name the person so that the

cricket community knows who

operates like this. Else even the

good ones will be put under suspicion... What kind of journal-

ism is this." Harbhajan tagged

BCCI president Souray Ganguly,

secretary Jay Shah and Union

Minister for Sports and Youth

Affairs Anurag Thakur in his

chipped in. "Shocking a player

being threatened by a journo.

Blatant position abuse.

Something that's happening too

frequently with #TeamIndia.

Time for the BCCI prez to dive in.

Find out who the person is in the

interest of every cricketer. This is

serious coming from ultimate

Former India pacer R P Singh,

too, backed Saha. "When it is

about BCCI or cricketers, we hear

so many 'sources' from all the

journalists. Can a single source

tell me who this so-called jour-

nalist is who has threatened

37-year-old Saha came out all

guns blazing on Saturday after

not being picked in the team. He

told this newspaper that he was

surprised at some of the state-

ments from chief selector

Chetan Sharma at the press con-

ference after the selection com-

that it was not the end of the

road for Saha and other seniors.

Sharma had told the media

Usually calm and impassive

Saha?" he tweeted.

mittee meeting.

team man WS," he posted.

Former coach Ravi Shastri

tweet.

So did former off-spinner

After Saha's post whipped up

And I will remember this."

where the journalism has gone.'

On Saturday evening, Saha

so called journalist!"

It further states that "a con-

Government.'

Government

Saha

prises more, he said.

In an interview with The

ficial said

Economist Shrayana Bhattacharya on why she spent 15 years interviewing women who are SRK fans, and what that revealed about the economy and womanhood

> But Saha said: "I asked him if I would be considered for the team's next Test assignments, in England and beyond? He paused for a second or two before telling me that from now on, I would-

n't be considered." Apparently, Saha's pullout from the first round of Bengal's Ranji fixtures was misconstrued as him losing motivation after both coach Rahul Dravid and Sharma had conveyed to him that his international days are over. But the wicketkeeper dismissed such a suggestion, saying the pullout was due to personal reasons as his wife had just recovered from a bout of dengue.

Saha also claimed that Ganguly had sent him a Whats-App message after his defiant 61 against Sri Lanka in Kanpur that "as long as I'm here (helming the BCCI), you would be in the team". "Such a message from the BCCI president really boosted my confidence. What I'm struggling to understand is how things have changed so fast," Saha said. (WITH SHAMIK

CHAKRABARTY)

Simlipal

carried out yearly, both the campaign and community participation has been intensified this year after Similipal National Park and the surrounding forests saw major fires in February and March 2021. There was no crown fire, but the ground fire left a trail of destruction. The fire season lasts until May.

The Simlipal reserve sprawls over 2,750 sq km in Mayurbhanj district, and is home to three out of every four tigers in Odisha and 20 per cent of the state's elephant population. There are 68 villages within the reserve mostly in the buffer zone — and about 1,200 on the periphery.

Barehipani, however, lies in the core area of the Similipal tiger reserve, nearly 30 km from villages in the buffer zone. The village is accessible by a kutcha motorable road, but has no electricity or mobile phone network. The villagers depend on the forest for dry wood, and consume sal seeds, seasonal mushrooms,

and a variety of leafy greens. "We want to be prepared for any forest fire, but we also want to ensure that no fire is caused by human activities, knowingly or unknowingly. Last year, we collaborated to douse the fire. But it was a challenge because the fire was already raging. This time, we are taking all the steps beforehand so in case there is a fire, we can contain it better," Mandodari Lohar, one of the

SHG members, said. "We have resolved to impose a fine of Rs 5000 on any person who is found guilty of lighting a fire," Sushila Devi said.

The SHGs have also been creating fire lines, which involves burning a strip of vegetation and clearing the land so in case of a fire, the spread is restricted.

FULL REPORTS ON www.indianexpress.com

Karnataka: Trekker falls into 200-ft gorge, rescued

Chikkaballapura (Karnataka):A 19-year-old trekker who fell at least 200 feet into a gorge at Nandi Hill, about 60 km from Bengaluru, was on Sunday rescued by the Indian Air Force and the national and State disaster response forces, a police said.

The victim from Delhi study-

ing in an engineering college in Bengaluru fell into the gorge and got trapped, Chikkaballapura SP, G K Mithun Kumar told PTI. "Nishank had come alone for trekking and fell into the gorge. After slipping, he fortunately got stuck," he said. He said the youth messaged the police control room and shared his location. Soon, a police team, along with the SDRF and NDRF, went to the rescue but none could help. "Then, we contacted the IAF which rushed to the rescue." PTI

3 THE CITY

Dip in daily cases; 'Planning to fill police dept's vacant sanctioned zero Covid deaths posts of last two years in the next six months' after two days

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

A day after recording 201 new Covid-19 cases, the daily caseload in Mumbai dipped to 167 on Sunday. The state capital also recorded zero Covid-19 deaths after a gap of two days.

On Thursday, out of the 28,978 tests conducted, 259 tested positive for the infection. The test positivity rate – the number of positive cases out of the total tests conducted - stood at 0.74 per cent.

As on Sunday, there were 1,511 active Covid-19 cases in Mumbai. Out of the 36,317 Covid-19 beds, only 829 were occupied by patients. In the ICU, out of the 2,886 beds, 283 were in use.

The state reported 1,437 new cases with six deaths. Due

78.58 lakh TOTAL POSITIVE CASES

IN MAHARASHTRA

New Cases 1,437

Total Deaths 1,43,582 New Deaths 6

10,54,643 lakh

TOTAL POSITIVE

CASES IN MUMBAI New Cases | 167

Total Deaths 16,687 New Deaths 0

to the flattening of the pandemic curve, the number of active Covid-19 cases has dropped to around 16,000 in safety and security of the state capital, Mumbai police is heavily understaffed – a problem that

was spotlighted by Covid-19 pandemic and the resultant lockdown and fatality among personnel. Joint Commissioner of Mumbai police (administration) **RAJKUMAR** VHATKAR talks to SAGAR RA-JPUT of The Indian Express about what the force is doing to fill the vacancies, compensation to kin of cops who succumbed to the pandemic, and reinstatement of suspended personnel in the wake of the controversy surrounding dismissed cop Sachin Waze. Excerpts from an inter-

The Mumbai Police **Commissioner recently** pointed out that the force is short on more than 8,700police personnel as recruitment drives took place only once in the last department doing to fill the vacant positions?

The department is shortstaffed because of the lockdown enforced by Covid-19 due to which we could not conduct recruitment drives after 2019. And with almost 1.500 policemen retiring every year and another 100-200 personnel seeking voluntary retirement, getting dismissed or opting for inter-district transfer, the number of vacancieshas grown. Recently, we recruited 1,076 men for vacancies which were to be filled in 2019. However, we are planning that the sanctioned posts for the years 2020 and 2021 be filled together in the next six months.

Do you think eight-hour duty for the constabulary rank is possible to implement in a city like Mumbai?

Enforcement of eight hours of duty was successfully done but it was hampered by Covid-19.

MONDAY **INTERVIEW**

RAJKUMAR VHATKAR JOINT COMMISSIONER OF MUMBAI POLICE, ADMINISTRATION

Due to the pandemic, the entire nature of working has changed. In the initial few months, we were enforcing lockdown and most of our men were living with comorbidities. So, almost 10-20 per cent of the police force was away from duty and hence the eight-hour duty exercise had taken a backseat.

martyred in the pandemic, families of how many cops have received compensation and how many got jobs on compassionate grounds?

In terms of recruitment on

compassionate grounds, we have provided jobs to the kin of 46 policemen. Around 12-15 applications are pending and after due verification, those family members will also be recruited. As far as the remaining martyred policemen are concerned, their family members were either under age or they did not have anyone who requires a job at present. Compensations have been provided to the kin of 108 policemen so far. Five or six applications are pending with the government while remaining were not eligible.

Could you explain the rules of reinstatement? Did the department make any changes in the rules since the

cop Sachin Waze?

No changes have been made. It

is a well set-out practice. It is implemented across Maharashtra and it is as per government's guidelines. Every three months, we conduct a suspension review meeting which is headed by the Commissioner of Mumbai police. Joint Commissioner of police (admin), Deputy commissioner of police (headquarter), Additional Commissioner of police (AP) and Additional Commissioner of police (Anti Corruption Bureau) are also part of the committee and all the cases of suspensions are put up before them. The committee reads the allegation made out against the officers and based on their delinquency, default and the nature of offence, a decision to reinstate a suspended cop is taken. So, the then committee had decided to reinstate him (Waze).

Recently, 11 people were arrested for trying to dupe changes will be made to ensure that such a thing does not happen in the future

recruitment drives? In all the recruitments that happen in India, the candidates try to subvert the system and it is up to the system to remove such elements. Accordingly, we had devised our own system...We had 10 centers outside Mumbai. So, when the candidates appeared, we had videographed them. Out of 2.5 lakh candidates who appeared for the written exams, only 14,000 were selected for physical test and documentation. Every day, 1,200 persons appeared for the exercise which went on for 10 days. During the physical test also, we videographed the candidate and after finalising them, we called them and matched them with the videos. This way, a person using bogus methods to get recruited will be caught.

FULL REPORT ON www.indianexpress.com

MU's Kalina campus library in shambles

PALLAVISMART MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

MUMBAI UNIVERSITY'S (MU) Jawaharlal Nehru Library in Kalina campus is in shambles. While the building awaits serious repairs, books and research papers can be seen lying in every corner in a terrible condition with many infested with termites.

A newly constructed library building has been ready on the campus for over four years now but administration has not been prompt about moving.

As campus has started bustling with students again with increase in offline lectures, the issue of MU library has again come



Mumbai University library in Kalina campus. Express

to the fore. Students have started visiting the library and the situation is getting worse. The building is pretty damaged with cracked walls, and portions of the false ceiling have been falling. One section of the building has been closed entirely because of such hazards. Many books, research papers, newspaper archives used for research by students are gathering dust or rotting in different corners. Following such concerns, senate member Vaibhav Thorat has now written a letter to the Vice Chancellor of Mumbai

"This library's condition has been brought into the spotlight earlier too. Every time varsity has assured that since the new building is ready there is no issue. Soon the entire library was to be shifted to a new structure and this building will go for repair. But these promises have not been acted upon for the past four years, out of which two years are gone in pandemic now," shared a masters student preferring anonymity. The library's Cwing was closed

in the year 2018 after a few instances of false ceilings coming apart and other issues. When contacted, the MU administration informed that re-

pair-work has started. Deputy Registrar and PRO Leeladhar Bansod, shared, "Considering the safety, structural audit has been completed of the Jawaharlal Nehru Library. Accordingly, repair-work is going on in phases...' **FULL REPORT ON**

www.indianexpress.com

Man nabbed from Bengaluru for 'duping teacher over bitcoin'

Mumbai: Matunga police have arrested a 31-year-old man from Bengaluru who would allegedly dupe investors under the pretext of giving them high returns on the investment in crypto mining scheme. The accused has been identified as Mohammad Jabir, who created a mobile app on Crypto mining investment scheme, police said.

According to the police, recently a teacher at a Matunga-based school had approached them with a complaint that he had been duped of Rs 2.47 lakh in the scheme. The police said the teacher initially received a text message on his mobile phone which promised investors of returns of Rs 2,000 per day.

The complainant then opened the link and downloaded an application called Arohash from the Play Store. Soon after he received a call from a person named Aray Khurana who introduced a Bitcoin Mining Scheme. Initially, he invested Rs 2,000 and immediately received the promised amount. Thinking it is a genuine investment scheme, he invested Rs 2.47 lakh. However after a few days, the ac cused removed their applications from Play Store, citing technical reasons, deleted the WhatsApp group which he had created and did not return any refund. He realised that he has been cheated and approached the police. ENS

IIM ROHTAK Indian Institute of Management Rohtak Invites applications for admission to its

FIVE YEAR INTEGRATED PROGRAMME IN MANAGEMENT

(Batch 2022-27) Five-Year Integrated Programme in Management (IPM) at IIM Rohtak is

for students after class XII who aim to pursue their career in Busines Management. It is a comprehensive management program that has a combined course of management studies from under-graduate to **Eligibility Criteria**

Minimum 60% in Standard X/ SSC and Standard XII/ HSC or equivalen examinations (55% for reserved category as per GOI norms) Maximum 20 years of age as on June 30, 2022

minimum eligibility criteria Note: Students who are likely to complete Standard XII/ HSC or equivalent by June 30, 2022, can also apply, subject to meeting the criteria as mentioned above.

Last Date to Register for IPM Batch 02 Registration: May 02, 2022 Date of IPM Online Test: **May 21, 2022** Test Centres across the country: 28 cities

For more details please visit: www.iimrohtak.ac.in or reach out to IPM Office, IIM Rohtak; E-mail: ipmadmission@iimrohtak.ac.in Contact: 01262-228539/555



State govt plans further relaxation in Covid curbs

Mandatory wearing of masks outside homes may continue

RUPSA CHAKRABORTY MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

WITH THE flattening of the pandemic curve in Maharashtra, the state is planning to provide further relaxation to the Covid-19 induced restrictions this week However, the mandatory wearing of masks outside homes will likely continue until the WHO makes an announcement of Covid being an 'endemic' dis-

Last week, the Centre wrote to the states, directing them to review the additional restrictions as the positivity rate in India has dropped considerably. Following which, the public health department held a highlevel meeting to decide on easing the restrictions.

"We have already relaxed most of the restrictions in districts outside Mumbai and Pune... There are still a few restrictions like 50% cap in movie theatres and swimming pools. We are in discussion to ease the restrictions but a final decision is yet to be taken," said Dr Pradeep Vyas, additional chief secretary, Maharashtra.

In last week's meeting, a few members of the Covid-19 task force suggested gradual easing of curbs in phases till March. "It is unlikely that a more deadly variant will emerge but we have to be cautious. So, we will announce some relaxation this week but, complete ease would be done in phases," said a member of the task force.

When asked if the state would do away with the mandatory wearing of masks, Dr Vyas said a decision on it would be taken once the WHO officially declares the end of the pandemic. Emphasizing on the need for wearing masks, he said, "Wearing a mask doesn't do any harm. In fact, it is my personal suggestion that the public should continue wearing masks which protects against the air pollution and other air-borne

The weekly positivity rate in Maharashtra stood at 4% between February 12 and 18. While the cases have flattened in major cities, rural districts are still witnessing a spike

Amravati with 17.8% had the highest seven-day positivity rate in the state. This was followed by Gadchiroli (15.8%), Buldhana (15%) and Nandubar (9.8%).

Engineering, and Mathematical

tional thinking and focuses on

the real world applications of

project is aimed at boosting con-

fidence of students of the com-

munity in education system, to

solve the problem of student

dropout rate as well as absen-

teeism, evaluate the work of

teachers, and compel them to

adopt appropriate teaching

The Department will be im-

It teaches students computa-

According to officials, the

Education.

problem solving.

FIR against Wankhede for 'giving false information' to obtain liquor licence

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

A CASE has been registered against Sameer Wankhede, Narcotics Control Bureau's (NCB) former Mumbai zonal director, for allegedly giving false information in an affidavit in order to obtain a liquor licence, Kopari police

The FIR has been registered at Kopari police station in Thane for giving false information on oath, cheating and forgery among other sections of the Indian Penal Code based on a complaint lodged by an excise department official on Saturday evening who claimed that Wankhede posed as an adult to get the licence.

NCP spokesperson and the state cabinet minister Nawab Malik had earlier claimed that Wankhede owns a bar called Hotel Sadguru in Navi Mumbai.

plementing the project in two

phases and in the first phase, 500

Ashram Schools will be covered.

Classroom infrastructure and

Virtual Learning Environment at

ashram schools, Facial Biometric

Attendance system, Teaching

Learning Management System,

English Language Learning Tool

and E-STEM method will be in-

cluded in the digitisation plan of

the Ashram school, by which the

government believes will initiate

a radical change in the education

"The English Language

system in the state.

Components like Digital

He had alleged that the Indian Revenue Service (IRS) officer was only 17 years old when he received the licence for the bar.

Wankhede was in the news after he as NCB director raided a Cordelia cruise ship last year and had arrested actor Shah Rukh Khan's son Aryan Khan and oth-

According to the police, the IRS officer misled the government by submitting a false affidavit about his age in order to obtain the liquor sale licence. An official said that while submitting the application for the licence in February 1997, a date was not mentioned but the affidavit and stamp paper said that Wankhede was an adult.

However, the excise department claims that as per Wankhede's birthdate, he was not 18 years old at the time and misled the department by wilful misrepresentation.

vocabulary," said an official.

In addition, a biometric atten-

dance solution has also been

planned for Ashram Schools

which will provide a secure and

touchless solution, due to the on-

going pandemic situation, with

state-of-the-art technology that

will change the traditional atten-

Learning Tool will simulate real life situations and allow learners to understand what they should do in a real situation, this will help in developing skills in English across reading, writing, listening, speaking, grammar and

He further said Modi took

Raut questions central agencies over 'bank fraud'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

'silence' of

SHVI SENAMPSanjay Rauthitout at central agencies once again on Sunday questioning their silence over entities like Gujarat's ABG Shipyard which is accused of causing losses of up to Rs 22,482 crore to a consortium of 28 banks.

In his weekly column in Saamana, Raut termed the ABG Shipyard Ltd loan fraud of over Rs 22,000 crore as the "biggest bank scam in the country" and said that it had shaken the country. "This fraud did not take place during Nehru's time. It happened right in front of us. Why did the central investigative agencies, which are investigating Rs 2 to 5 lakh transactions in Maharashtra, remain silent while banks were being looted in Gujarat?" asked Raut alleging that there was money laundering in it.

The Sena MP further said that we need to look into the relationship between Rishi Agarwal, the mastermind of the ABG Shipyard scam and BJP, and why the central investigative agencies turned a blind eye to the scam. "The BJP became rich on the donations of industrialists. The contribution of ABG Shipyard and Rishi Agarwal in that wealth should be investigated. In many programmes of 'Vibrant Guiarat' in 2013, Agarwal was seen interacting with the then CM of Gujarat Narendra Modi, said Raut.

Agarwal to South Korea with a business delegation in 2013. "If BJP claims that Agarwal's looting began from 2011 then why Modi and his parivar were roaming with him," he asked.



ROW OVER NAME

THE SHIV SENA has been wanting to rename Aurangabad as Sambhaji Nagar for some time now, but it has not been possible due to opposition from its ally, the Congress. Keen on pinning down the Sena on the issue of Hindutva, the BJP, though, is now working towards ensuring that the Central government names the Aurangabad airport after Chhatrapati Sambhaji.

TEETHING TROUBLES

WHILE THE state government is keen to buy electric vehicles (EV), there is a resistance to this change in some circles. A number of ministers as well as bureaucrats are apprehensive about making a shift to EVs, claiming they have to travel in the hinterland and the unavailability of charging stations in rural areas make such vehicles ineffective in these parts.

SIGH OF RELIEF

SOON AFTER the home department took a call to remove the charge of DGP from Sanjay Pandey, a rumour that he would take over as commissioner of police gave anxious moments to the top brass of the city police. The senior Mumbai Police officials heaved a sigh of relief after it was made clear that Mumbai CP, Hemant Nagrale, would continue.

NEW INNINGS

FORMER UNION Minister Suresh Prabhu has decided to retire from politics and don a new hat – that of an academic. The Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change at London School of Economics has appointed Prabhu as the visiting pro-

COMPILED BY YOGESH NAIK AND SHUBHANGI KHAPRE

Have a comment or suggestion for Mumbai Confidential? Write to mumbai.newsline@expressindia.com with subject line: Mumbai Confidential



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NOTICE INVITING e-TENDER

Online competitive two bid tender is invited for the following works through www.eprocure.gov.in

Construction of 2 nos. Caustic Effluent storage tanks (2x1000 m3) and associated facilities at Petrochemical Plants-FACT Udyogamandal Complex. Tender No:03102/2021-2022/E24935, e-tender ID:2022_FACT_674628_1 Last date & time for submission of bids: 22.03.2022 at 11.00 hrs. The complete bidding process will be online (e-tendering) only. All the notifications, Time extension, Corrigendum, Addendum etc. if any, regarding this tenders hereafter will be hosted in the CPP and FACT website only and will

not be published in newspapers.



dance system.

GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU HIGHWAYS DEPARTMENT Trichy (H) NABARD and Rural Road, Circle

TENDER NOTICE Tender Notice No.20/2021-22/SDO/Dated: 17.02.2022

For and on behalf of the Governor of Tamil Nadu, Percentage tender (Two Cover System) will be received by the Superintending Engineer (H) NABARD & Rural Roads Circle **Trichy** for Upgradation of Panchayat / Panchayat Union Roads (Seven Road Works) in respect of Trichy, Thanjavur and Pudukkottai (H) NABARD & Rural Roads Divisions upto 14.00 hours on 28.03.2022 through online only.

Details of works, approximate value of work, EMD, availability of tender documents and all other details are available from 04.03.2022 onwards in the Government website https://tntenders.gov.in. If any Changes/Corrections in the tender, it will be published in the above website only.

் ரோதனை கடந்து கதந்திரம் அடைந்தோம் சாதனை புரிந்து சரித்திரம் படைப்போம்." NABARD and Rural Roads Circle, Trichy.

080-25501227/25501216.

IFTNo.KMF/ENGG/CFP-Dharwad/01403/2021-22

Name of the work

Design, Supply, Installation, Testing &

Commissioning of 35-40 TPH Capacity raw

material Chain Conveyor (03 Nos) &35-40

TPH Capacity Elevators (02 Nos) with

2. Last date for Tender submission date 11.03.2022 up to 4.00 PM.

3. Tender [Part 1] to be opened on date: 14.03.2022 at 11.30 AM.

accessories for Cattle Feed Plant at Dharwad.

Superintending Engineer (H).

1 JOB

Karnataka Cooperative Milk

KMF Complex: Dr. M. H. Marigowda Road, DRC Post, Bangalore-560 029.

Tel: 080-25536625 / 25536789 fax: 080-25536105

TENDER NOTIFICATION

[TWO COVER SYSTEM] [THROUGH E-PROCUREMENT PORTAL ONLY]

arnataka Milk Federation Ltd; Bangalore invites tender from the eligible suppliers

manufacturers / reputed eligible firms through E-procurement for the work mentioned in the

table below. The interested and reputed suppliers / manufacturers / firms who have handled

similar kind of works may participate in the tender as indicated below, by logging on to

website.gov.in and also contact Help desk E-mail; hphelpdesk.blr@intarvo.com and helpline no.

Tender schedules may be downloaded from dated: 21.02.2022 to 11.03.2022 up to 4.00 PM.

Hence forth changes / modification in the tender, It will be uploaded on e-procurement portal

Producers' Federation Limited

Hawkers' union submits draft Street Vendors Scheme to chief secretary

LAXMAN SINGH MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20

DEMANDING IMMEDIATE implementation of the Street Vending Act, a federation of various unions representing hawkers in the state has submitted a draft street vendors scheme to the state government.

The federation claimed that even more than five years after the Maharashtra government notified the Street Vending Act, the hawkers' policy is yet to be implemented in Mumbai and other parts of the

Recently, a delegation of Mumbai Street Vendors Federation consisting of hawkers unions of Mumbai and Maharashtra prepared a draft Street Vendors Scheme and submitted it to chief secretary Debashish Chakravorty request-

ing him to enact the scheme for the protection of legal hawkers. "We met the chief secretary and submitted our draft of the scheme in accordance with the Street Vending Act, 2014. He had assured that they will study the draft and try to notify as soon as possible. Across the state in urban areas, nothing much has been done for implementation of the Act which gives protection of livelihoods for the urban poor. Everyday these hawkers face action from urban local bodies," said Syed Haider

Hawkers Union. "There are 386 urban local bodies in the state but none has a Town Vending Committee with elected representatives of street

Imam, general secretary, AITUC

vendors," he said. In January, while hearing a petition filed by hawkers union for not notifying the street vending scheme even after five years, the Bombay High Court ordered the state government to submit an affidavit. Also, during the hearing, the court asked petitioners to submit their draft of the scheme be-

fore the state government. As per Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Street Vending) Act, 2014, it is mandatory to frame rules, schemes and plan for effective implementation of the act. According to the hawkers union, in 2016, the Maharashtra government notified street vendors rules and subsequently the scheme in 2017. However, in 2017, the Bombay High Court quashed the state's scheme after it found that it was in violation of the vending act. Now in January, the high court once again asked the government on why even after five years

In Mumbai, the BMC had concluded the survey of hawkers and finalised the pitches with areas for allotting them to legal hawkers. However, the implementation has been pending as the civic corporation has refused to pass the Act demanding that the town vending committees should also have elected representatives.

the scheme was not notified.

STATE BANK OF INDIA

Premises & Estate Dept., Local Head Office, 2nd Floor, III/1, Pt. J.N. Marg, Bhubaneswar-751001, Ph. No.: 0674-2394637, Email: agmpre.lhobhu@sbi.co.ir

TENDER NOTICE FOR SUPPLY, INSTALLATION, TESTING AND COMMISSIONING OF ON-GRID ROOFTOP SOLAR POWER SYSTEM WITH NET METERING UNDER BHUBANESWAR CIRCLE. SBI Bhubaneswar Circle invites tenders from interested/eligible

vendors for the above work. The eligible/interested vendors may visit Bank's website https://bank.sbi/web/sbi-in-the-news under "procurement news" for further details to download the tender documents from 21.02.2022. to 14.03.2022. The last date of submission of tender is 14.03.2022 up to 4:00 PM. Furthe notice/clarifications in this regard will be posted only on the Bank's above mentioned website. Bank reserves its rights to accept and reject any/all tender without assigning any reasons thereof

Date: 21.02.2022 Asst. General Manager (P&E) Place: Bhubaneswar



Water Resources Department e-Procurement Tender Notice Online Tenders are invited through e-procurement

portal for the following works NIT No.NHP/APSW/SCADA/6/2021-22

Name of work: Supply, Installation, Testing, Commissioning, Training, Operation and Maintenance of SCADA System (Automation of Gate operations) for Srisailan Right Bank Canal (SRSC), Kernool Kadapa Canal (900 Canal) and Telugu Gang Canal systems in Andhra Pradesh under National Hydrology Project (NHP) PID&Pacase No.: 10208 and NHP-2021-2022-4PSW 157200. Start/Last Date/Time of Tender document schedules available: From 21/02/2022, 11,00 Mrs to 23/03/2022 13.90 Hrs. Interested/authorized/reputed Bidders may obtain the tender schedule from https://eprocure.gov.in/eprocure/gop. For Eurther details visit- http://wkg mowr.govin/home/Tender Details.aspx and http://erigationap.cgg.gov.in/wrd/ getTenderDigest, Contact; 8331019653. Email: andhrasw@ap.gov.in.

Sd/- TVNAR Kumar, 16/2/2022, Chief Engineer, Hydrology, Vijayawada HPR No.690PP/CL/AGVT/1/1/2021-22, 0t:18/02/2022



Bhabha Atomic Research Centre Integrated Nuclear Recycle Plant Construction NOTICE INVITING e-TENDER

riteria and Part B - Financial Bid are hereby invited through e-Tenderir node on behalf of the President of India by the Dy. Chief Executive, NRB BARC Tarapur for the following work from the contractors having adequate experience in similar works

Tender Reference No.	BARC/NRB(T)/INRPC/MPT-493/2022/198 dated 15/02/2022		
Name of work	Supply, fabrication and erection of structural steel staging in RP Block at INRP site, NRB, BARC, Tarapur.		
Mode of tendering	Online e-tendering on https://eprocure.gov.in/eprocure/app		
Estimated Cost	Rs. 6.66 Cr (Six crores Sixty Six Lakhs Only)		
Earnest Money Deposit	Rs.13.32 Lakhs (Thirteen Lakhs Thirty Two Thousand Only)		
Cost of tender document / Tender Processing Fee	Nil		
Period of Completion	18 (Eighteen) calendar months		
Dates for Request for Download of Tender Document	From 22/02/2022(1000 Hrs.) to 15/03/2022 (1400 Hrs.)		
Period for online submission of tenders	From 22/02/2022 (1000 Hrs.) to 15/03/2022 (1400 Hrs.)		
Date and time of online opening of Part A	15/03/2022 (1500 Hrs.)		

The detailed tender notice can be seen on the website http://www.bard

gov.in/tenders For clarification contact : (02525) 293638 / 293604

Project Director, INRPC, NRB, BARC, Tarapul

(For and on behalf of President of India)

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA MAHARASHTRA REAL ESTATE REGULATORY **AUTHORITY (MAHARERA)**

Date: 17.2.2022

Period of

completion

06 months

EMD (Rs)

1,66,560/-

For Karnataka Co-Opp. Milk Federation Ltd.

Director [Engineering]

Intimation Notice to all Scheduled Banks

In exercise of the powers conferred under the Real Estate (Regulation and Development) Act 2016, intimation notice is hereby issued by MahaRERA to all banks included in the Second Schedule to the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 and operating bank accounts for MahaRERA Registered Real Estate Projects, to collect the following three certificates from Promoters, at the time of every withdrawal from such RERA designated bank accounts.

The Three Certificates to be collected are:

- Certificate from Architect in Format 1

(https://maharera.mahaonline.gov.in/Upload/PDF/Form%201.pdf)

- Certificate from Engineer in Format 2

- Certificate from CA in Format 3

(https://maharera.mahaonline.gov.in/Upload/PDF/Form%202.pdf)

(https://maharera.mahaonline.gov.in/Upload/PDF/Form%203.pdf)

For more details please refer MahaRERA Circular No. 39/2021 dated 28th December

2021 at https://maharera.mahaonline.gov.in/Upload/PDF/Circular%2039.pdf

(Dr. Vasant Prabhu) Secretary, MahaRERA

Plan to digitise 500 Ashram schools unveiled based facilities in the Ashram schools in order to impart qual-**VALLABHOZARKAR** MUMBAI, FEBRUARY 20 ity education to students from underprivileged communities. MAHARASHTRA GOVERN-The Department is planning Other Backward to explore providing solutions Bahujan Welfare Department like 'Robotics Kit' and 'TabLab' solutions, a tablet based plug and has decided to digitise 1.000 play digital learning lab custom classrooms of 500 government Ashram Schools across the state designed for government and convert them into smart schools. In addition, as a part of schools and classrooms. The Other Backward Bahujan

the project, there is a plan to introduce an e-STEM based learn-Welfare Department is setting up ing approach, which is an inte-

> **MUMBAI METRO RAIL CORPORATION LIMITED** (A JV of Govt. of India and Govt. of Maharashtra)

MMRC

REQUEST FOR PROPOSAL (2nd Call)

MMRCL invites Request for Proposal (RFP) from interested entities for 'Appointment o' Technical Consultant for providing Comprehensive Architectural, Structural, MEF Designing and Liasoning for Development of staff quarters for MMRC at Dharavi' nterested entities should submit Proposal online at <u>www.tenderwizard.com/MMRC</u> a per the prescribed guidelines by March 14, 2022, 6:00 pn

Date & Time: February 21, 2021 at 12 noon

Mumbai Metro Rail Corporation

ZORABIAN Today's Ex-PROPERTY Farm Live Broiler Rate

PROPERTY FOR SALE

FOR SALE PALGHAR For Sale Plot of Land bearing Survey/ Hissa Nos. 131/19 (pt) (6,000 sq. mt.),

131/19 (Pt) (4,000 sq.mt.), 131/30 (4,000 sq.mt.) and 131/19 (pt) (4,000 sq.mt.), at Village - Morekuran, Talathi- Saza Umroli,

Dist- Palahar. Auction Property Contact

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BUSINESS **POULTRY**

MEA Mumbai Eggs **Association Suggested** Selling Rate in Mumbai Rs. 405/- per 100 Eggs. 9820351822/7303390009.

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Rs. 129/-, Big: Rs. 125/-.

AMIR Broiler, Small:

0070762556-1 **DOLLY** Eggs Today's Egg Rate is Rs. 400/- Good News for Bakerie's Tich Rs. 250/-. Mobile: 09110526654/

0070767289-1

0070751976-1

VENCOBB Ex-Farm Yesterday's Price in Pune Rs. 100/-Suggested Retail Price is Rs. 118/-. 0070753197-1 S.K. Patel Small: 127/-, Big: 122/-. 8082040343/ 24460095/ 24459098, To

subscribe to paper rate

9320460095/ 9930193010.

0070767527-1

& purchase rate.

09542230818.

FRESH Chicken Trading Big Birds 108/- kg., Small Birds 115/- kg. Turbhe Naka, Navi Mumbai, Mobile: 9769468897. 0070767408-1

SITUATION VACANT

0070760484-1

Rs. 96/- Retail Market

Rate Rs. 126/-. Mobile:

8879050887/9372663242

RECRUITMENT

Office: 022-26604937/

PEOPLE's Education Society Prin. N.M. Kale Marg, Gokhale Road (S). Dadar, Mumbai-400028 require Teachers for an **English Medium School** H.S.C., D.Ed./ D.Ed. with Graduation, TET/CTET passed. Also require Special Teacher for Craft, Music & P.T. Scale

immediately. 0070773606-1

PERSONAL

as per rules. Apply

CHANGE OF NAME

I have changed my name from MANDA LAXMAN HOLKAR or HOLKAR MANDA LAXMAN (are same person) to MAN-DAKINI DINKAR CHAVAN as per Gazette P-2010520.

0070773840-1

WE Pankaj Shambulal Bhanushali and Preeti Pankaj Bhanushali have changed our minor Son's name from Deep Paresh Bhanushali to Deep Pankai Bhanushali, as per Maharashtra Govt. Gazette No. (M-21149274), Dated 20/01/2022.

0070773836-1

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UTTAR PRADESH • UTTARAKHAND • PUNJAB









Bhagwant Mann; Capt Amarinder Singh; CM Charanjit Singh Channi; and the Badals in Punjab on Sunday. According to the Election Commission, the state recorded a voter turnout of 64% till 5 pm. PTI

I Hereby DECLARE



TOTAL ASSETS: ₹17.05 lakh

MOVABLE ASSETS: **Dependents:**

IMMOVABLE ASSETS: Self: ₹4 lakh Dependents (5):

LOANS: Nil **CRIMINAL CASES: 2** SOURCES OF EARNING: Self: Agriculture **EDUCATION:** Unlettered



ASHUTOSH TANDON 'Gopalji BIP. Lucknow

TOTAL ASSETS: ₹8.67 crore

MOVABLE ASSETS: Self: ₹85.21 lakh Wife: ₹1.12 crore

IMMOVABLE ASSETS: Self: ₹5 crore Wife: ₹1.7 crore

LOANS: Nil **CRIMINAL CASES: Nil** SOURCES OF EARNING: Self: Business, agriculture, rent & **MLA salary** Wife:Business

EDUCATION: Graduate (1980)

LAKHIMPUR KHERI: VOTING ON FEB 23

Where farmers run over, BJP faces hiccups, but incident a pale memory

ASAD REHMAN LAKHIMPUR KHERI, PILIBHIT, FEBRUARY 20

AT THE designated place for protests in Lakhimpur Kheri which the locals call 'Bilobhi Gate', three youths are waiting for their order of noodles. While Rahul Singh (28), a bank employee, says it is time for change as "this government knows only how to invoke emotions in the name of religion and caste", friends Vaibhav Gupta (27) and Pushpendra Verma (28) are not sure whom to vote for.

One thing they agree on: that the killing of farmers in Tikunia in Lakhimpur Kheri, in which the son of Union MoS Ajay Mishra's son is an accused, was "never our issue". Says Verma: "Most of those who were killed were outsiders. It was a big event for the media, but it didn't affect us, and neither will it affect the voting pattern here.'

'Bilobhi' is a distortion of the name of British officer and Deputy Commissioner of Kheri Robert William Douglas Willoughby, who was killed by freedom fighters. If the 1920s event is now a forgotten memory, it's not just the three friends who believe that the farmer deaths are also in the past.

Last week, the main accused. Ashish Mishra, came out on bail. Vaibhav Verma (28), a farmer



CM Yogi campaigns in Gola, Lakhimpur Kheri, Sunday. PTI

visiting the city from his village to buy some equipment, says his vote is for the BJP despite issues. "They are building a nation. Can't we make a few sacrifices for them?" says Verma, a Kurmi.

The Tikunia deaths was "about Sikhs and those who protested against the farm laws", he adds. "When the farmers in this area didn't take part in the agitation, why should we be bothered by what happened in Tikunia? It seemed like a conspiracy anyway."

However, even if father and son Mishra remain popular despite the incident, the Samajwadi Party has been gaining ground. BJP leaders also admit that the party will not repeat its 2017 success of winning all

the eight seats in the district. In Jagsar village, with mostly Kurmis and Dalits, a row has broken out at a Kurmi house atop which are flags of both the SP and BJP. Finally, an elder, Deshbandu Gautam, who is a Dalit, intervenes to get the SP flag removed. Everyone is fighting over the two parties and seems to have forgotten the "experienced" BSP chief Mayawati, he rues. "My vote is for Behenji, no matter how many times I hear

that it is a two-sided fight." Gautam is among the few who remembers the Tikunia incident with a shudder — "I am also a farmer, and it could have been me" — but that won't be a factor on how he votes on February 23.

For those like Sirajuddin (28), who works at a motorcycle repair shop, the choice is simple. Complaining of no work for days, the new father says his vote is for



the cycle (the SP symbol).

The farmers' killing is a faint memory even at the site of the incident, Tikunia, around 100 km from Jagsar. At Banveerpur, Mishra's home village nearby, there is vocal support for "Monu bhaiyya (Ashish)" and that same hint at a "conspiracy".

One fallout is that Ashish, once the frontrunner for a ticket from the Nighasan Assembly seat, has had to sit this one out. The BJP has fielded sitting MLA Shashank Verma, whose father, the late Patel Ramkumar Verma, earlier represented the seat. The SP and BSP's candidates are both senior leaders who were once in the other party.

Even the Sikhs in Banveerpur are mum about Mishra. Settled here after Partition, Sikhs make up substantial numbers in Lakhimpur Kheri, and are 20,000 to 40,000 in seats.

Driving a tractor on his farm, Upkar Singh (40) says, "My children go to a school owned by Teniji (Mishra)... the Tikunia issue

was neverourissue Ourissues are floods, pending payments for sugarcane, and diesel, petrol prices. The biggest issue is stray cattle."

However, Pradeep Mishra (42) believes the Sikhs may not be vocal as they are "scared of Teni Maharaj". "Every Sikh house in the village sent at least one person for the farmer agitation... You must understand that they have to live here," says Mishra, who runs an electronics shop.

Harjeet Singh (40), a Sikh lawyer who grew up in Banveerpur and is associated with the SP, says Sikhs of the village will "definitely" vote against the BJP even if they don't say so.

In Sikh "jhaalas" or neighbourhoods further away, like in Nighasan and Palia, the anger is more palpable. In Pilibhit district next to Lakhimpur Kheri, where Sikhs are in larger numbers, all the four seats were won by the BJP in 2017. Here the unhappiness with the BIP goes beyond the Tikunia incident to unemployment, inflation, farm distress, stray cattle and loss of business.

In Puranpur, Ayurvedic doctor Harpreet Singh (48) says the BJP has failed "on all fronts". "My son wanted to join the Army. No new recruitments happened and now he has passed the age... And Ashish Mishra got bail the same day polling finished in western UP, where the anger over the farm laws was the highest. They have made lives of farmers a joke."

In poll bout, BJP leaders throw terror jibe at SP

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

LAKHIMPUR KHERI SHRAVASTI, GORAKHPUR, FEBRUARY 20

STARTING FROM Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath, BJP leaders linked the Samajwadi Party to the Ahmedabad blasts for which the verdict came out recently, in speeches after speeches on Sunday. This was a day after BJP leader Anurag Thakur made the same allegation at a press con-

Adityanath said the "abba jaan" (father) of one of the convicts had links with the Samajwadi Party. In back-toback five rallies in Lakhimpur Kheri, Adityanath did not talk about the incident where the farmers were run over. Referring to the Ahmedabad

blasts, Adityanath said one of the convicts belonged to Azamgarh's Sanjarpur area, and alleged that his father had links with the SP and had been campaigning for the party. "Why does the SP have sympathy towards these terrorists? Will the people support those who play with the security of the nation?" the Chief Minister said, urging people to vote for the BIP for a riot-free state.

In almost all rallies, Adityanath claimed that during the SP rule, while uninterrupted electricity was provided during Eid and Muharram, the same

was not available on Holi and Diwali, "Earlier, curfew used to be promulgated for months during Hindu festivals and criminals used to explode bombs in the market to scare people," he said.

BJP president J P Nadda said while he took oath to protect the Constitution, SP chief Akhilesh Yadav had instead tried to protect terrorists by withdrawing cases against them. He was addressing an election rally in the Shravasti constituency. He also claimed that the father of one of those convicted was campaigning for the SP.

"The ATS (Anti-Terrorism Squad) Centre in Deoband along with those (coming up at) Meerut, Bahraich, Rampur, Azamgarh and Kanpur will make UP fear-free under the leadership of Yogi Adityanath," Nadda said.

Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chouhan accused the Samajwadi Party of having a nexus with terrorists and said it should tell people about its relations with the father of a convict in the Ahmedabad case. Chouhan was addressing an election rally in Rampur Karkhana's Bairiyapur in Deoria district.

"Akhilesh should answer whether a terrorist's father is ar SP leader or not? He needs to answer why his party is found having ties with mafia, rioters and terrorists," Chouhan told the

Two-horse Cong and BJP race now has an emerging dark horse: NPP

TORA AGARWALA

IMPHAL, FEBRUARY 20

VETERAN MANIPUR politician and sitting MLA from Wankghei, Y Erabot Singh, seems to have got tired of being spurned by national parties. Ahead of the 2017 state Assembly polls, the then Ibobi Singh-led Congress dispensation's "high-handedness" had forced him to switch to the BJP, he says. Now, for the upcoming Assembly elections, the BIP has denied him ticket, fielding instead Ibobi's nephew and Congress turncoat, Okram Henry Singh, from his constituency, forcing him to join the National People's Party (NPP).

"I have lost faith in the big national parties. The NPP is secular, represents the Northeast voice, and it will give BJP competition, that's why I joined it," Erabot, 82,

The Manipur polls may essentially be a contest between the ruling BJP and the principal Opposition Congress, but the regional party NPP — which leads a coalition government under Conrad Sangma in neighbouring Meghalaya – is emerging as a notable contender in the fray.

In 2017, the NPP had played the role of a "kingmaker" as the party helped the BIP form its first government in Manipur by joining its coalition. The party had then won 4 out of 9 seats it contested. Seeking to expand its base in Manipur, the NPP will contest 39 of the total 60 seats in the current elections. Presenting itself as an alternative to the national parties, the NPP has been

TWO ITBP MEN ON POLL DUTY INJURED IN IED BLAST

Imphal: Two ITBP personnel on election duty were wounded in an IED blast in Kakching district on Sunday, police said, prompting the authorities to beef up security ahead of the polls.

The blast along the Imphal-Sugnu road in Wangoo area comes days before PM Narendra Modi's scheduled visit to the poll-bound state on February 22.

have called for a shutdown "till

A Sharda Devi said. A conglomerate of militant groups in Manipur, the Coordination Committee (CorCom), has urged people to support the shutdown, saying

projecting itself as an independent, pan-Northeast party (it has some presence in Arunachal Pradesh too), which has taken a stand on issues concerning the region, such as the controversial AFSPA or the CAA.

"BJP or Congress — it's an illusion that there are just two choices, like Pepsi or Coke. Why not try some freshly-squeezed orange juice instead? We are a fresh alternative, a party which is rooted in the region," says Ratika Yumnam, the NPP's youth wing chief, who earlier worked as an indigenous rights activist.

Yumnam might have glossed over the point that the NPP is an ally of the BJP government, led by N Biren Singh, but the fact remains that it has been an uneasy alliance.

In 2020, four NPP MLAs, who are also ministers, were about to pull the plug on the Biren government, with the crisis eventually averted by the BJP central leadership. Biren's rivalry with the NPP's

the PM remains in the state". Modi will address a rally at Luwangshangbam sports complex in CM Biren Singh's constituency, BJP's state unit chief

> the PM will be coming "to extend colonial rule of India". JIMMY LEIVON

Militant groups in the state

Manipur face and Deputy CM, Y Joykumar Singh, has also been a sore point between the two sides. These rifts have now widened ahead of the polls, scheduled for February 28 and March 5.

> Armed miscreants shot at the father of an NPP candidate L Sanjoy Singh's father L Samjai Singh on 18 February night in Imphal East, who was admitted to a hospital. "This is an act of a coward targeting innocent people. This is not the first time that BJP supporters have targeted us", charged Sonjoy Singh. In the midst of his Manipur

poll campaign, Sangma, while speaking to *The Indian Express* over the phone, says his party can fill a "political vacuum". "With the Congress weakening and anti-incumbency against the BJP, there is a vacuum emerging, and we can fill it," he says. (With inputs from Jimmy Leivon)

FULL REPORT ON www.indianexpress.com

SEAT WATCH

Amid 'parivarvaad' by BJP, mango concerns in the air

AMIL BHATNAGAR MALIHABAD, MOHANLALGANJ, FEBRUARY 20

IN THEIR campaigns for the UP Assembly polls, top BJP leaders, including PM Narendra Modi, Union Home Minister Amit Shah and UP Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath, have targeted the Opposition, especially the Samajwadi Party (SP), for indulging in "parivarvaad" (dynasty politics) and giving election tickets to their family

members, among other things. In two of the key constituencies in Lucknow district itself, Malihabad and Mohanlalganj, slated for polls on February 23, the BJP has given tickets to the relatives of its Mohanalganj MP Kaushal Kishore, the Union minister of state for urban and housing affairs. While Kishore's wife Jai Devi is the BJP candidate from Malihabad, her brother Amresh Kumar is the party's nominee from Mohanlalganj.

Besides the issue of dynasty politics, the questions about mango crop damage and lack of jobs and development reverberate through these constituencies on the outskirts of the UP capital. Malihabad is popular for its mangoes, which are sent to dif-

ferent states and even exported

to various countries. The mango

varieties like Dussheri, Langda

Chausa are transported from

here to several western states of



Akhilesh, wife Dimple cast vote in Saifai, Sunday. PTI

the country. The income of a large section of the Malihabad population, directly or indirectly, is linked to its mango produce. For the past two years, however, their earnings have taken a hit. A major problem that has

emerged for local farmers has been the supply of fake medicines and pesticides for their crop. Malihabad's mango economy had practically halted during the Covid waves over the last couple of years as various restrictions were imposed during its peak trading season. Reeling under such woes and the perennial threat of crop damage, many farmers are even considering razing the thick trees to the

"I have been a BJP supporter all my life. Since the time of Jan Sangh, I have supported this party

from my heart. But in this case, we have been cheated by the government. Mangoes are everything for us." said Rai Kumar, a farmer with four-bigha land. The SC-reserved Malihabad

seat was won by Jai Devi in the 2017 Assembly polls, when she beat the SP's Rajbala. Her husband Kishore hails from the Pasi community, a major community of Malihabad. He was popular enough to win Malihabad seat in 2002 as an Independent candidate but later lost twice as a Revolutionary Communist Party of India nominee, before joining the BJP and becoming its Mohanalganj MP.

Jai Devi's current poll campaign is again centred on her husband's name, locals say.

the SC-reserved Mohanlalganj, the BJP has pitted Devi's brother Amresh against the SP's Saroj Devi, former MP. According to BJP sources, Kishore had also lobbied for his son's ticket, which did not ma-

For many locals, Amresh is a 'parachute candidate". "The truth is, people have not even seen Amresh. If he is with four people, people will not even recognise him. We have been told that Amresh is Kaushal's relative. Irrespective of the family standing, people will vote for development," said Mahesh Kumar, a resident.

FULL REPORT ON www.indianexpress.com

From college to Assembly, via police stations: bloody run of an Ayodhya clash

MANISH SAHU

LUCKNOW, FEBRUARY 20

THE CLASH of one bahubali and the wife of a second one who is in iail came to a head in Avodhva's Goshainganj Assembly on Friday as their convoys crossed paths at the end of the day's campaign.

They fired at each other, and carried on the clash at the police station. Among the nine arrested and later released on bail, on charges of breach of peace, were Samajwadi Party candidate Abhay Singh and an associate of BJP nominee Aarti Tiwari. who is considered a stand-in for husband Indra Pratap a.k.a Khaboo Tiwari. Seven others were sent to jail on charges including attempt

to murder and rioting. Veterans of three polls and one win each, Abhay Singh and Indra Pratap's rivalry, the story goes, started when they con-

tested against each other. **Abhay Singh, 47:** A native of Ayodhya's Maharajganj area, he started with student politics while at Lucknow University. While he never contested any union election, he was known as the kingmaker who could make or break others. Along the way he ran up a history-sheet of at least 35 criminal cases, in different districts.

He contested his first election on BSP ticket from Ayodhya seat in 2002 and lost, In 2012, while in jail on an attempt to murder charge, he won on an SP ticket from Goshainganj. He again contested on an SP ticket from



After the clash

Goshainganj seat in 2017.

Indra Pratap Tiwari, 52: A native of City Kotwali area of Ayodhya, Indra Pratap had a similar route to politics. He started his career by winning a student union election at Saket Degree college in Ayodhya. He then got elected twice as zila panchayat chairman from Ayodhya, even as he came to be booked in around two dozen cases, including at-

tempt to murder and rioting. This is Indra Pratap's fourth Assembly election, if by proxy.

In 2007, he contested from Ayodhya on an SP ticket and lost to the BIP's Lallu Singh. Then he switched over to the BSP and contested in 2012 from Goshainganj against Abhay Singh, who was by then in the SP. By 2017. Indra Pratap had moved to the BIP and

this time defeated Abhay Singh. It was after this win that Indra Pratap married Aarti, now the BJP's candidate from Goshainganj. Indra Pratap could not fight the election after a local court in 2021 sentenced him to five years' imprisonment in a 1992 forgery case.

> **FULL REPORT ON** www.indianexpress.com

6 GOVT & POLITICS

'Keeping accused in man-eating leopard'

SOHINI GHOSH

AHMEDABAD, FEBRUARY 20

IN THE ORDER awarding death penalty to 38 accused in the 2008 serial blasts in Ahmedabad, the special designated judge said keeping them in society was "equivalent (to) setting loose a man-eating leopard".

In the 7,015-page order made public on Saturday, Additional Sessions Judge A R Patel said: "These accused have no respect for constitutionally elected government... One or two accused during hearing of the sentence said that they do not believe in the government, its laws or courts, and only believe in Allah and there is no one greater than Allah in this world. That Allah will give true justice... If such accused are kept in society, it will be equivalent of setting loose a man-eating leopard... and such man-eating leopards eat innocent people without seeing if they are children, women, men, or regardless of people's caste, creed intellect etc. For such accused who spread fear in society, even permitting the shadow of such accused... can be dangerous.'

On their motive, the verdict said the accused were affiliated to prohibited organisations like SIMI and had established the Indian Mujahideen. "To take revenge (for the) 2002 Godhra riots, they believed falsely that Narendra Modi's Gujarat government was an anti-Muslim government and wanted to overthrow the government... Islamic rule can be established was the motive of the ac-

Seeking a separate department to assist their victims, the order said: "The accused pursued education in jails at the cost of the government, hospital treatment at the cost of the government, meals in jails at the government's cost, visits to their families at the cost of jail... One does not know if

was extended to the families of those who were killed or injured in the blasts."

The court relied on the confessional statements by some accused that political leaders, including Modi, were targeted, using it to justify charges under the UAPA and IPC section 121A of war on State". Four of the accused had given confessional statements, with one of them, Imran Imbrahim Sheikh, now sentenced to death, saying that in December 2007, speeches were given at Wagamon in Kerala, where Safdar Nagori (now on death row) talked about "jihad", "going to Afghanistan for 'hizrat' (exodus), "mass killing" and that "political leader Narendra Modi was to be targeted"

Special judge Patel said: "Death sentence is the only and ultimate punishment for such terror-minded accused... All can be called youths and can be considered to be capable of taking terror training, making bombs and knowing other things related to bombs. They have several cases pending against them and in many verdict has come. Keeping this in mind, it is clear that they are criminal minded.'

Notably, during cross-examination, several investigators said they had not looked into the links of the accused to other blasts across the country, particularly to blasts linked to Hindutva groups. They also admitted that no computer or hard disks were seized with respect to the terror emails said to have been sent out by the IM.

On the fact that no explosives or weapons were recovered from the accused at the time of their arrest, the court said, "The accused were arrested long after the event, which is why no weapon or explosives were recovered."

The serial blasts had killed 56 people and left over 200 injured. **FULL REPORT ON** www.indianexpress.com

Modi says new system for society like letting loose stray cattle after results: Will earn from even dung

ASAD REHMAN LUCKNOW, FEBRUARY 20

WITH STRAY cattle emerging as a major poll issue in Uttar Pradesh, Prime Minister Narendra Modi Sunday said a new policy will be introduced to

tackle it after March 10, when election results will be announced, adding that income can be made from the dung of Speaking in Unnao Sunday, Modi said: "Entire UP is praising

the efforts of Yogiji's government to control floods. Aap logon ko chutta jaanvaron se jo pareshani hoti hai, ussey dur karne ke liye, 10 March ke baad nayi vyavasthayen banayi jayengi. Aur Unnao ke mere bhai-beheno, mere ye shabd likh kar rakhiye, ye Modi bol raha hai, aur aapke aashirwad ke sath bol raha hai...Jo pashu dhoodh nahin deta hai, uske gobar se bhi aay ho, aisi vyavastha main aapke saamne khadi kar doonga. Aur ek din aisa aaeyga ki chutta jo pashu hai na, logon ko lagega, yaar, ghar mein isko baandh lo, isse bhi kamai hone wali hai (The entire UP is praising the efforts made by Yogiji's government to control floods. The problem you face due to stray animals, to get rid of that, new arrangements will be made



Prime Minister Narendra Modi with other BJP leaders at an election rally in Unnao on Sunday. UNI

sisters of Unnao, please write my words, Modi is saying this, with your blessings. I will set up a new system so that there is income from the dung of animals which have stopped giving milk. The day will come when people will even tie strav animals at their homes because there will be income from that).'

The problem of stray cattle has been increasing in UP since the Yogi Adityanath government cracked down on cattle slaughter. Farmers complain of animals destroying their crops, expenses borne to keep them away, and deaths and injuries caused by attacks by cattle. The government has raised cowsheds to house the cattle, but by the admission of own leaders of the BJP, this has proved insufficient. In his speech, Modi claimed

that the BJP had got the blessings of the people in the poll phases already over, and would continue to get the same. The PM also said that

Samajwadi Party patron and founder Mulayam Singh Yadav campaigning for his son Akhilesh showed that the party was not sure about its chances in even its main leader's seat.

In his speech, Mulayam had urged people to ensure Akhilesh's victory with a huge margin, adding that the SP government would work for "naujawan, kisan aur vyapari (youths, farmers and traders)".

BJP misusing power, trying to influence postal ballots: Congress to Goa CEO

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE PANAJI, FEBRUARY 20

A DAY after the Congress in Goa alleged that state BIP leaders were "trying to poach their winnable candidates", the party on Sunday wrote to the Goa Chief Electoral Officer (CEO) alleging that the ruling BJP government was misusing state machinery to influence postal ballots.

While Assembly elections in Goa were held in a single phase on February 14, votes through postal ballots are still being cast by various government servants, including those from the state police.

"After the voting date, the state government machinery and candidates of the ruling party have indulged in illegal acts of threatening and intimidating voters who are supposed to cast their votes through postal ballots," Goa Pradesh Congress Committee president, Girish Chodankar wrote in a letter to state CEO on Sunday.

Chodankar said the matter needs to be probed. "It is also brought to the notice of your good office that the candidates of the ruling party have been provided with the list of voters who are going to cast their votes through postal ballots... It is rather strange that how such list has been provided to the ruling party candidate, when none of the opposition parties have been given any such list,' Chodankar said in his letter.



A Ukrainian soldier in Krymske, which was shelled by separatists. NYT

India tells kin of diplomats, other nationals to **leave Ukraine**

SHUBHAJIT ROY NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

STRIKING A note of urgency, India Sunday asked the family members of Embassy officials in Ukraine — as well as students and citizens whose stay is not vital — to leave the eastern European nation

amid its rising tensions with

The directions to students and other nationals came from the Indian Embassy in Kviv on Sunday. This is its second advisory in a week and has a stronger tone than the previous one – citing 'high levels" of tensions and uncertainties. "In view of the continued high levels of tensions and uncertainties with respect to the situation in Ukraine, all Indian nationals whose stay is not deemed essential and all Indian students,

porarily," the Embassy said. It said available commercial flights and charter flights may be availed of for travel for an "orderly and timely departure" from Ukraine. "Indian students are advised to also get in touch with respective student contractors for updates on charter flights, and also continue to follow E embassy Facebook, website and Twitter for any update," the Embassy said.

are advised to leave Ukraine tem-

Hours after this, sources said the kin of Embassy officials were asked to return to India.

The previous Embassy advisory, issued on February 15, asked citizens, especially students, to "uncertainties" and avoid non-essential travel to and within the country.

Embassy of India in Kyiv had read:

current situation in Ukraine, Indian nationals in Ukraine, particularly students whose stay is not essential, may consider leaving temporarily. Indian nationals are also advised to avoid all nonessential travel to and within Ukraine. "Indian nationals are requested to keep the Embassy informed about the status of their presence in Ukraine to enable the Embassy to reach them where required. The Embassy continues to function normally to provide all services to Indian nationals in Ukraine," it had said.

Sunday's move to get family members of Embassy officials out comes amid concerns that Russia could invade Kyiv soon.

Though Moscow denies it has any plans to invade Ukraine, Russian President Vladimir Putin's forces have amassed well over 1,30,000 troops near the Ukrainian borders. The US has warned Russia of severe consequences if it carries out the invasion. While the Indian Embassy in Kyiv's own estimates from 2020 says that there are about 18,000 Indian students in Ukraine, the Indian envoy at the UN last month put that number at 20.000. The majority of them study in medical colleges in Ukraine, which has been a popular destination for the last couple of decades.

Sunday's new advisory makes it clear that those whose presence is not required in . Ukraine should leave the country. This also means that since the Kyiv airport is still functional and still operating from Ukraine, Indian citizens should make use of the opportunity. The government had facilitated more flights

The statement from the

"In view of the uncertainties of the

operated by Air India from Ukraine to India.

West Bengal minister Sadhan Pande dies

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE

WEST BENGAL Cabinet minister Sadhan Pande died in Mumbai on Sunday morning after prolonged illness. He was 71 and is survived by his daughter Shreya. Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee announced the death of her Cabinet colleague in a tweet.

"Our senior colleague, party leader and Cabinet Minister Sadhan Pande has passed away today morning in Mumbai. Had a wonderful relation for long. Deeply pained at this loss. My heartfelt condolences to his family, friends, followers," said

Governor Jagdeep Dhankhar also condoled Pande's death. "Sad news- Deeply pained at the passing away of Senior Cabinet Minister Sadhan Pande today morning at Mumbai. Shared a wonderful relationship and personal rapport with him beyond politics. Heartfelt condolences to his family, friends and followers, RIP! Om Shanti Om," he said in a tweet.

Leader of Opposition in



Pande was 71 years old

Bengal Assembly Suvendu Adhikari also expressed his condolences. Saddened by the passing away of West Bengal Minister Shri Sadhan Pande ji. My thoughts are with his bereaved family, friends & followers. Prayers for the departed soul. Om Shanti," he said in a tweet.

Pande was a five-time MLA from Burtola constituency in North Kolkata till 2011 when TMC came to power in the state. He was later elected as an MLA from Maniktala constituency for three consecutive terms. The veteran TMC leader was

suffering from kidney ailments for the past one year.

He was retained as a Cabinet minister after TMC came to power for the third consecutive term in 2021. However, he was not allocated any portfolio due to his ill health.

Over 60% turnout in UP Phase 3 voting Firozabad 61.89 per cent, **EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE**

LUCKNOW, FEBRUARY 20

after March 10. And brothers and

MORE THAN 60 per cent voting was recorded till 5 pm on Sunday in the 59 Uttar Pradesh Assembly constituencies that voted in the third phase of the elections in Uttar Pradesh.

According to the Election Commission's Turnout App, the turnout till 5 pm was 60.63 per cent with highest polling recorded in Lalitpur district in Bundelkhand at 69.05 and the lowest in Kanpur

Five years ago, in the 2017 state elections, the polling in Sunday was 62.21 per cent, with Lalitpur turnout at 72.01 per cent and Kanpur Nagar at 57.26

In the third phase, Hathras recorded 63.14 per cent turnout,

Kasganj 63.04 per cent, Etah 65.7 per cent, Mainpuri 61.51 per cent, Farrukhabad 59.13 per cent, Kannauj 61.93 per cent, Etawah 58.35 per cent, Auraiya 60.62 per cent, Kanpur Dehat 59.87 per cent, Jalaun 59.93 per cent, Jhansi 57.71 per cent, Lalitpur 69.05 per cent, Hamirpur 60.56 per cent, and Mahoba 64.56 per cent.

As many as 627 candidates are in the fray in the third phase of the seven-phase elections to the state Assembly.

Among the prominent contests in this phase were Karhal in the SP-dominated Mainpuri disminister SPS Baghel against SP chief Akhilesh Yadav, who is contesting the Assembly elections for the first time. His uncle, Shivpal Yadav, is facing Vivek Shakya in Jaswantnagar.



PRIYANKA'S RAE BARELI RALLY

Congress leader Priyanka Gandhi Vadra during a campaign rally in Raebareli on Sunday. Express

Jaishankar on China debt diplomacy: Make informed decisions Momen, in his question, "We have seen projects

SHUBHAJIT ROY

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

WITHOUT MENTIONING China, External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar criticised Beijing for the debt-trap diplomacy it indulges in and cautioned countries in the neighbourhood to not fall into the trap, advising them to make "informed decisions".

Jaishankar, who was speaking at the Munich Security Conference on Saturday night, was responding to a question from Bangladesh's Foreign Minister A K Abdul Momen, who was seated in the audience. The Indian External Affairs Minister Jaishankar's Sharp critique

tique by Jaishankar on Beijing's debt-trap diplomacy. But it is in line with his sharp remarks in Australia on February 12 - he is usually diplomatic in his choice of words, especially on China, more so while speaking from foreign soil — on Beijing's behaviour ever since the start

THIS IS a very sharp cri-

by his side, Jaishankar

was at a panel discussion along with counterparts from

of the military standoff along

the Ladakh frontier in May 2020. With Australian Foreign Minister Marise Payne

had then slammed China for "disregarding" the "written agreements" with India on not amassing troops at the border and said it is "an issue of legitimate concern for the entire international community".

Australia, Japan and France among others.

asked the panelists directly by naming China. Appreciating Japan and India for their help, he said, "China comes forward with a basket of money and aggressive proposals, affordable proposals, and then you have a problem. What to do?'

Jaishankar responded, "Look, international relations is competitive, every country will look for opportunities and see what it can do. But while doing so, it is in their own interest to be prudent about what they are getting into, to do the due diligence. We have seen countries, including in our region, being saddled with

which are commercially unsustainable. Airports where aircraft don't come. Harbours where a ship doesn't come. So, I think people would be justified in asking themselves – what am I getting into? And, it is obviously in the interest of the country concerned, but it is also in the interest of the international community because bad, unsustainable projects don't end there... debt becomes equity, and that becomes something else. So there are real concerns out there. So I think it is very important that all of us make informed decisions, but of course, very competitive

EDITORS GUILD ASKS PIB TO REVOKE NEW **ACCREDITATION NORMS** New Delhi: The Editors Guild of India has written to the head of the

Press Information Bureau (PIB). urging him to withdraw the new accreditation guidelines introduced by the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. The Guild said many provisions to withdraw the accreditation of a journalist were "arbitrary and without any due process of law". "We are surprised that the guidelines have been issued without any consultations with press organisations... Under the guidelines, journalists will come under the thumb of the police...," it said. **ENS**

ANIS KHAN 'PUSHED FROM 2ND FLOOR BY MEN DRESSED IN POLICE UNIFORM'

Bengal: Family of dead student seeks answers

SWEETY KUMARI KOLKATA, FEBRUARY 20

THE FAMILY of 28-year-old student leader Anis Khan, who died late Friday night after he was allegedly pushed from the second floor of his house in Howrah by a group of men dressed in police uniform, has demanded a CBI probe, accus-

Claiming that the "murder" of Anis has left many "unanswered questions", his family accused police of being lackadaisical in its probe and said they did not take any step after Anis complained about threat to his life last May.

ing police of negligence.

Recalling the events leading up to Anis's death, his father Salem Khan told The Indian Express, "Anis returned home around 12.30 am

He went to the terrace with his phone and headphones. Around 1.10 am, four men knocked on our door and asked for Anis. I peeped from my room and told them that Anis was not at home as I didn't know who they were. But, when they said they were from Bagnan Police Station and would like to talk to Anis in connection with an old case lodged against him, I opened the door.' According to Salem, one of the

from a jalsa (a religious gathering).

men was in police uniform, while the rest were wearing civic volunteers' clothes. "One of them stood guard beside him, while the others went upstairs. Suddenly, I heard a loud thud. When I looked outside, I saw Anis lying in a pool of blood. By the time I went near his body, the four had left through a narrow lane near our house. They

had pushed him through an open under-construction window." said Salem. Anis was taken to a nursing home in Uluberia at 2 am where he was declared dead on arrival.

"Between 2 am and 3 am, we called Amta police station twice, and we were told that someone would contact us in an hour." said Saleem, adding that police reached their home after seven hours — around 9 am — even though the police station is located about 9 km from their house at Sarada Dakhin Para village.

The family said by the time the police reached, the crime scene was already contaminated with crowds of people thronging the place. According to Anis' father, he heard one of the four "assailants" telling someone on phone while leaving: "Sir, kaaj hoye geche (Sir, the work is done)".

"Who were they? Why were they in a police uniform? Who was the person being addressed as 'sir'? These questions must be answered," said Salem.

Police denied any negligence on their part. "A murder case has been registered and our investigation is underway." said Debabrata Chakraborty, officer in charge of Amta police station. Anis had recently enrolled in

a journalism course at Kalyani

University. He was actively in-

volved in student politics. "He was our comrade. He raised his voice against lawlessness. Does that mean anyone like Anis who raises their voice against injustice and protests will be killed? It is a coldblooded murder," said Pratikul Rehman, state president of

Students' Federation of India.

SHAJU PHILIP THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, FEBRUARY 20

AT A time when the hijab controversy is raging in coastal Karnataka, a Muslim woman from an orthodox family in Kerala's Kasaragod district has been elected as general secretary of her college union as a candidate of SFI, the student wing of CPI(M).

Ayshath Mahsoona, 21, a practising Muslim who wears hijab, was in a close contest against BJP's student wing ABVP and the MSF of the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML). She is the first Muslim woman to win the college union election as an SFI candidate in the 64-yearlong history of Government College in Kasaragod which is not far from the city of



Ayshath Mahsoona with other SFI students. Express

Mangaluru in Karnataka.

Of the 1,700-odd students at the college, 500 are from the Muslim community, most of them being women.

"I faced opposition from the Muslim community and the MSF

for working with the SFI. The IUML and its outfits campaigned that the Communists are against religion and every Muslims girl should stay with MSF. However, nearly three dozen Muslim girls in the college have now become

dox elements," said Ayshath, whose father is a trader. Ayshath said she was always

part of the SFI, daring the ortho-

chary of getting involved in Left "I haven't so far taken part in

any SFI event outside the campus. There is immense pressure from the community against ioining hands with the SFI. I wanted to change that mindset and many of my friends are ready to come out of the community's diktats over political choices," she said.

Her parents, she said, were really scared of the community despite their Left leanings. "When I was a class 12 student, I had attended a camp of National Service Scheme, which angered a local Muslim cleric who said no Muslim girl should take part in such events," she recalled.

IDEA EXCHANGE NEWSMAKERS IN THE NEWSROOM

we move in that direction soon.

is already doing so.

It's not going to be

easy because the

way in which the

company operates is

That means BHEL and companies that

are heavily reliant on coal-fired utility

power plants, need to rethink their busi-

ness, move to solar and renewables. BHEL

NAUSHAD FORBES, CO-CHAIRMAN, FORBES MARSHALL

The first step for recovery is to create more jobs and put enough money into people's hands

Industry leader and author Naushad Forbes analyses the Budget, argues for more Government spending in the social sector, zero-tariff trade and explains why corporates don't speak up as much as they should. The session was moderated by National Business Editor ANIL SASI

Shyamal Majumdar: Just before the Budget, you had said that it must deliver on economic inclusion, incentivise job creation and increase investment in education and skilling. Has it lived up to your expectations?

It has done a reasonable job of ensuring job creation by increasing spends on public infrastructure by over 30 per cent. It also incentivises States to spend on infrastructure by providing loan guarantees on borrowings from the Centre. My expectation on investment in health and education was low and predictably nothing much happened there. The education budget did go up by around 12 per cent but I'm yet to figure out exactly where the increases are reflected. In fact, the percentage of the GDP that is being spent for health and education is lesser if you factor in the cess that has been introduced in recent years. So, when it comes to education and health, the cess has replaced spending in the regular Budget. This has happened in the previous as well as the present government. That's unfortunate because we need to incrementally grow our spending on these two vital ways of including people in our growth story.

I agree there are limits to what the Union Budget can do because health and education are State subjects. But several Central schemes can always incentivise States to do the right thing. I hope that next month we will see something systematically coming through to incentivise States to take the right steps for education in particular. The New Education Policy (NEP) is a sensible document, it has many of the right 'whats'. I'm more concerned about the 'how'; how will we actually implement the new education policy when it comes to schooling and higher education? I think it needs a lot more attention from both the Union and State

Shyamal Majumdar: The recent SEBI decision, making the separation of roles between chairman and MD at listed companies voluntary instead of mandatory, came almost two years after the Uday Kotak Committee's recommendation for a strict split in $roles.\,Do\,you\,think\,corporate\,India's$ decision to lobby against it was

First, do we need such guidelines in terms of governance, separation of powers, oversight and so on? Second, the regulator should have decided earlier on the guidelines. Otherwise, you have the classic moral hazard where the regulator has no choice but to relent simply because nobody follows the recommendations in the first place. There is a weakening of both regulatory standards and power. But the bigger point that I'd like to make is on these guidelines themselves. To give you an example, the commitment of two per cent of company revenue for Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) began as a voluntary guideline. If a company did not spend that amount, it needed to explain why in its annual report. There was moral pressure on companies and you could see them falling in line. Two years ago, we made non-compliance a criminal offence and it had to be withdrawn too. To me, guidelines are a way

of ensuring good behaviour. Otherwise, we try to be very prescriptive. I'm much more in favour of actually saying what's the spirit behind the regulation and hold companies accountable for not adhering to it rather than checking a box.

Anil Sasi: The **Budget seems to** be making this almost

impassioned plea to the industry to invest in the capex programme. The Centre has done the heavy lifting in terms of spending for the last four years. Industry is yet to come on board. Do you see something changing this year?

At the end of the day, new capital stock will get created when the capacity is close to being exhausted. At what level does exhaustion kick in? My sense is that it kicks in somewhere between 70 and 80 per cent capacity utilisation. If animal spirits are high, then it's closer to 70 per cent. If animal spirits are low, then closer to 80 per cent. But if you look at total capacity utilisation, you know that consumption will be back to 97 per cent of what it was two years ago. So, if it's still only at 97 per cent, you don't need more capacity. That's the fundamental problem. That's why the first step is to create more jobs and put enough money into people's hands so that they can spend. I hope the service sector bounces back, urban trades power the en-

EXCHANGE

NAUSHAD

ndustry leader

for India to crest its

Naushad Forbes has

L laid a practical roadmap

economic potential in his

Potential. He argues for

institutions and policy

between industry,

striking the right balance

new book, The Struggle And

The Promise: Restoring India's

FORBES

gine of informal employment and the travel and tourism sectors pick up because they are employment-intensive. When that starts to happen, it will cre-

ate that much more consuming power. When you get well above 100 per cent, then you need to invest in more capacity. I read about how public investment in infrastructure creation would spur private investment and so on. I don't understand how. Yes, in certain sectors, it might, but how does one actually lead to the other? It seems to me that the most fundamen-

The only way we can be an

international player is if we

keep our tariffs down and

come down to zero. Let's

give ourselves 10 years, we

should be able to compete

with the best in the world.

If we can't, we don't

deserve to exist

tal requirement is that consumption needs to grow, and consumption will grow if more people have more money to spend.

Anil Sasi: The postpandemic recovery seems to have this very deep cleavage in terms of the bigger companies growing and the smaller players being left out of the recovery process. Does this delay demand recovery?

It does. I imagine it's economically sustainable but I don't think it's socially sustainable in the long term. How do you address this? After the first lockdowns and the reverse migration of labour, the industry is getting companies to voluntarily adopt a set of standards for all their contractors to ensure minimal protection like health insurance for labourers, a shortterm unemployment insurance and a basic support network. This will give them confidence, security and keep consumption going. The fact that agricultural employment has gone up in these last two years is a dampening development story.

Sunny Verma: In September 2019, the Finance Minister announced a sharp reduction in corporate tax rate, hoping it would kickstart investments. Then the pandemic hit.

Do you think that was an error? I don't think so. It's good to remember what the actual logic was, lower tax rates other words, the actual collection was 18 per cent of profits. And what we advocated at the time was to reduce the corporate tax rate to 18 per cent and remove all exemptions gradually with no grandfathering. And if you did that, you would, on a like-to-like basis, end up taxing everyone equally. What actually happens is that smaller companies end up paying the full marginal rate of tax while larger companies find ways of taking advantage of exemptions. Then you have a kind of convoluted, reverse progressive, regressive tax system. There's scope to do something similar in the personal income tax slab; reduce tax rates, exemptions and widen the net so that you can bring more and more people into the actual income taxpaying category. We have a very limited coverage of people in terms of the spread of the income tax collection.

Sunny Verma: We lost Rahul Bajaj, who spoke his mind and truth to power across governments. Can any other industry voice fill that void?

First, the place of Rahul Bajaj will remain vacant forever because it's very difficult for any one individual to fill his shoes. He was one of a kind. Our best way of paying tribute to him is by behaving and thinking like him and following his ethos. That most certainly includes being more independent, articulate, clearer, franker and forthright.

Harish Damodaran: You are one of the few industrialists who says that Indian industry doesn't need any protection. You have also made a very strong case for India joining the **Regional Comprehensive Economic** Partnership (RCEP) and signing up for Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). How are you basing your argument?

I really believe that the best way for Indian industry to thrive in the long run is in an open economy. You end up disincentivising exports when you tax imports. Let me give you an example from our own sector. We're in the engineering sector and export a reasonable amount of what we make each year, at least 20-25 per cent. because steel carries a tariff in India, between 7.5 and 10 per cent. This ends up spreading inefficiency and costs through-

out the economy. Now let's take the labour-intensive garment sector. If you have a tariff on fabric, you end up not just affecting garment companies but other things than fabric. You might get advanced licences, duty and drawback. But what about thread, buttons and so on? You're not going to keep track of what thread you used for export and what thread you used for local sales. The only way we can be a really effective longterm international player is if we keep our tariffs down, and they have to come down over time to zero. I think 10 years are a long enough period for us. Surely, we should be able to compete with the best in the world. And if we can't, we don't deserve to exist.

Harish Damodaran: With regard to capital goods, companies like BHEL are really struggling because of a lack of orders. Same is the case with equipment-manufacturing companies. How do you see the next

two years? This year we've been very pleasantly surprised with a pick-up in demand. Our boiler business is doing well. For the foreseeable future, it seems pretty solid and we hope that stays for another year or so. Then you'll see an uptick in broader project activity happening and that will in itself stimulate consumption. For the power sector, the bulk of business comes from setting up coal-fired power plants. Here we need to come back to our sustainability goals. May be we have another couple of years of coal-fired power plants. In Glasgow, there was a lot of pressure on not just India, but other nations as well to actually commit to a zero coal scenario. We finally agreed to phase down instead of phasing out. But if we want to actually deliver on our commitments, I've not seen a single credible study that says we can achieve those targets without phasing out, forget phasing down. We will have to phase out coal. The sooner we start, the lower the level where it will peak. I hope oriented around utilcess has replaced spending ity power plants. I in the regular Budget. That's unfortunate because we need to incrementally grow

When it comes to

education and health, the

our spending on these two vital ways of including people in our growth story

ing given to bureaucrats, greater discretion was being provided to their ability to implement the tax code and so on. Against that, there has been a systematic decriminalisation of civil offences. There's much

more to be done. A report came out earlier this month listing 16,000 individual criminal offences in commercial law. That's a crazy number. I think the authors of the report have done us a huge service by documenting the numbers. I hope that that the report will receive the kind of attention in Government that it

deserves Sandeep Singh: The **RBI** recently decided to hold rates. How much role can interest rates play in pushing

inflationary? What the RBI did was to keep rates unchanged. It's not like it lowered or raised them. I think it is betting on inflation being temporary and hoping supply chain disruptions will sort themselves out. The RBI is one part of the story. What the Finance Ministry does, by investing in infrastructure to kickstart economic activity, is the other part. It is the right combination but my big concern is investment in

growth when the overall economy is

Anil Sasi: How complicit is the industry in the Government changing tack and pulling out of the RCEP last minute?

The industry argued in favour of protection as it did in 1991, 2000 and 2010. The Government's job is to hear the industry out but do what is in national interest. In the last few years, from 2017 to early 2021, there was a trend of increasing tariffs. I think in the last year, there has been some rethinking in the Government on trade. There's now a much more positive attitude to trade, international engagement and even to FTAs. At present, India is negotiating FTAs with the UK, UAE, Australia and the EU. India is now keener than the US on FTAs. Let's see what happens. Unfortunately, there's no movement on with China. Meanwhile, let's work on the others.

Anil Sasi: Do you see the industry taking advantage of corporate

I hope so. There was a cut in the overall rate to 25 per cent for existing companies. And then there was the even deeper cut for new manufacturing companies. The last Budget extended the date for these new companies by another year. That's a good move. However, to expect widespread capacity creation in the absence of consumption growth is just not

The Licence Raj bred a culture where we had to go to the Government for incentives or seek protection and favours. Many of those regulations have gone since 1991. But that deferential mindset still continues

Pranav Mukul: Apart from the Licence Raj mindset, do you think corporates keep silent for fear of being targeted? In the Supreme Court, some petitioners said that the Prevention of Money **Laundering Act** was being used arbitrarily to

suppress dissent. Maybe it does in individual cases. I think you can be in-

dependent without being aggressive or attacking. Expressing an independent and alternative viewpoint reasonably won't get companies or individuals into trouble. I think the Government is open to that. And second, the Government is not a monolith. There are different voices in the Government, be it the bureaucracy or Ministers. I give an example in the book of how, after I wrote a couple of editorials criticising India dropping out of RCEP, I went to meet a particular Minister on a completely different matter. And he said to me, "I read your article on RCEP, I agree with you fully and was going to call you but didn't because I'm a member of the Government." You have different views in the Government. When we speak about what needs to be done, we strengthen the hands of reformers who want to move in that direction. It's not an issue of getting into trouble and fear and so on. We can speak in a manner that's independent, forthright and polite at the same time.



historian Ramachandra Guha speaks Karnataka remains silent. Nobody speaks out against dog whistles by political leaders against a certain community. In the US, many corporate leaders speak up but will Indian corporates do so?

Some industrialists do speak up. But industry as a broad category and social activism don't go hand in hand. I'm not trying to make an excuse but social activism is not what we are about. I think for too many years, the

Licence Rai bred a culture where we had to go to the Government for incentives or ask for protection and favours. Many of those regulations have gone since 1991 But that deferential mindset still continues, unfortunately. Be it a monsoon failure or airlines going out of business, we look to the Government for answers.

We cannot expect the Government to be all-powerful, the

source of business, wealth and everything else. It's there for governance. It's not there to run the economy, make it work and make orders and sales happen for companies; that's for companies to do. We can't be dependent on the Government for our success, we have to be dependent on doing a good job, such that our customers want to buy our products and pay us a decent price for them. Only that shift will make us much more independent, even in the way in which we speak to the

P Vaidyanathan Iyer: In the book, you also mention how a good government is one which does not lead itself but creates a space for the private sector. How do you see the seven years of the NDA Government in this context?

The first few years of the NDA Government were part of that broader trend. Somewhere in 2017-18, the direction changed and greater power was be-

WORDLY WISE

SPEAK SOFTLY AND CARRY A BIG STICK;

YOU WILL GO FAR.

— THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The Indian EXPRESS

∞ Founded By ∞
RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

RIDING TRADE WINDS

UAE treaty could give a fillip to Indian exports to the Gulf and Africa, benefit pharma and MSME sector

ITH THE SWIFT conclusion of an early harvest Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) between India and the United Arab Emirates, Delhi appears to be signalling to the world that while it walked out of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), one of the world's biggest Free Trade Area agreements, that does not make it protectionist, or averse to free trade agreements. Worried about market exposure to China, the government had then defended its exit from RCEP by dubbing it an "FTA by stealth" and pointed to underperforming FTAs with most individual countries in the regional trade group. But now the focus seems to have shifted back to signing bilateral FTAs, where Delhi is apparently more confident of controlling its market exposure. Last year, India and Mauritius signed a Comprehensive Economic Co-operation and Partnership Agreement. Interim trade agreements with the UK, Canada and Australia are in the pipeline.

The negotiations for the CEPA with the UAE were concluded in three to four months. It aims to take bilateral trade to over \$1 billion within five years, including in services. The FTA covers 80 per cent of Indian exports to the UAE and is expected to stimulate export-oriented industries in India, especially in the MSME sector, because of a zero-tariff welcome by the UAE. Officials are also hoping that Indian investments in the UAE, spurred by the FTA, will see more remittances flowing into the country. The jewellery sector is also expected to receive a fillip with a concessional import duty. The agreement also speaks about expediting work on a special investment zone for UAE companies and joint ventures, and a dedicated India Mart in the Jebel Ali free zone. Relations between India and the UAE have improved significantly over the last few years. The UAE is India's third-largest trading partner and second-largest export destination, oil being the main import from the Gulf country. The two countries signed a strategic partnership agreement in 2017. The CEPA may serve to deepen the partnership. India and UAE are also now part of an economic relations focussed, informally named "Middle East Quad", in which the United States and Israel area also members.

The government hopes that the pact with the UAE will revive a long-shelved FTA with the Gulf Co-operation Council, a six-nation grouping of the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman, and pave the way to markets in Africa, especially for India's pharmaceuticals sector. With the UAE an important transit point for goods and people, this is not an unreasonable expectation, provided Indian industry, especially the ailing MSME sector, can live up to the potential offered by the FTA, and exports match imports.

AFTER THE HARVEST

India's foodgrains production has been rising consistently since 2017. The challenge now is to transfer benefits to farmers

NDIA'S AGRICULTURE SECTOR is all set to create an all-time high production record this year. According to the Second Advance Estimates of Production of Foodgrains for 2021-22, released by the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare last week, India's total foodgrains production will cross 316 million tonnes. This is 1.7 per cent higher than the total production the year before. But what truly captures the remarkable growth in India's farm production is the stark trend in the past six years: Foodgrains production has gone up from 252 million tonnes in 2015-16 to 316 million tonnes now; rising every single year. Contrast this with the performance in the six years preceding 2016-17 — production fluctuated between 244 and 265 million tonnes.

While overall farm production has increased there are diverging trends. Among cereals, coarse grains such as jowar, bajra and ragi are expected to see a decline in output while maize is expected to buck the trend. Thanks to good monsoons, rice production, both in kharif and rabi seasons, is expected to increase by almost 3 per cent. Wheat production, too, is expected to go up by 2 per cent. Pulses are expected to see their output grow by almost 6 per cent with the exception of tur, which is likely to dip by 7 per cent. Oilseeds are expected to see a production growth of 3.3 per cent, thanks to significant increases in mustard and soybean, making up for the fall in groundnut production. Among the key cash crops, sugarcane is expected to see a jump of over 4 per cent while cotton production may decline by over 3 per cent.

There are two policy concerns emerging from this data. One, what happens to food inflation. For instance, wholesale inflation has been 10.5 per cent in wheat, 14.5 per cent in maize, over 23 per cent in oilseeds and 45 per cent in cotton. While domestic production is one big factor in influencing prices, the minimum support prices announced by the government (pulses) as well as the international prices (oilseeds) of these commodities also impact them. The combination of these factors will play out in the year ahead. For example, lower production in cotton when prices are already high will raise the raw material costs of the domestic textile industry, weakening its competitiveness. The other concern would be to ensure improved remuneration for farmers. The ironic — and troublesome — aspect of India's sustained increase in farm production in the past 5–6 years has been the concurrent rise in farmers' distress as the terms of trade have worsened.

Freeze Frame

EPUNNY



Decoding Hindutva

Criminalisation of hijab has to be seen as part of a larger narrative, a restructuring India's culture and society



SOME TIME BACK, when pictures of a burqaclad woman taking her child attired as Lord Krishna to school on the occasion of Janmashtami were circulated approvingly, a vocal section of Hindutva made an interesting argument. It was said this was reducing Hindu tradition to a fancy dress event and that such (mis)appropriation of Hindu tradition should be called out. Clearly, it is not enough that non-Hindus should behave like Hindus or participate in Hindu cultural-religious festivities.

Now, in the case of Karnataka, the argument is that non-Hindus cannot have their own practices (whether these are good or bad practices is beside the point). In the case of beef eating, the argument rests on the point that since the cow is sacred for Hindus, non-Hindus should ensure that Hindu sentiment is not hurt by killing the cow and consuming its meat. In the present case, there is no such "hurt" caused to Hindus and yet, non-Hindus are not left alone to follow their (supposedly) religious practice.

Three dimensions of Hindutva emerge through the Karnataka complication. The first is a political dimension, not just in the limited sense of consolidating the Hindu vote, which surely is happening. But the more critical political dimension is about issues such as what constitutes the nation and who are entitled to be India's citizens. At a fundamental level, the citizenship of those who do not follow authorised Hindu practices is being denied. Increasingly, governments are ensuring that deviations from such practices as approved by Hindutva are formally discouraged and disallowed. So, the concept of an Indian citizen is being equated with adopting the Hindutva way of life and thinking. The rest will be marginalised and criminalised.

Another dimension is cultural. It speaks to the ideologically fed century-old anxieties of some Hindus. These anxieties have produced a hankering for uniformity. The Karnataka developments give a wrong impression that it is only about Muslims. At a more immediate level, these are indeed aimed at Muslims: Muslims cannot have the freedom of being slow in modernisation because in this particular instance, a certain meaning of moderni-

The drivers of Hindutva are beyond the pale of many ideas of the Hindu religion. They are also quite far from popular cultural practices and that is why it has taken so long and so much violence for Hindutva to gain traction. The drivers of Hindutva — the othering of Muslims, influence of

for Hindutva to gain traction. The drivers of Hindutva — the othering of Muslims, influence of Christianity and an elite idea of purity — are also away from the moral or spiritual ideas of religion. These factors constitute the ideological base and

work as the political

weapons of Hindutva.

sation suits the Hindutva agenda. But let us not make a mistake of summarising this only as between Hindus and Muslims. More than that, this issue is literally and metaphorically, about the idea of "uniform".

A cursory glance at the history of Hindutva shows its understanding of an ideal society is premised on everyone being similar, differences being only nominal, bringing about homogeneity in every respect. While in politics, this is reflected in the emphasis on "common" or national language, in the religious sphere it is reflected in searching for a foundational scripture either in the Gita or in the Vedas. In the sphere of popularly practiced religion, this obsession has found two expressions. On the one hand, one deity is raised at the all-India level both as a symbol of religious pride and also as a basis of national identity; on the other hand, regionally celebrated deities are promoted elsewhere to ensure that they do not remain identities of regions but assume pan-Hindu status.

In every sphere, this homogenisation of the idea of being Hindu is at the core of Hindutva. That is why diversity of practices about food consumption is discouraged and delegitimised as being against the Hindu religion. Besides beef, debates around inclusion/exclusion of eggs from school midday meals is being characterised by this search for true and pure Hindu.

This takes us to the third dimension of Hindutva — the search for the pure as the original. Besides the obsession with uniformity, cultural practices of Hindutva are also based on another ambition. It is about formulating a "pure", unadulterated Hindu religio-cultural existence at the mass level. While a bikini can be easily condemned as western debasement, we are not far from de-claiming Khajuraho; recently, a book shop was vandalised for selling Kamasutra. So, a masculine yet pure (preferably celibate) identity and a feminine but de-sexualised identity are upheld as role models. Through these exercises, a pure religiosity as true Hindu religion contests the rich diversity of religiosities among the so-called Hindus. In a sense, this search for purity dove-

tails with both uniformity and nationalism.

At the most superficial but very loud

rhetorical level, hate and suspicion of Muslims (both from India and elsewhere generally) constitute the immediate driver of Hindutva. But Hindutva cannot be explained only in terms of Islamophobia. In many instances, Islamophobia is a convenient tool given the widespread misunderstanding about Muslims and the intransigence of Muslim clergy and elite to steer internal reform. Beyond that, in matters of religious books, the emphasis on celibacy and simplicity, institutionalisation of seva as a "missionary" activity demanding long years of sacrifice and a search for unified religious order, the Hindutva proj-

Finally, caste-based ideas of purity combined with the European obsession with pure blood as represented in the Nazi idea of Aryan race has informed the Hindutva project. Critics of Hindutva often draw attention to its "Brahmanical" character in this regard. While that has a certain validity, it must be squarely accepted that most castes (and the idea of caste itself) draw sustenance from the idea of barricading one community from others by restricting marriage practices. The violent opposition to inter-caste marriages, particularly when the male partner is from a "lower" caste, is testimony to this caste-based grounds for purity.

ect resembles traits of Christianity.

In this sense, the drivers of Hindutva are beyond the pale of many ideas of the Hindu religion. They are also quite far from popular cultural practices and that is why it has taken so long and so much violence for Hindutva to gain traction. The drivers of Hindutva — the othering of Muslims, influence of Christianity and an elite idea of purity — are also away from the moral or spiritual ideas of religion. These factors constitute the ideological base and work as the political weapons of Hindutva. If this broader context of what is happening in Karnataka is missed, we are likely to be waylaid by the "secular" argument that the hijab controversy is more a matter of reform than being a part of a larger narrative or restructuring of India's culture and society.

The writer, based at Pune, taught political science and is chief editor of Studies in Indian Politics

MY GOOD FRIEND AND GUIDE

Ravish could challenge and provoke, with respect, and a smile

LIZ MATHEW

RAVISH TIWARI ENTERED journalism almost a decade after I became a reporter but, for us, that gap never mattered. He was a political animal, I see myself as one too. Even though we were good friends since 2006, he was also a reporter with whom I competed and when he came as chief of bureau in *The Indian Express*, I was apprehensive. But Ravish proved me wrong, taught me lessons that no one else did, and made me realise that two political reporters could learn from each other.

Nothing, neither the ordeal of cancer, the tubes and needles piercing his body nor the strong drugs pumped into him, doused his passion for reporting, or blunted the sharpness of his political instinct. Here is an example. On February 12, the BJP released a list of nine candidates for the election in Uttar Pradesh. I shared it on a Whatsapp group and within minutes came Ravish's message from the hospital bed: "Zahoorabad becomes an interesting constituency to profile. Om Prakash Rajbhar contesting from SP-SBSP alliance, old SP hand Shadab Fatima (from Rahi Masoom Raza family) rebels and contests from BSP, and BIP fields a Rajbhar. The area is in Ansari influence zone too." When it came to understanding the nuances of politics and making a report interesting for readers, Ravish was unique.

Ravish was never satisfied with the logic given by netas for their acts and decisions. He always looked for the why, and at how ordinary folk looked at it. In Parliament corriRavish was never satisfied with the logic given by netas for their acts and decisions. He always looked for the why, and at how ordinary folk looked at it. In Parliament corridors, one could see Ravish engrossed in intense conversation with the most unfamiliar faces and back benchers. He would argue with the most articulate leader, too. I never heard him talk ill of anyone, he had friends from across parties, but he was no one's friend when it came to news.

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These are times when criticism against the political establishment can get you stamped as "anti-national" or "radical", and embedded reporting can be the easy way out. But Ravish continued to ask leaders the most difficult questions with a smile. No one could get away without responding to him.

Ravish could challenge and provoke, with respect, without being rude. I used to envy his fearlessness and the felicity with which he carried out a conversation with leaders who might snub me for my faltering Hindi. The questions I would be hesitant to ask, or fail in putting across, Ravish would shoot effortlessly.

Ravish was an avid reader, he would read at least one or two books before writing about anything other than politics. In the newsroom, we were all entertained by Ravish the storyteller: When narrating an incident, he peppered it with mimicry of the main characters.

He was unenthused by money, he didn't accumulate things. He did not bother to buy a new car saying the old one he had was running but finally gave in to his family's persuasion to purchase a home. Long hair and the muffler casually hanging from his neck

during winters marked his don't-care attitude. About his disease, he would say: "It's all about science. One has to rely on science to come out of this."

I have lost a good friend, and a guide who helped me hone my understanding of the layers and nuances of north Indian politics. The mentor in him awakened whenever I mentioned my twin daughters to him. He got excited about their small achievements, chided me for putting the pressure of my own expectations on them — a baseless allegation, I would retort. When I was down with mild Covid, he, who was going through multiple sessions of chemotherapy and radiation, would call me three times a day to $check\,on\,my\,temperature\,and\,oxygen\,levels.$ He was lucky to have a partner like Poojya, who stood by him through the tumult and pain of the last two years.

As I write this, it's been more than 24 hours since he left us. Whose appraisal will Iseek when I write next, who will I call now for help in framing the intro for stories? Who will I call for confirming a tip I got from the beat? Ravish the journalist, earned the respect of many. As a colleague, he earned a cherished place in the hearts of all who worked with him. I can find solace in that old adage: "Earth has no sorrow that heaven cannot heal". But he has left all of us who loved and admired him with a sorrow that can't be healed.

liz.mathew@expressindia.com



FEBRUARY 21, 1982, FORTY YEARS AGO

ANDHRA CM IMPASSE

IN AN UNPRECEDENTED move, the AP Congress-I Legislature Party turned down the parliamentary board's directive to elect its leader by a secret ballot and instead asked Indira Gandhi to name the new leader. The person so named will be deemed to have been elected by the CLP-I said a resolution adopted at the end of a four-hour meeting, which was deadlocked over the modalities of election. The authorisation was unconditional negating any consensus that might have been reached on the candidate during the two-day exercise of "opinion gathering" conducted by party observers.

SOUTH-SOUTH MEET

THE THREE-DAY CONSULTATIONS beginning in New Delhi on February 22 to consider informal steps to break the deadlock in the North-South global negotiations and to regenerate South-South cooperation is unlikely to yield any breakthrough, despite host India's "gratification" at 43 of the 44 proposals received.

Maharashtra Curfew

THE QUIET PILGRIM city of Pandharpur became the third city in Maharashtra to come under curfew in less than a week. Meanwhile

the situation in Pune and Sholapur, under curfew since February 15, was reported to be under control by official sources in the wake of Vishwa Hindu Parishad's Janagran Abhiyan processions.

CLASH IN UN

INDIA AND PAKISTAN clashed at a meeting in Geneva of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The dispute between the two countries was reportedly over the Kashmir issue. Agha Hilaly, brother of the outgoing Pakistan foreign minister Agha Shahi, raked up the issue while discussing colonial domination.

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 2022

THE IDEAS PAGE

The compassion lesson

As children return to classrooms, governments, schools, teachers and parents must give them a vocabulary to talk about their emotions and experience of pandemic loss, find ways to repair and heal



NIVIDA CHANDRA

SINCE SCHOOLS CLOSED, students have been through a lot of changes. Not only have they aged, they have become different people, having lived through a pandemic at such a young age. So, what should schools expect when children return, and how can they prepare to support their emotional adjustment and safeguard their development beyond academic achievement?

As a society, we have always struggled to accept that school is about more than academic achievement. School is where children make friends, encounter bullies, face anxieties, experiment with identities, have secret adventures, live independent lives, and learn who they are away from their parents. If their home environment is unstable for any reason, they have the chance to live a different life where they can feel like they have a higher degree of freedom and control. That this is essential to their psychosocial development is beyond debate.

Being home for the larger part of two years has denied them these necessary developmental opportunities. Undoubtedly, children will have missed their friends, and the routine of going to school can have induced grief and listlessness. Beyond this, though, several children will have experienced Covid-induced health anxieties, the loss of loved ones, varying textures of violence, financial crises and several other issues.

The symptom grabbing everyone's attention seems to be an increase in screen time. Less attention has been paid to "nuisance" symptoms such as disrupted sleep or eating patterns, lack of focus and motivation to study, sullen behaviour and temper tantrums. Older children have been taken to doctors for anything from mild mood and anxiety disorders to instances of addiction and self-harm. Despite our intention to support our children, it seems we have instead decided to "manage" them and place the burden of coping — academically and emotionally - on them alone. It is one of the great privileges of adulthood to develop an amnesia about how we would have liked to be treated when we were children and adolescents

Children do not always communicate directly, and often go unheard when they try. Nor do they have (read: are not given) an emotional vocabulary to explain the complexity of emotions they might be going through (neither do adults, if I'm being honest). Instead, they withdraw, get angry, stop studying or lose focus. Our instinct, unthinkingly, is to respond by telling them to engage, stop feeling angry, study harder and focus more. Unsurprisingly, such advice never works. These are expressions of their feelings. Withdrawing into their phones, for instance, can well be an expression of loneliness, despair and a feeling of being unmoored. Children are alive to everything around them. Holding it inside, trying to make sense of it, can be a lot to carry. Shutting down - receding into technology might be a protective response that offers stimulation and engagement on their terms. Other responses to this felt helplessness, no less extreme, could be addictions of various kinds and attempts at self-harm.

It is, therefore, unreasonable to expect children to return to "normal" just by virtue of them attending school again. Students may struggle to reassimilate with friends, while others may not know how to study in



a classroom. Schools need to be prepared for hundreds of students, each carrying the burden of the past two years, coming together under one roof. This is a moment to think beyond labelling students as those "falling behind" or "depressed" or exhibiting "conduct disorders" and sending them for behavioural interventions or calling their parents to reprimand them. It is an opportunity to move from a punitive to a compassionate, supportive stance. The aim, now, is not to graduate them from one class to the next but to help them mourn what was lost, recover and feel safe again.

This is an appeal to the administrations — governments, schools and PTAs.

Be proactive in addressing psychological and behavioural concerns. Help parents understand the "symptoms" as responses to the difficulties their children have been through. Give parents and children a vocabulary to talk about their concerns. Use age-appropriate language and creative ways to help children express their feelings and challenges. Make an effort to know which children may have faced death and other identifiable crises in these times. Reach out to them personally; let them know you care. Don't ask why someone didn't attend a class; ask what's going on within. Look out for the really quiet or obedient child. Look out for behavioural signs that are completely discordant from the child you knew. Don't be afraid to ask children what's going on with them - often, they are hoping someone will notice them and ask. You don't have to have all the answers – just hear them out.

Create professional systems that involve all manner of mental health professionals

Students may struggle to reassimilate with friends, while others may not know how to study in a classroom. Schools need to be prepared for hundreds of students, each carrying the burden of the past two years, coming together under one roof. This is a moment to think beyond labelling students as those 'falling behind' or 'depressed' or exhibiting 'conduct disorders' and sending them for behavioural interventions or calling their parents to reprimand them. The aim, now, is not to graduate them from one class to the next but to help them mourn what was lost, recover and feel safe again.

who can help you navigate these problems. Offer school counselling services. Create informed and capable systems that can truly be relied on by the students (not as bodies that report to the teachers and principals in the "best interest of the child"). These can include psychotherapists, counsellors, parents, teachers and even some older students who, with basic training, can become the first line of therapeutic relief and instil a sense of community. These efforts can also take the form of team activities, sports, theatre and the like, which can be seamlessly incorporated into the daily calendar without additional budgetary or personnel stressors.

The time for gradually assimilating such changes into our systems is gone. This is a call for a pendulous shift in the approach to studenthood. Even so, the idea is not to attend to mental health as the flavour du jour; it is to demonstrate a sustained attention to it. This is imminently doable without disruption to other school activities and schedules.

We have not even begun to understand the long-term impact of this time on the lives of children. Short-term repair, at the very least, will require an additional commitment to the psychosocial development of the children. This is, then, also a good time to examine what education really means, and the place schools hold in the lives of our children.

These ideas were developed in conversations with Nupur Dhingra Paiva, child and adolescent psychotherapist and author of Love & Rage: Inner World of Children. Chandra is a psychologist and founder of KindSpace Center for Mental Health

The voice of Bengali romance

"It can easily be assumed that the naval exercise is part of a series of soft steps by the US and our Arab allies to push Pakistan closer to recognising Israel. This prospect

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

should only be considered if the Palestinians are on board."

Sandhya Mukherjee brought a memorable classical blend to film music. For generations, she became the soundtrack to their romantic journeys



Maitreyee B Chowdhury

In the early 2000s, I was doing research for my book on Uttam Kumar and Suchitra Sen. As a part of this journey, I not only watched many of the duo's films but also spoke to people for whom the Uttam-Suchitra films had been a part of their growing years. Almost every one of these people also mentioned the songs in these films, and how important a part they had played in the overall impact of the film. Most of these immensely popular songs had been sung by two famous singers from Bengal, Sandhya Mukherjee and Hemanta Mukherjee.

Sandhya Mukherjee's career as a singer began when she was a young girl. She started by singing for the radio, during and after which she received extensive training in classical music. Mukherjee's voice soon became well-known, especially in Bengal, and this resulted in Sachin Dev Burman requesting her to sing for Hindi films. She shifted to Bombay in the 1950s to sing for the Hindi film Tarana, which was released in 1951, and where for the first time she sang with the by-now famous Lata Mangeshkar. The combination of Lata Mangeshkar and Sandhya Mukherjee in the hit song Bol papihe bol led to many more films and songs for Mukherjee. But in spite of having a flourishing career in Hindi playback singing, she opted to return to Bengal to continue her career there.

In Bengal, Mukherjee worked with many filmmakers but, undeniably, her best work happened with Robin Chatterji, who exploited her classical singing skills. A Patiala Gharana singer, Mukherjee brought a unique classical blend to film music. The timbre of her voice was fresh and unlike what audiences had heard before. While Sandhya Mukherjee was a known name, it was her pairing with Hemanta Mukherjee that became most memorable. In film after film, the duo began singing for the romantic hit pairing of Uttam Kumar and Suchitra Sen.

Suchitra Sen on screen became synonymous with Sandhya Mukherjee's voice. Indeed, many would say they nourished each other's artistic journeys. Soon it came to be that almost every other film of Sen, with a hit song, had a playback by Mukherjee. Apparently, they even altered their respective voices and mannerisms

to suit the other while the songs were filmed. One of the earliest films where she sang playback for Suchitra Sen was Agni Pariksha (1954). The film was a huge hit and took both their careers on an upswing. Songs like Gaane mor kon Indradhonu or Ke tumi amare dako alokhe lukaye thako, became a rage. The songs, which were played again and again in public domains, from coffee shops to puja pandals, catapulted both the star cast and Mukherjee into immense fame. Other songs like the popular Ghum ghum chand jhikimiki tara (Harano Sur, 1957), or the semiclassical Kaun tarha se tum (Uttar Phalguni, 1963) followed one after the other in quick succession, and cemented Mukherjee's reputation in the Bengali music industry. In 1961, Sandhya Mukherjee sang *Ei*

poth jodi na sesh hoy, a fun romantic song for the film Saptapadi, along with Hemanta Mukherjee. It was picturised on Uttam Kumar and Suchitra Sen, a song about lovers taking off on a journey of togetherness. The song caught the imagination of the youth of the time and went on to gain cult status, eventually becoming one of Bengali cinema's most loved and iconic songs, hummed till date, and still known to resonate with young lovers. An octogenarian I had interviewed for my book spoke about the songs laughingly, "Suchitra Sen and Uttam Kumar with their good looks, and the voice of Sandhya Mukherjee and Hemanta – can you imagine what a potent combination it was? It was sublime, we fell in love!"

To her credit, Mukherjee's career wasn't limited to film music. She never let her training in classical music go to waste. She continued to perform in classical music soirées throughout her life with as much skill and gusto, as she sang in other Bengali music genres like Najrulgeeti and folk. In keeping with the tradition of creative artists, Mukherjee has always lent her voice to important issues that she felt strongly about, whether it was standing in support of the Bangladesh liberation fight in 1971, or her recent decision to return the Padma Shri award by the Government of India, which she felt had belittled her talent.

There are many singers who have sung before and after Sandhya Mukherjee — beautiful voices all of them, no doubt, but the ability to make people dream, to be able to take them to some far-away magical land where they become one with music, is a special talent that few possess. In that sense, Sandhya Mukherjee will always be remembered, for she enabled an entire generation to fall in love.

The writer is a poet and the author of Uttam Kumar and Suchitra Sen: Bengali Cinema's First Couple

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

JOBS IGNORED This refers to the article, 'There are

jobs, discover them' (IE, Feb 20). P Chidambaram rightly highlights the fact that despite endless opportunities across fields, the government's focus is more on regional politics and religious issues rather than channelling the youth's energy towards productive activities. On top of that, taxing future areas like digital assets which other countries are eagerly adopting further reduces any potential of exponential growth for India. If only the government could rise above political and ideological hate.

Gaurav Gupta, Gurugram

DIVIDED ON POLLS

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Picking the wrong battle' (IE, February 19). The writers have rightly questioned the temerity of some farm union leaders to fight assembly elections in Punjab when all the farm unions camping on the Delhi borders to protest against the NDA government's farm laws had decided that the movement would remain non-political. Unity among various unions is still needed because some demands of farmers are yet to be accepted.

Tarsem Singh, Mahilpur

FAILING PREAMBLE
THIS REFERS TO the article, "Who we are' (IE, February 19). The Preamble endows Indians with the "Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship". However, the freedom of choice does not guarantee with it the "inherent ability" to make that choice. The ability to choose is intrinsic and cannot be endowed on a person by mere writing of words. It takes confidence to showcase your own beliefs

to the people around and it takes much more than strength to break free of the social stratification and embrace the beliefs and culture of others. The present state of affairs—the polarisation, religious manipulations, etc—show that even the young and blooming minds aren't taking the Preamble's prerogative seriously and lack the strength to set things right.

Kirat Singh, Mohali

HEED CRITICS

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Being thick-skinned' (IE, February 19). It is a well-known fact that almost half the MPs in Parliament may not be on the right side of the law. There is no point in the Indian government frowning at the Singapore PM's speech, when he referred to this bitter truth. While our government spokespersons have developed a habit of boasting that the world praises the "achievements" of the government of the day, they should also be mature enough to take (global) criticism in the right spirit.

TECH BENEFITS

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Working with blockchain' (IE, February 19). When there is a lack of clarity regarding the prospects of blockchain technology, it isn't the right time to bring another aspect regarding its climate impacts and create a hurdle in exploring the associated benefits. There are several research papers that evince that this nascent technology can be effectively utilised to measure, track and report the carbon footprint across the process through smart contracts. It is be a better idea to exploit the technology than indulge in criticism. **Aerika Singh,** Chandigarh

EU in the Indo-Pacific

Paris is hosting a ministerial Indo-Pacific Forum to convert strategy into actions

Emmanuel Lenain

EUROPE AND ITS key Indo-Pacific partners are joining forces to deliver a positive agenda for the region at the ministerial Forum taking place tomorrow in Paris under France's ongoing presidency of the EU. This first-of-its-kind event brings together the foreign affairs ministers from EU member states and 30 Indo-Pacific countries, including India's Foreign Minister Jaishankar, with France and the EU as co-chairs.

The issues at stake in this crucial region, including security challenges, are of concern to all EU countries. Europe's answer is a comprehensive and positive agenda of solutions, rather than a logic of military confrontation. This is also the guiding principle of the EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, unveiled in September 2021. Europe can offer the countries of the region a sustainable, transparent model for preserving their sovereignty, and an alternative to other models, such as China's.

Tomorrow's Forum is France's contribution to translating this strategy into actions. We are working on concrete projects in three priority areas — security and defence, connectivity and common goods. On each

of these issues, we believe that India has a central role to play.

France itself a nation of the Inde Pacific.

France, itself a nation of the Indo-Pacific, has a long-standing commitment to upholding the law of the sea in the region, particularly through our permanent naval presence and joint exercises, such as our annual "Varuna" drills with India. Other EU countries are increasingly present at the national level. We believe that stronger European engagement will help to better respond to the security challenges of this vast region. That is why we are working on a coordinated EU maritime presence in the Indian Ocean, a key item of tomorrow's discussions. This would be a significant step, that demonstrates the EU's role as a provider of stability in the region.

There are immense connectivity and infrastructure needs in the Indo-Pacific. But these needs should not force the countries of the region into unsustainable dependencies. Alternative options are required. The EU's Global Gateway initiative unveiled in December 2021 hopes to address this by pooling the resources of the EU's institutions and its 27 member states to raise 300 billion euros to build sustainable links. Tomorrow's

Forum will focus on strengthening connections between Europe and the Indo-Pacific, particularly in the air and digital domains. The EU and India have already concluded a Connectivity Partnership (last May in Porto), which can be a pillar of this wider initiative.

The Indo-Pacific is a crucial region for tackling global challenges such as climate change, biodiversity protection and health resilience. These challenges call for collective action. At the Forum, the EU will present the support it can provide to countries of the region, including in terms of green finance, to achieve their ecological transitions in a just manner. This is significant for India's efforts to meet the goals set by Prime Minister Narendra Modi at COP26. Moreover, in the fields of biodiversity protection and plastic pollution, France and India can act together to spur multilateral action, as exemplified by India's decision to join the France-initiated international coalition to protect 30 per cent of the land and seas by 2030 (High Ambition Coalition for Nature and People).

Cooperation between France and India on protected areas and national parks can also be expanded at the Indo-Pacific scale. Finally, the ministers will discuss concrete steps to strengthen health sovereignty and promote the "One Health" approach to the pandemic response. France will propose the creation of an Indo-Pacific health campus, to be established in India, to bring together India's pharmaceutical prowess and Europe's technological capacity for the benefit of the region.

In a world of growing tensions, the core goal of France's EU Presidency is to strengthen Europe's sovereignty and its ability to decide its own fate. This endeavour matches India's fundamental aspiration for strategic autonomy. That is why France believes that the EU can be India's natural partner to reshape the post-pandemic world and promote a multipolar order. We can leverage our excellent bilateral ties and the momentum from the May 2021 EU-India Summit to bring about this vision. At tomorrow's Forum, France and India will work together to place a truly strategic EU-India partnership at the centre of a new deal for the Indo-Pacific.

The writer is Ambassador of France to India

#ExpressExplained

If there are questions of current or contemporary relevance that you would like explained, please write to explained@indianexpress.com

TRACKING INDIA'S COVID CURVE

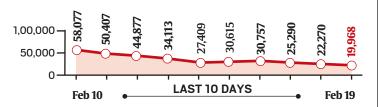
DASHBOARD, AS ON FEB 19

New cases 19,968

Active cases Deaths 2,24,187 673

Weekly CFR: 0.30% | Overall CFR: 1.21% | Total deaths: 5,11,903

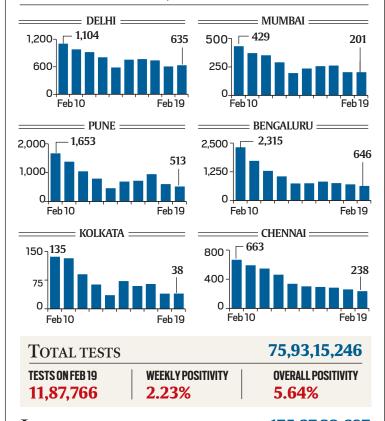
NEW CASES, DAILY



SURGE IN THE STATES

State		Weekly		
	New cases	Active cases	Deaths	positivity
Kerala	6,757	75,813	524	14.71%
Maharashtra	1,635	18,368	32	2.12%
Mizoram	1,326	10,071	1	28.50%
Karnataka	1,137	13,468	20	1.89%
Rajasthan	1,075	10,967	9	4.21%

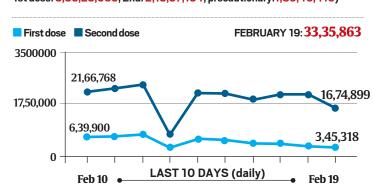
CASES IN THE CITIES, LAST 10 DAYS



INDIA TOTAL DOSES

175,37,22,697

(Adults 1st dose: 90,73,33,421; 2nd: 75,22,60,637; 15-18 age group 1st dose: 5,36,25,069; 2nd: 2,15,57,154; precautionary:1,89,46,416)



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EXPLAINED GLOBAL

China's revisionism on 1962

Amid the Galwan standoff, the Chinese have claimed their 1962 aggression was a 'counter attack'. This is not borne out by facts or logic — but the opportunities India lost to settle the border issue are well documented.



From The Indian Express panel of specialists, exclusive insight

THE CHINESE website Guancha has published an 8,000-word revised history of the 1962 War after six decades to justify the propaganda line of "Never Attack; Never Invade Another Country", and to present China as a peace-loving nation. The story, written by Zhang Xiaokang, daughter of the former military commander in Tibet General Zhang Gouhua, comes in the wake of the conflict in the western sector in the Galwan valley.

In recent years, China has evoked strong reactions from major countries for its claims on superpower status through the aggressive use of economic and military sinews - with the UK on Hong Kong, with Australia on trade, with Japan over the ownership of the Senkaku Islands in the East China sea, with the US on its projection of military power, and with Southeast Asian countries over control of the South China Sea despite the verdict of the world court under the UNCLOS agreement. The recent attempts by China to stir up trouble on the India-China border in the Galwan river valley has added to the worries of not only India but the international community

History on its head

One can understand Madam Zhang's desire to glorify her father, but to portray the 1962 War as a "self-defence counter attack" is a poor attempt to make history stand on its head.

There is a contradiction in her story. A "counter attack" does not allow the attacked country the luxury of elaborate planning over a long period, as she herself points out quot-

"Over the years we have taken many measures to seek a peaceful solution to the Sino-Indian border problem, but India has refused to do so and deliberately provoked an armed conflict which has become more and more intense. Since Nehru must fight, we have no choice but to go along with it."

She recalls that Mao had called a meeting of his political and military brass and asked them, "perhaps if we counterattack, the border can be settled and a peaceful resolution of the border issue can be achieved?", and Gen

THE EXPERT

ASBHASIN is a retired

published a 5-volume

documentary study of

India-China Relations.

1947-2000. His book,

Nehru, Tibet and China

(Penguin Viking) was

published in June 2021.

Division of the Ministry of

External Affairs. In 2018, he

Director, Historical

Indian troops near Pangong lake in Ladakh during the 1962 war with China. Express

Zhang Guohua had assured him, "yes we can, please rest assured, Chairman, we can definitely win".

Facing an attack, the attacked party counterattacks with whatever force is available, win or lose. It cannot wait for a leisurely meeting to be called by the head of the government and plan for a counterattack after getting an assurance of victory.

In this context, a 2019 article by Chaowu Dai, distinguished professor at Yunnan University and director of the YNU Institute

for Indian Studies in Kunming, China, is more honest. He has little hesitation in admitting that from 1960 to October 1962, judging that India was unwilling to negotiate a solution, China "made preparations for deployment of its military", creating interlocking positions "for long-term armed coexistence on the border issue ultimately proceeding to the border conflict".('China's Strategy for Sino-Indian Boundary

Disputes, 1950-1962', Asian Perspective, Johns Hopkins University Press) This statement is nearest to the truth.

Analysing the circumstances, one has to see if India was actually prepared for an attack.

On September 8, 1962, Nehru left for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. He returned on October 2, after visiting Paris, Lagos and Accra, and then left for Colombo on October 12, returning to New Delhi on October 16. Defence Minister V K Krishna Menon was in New York from September 17-30 for the UNGA session. On October 2, the Chief of General Staff, Lt Gen BM Kaul, was holidaying in Kashmir.

No country that is preparing for an attack

would allow its Prime Minister or senior generals responsible for war planning to be away from its capital.

Nehru's mistakes

The culprit was an avoidable statement of the Prime Minister to journalists on October 12 while leaving for Colombo that "he had instructed the Army to clear the Indian territory of Chinese intrusions and the date had been left to the army to decide". He was perhaps referring to a decision

taken in the Defence

Ministry to clear the recent intrusion in the Kemong Division of NEFA, a limited action. People's Daily, the Chinese communist party mouthpiece, taking advantage of Nehru's remarks, said on October 14, "so it seems Nehru had made up his mind to attack China on an even bigger scale".

The above unfortunate statement of Nehru has been used by Madam Zhang to fabricate the the-

ory of "self-defence counter attack". While we can fault the Chinese for this fabrication, India cannot escape blame for not being serious in settling the border question, despite repeated Chinese pleas. Whatever the Indian stand, it had certain fissures that do not stand scrutiny.

Prime Minister Nehru, in explaining his reluctance to discuss the border question, had said in Raiva Sabha on December 8, 1959, that since we're "sure of our borders the question was why invite discussions about a thing on which we had no doubt".

Even this statement had problems. The western border, which created the major dispute, was "undefined" in the Survey of India maps that India inherited in 1947, and which were later reprinted. Similarly, Nehru was not unaware that China in the past had never accepted the McMahon Line in the eastern sector, the outcome of the Simla Convention of 1914, and it was unlikely to accept it — and yet insisted this was non-negotiable.

Opportunities lost

In 1954, at the time of talks on Tibet, India had taken the stand that the border question would not be discussed. An opportunity to settle the border was allowed to slip. After the Tibet Agreement was signed on April 29, 1954, Nehru ordered in July that a line should be drawn to demarcate the Ladakh-Aksai Chin border, which would not be open for discussion – ignoring that this was an international border, and required consultations and agreement of the other stakeholder.

Having changed the status of the border unilaterally, he created a vacuum by not establishing a check post, or even unfurling a

The area was neglected to the extent that India was unaware that China had constructed a 120-km highway through it. In his letter of January 23, 1959, the Chinese Premier had suggested talks since, as he said, historically no agreement on the boundary had ever been concluded, and the absence of formal delimitation created discrepancies which often led to "minor border incidents which are probably difficult to avoid".

On March 22, Nehru noted that the sector from the trijunction of the Nepal, India, and Tibet boundary up to Ladakh (Ladakh-Aksai Chin sector) was traditional and known by custom, usage, by the application of the principle of watershed and old revenue records and maps, etc. These facts are important inputs when negotiating an agreement, but by themselves could not constitute an agreement.

Despite suffering from doubts, Nehru insisted in Rajya Sabha on December 9, 1959 that India should hold its position, hoping that "lapse of time and events would confirm it, and by the time challenge came, we would be in a much stronger position to face it". There was an opportunity to clear the doubts at the summit talks in April 1960, but that too was allowed to slip because India insisted on China accepting its maximalist position - not realising that in a dispute, both sides have to make compromises to come to a settlement.

Even after the 1960 talks, China tried to bring India to the negotiable table many times, but Nehru's rigidity did not help. Yet he did accept in Parliament the undemarcated status of the border.

China continued to insist on the need for a well-defined demarcation of borders on scientific lines. Unfortunately, India remained in denial. The result was 1962.

Bicycles in bombings: A short history

DEEPTIMANTIWARY NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

DURING AN election speech in UP on Sunday, PM Narendra Modi appeared to suggest a connection between the 2008 Ahmedabad blasts and the Samaiwadi Party (SP), wondering why the terrorists had chosen to plant bombs on bicycles, which is the SP's election symbol.

The Election Commission allotted the bicycle symbol to the SP after Mulayam Singh Yadav split from the Janata Dal to form his own party in October 1992. Under the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968, the EC is empowered to recognise political parties and to allot them symbols.

From 2006 to 2013

Bicycles were first used as carriers of

bombs in the 2006 Malegaon blasts, in which a Hindutva group led by former RSS pracharak Sunil Joshi was accused of targeting the Muslim-dominated town in Maharashtra. According to the National Investigation Agency's (NIA) chargesheet, the perpetrators strapped two bombs on bicycles and placed them in the town on September 8, 2006.

On November 23, 2007, a series of blasts occurred between 1 pm and 1.30 pm near courts in Varanasi, Lucknow, and Faizabad. The five bombs in these blasts that killed 15 people, were strapped to bicycles. Investigators later claimed the the Indian Mujahideen (IM) was behind the attacks.

Earlier that year, on May 22, 2007, three bombs kept on bicycles had gone off in Gorakhpur, injuring three persons. In December 2020, a local court convicted alleged HuJI operative Mohammad Tariq Qasmi and sentenced him to life in prison for the attacks.

On May 13, 2008, nine bombs strapped to bicycles went off at eight locations in Jaipur, killing 71 people. This was the first blast where the IM took responsibility by sending emails to various media houses. On July 26, 2008, 22 bombs killed 56 peo-

ple in Ahmedabad. Several of these bombs were found to have been fitted on bicycles. The IM claimed responsibility, and its alleged members were sentenced to death by a trial court on Friday. On August 1, 2012, bicycles were used as

bomb carriers in Pune. One person was injured in the four low-intensity blasts, and suspected IM operatives were arrested.

Less than a year later, the IM used two cycles to plant bombs at Hyderabad's Dilsukhnagar market on February 21, 2013. Eighteen people were killed.

Around the world

Terrorist groups have long used bicycles to plant bombs. They are easy and cheap to procure anywhere in the world, and increase the impact of the blast by adding jagged metal splinters to the shrapnel from the explosion.

The first recorded case of a bicycle bomb

goes back to 1939, when the Irish Republican Army left a bomb in the basket of a bicycle that exploded, killing five people in Coventry in the United Kingdom. Thereafter, bicycle bombs were used in the

1970s, 1980s and the 1990s in the UK, and Germany, and throughout the 21st century in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Iraq, Russia and Spain, among other countries.

(WITH MANISH SAHU & ANISHA DUTTA)

Presidential Fleet Review: what Navy displays, and why it is significant

KRISHN KAUSHIK

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

ON MONDAY, President Ram Nath Kovind will take part in the Indian Navy's 12th Presidential Fleet Review.

What is the President's Fleet Review?

In simplest terms, it is the country's President taking stock of the Navy's capability. It showcases all types of ships and capabilities the Navy has. It takes place once under every President, who is the supreme commander of the armed forces.

The President is taken on one of the Naval ships, which is called the President's Yacht, to look at all the ships docked at one of the Naval ports. According to a statement by the Navy, the President's Yacht this year "is an indigenously built Naval Offshore Patrol Vessel, INS Sumitra, which will lead the Presidential Column. The yacht will be distinguished by the Ashoka Emblem on her side and will fly the President's Standard

The President will be given a 21-gun salute before embarking on the yacht.

Do all naval ships participate?

No. The idea is to showcase not all the Navy's ships, but every type of ship — and the kind of capabilities it has at that time. In Monday's fleet review, which will take place in Vishakhapatnam, Kovind will review over 60 ships and submarines, and 55 aircraft, from the Navy and the Coast Guard.

His yacht will sail past 44 ships lined up at anchorage off Visakhapatnam, and there will be a combination of ships from the Indian Navy as well the Coast Guard, along with some vessels from the Shipping Corporation of India and the Ministry of Earth Sciences.

The Presidet's Fleet Review also includes merchant ships.

What else happens in the fleet review? "In this most formal of naval ceremonials, each ship dressed in full regalia will



during the President's Fleet Review of 2016. Indian Navy

Vessels at sea

salute the President as he passes. The President will also be reviewing the Indian Naval Air Arm in a display of spectacular flypast by several helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft. In the final stage of the review, a mobile column of warships and submarines will steam past the Presidential Yacht." The

Navy said. The vessels will include the Navy's latest acquisitions, and the events will include waterfront activities such as Parade of Sails. Search and Rescue Demonstration at Sea,

Aerobatics by Hawk aircraft, and Water Para Jumps by the elite Marine Commandos.

All ships at anchorage will be dressed ceremoniously with various naval flags in full regalia. The ships have been illuminated from sunset to midnight on February

As part of the Sail Parade activities, six ocean-going Indian Naval Sailing Vessels arrived at Visakhapatnam from Goa. These are part of Ocean Sailing Node at INS Mandovi at Goa.

How many of these reviews have been

held so far?

There have been 11 President's Fleet Reviews since Independence. The first was conducted in 1953, under Dr Rajendra Prasad. The next one was done not by the President but by the then Defence Minister, Y B Chavan, in 1964. Since then, it has been the President reviewing the fleet.

The longest gap between reviews was of 12 years - between 1989 (President R Venkatraman) and 2001 (President K R Narayanan). The last one was done in 2016,

under President Pranab Mukherjee. The reviews in 2001 and 2016 were International Fleet Reviews, in which some vessels from other countries also participated. The Indian Navy too has participated in international fleet reviews in other countries, including Australia, America, Malaysia,

Indonesia, South Korea, and the UK. In 1953, 25 warships, seven yard craft and one merchant ship had participated. In 1964, the number rose to 31 warships, nine merchant ships and 12 yard craft. Two years later, under President S Radhakrishnan, India's first aircraft carrier INS Vikrant was part of the review.

What is its significance?

It is one of the most important events for the Navy, which is essentially showing its allegiance and commitment to defending the country. It is a long-standing tradition followed by navies across the world, and according to Navy officials it is a strong bond that links seafarers of the world.

"Historically, a Fleet Review is an assembly of ships at a pre-designated place for the purpose of displaying loyalty and allegiance to the Sovereign and the state. In turn, the Sovereign, by reviewing the ships, reaffirms his faith in the fleet and its ability to defend the nation's maritime interest," a senior Navy official said.

The official said the review "was perhaps conceived as a show of naval might. Though it still has the same connotation, assembling of warships without any belligerent intentions is now the norm in modern times".



Two Benin bronzes were returned to a traditional palace in Nigeria, more than a century after they were pillaged by British troops, raising hopes that thousands more artefacts could finally be returned to their ancestral home The artefacts, mostly in Europe, were stolen by explorers and colonisers from the once mighty Benin Kingdom, now southwestern Nigeria, and are among Africa's most significant heritage objects.

TOPOFTHE



Ethiopia's Grand Renaissance Dam. Reuters

ETHIOPIA

Partial power generation from Nile dam begins

Addis Ababa: Ethiopia began producing electricity on Sunday from its Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), a multi-billion-dollar hydropower plant on the River Nile that neighbours Sudan and Egypt have worried will cause water shortages downstream. After flicking a digital switch to turn on the turbines in the first phase of the project, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed sought to assure those nations that his country did not wish to harm their interests. "Ethiopia's main interest is to bring light to 60% of the population who is suffering in darkness, to save the labour of our mothers who are carrying wood on their backs in order to get energy," Abiy said. REUTERS

PORTUGAL Fire rages onship full of luxury cars

Lisbon: Firefighters are struggling to put out a fire that broke out on Wednesday on a vessel carrying thousands of luxury cars, which is adrift off the coast of Portugal's Azores islands, a port official said, adding it was unclear when they would succeed. The Felicity Ace ship, carrying around 4,000 vehicles including Porsches, Audis and Bentleys, some electric with lithium-ion batteries, caught fire in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean on Wednesday. The 22 crew members on board were evacuated on the same day. **REUTERS**

PAKISTAN

31 Indian fishermen held

Islamabad: Pakistan's maritime authorities have arrested 31 Indian fishermen and seized five of their vessels for allegedly fishing in the country's territorial waters, officials said on Sunday. The Pakistan Maritime Security Agency said it apprehended the intruding vessels on Friday during patrolling in the Pakistan Exclusive Economic Zone. The PMSA said one of its "ship apprehended five Indian fishing boats along with 31 crew." The boats were towed to Karachi for further proceedings. PTI



Troops take part in the joint military drills of the armed forces of Russia and Belarus at a firing range in the Brest Region, Belarus on Saturday. Reuters

Russia and Belarus extend military drills near Ukraine

Putin and Macron discuss need to step up diplomacy

NYT&REUTERS FEBRUARY 20

RUSSIA'S LARGE-SCALE military deployment in Belarus, which the US has long warned could be used as a pretext to build an invasion force aimed at Ukraine, will be extended beyond Sunday when joint exercises had been scheduled to conclude, Belarus's defence minister announced.

After repeated assurances from Russia and Belarus that the drills would end this weekend as planned, the Belarusian defence minister said on Sunday that the two countries' militaries would continue to "test" their capabilities because of what they claimed were heightened tensions in eastern Ukraine.

The apparent extension of the exercises — which NATO has said involve 30,000 Russian troops, Moscow's largest deployment on Belarus territory since the end of the Cold War – put further pressure on Ukraine, which shares a roughly 665-mile border with Belarus that is largely unguarded.

Belarus's defence minister, Lt. Gen. Viktor Khrenin, cited an escalation of violence in eastern Ukraine as the reason for continuing the exercises, although Ukrainian officials say Russiabacked separatists are responsible for the increase in tensions.

On Sunday, separatist leaders suspended a wide range of public activities in the eastern region, known as the Donbas, including "leisure, entertainment, entertainment, cultural, exhibition, educational, public and other similar events," according to a statement posted on their Telegram channel.

The statement released by the self-proclaimed government in the region offered no evidence that there was a danger to the public.

Meanwhile. President Vladimir Putin and French President Emmanuel Macron discussed the need to step up the search for diplomatic solutions to the escalating crisis in eastern Ukraine in a phone call on Sunday, the Kremlin said.

"In view of the urgency of the situation, the Presidents acknowledged the need to intensify the search for solutions through diplomatic means via the foreign ministries and political advisers to the leaders of the Normandy format," it added.

"These contacts should facilitate the restoration of the ceasefire regime and ensure progress in the settlement of the conflict in Donbass," the Kremlin added.

In a separate call earlier on Sunday, Macron and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskiy discussed possible ways to secure immediate de-escalation.

Biden still willing to talk to Putin: Blinken

THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 20

SECRETARY OF State Antony J. Blinken said on Sunday that President Biden was still willing to talk to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia despite the United States government's assessment that Putin has already decided to invade Ukraine.

"We believe President Putin has made the decision, but until the tanks are actually rolling, and the planes are flying, we will use every opportunity and every minute we have to see if diplomacy can still dissuade President Putin from carrying this forward," Blinken said on CNN's "State of the Union."

Biden and Putin last spoke for one hour by telephone on Feb. 12. Biden said on Friday that he believed Russia would invade Ukraine within days. In recent weeks, the Russian military deployed more than 150,000 troops around Ukraine, positioning them along the country's western border with Ukraine, on the Crimean Peninsula that Russia seized from Ukraine in



US Secretary of State Antony I Blinken

2014, and in Belarus, which has a pro-Moscow government.

Blinken said on Sunday that Russia was still taking all the steps expected by the United States for what could be a violent and large-scale incursion into Ukraine.

"As we've described it, everything leading up to the actual invasion appears to be taking place," he said, hours after returning from the Munich Security Conference, where he and Vice-President Kamala Harris tried to rally nations to put pressure on Russia to defuse the crisis.

He also criticised Russia's decision to keep troops in Belarus beyond this weekend, when joint military exercises between the allies had been scheduled to end. "Now they're justifying the continuation of exercises — exercises, in quotation marks — that they said would end now," Blinken said.



Demonstrators sing the national anthem during a protest in Odessa, Ukraine, on Sunday. AP

\$500 MN GRANT: POLICE USE FORCE TO QUELL STIR



Protesters opposing US grant clash with police in Kathmandu on Sunday. AP

Nepal tables US deal in Parliament amid protests

YUBARAJ GHIMIRE KATHMANDU. FEBRUARY 20

FACED WITH two difficult choices- either leave the government or support the resolution to have the \$500 million Millennium Challenge Corporation Nepal compact approved, Maoist Centre and Inified socialists parties chose to support the deal, which was tabled in Parliament on Sunday.

The two parties had opposed the grant saying "it undermines Nepal's sovereignty and its nonaligned foreign policy." Even Speaker Agni Prasad Sapkota, who had firmly stood against it so far, relented. The House of Representatives will meet on February 24 to further discuss on the resolution and its ratification that has been pending for the past four years.

Three members of the Maoist Centre, including its chief whip Deb Gurung, raised their objections in writing after the resolution was tabled, but the Speaker chose not to take any cognisance.

The compact continued to face massive protests outside the Parliament with many parties and



THE MILLENNIUM Challenge Corporation (MCC), a US government aid agency, agreed in 2017 to provide \$500 million in grants to fund a 300-kilometre electricity transmission line and a road improvement project in Nepal.

groups asking government not to accept it as its provisions "undermine national sovereignty." Security forces used rubber bullets and tear gas to quell the mob opposing the tabling of the resolution in the capital.

The government's decision comes at a time when US and China are clashing on US's warning to Nepal that its failure to ratify the compact would be seen as influenced by China, which would lead to "review" of the bilateral relations. While China has accused the US of exercising "coercive" diplomacy in Nepal.

'Pakistan eyes

Survivor and body found People with Covid in UK won't need to self-isolate on Greece burning ferry

Athens: Greek emergency workers rescued a Belarussian truck driver on Sunday from a burning ferry off the island of Corfu and found the body of a Greek truck driver as they combed the wreckage for missing passengers. The discoveries left 10 people still unaccounted for.

The survivor, 21, was able to make his way up to the left rear deck on his own, and told rescue workers he heard other voices below. "The fact that this man succeeded, despite adverse conditions, to exit into the deck and alert the coast guard...gives us hope that there may be other (survivors)," coast guard spokesman Nikos Alexiou told state broadcaster ERT. The victim was identified as a 58-year-old Greek truck driver by his family

The Italian-owned Euroferry Olympia, which was carrying more than 290 passengers and crew as well as 153 trucks and 32 cars, caught fire Friday, three hours after it left the northwestern Greek port of Igoumenitsa bound for Brindisi in Italy. The company that operates the ferry said the fire started in a hold where vehicles were parked. AP

LASER AIMED AT PATROL PLANE

Australia accuses China of 'act of intimidation'

Melbourne: Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison accused Beijing of an 'act of intimidation' after a Chinese navy vessel directed a laser at an Australian military surveillance aircraft last week.

AP-8APoseidon maritime patrol aircraft was illuminated on Thursday while flying over Australia's northern approaches by a laser from a People's Liberation Army-Navy (PLA-N) vessel, potentially endangering lives, the defence department said.

ment will demand answers from Beijing, "I can see it no other way than an act of intimidation, one (...) unprovoked, unwarranted,"

Morrison said at a briefing. "Defence Minister Peter Dutton called the incident "a very aggressive act" that took place in Australia's exclusive economic zone."I think the Chinese government is hoping that nobody talks about these aggressive bullying acts," Dutton added. **REUTERS**

Morrison said his govern-

PEOPLE WITH Covid-19 won't be legally required to self-isolate in England starting next week, the UK government has announced, as part of a plan for "living with Covid" that is also likely to see testing for the coronavirus scaled back.

JILL LAWLESS

LONDON, FEBRUARY 20

Prime Minister Boris Johnson said ending all of the legal restrictions brought in to curb the spread of the virus will let people in the UK "protect ourselves without restricting our freedoms." He is expected to lay out details of the plan in Parliament on Monday.

"I'm not saying that we should throw caution to the winds, but now is the moment for everybody to get their confidence back," Johnson told the BBC in an

QUEEN, 95, TESTS POSITIVE



Elizabeth II

London: Queen Elizabeth II tested positive for Covid-19 on Sunday and is experiencing mild cold-like symptoms, Buckingham Palace said, adding the 95-year-old monarch plans to carry on working. The palace said the queen would continue with "light" duties at Windsor Castle over the coming week. "She will continue to receive medical attention and will follow all the appropriate guidelines," the palace said . The queen has received three doses of Covid vaccine.

interview broadcast Sunday.

"We've reached a stage where we think you can shift the balance away from state mandation, away from banning certain courses of action, compelling certain courses of action, in favor of encouraging personal responsibility."

But some of the government's

scientific advisers said it was a risky move that could bring a surge in infections and weaken the country's defenses against more virulent future strains. Wes Streeting, health spokesman for the main opposition Labour Party,

accused Johnson of "declaring

victory before the war is over."AP

military launched what it called

AUSTRALIA TO WELCOME TOURISTS FOR FIRST TIME UNDER COVID

Melbourne: Australia will welcome international tourists on Monday after nearly two years of sealing its borders, relying on high Covid-19 vaccination rates to live with the pandemic as infections decline. "The wait is over." Prime Minister Scott Morrison told a Sunday briefing at the Melbourne International Airport. Australia's opening to tourists is the clearest example vet of the government's shift from a strict zero-Covid approach to living with the virus and vaccinating the public to minimise deaths and severe illness. REUTERS

people's gold to raise forex reserves'

SAJJAD HUSSAIN ISLAMABAD FEBRUARY 20

PRIME MINISTER Imran Khan-led government is considering a proposal to borrow gold biscuits and bars from the people to increase Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves that remain on a sliding path despite taking over \$5 billion loans in the past three months from bilateral and multilateral creditors, accord-

The proposal has been discussed in the Economic Executive Council(EEC)—the body comprising all economic ministers and the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) governor, The Express Tribune reported.

ing to a media report on Sunday.

According to the proposal, the commercial banks will issue a negotiable discounted instrument to the gold owner and pay an interest rate on the precious metal. The commercial bank will deposit the gold with the SBP that can monetise it to increase the foreign exchange reserves "already largely built by taking expensive foreign loans.

The central bank already has 2.01 million fine troy ounces of gold reserves valued at \$3.8 billion, according to the SBP's reserves position statement of December 31, 2021.

disorder researcher Ho Ming Chow

said the imaging shows slight brain

differences in young children who

keep stuttering, compared with

those who recover and those who

never stuttered. Past research has

also linked stuttering to the basal

ganglia, brain structures involved in

really strong genetic compo-

"We know stuttering has a

the coordination of movement.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Rohingya genocide case hearings to resume

MIKE CORDER THE HAGUE, FEBRUARY 20

AN INTERNATIONAL case accus-

ing Myanmar of genocide against the Rohingya ethnic minority returns to the United Nations' highest court on Monday amid questions over whether the country's military rulers should even be allowed to represent the Southeast Asian nation.

Four days of public hearings at the International Court of Justice start Monday into Myanmar's preliminary objections to the case that was brought by Gambia, an African nation acting on behalf of an organisation of Muslim nations that accuses Myanmar of genocide in its crackdown on the Rohingya.

LAURA UNGAR

FEBRUARY 20

In August 2017, Myanmar's

For centuries, people have

feared being judged for stutter-

ing, a condition often misunder-

stood as a psychological problem

caused by things like bad parent-

ing or emotional trauma. But re-

netics and brain differences.

a clearance campaign in Rakhine state in the country's west in response to an attack by a Rohingya insurgent group. The campaign forced more than 700,000 Rohingya to flee to neighboring Bangladesh and led to accusations that security forces committed mass rapes and killings

and burned thousands of homes. Gambia argues that the campaign amounted to a breach of the genocide convention and wants the court to hold the country responsible

The figurehead who led Myanmar's legal team in court last time there were public hearings in the case — the nation's ousted leader Aung San Suu Kyi is in prison after being convicted on what supporters call trumped up charges.

GLOBALLY, 70 MILLION PEOPLE STUTTER, INCLUDING PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN

SCHEME HONOURS HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF BUILDINGS IN LONDON Raj era home for Indian Ayahs to get Blue Plaque

ADITI KHANNA LONDON, FEBRUARY 20

A HOME in London for Ayahs or nursemaids brought back by British families from India during the Raj is to be honoured with a Blue Plaque as part of a series to highlight the working-class experiences of the UK capital.

The Blue Plaque scheme, run by the English Heritage charity, honours the historic significance of particular buildings across London. The Ayahs' Home in the Hackney area of east London, which dates back to 1900-1921, housed many maids from India and other colonies in South and South-East Asia.

"The Ayahs' Home in



The Ayahs' Home in Hackney in 1900. File

Hackney provided safety and shelter to the many women who arrived in London with British families only to find that their employers did not honour the promise of a return journey, or offer the means to survive in the interim," English Heritage notes.

"The Ayahs, thus abandoned, were often forced into common lodging houses or the workhouse," it said. The term 'Ayah" was applied to all those women who served the British as nannies and nursemaids in India and other colonies.

spy Noor Inayat Khan among another recent one to be honoured.

The home's Blue Plaque, part of the charity's 2022 cohort, forms part of an effort to celebrate women's experiences in London by English Heritage, with the London home of British Indian

"Many of the stories we are telling this year are those of

London's working class," said Anna Eavis, Curatorial Director and Secretary of the English Heritage Blue Plaques Panel.

"I am particularly excited by the Match Girls' plaque. This strike, organised by a group of impoverished young women, mostly between 15 and 20 years old, holds such an important place in the history of unionised labour and the women's movement as a whole," she said.

The famous Match Girls' Strike of 1888 is said to have changed the course of modern British labour history. It involved around 1,400 of the predominantly female workforce walking out of the match factory in the Bow area of east London. PTI

Unravelling biology of stuttering HOLLY NOVER grew up trying to hide her stutter. "I was very self conscious," said the 40-year-old St. Johns, Florida mom, whose 10-year-old son Colton also has a speech impediment. "So I developed habits to switch my words so it wouldn't be noticed.'

Colton Nover works on a report for school with his mother, Holly Nover in in St. Johns, Fla. AP

search presented at a science we're going to decrease the stigma. conference on Saturday explores We're going to increase the acceptits biological underpinnings: geance," one of the speakers, Gerald Maguire, said in a recent interview "By understanding the biology, with The AP. He's a California psychiatrist who is involved in testing potential medications for stuttering based on the science. Globally, 70 million people stutter, including President Joe

Biden, who has spoken publicly about being mocked by classmates and a nun in Catholic school for his speech impediment. He said overcoming it was one of the hardest things he's ever done. Stuttering has been docu-

mented as far back as ancient China. Greece and Rome. But no one really had any idea what caused it until modern genetic science and brain imaging began providing clues. Researchers identified the first

genes strongly linked to stuttering more than a decade ago Imaging studies peered into the orains of adults and older children. University of Delaware speech

nent," Chow said. Though several genes may be involved and the exact genetic causes may vary by child, "they probably affect the brain in a similar way." Speech therapy is the mainstay of stuttering treatment. But the medicines currently being tested could be approved for stuttering in the next few years, first for adults and later for kids, said Maguire, who has stuttered since childhood.

Market Watch

FIVE OF TOP-10 COS SEE RISE IN M-CAP

New Delhi: Five of the 10 most valued firms together added Rs 85,712.56 crore in market valuation last week, with Tata Consultancy Services (TCS) emerging as the biggest gainer. In the ranking of top-10 firms, RIL retained its number one position. PTI

SECTOR WATCH RETIREMENT FUND

In 16% jump, EPFO adds 14.6 lakh subscribers in Dec

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

THE EMPLOYEES' Provident Fund Organisation (EPFO) added 14.6 lakh subscribers on a net basis in December 2021, an increase of 16.4 per cent compared to the year-ago period, according to the latest payroll data.

The provisional payroll data of Employees' Provident Fund Organisation (EPFO) released on Sunday showed that the EPFO had added 12.54 lakh net subscribers during December 2020. The net subscriber addition in December has increased by 19.98 per cent as compared to November 2021, a Labour Ministry statement said. The net subscriber addition in November 2021 was revised downwards to 12.17 lakh from 13.95 lakh provisional estimates released in January 2022. Of the total 14.60 lakh net subscribers added in December, 2021, 9.11 lakh new members have been enrolled under EPF & MP Act, 1952 for

the first time. Approximately 5.49 lakh net subscribers exited but rejoined EPFO by opting to continue their membership with EPFO by transferring their PF accumulations from previous to present PF account instead of opting for final withdrawal. Further, it stated that the numEXPLAINED Highest enrolment

THE AGE-GROUP of 22-25 years registered the highest number of net enrolments with 3.87 lakh additions during December 2021. The agegroup of 18-21 also registered a healthy addition of around 2.97 lakh net enrolments

ber of members exiting EPFO has been on a declining trend

since July, 2021. According to the data, the age-group of 22-25 years registered the highest number of net enrolments with 3.87 lakh additions during December 2021. The age-group of 18-21 also registered a healthy addition of around 2.97 lakh net enrolments. The age-groups of 18-25 years have contributed around 46.89 per cent of total net subscriber additions in December, 2021. This indicates that many first-time job seekers are joining the organised sector workforce in large numbers. A state-wise comparison of payroll figures highlighted that the establishments in Maharashtra, Haryana, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are in lead by adding approximately 8.97 lakh subscribers

during the month. WITH PTI

INTERVIEW WITH FINANCE MINISTER, TAMIL NADU

'Power being taken from states to the Union, creating complexity'

TAMIL NADU Finance Minister PALANIVELTHIAGA RAJAN said in an interview to SUNNY VERMA that the Centre has, over the past seven years, steadily increased its control over state governments' spending power, which is leading to a lot of inefficiencies. Edited

On Centre-state fiscal relations I'll give you some history ... The

problem begins with a fundamental, anti-federal, anti-state, authoritarian approach of Delhi. It's an old saying in politics that where you stand depends on where you sit, implying that where you stand on the issues based on whether you sit in Opposition, in the House or out on the street, etc. That saying cannot be more apt, there's a classic example for that saying being true, which is our current Prime Minister (Narendra Modi). As a Chief Minister, he was the greatest champion of states' rights, most vocal, even may be overshadowing Jayalalithaa (former Tamil Nadu Chief Minister) herself. Since he has become Prime Minister, it has gone 180 degrees. It is not possible to change any more dramatically than that. Complete, complete opposite, completely decimating states' rights in every way: in money, management, micromanagement, Centrally-sponsored schemes, in every way. This is, by far, the most authoritarian power grab in the history of India.

Directly, directly, directly – it couldn't be more directly — in contrast to every word he spoke for states' rights when he was



Palanivel Thiaga Rajan

per cent. Fourth year, they say Chief Minister of Gujarat for 13 years. This is the underlying constate has to continue but we will text. See, they do it bit by bit, bit give zero, right. It will still be by bit, insidious creeping. So, called 'PM xyz scheme'. So, this they started by ramping up the is a kind of my name but your money kind of game. Centrally-sponsored schemes like crazy, up to Rs 4-6 lakh crore of direct benefits and Centrally-State subjects sponsored scheme transfers. They have this tendency to do publicity value, they are geniuses at marketing and very, very low moral character. That is, to say, they will start one scheme, they will say subsidy for X. At first,

The next point is in the actual administration of things like dams, ports, roads, state boundaries, education, health, exams, cooperatives — all of these are states' subjects, 100 per cent state subjects, some of them concurrent list (of the Constitution) subjects.(They) bring an overarching legislation, ram it through Parliament with no debate, no committee, basically, take control of things that they have no busi-

rights. Now comes the really sad part. It is an undeniable tenet of democracy that the closer you are to the people, the more accountability is built into the system. .. So this is a fundamental tenet

that if you have power and decision making allocated to the nearest point to the people, then you can get accountability and increase the likelihood of delivery of results. If you take it far away from the people, you inherently have a problem because then be very difficult to have any connectivity between the decision maker and the beneficiaries of the decision. So this is the sad part as they keep taking the power more and more away from states and local bodies to the Union; they are inherently creating problems of

complexity in two or three ways.One,they Why should it be in the are reducing Union's interest that accountability of government you cannot prepay? On to the people. what logic does it make Without involving the sense? what purpose is states and local served by not allowing bodies, they prepayment?" simply cannot

effectuate pol-

icy. They don't have enough employees, they don't have data, and they don't have enough reach. If you empower yourself you can use it vindictively, you can use it negatively, you can cut off something-it's like a rope, you can use it to choke, strangle or hold somebody, but ing a rope ... Look at all the audit reports on Swachh Bharat, on krishi kalyan, they say the money goes, some toilets are built but there is no water supply. The water supply cannot be continuously monitored from Delhi, right, water supply is a municipal subject. It's not even a state subject.

So you build all this, but if there is no water supply, what happens is you've just wasted the money.

Centre's creative accounting In the context of all this I say

that, therefore, they have taken two accounting tricks, what I called as exquisitely creative accounting. Because of Article 293 (3), the previous AIADMK govern-

ment, which was a coalition partner of the BJP, never felt like taking it (the Centre's loan) because. at that time, it was very clear that it was just bait, because the amounts were trivial. around Rs 300

crore or 500 crore for Tamil Nadu...in that immediately even the previous regime saw the concern that they would use this to trigger Article 293(3), because it is not repayable in advance. It locks you for 50 years.

You know, and I know, how to do time value of money. So, if I give you cannot push on a rope. You you Rs 100 today and, I say, pay it

the next 50 years. Effectively, in today's money, you are only paying back about Rs 15 or 20, because 50 years from now two rupees is worth nothing, because of inflation. So at some level, the difference between a 50-year, not interest payable, equal instalment repayment loan and a grant is not that big... But the difference being why should they say not prepayable, then we start questioning the intent.

Why should it be in the Union's interest that you cannot prepay? On what logic does it make sense? What purpose is served by not allowing prepayment? If I'm the lender, I should be the happiest if it's prepaid because I'm getting it in advance where it actually means something. Prepayment should have been in the interest of the borrower by a lot, by a margin of thousand, but when it's not allowed the question arises if there is

an ulterior motive here. (When our government came into office) and we had this discussion, it was very clear that the AIADMK had taken that stand, and I thought if even the AIADMK have figured that out, we should follow too. And there is a different issue, a Rs 300 crore loan doesn't do anything much for a state like Tamil Nadu, where annual budget that time was probably Rs 3 lakh crore and capital expenditure well north of Rs 30,000 crore. So, an additional Rs 300 crore is less than 1 per cent of capex

> **FULL INTERVIEW ON** www.indianexpress.com

Alternative

investment

policy: Sebi

rejigs panel

Promoting trade strategy: Commerce dept revamp on the cards

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

THE GOVERNMENT is planning to revamp the commerce department which will have a more coherent trade promotion strategy with clear targets and execution accountabilities, an official statement said on Sunday.

Under the plan, there is a proposal to set up a dedicated trade promotion body and a trade remedies review committee. The Commerce Ministry added there will be a strengthened negotiation ecosystem with right expertise and robust end-to-end processes with clearly defined focus areas and institutions in the revamped department. "It aspires to achieve an optimal mix of talent with specialists and generalists sourced from across private and government sectors. The department will have an agile setup responsive to market opportunities and exporter needs via interlinkages across bodies. There will also be synergized branding for India across all domains highlighting clear priority areas," it said.

It added that the revamping is aimed at further building on its strategic direction and aspirations for the next decade. WITH PTI

'Biz mix tweak will see LIC becoming more competitive'

Amendments to the surplus/profit distribution rules for IPO-bound LIC will pose strong competition to private



Life and Max Life will face the maximum impact of the LIC move

SBI LIFE, ICICI Prudential, HDFC

they will give 70 per cent, the

state will give 30 per cent, and

they will put the Prime

Minister's picture and every-

thing. Second year, they will give

50 per cent and say state puts 50

per cent. Third year, they will

give 20 per cent, states give 80

LIC'S MARGIN has gone by up 700 bps to 9.9 percent after government amended LIC's surplus/profit distribution rules which allows it to make a 10 per cent shift in the business mix from participating policies to nonparticipating policies, which is only 4 per cent now, which can take its margins to 20 per cent

BASED ON the assumption a full transition to new surplus distribution from 100 per cent for non-participating policies now and 10 per cent for participating policies

A PARTICIPATING (par)

ness taking control of, which are

completely antithetical to states'

insurance policy provides both guaranteed and non-guaranteed benefits to policyholders in the form of bonus or dividend payouts, while a non-participating (non-par) policy typically provides guaranteed benefits to policyholders, but they do not receive profit or dividend payments

CURRENTLY, LIC just has 4 per cent of its new business premium coming in from non-participating policies, while the same is for its the top five private sector peers range from 20 to 45 per cent

Source: Credit Suisse/PTI

Devas recovery suit: AI wins nod to appeal Canada seizure ruling

New Delhi: Air India has won a nod of an appeals court in Quebec to challenge a Canadian court order that allowed foreign investors in Bengaluru-headquartered Devas Multimedia to seize its funds to recover compensation for a failed 2005 satellite deal with Antrix Corporation, a commercial arm of ISRO.

In a February 11 ruling, Judge Christine Baudouin agreed with Air India that the court should take a closer look at the claim brought by three Mauritius investors and the German major Deutsche Telekom to identify the airline as an alternative to Government of India to facilitate recovery of compensations awarded by international tribunals over the failed satellite deal. "Without expressing an opinion on the merits or on the chances of success in appeal, I am satisfied that the present matter is one that should be submitted to the court," Judge Baudouin wrote in a brief order. She set a hearing in

Earlier this month, a US federal court for the southern district of New York staved proceedings to identify Air India as an alter ego of India and to find its assets in the US to facilitate recovery of compensation awarded by international tribunals. The shareholders — CC/Devas (Mauritius) Ltd. Devas Employees Mauritius Pvt Ltd and

ity is that the global talent base

for this industry is very small. The

availability of talent is the second

the plan and and putting in the

right foundation in place. Skill

India and Startup India will be

very crucial for India to gain the

theoretical and practical knowl-

edge. India has no dearth of talent

when it comes to semiconductor

design. I cannot think of a country

which does not have a design

Third challenge is scaling up of

the case for May 13.

over decades.

challenge.



Earlier this month, a US court stayed proceedings to identify Air India as an alter ego of India. File

Telecom Devas Mauritius Ltd have been targeting government assets abroad to recover a total of USD 1.3 billion compensation they won in three different arbitrations initiated over the nixed deal to deliver communications services throughout India.

They have got an attachment order from a French court for the Indian government's properties in upmarket Paris. On January 8, 2022, they got a ruling from a Superior Court in the Quebec region of Canada to seize 50 per cent of Air India's funds being held by the International Air Transport Authority, a Montreal-based trade association for the world's airlines that facilitates payment of air navigation charges billed to airlines and countries. PTI

ENSECONOMIC BUREAU NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20 tive investment policy advisory committee, which advises the cap-

velopment of the AIF space. The committee has now 20 members, as per an update by the Securities and Exchange Board of India (Sebi). The panel, constituted by Sebi in March 2015, earlier had 22 members, Till now, the committee has submitted three reports on the AIF (Alternative

ital markets regulator on a range

of issues that impact further de-

The committee is chaired by Infosys co-founder NR Narayana Murthy, Apart from Murthy, the committee includes members from Sebi, Ministry of Finance, AIF players and industry associations.

Investment Fund) industry.

Gopal Srinivasan, chairman and managing director, TVS Capital Funds; Gopal Jain, cofounder and managing partner, Gaja Capital; Vipul Roongta, managing director and CEO, HDFC Capital Advisors; and Renuka Ramnath, chairperson, Indian Private Equity and Venture Capital Association (IVCA) are among the members, as per Sebi. **WITH PTI**

BRIEFLY –

Federal Bankarm

New Delhi: Federal Bank subsidiary Fedbank Financial Services Ltd (FedFina) has filed preliminary papers with Sebi for its initial public offering (IPO). The draft red herring prospectus (DRHP) was filed with the capital markets regulator on February 19, 2022. Federal Bank said in a regulatory filing on Sunday.

Tata Tech hiring

New Delhi: Tata Technologies will hire at least 1,000 more people in FY23 than its planned recruitment of over 3,000 innovators over a 12month period to fulfil requirements of customers as its growth accelerates, said a top company official. PTI

players, according to a Credit Suisse report

'Ashok Leyland looking at separate EV plant'

"We feel quite comfortable that for the immediate, let's say, 24 months or so. Ashok Leyland would be able to provide electric products that are needed for Switch"

DHEERAJ HINDUJA

EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN ASHOK LEYLAND

changing market requirements in the domestic as well as international markets

"In Spain, we are coming up with a manufacturing facility and R&D centre and there are plans to grow this over the next few years. In India, we will be optimising the

facilities that are available with Ashok Leyland.

"But I'm sure very soon we will require an independent facility as well. And that is something that is being looked at by the management team," Ashok Leyland Executive Chairman Dheeraj Hinduja told *PTI* in an interaction.

Asked if the company has set some timeframe for the new plant, he noted that a lot will depend on the volume growth of electric vehicles.

"We are looking at all the opportunities and options available, so that capacity never becomes an issue if the market requires more products. So, I wouldn't put a date to it right now. But we are keeping

INTERVIEW WITH INDIA MANAGING DIRECTOR AND VICE-PRESIDENT, NXP SEMICONDUCTORS

all our alternatives and options open." Hinduia stated.

He noted that at the moment. the company feels quite comfortable regarding the production capacity for the next two years. "We feel quite comfortable

that for the immediate, let's say, 24 months or so. Ashok Leyland would be able to provide the electric products that are needed for Switch," Hinduja noted.

On the company's EV product plans, he said Dost and Bada Dost models would be utilised to cater to the domestic and the SAARC markets. "We are looking at Q4 of 2022 to be able to start production of our electric LCV from Switch's perspective," Hinduja stated. PTI

'Chip manufacturing: India needs high capex, political will'

Another challenge, apart from these, is the political will. Such a comes to finding talent in semimassive effort requires that inconductor design. Although India volvement of masses and the govis the largest nation for providing ernment has to take that initiative. semiconductor talent to all the big companies globally, the real-Does the government's

> assurance of providing support for semiconductor talent help when it comes to talent? If you need to build a toy from

10 Lego blocks and only two are in the right place and nobody is working on the rest of the eight blocks, you work in isolation. Some of the activities in silos would be successful but, by and large, as a project it will fail. That was the case in India in the past.

This will result in a big success in time to come.

Would NXP be open to investing in India? Multi-billion dollar invest-

ments are very crucial to any company. The government of India has reached out to us and we are discussing it at various levels. India is one of the largest design centres for NXP globally. We have roughly 3,000 engineers working at our four locations: Noida, Pune,

STANDING ON the cusp of foray-

New Delhi: Ashok Leyland plans to

set up a new manufacturing facil-

ity in the country to roll out elec-

tric vehicles, according to a top

also lined up a Rs 500 crore invest-

ment to develop powertrains

based on alternative fuels like CNG.

hydrogen and electric for its com-

The company has already an-

nounced a USD 200 million

(nearly Rs 1.500 crore) investment

through its UK-based arm Switch

pany aims to expand its electric ve-

hicle portfolio as well as develop

new engines keeping in mind the

The commercial vehicle com-

Mobility for electric mobility.

mercial vehicles range.

The Chennai-based firm has

company official.

ing into manufacturing and fabrication of semiconductor chips, the country - apart from the sustained high capital expenditure investment - will also need a strong political will and the right partners globally to ensure that the plan is successful, SANJAY GUPTA, India managing director and a vicepresident at NXP Semiconductors, said in an interview with AASHISH ARYAN. Edited excerpts:

There have been plans in the past as well for semiconductor manufacturing. They have not worked. As an industry leader, what do you think is different this time?

One big difference is that the industry this time is kept in loop

on major decisions. On every critical juncture, they are keeping us involved, be it on decisions, suggestions. The setting up of India Semiconductor Mission was one of the suggestions from an industry body and that has been done. The government has been receptive of new ideas this time.

What are the three major challenges that lie ahead for India's semiconductor mission?

Semiconductor manufacturing is a near-impossible goal. I say it is near-impossible because, of the 200-odd countries, only a handful have the semiconductor manufacturing capabilities at high level. So, it must be something ex-



Sanjay Gupta

tremely difficult, or everyone would have easily done it. The entry barrier to the indus-

try is one of the biggest challenges. No industry matches the kind of investment that is required for semiconductor manufacturing. It is a capital intensive investment and, that too, for a long run. It has to be patiently run for multiple years before any result starts coming in. We are talking a multi-billion dollar investment into the fabrication units. So, you need the right partners who have patience and the right vision for the long term mission. The second is that being a

very niche technology company, there is very limited talent base across the world. If we talk about how many semiconductor experts are there in the country, it will be a handful of people of India who have deep knowledge

of the industry, accumulated space in India. The story is the same when it

Today, all the stakeholders have a

Bangalore and Hyderabad. All the people are working on cutting-

edge technologies.

As long as we continue to innovate and deliver, we will continue to grow, both as as design centre and as a country.

Shahbaz, Abhishek My job is to bail my team out of trouble: Shahrukh

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

AFTER BEING rolled over for 88 in the first innings, Bengal pulled off a come-from-behind win against Baroda in Cuttack.

Chasing 349 on the fourth day, Bengal rode on the duo of Shahbaz Ahmed (71 not out) and debutant wicketkeeper Abhishek Porel (53 not out), who stitched an unbroken 108run partnership for the seventh wicket to steer their team home.

Bengal's deputy sports minister and former skipper Manoj Tiwary showed his experience with a fighting 37 from 61 balls. Reeling at 242 for 6, Bengal unearthed a future star in the 19-year-old Abhishek, who showed utmost maturity and matched his senior partner, Shahbaz.

The duo sealed the victory in 91.3 overs. Speaking to The Indian Express, Bengal head coach Arun Lal said: "Terrific performance, the wicket was extremely difficult to bat on as it was overcast and the wicket stayed moist till lunch."

Lal heaped praise on Shahbaz and Porel. He said, "Shahbaz has an unbelievable cricket brain and remained calm under pressure. Abhishek Porel is a special talent, an out and out match-winner. Now the momentum is with us, and we hope to play good cricket in the tournament."

Bengal skipper Abhimanyu Easwaran praised both the batters and bowlers for the remarkable comeback.

"Every player has contributed to the cause, as the batters have shown character the bowlers have done commendable jobs too," Easwaran said.

"It's about believing in the hard work that we have put in. The best part is even when we had 349 runs to chase, every single member of the team believed that we can do the

"Shahbaz has batted with a lot of responsibility, special mention to Abhishek Porelthe character he showed, the attitude he was batting with was great to watch," the skip-

BRIEF SCORES: Baroda: 181 and 255 lost to Bengal 88 and 350/6 in 91.3 overs (Abhimanyu Easwaran 79, Shahbaz Ahmed 71 not out, Abhishek Porel 53 not out; Abhimanyusingh Rajput 3/73) by 4 wickets

"Every single member of the team believed we can do the job. Shahbaz has batted with a lot of responsibility, special mention to Abhishek Porel-the character he showed, the attitude he was batting with was great to watch," ABHIMANYU EASWARAN,

TN & Punjab Kings batsman reflects on maiden first-class ton vs Delhi and call-up to India squad for ODI series against West Indies

PRATYUSH RAJ

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

THREE YEARS ago, batting at the nets in Mohali, Shahrukh Khan was hit on the wrist by a rising delivery from T Natarajan. Then Tamil Nadu coach Hrishikesh Kanitkar, assistant coach Lakshmipathy Balaji and senior player Dinesh Karthik, watching from the sidelines, rushed towards the youngster, who seemed in sheer pain.

Later in the evening, Kanitkar told this reporter, "I've never seen anyone hit the cricket ball cleaner than this kid. You will hear a lot about him in the coming years."

Karthik, too, chipped in, "Coach is absolutely right, what a fearless stroke-player, and you should take his interview instead of mine. He is a future star."

Shubman Gill stole the limelight in that match with a sublime 268, while Shahrukh only scored 19 in the first innings and remained unbeaten on 11 in the second.

Both Kanitkar and Karthik were right about Shahrukh's talent. In 33 List Agames, his strike rate is 128.62, while in T20s, he scores at 136.40. In the 2021 Indian Premier League auction, Punjab Kings bought him for Rs 5.25 crore, and the franchise bought him back a year later for Rs 9 crore, up from a base price of Rs 40 lakh.

On Saturday, the 26-year-old middle-order batsman showed his prowess in the redball format with a magnificent 148-ball 194 that ensured the first innings lead for Tamil Nadu against Delhi in their Ranji Trophy en-

It was Shahrukh's maiden first-class century, and the 10 sixes he hit was just a gentle reminder of why so many franchises were bidding fiercely for him during the recent IPL mega auction.

For Shahrukh, personal milestones don't matter as long as he bails his team out of a crisis, regardless of the format of the game.

"In limited-overs cricket, my job is to finish the game for the team, and it is same with the red ball too. We were under pressure, and my job was to bail the team out of the situation," Shahrukh tells The Indian Express.

Tamil Nadu was tottering at 162 for 5, when Shahrukh came to bat at No 7. He soaked up the pressure and put on 134 runs for the sixth wicket with Baba Indraiith (117).

Then he added 178 runs with wicketkeeper Narayanswami Jagadeesan, who chipped in with a 50 off 71 balls while enjoying his partner's belligerence from the nonstriker's end.

"Personal milestones don't matter to me a lot. My job was to get the team to pass the score of 452. That was the target. I am happy that I could take the team to a first innings



Shahrukh Khan struck some lusty blows but fell six runs short of a double ton. BCCI

lead. The more I try and contribute to the team's success, my personal goals will also be achieved in that process," says Shahrukh.

He fell six short of converting his maiden first-class century into a double but put Tamil in front with his imperious knock. Shahrukh controlled his natural instinct initially, taking only calculated risks.

"I don't generally curb my natural instincts. If the ball is there to hit, I will hit it. But when six fielders are on the rope, there is no point in taking on the bowler. I was playing my natural game, hitting the bad balls, but I was calculating at the same time," says

'Vikas Mishra (6/108) was bowling really well; he had a mid-on and long-off, half-way outside the 30 yards. They were not exactly on the boundary line. I respected the way he bowled, and credit goes to him. But if the field is up, I will go over the top; that's the only way I've played my cricket since my Under-13 days," he adds.

India call-up in good month

It is turning out to be an excellent month for the Tamil Nadu batsman. He was added to the Indian squad for the first ODI against West Indies after a few players were found Covid-19 positive. It was followed by a million-dollar-plus IPL contract, and now a maiden first-class century.

"All the hard work is slowly paying off," he says. Shahrukh looks back fondly at his time in the India dressing room. "It was special. When the team was announced, and I saw my name was not there, I said, 'it is okay, let's prepare for the Ranji Trophy.' But when the call came up, I was stunned and happy at

Sharing the dressing room with Virat Kohli and Rohit Sharma has changed his approach to the game.

"The energy and vibe in that dressing room is so refreshing. To be among the few selected bunch of players from across the country is pretty special. For a new kid like me, it was refreshing to see the way they go through their processes

"Virat (Kohli) and Rohit (Sharma) have scored so many runs for India, but they will never skip a net session. The passion remains the same in each session. Their professionalism is a reminder for me that there is no substitute for hard work. It was surreal to see them putting inn those hard yards day in and day out. This stint gave me so much confidence." Shahrukh adds.

After two tons on debut, Dhull sets goal: Play for India in two years

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

AFTER LEADING India to their fifth Under-19 World Cup earlier this month, **Yash Dhull (r)** began his senior career with a century in each innings of his Ranji Trophy debut. The 19-year-old followed his 113 against Tamil Nadu with an unbeaten 113 on Sunday. He is only the third Indian — after Nari Contractor for Gujarat in 1952/53 and Virag Awate for Maharashtra in 2012/13 — to score a hundred in each innings on his Ranji Trophy de-

Delhi were reeling at 7 for 2 on day one when Dhull, opening for the first time in his career, showed remarkable maturity to bail the team out of trouble and help them to 452. However, his thunder was stolen by Shahrukh Khan, who got Tamil Nadu the first innings lead with a sensational 194 off 148

Dhull on the final day with Dhruv Shorey (107 off 165) batted for 60.5 overs to take Delhi to 228 for no loss in the second innings. Dhull completed his century with a classical cover drive off Shahrukh Khan and followed t with a four and six before the players shook hands for a draw.

Delhi coach Raj Kumar Sharma feels that the youngster should be fast-tracked into the Indian team. "He is ready to take the next step. He has got the temperament to excel at the senior level," he said.

Assistant coach Gursharan Singh, a former India batter, said: "Both the innings were top notch. On the first day, he showed exceptional maturity and batted according to the team's requirements, but today he displayed the other side of his game. It was a flawless

Unfazed by the adulation, Dhull is already focussing on the next match against Jharkhand, starting from February 24.

"India khelna hai magar filhaal baaki ke dono matches pe focus hai (I want to play for India, but right now, the focus is on the remaining matches)," Dhull told this paper.

"I have set myself a goal that I will play senior India in the next 18 to 24 months. Till now, it has been a dream ride, but hard work will begin now. I will have to score bucketloads of runs to get there. From tomorrow, I will start training for the match against Jharkhand. The thumb rule of cricket is to take one game at a time," added Dhull, who had scored 229 runs in four innings at an av-



erage of 76.33 and strike rate of 85.44 in the U-19 World Cup.

BRIEF SCORES: Delhi 1st innings: 452 all out and 228 for no loss in 60.5 overs (Yash Dhull 113 not out; Dhruv Shorey 107 not out) vs Tamil Nadu 1st innings 494 all out in 107.5 overs. Match drawn

Pujara hits 83 ball-91

Less than 24 hours after being dropped from the India Test squad, Cheteshwar Pujara struck an uncharacteristic 83-ball 91 for Saurashtra in their Ranji Trophy match against Mumbai here on Sunday.

Thematch ended in a draw with Saurahtra making 372 for nine in their second innings on the fourth and final day. Saurashtra were only 48 runs ahead when the stumps were drawn but the lack of time meant Mumbai could not go for an outright victory. So the record 41-time winners settled for three points from the game for taking the first-innings lead while defending champions Saurashtra bagged one.

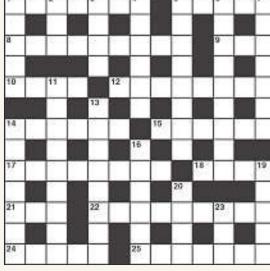
Bowling his slow left-arm spin to good effect, Shams Mulani returned career-best figures of 7/114, adding to his four wickets in the Saurashtra first innings.

On Saturday, senior batters Pujara and Ajinkya Rahane were dropped from the twomatch Test series against Sri Lanka, starting from March 4 in Mohali after an inconsistent

The seasoned Pujara has managed just 602 runs at 24.08 in 14 Tests over the last one year. Pujara, who last scored a Test century on the 2018-19 tour of Australia, got out for a duck in the first innings of this match.

CROSSWORD 4669

CAPTAIN, BENGAL



- **ACROSS** 1 Sharing out a bit of parsley
- 5 Cook beats a mixture (5) 8 A wildcat rising? (9)
- 9 A record height to climb (3) 10 But they could be even for the
- better(4)12 It's held back in the race to beat one(8)
- 14 A way to achieve new spirit 15 Neglectful about a single one
- 17 Mother is composing a line to the weatherman (8)
- 18 Raw recruit found in ruins of 21 First person Gregory takes to
- heart(3)22 Unwilling cattle run amok
- 24 It may be drawn or sucked up
- 25 In France medic is ordered to treat such disease (7)

DOWN

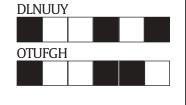
- Actress's dress ring(5)
- 3 Lied in order to be lazy
- 4 The full extent of the rise 5 Members of a musical group
- 6 The property of the firm
- Quick to speak (7)
- 11 Not to pay a cheque results in disgrace (9)
- (8) 14 Motoring clubs?
- 16 Metal grating to cook eggs initially (6)
- 19 Softly in the ear or in the eye
- 20 Sharp appearance of a police force (4) 23 I am out to gain an objective

Solutions Crossword 4668: Across: 1 Singular, 5 Jack, 9 Error, 10 Oration, 11 Single person, 13 Lights, 14 Jousts, 17 Reading glass, 20 Chianti, 21 Goals, 22 Long, 23 Cretonne. **Down**: 1 Step, 2 Nursing, 3 Upright piano, 4 Atoned, 6 Amiss, 7 Kindness, 8 Take to flight, 12 Clerical, 15 Sustain, 16 Uglier, 18 Alien, 19 Isle.

JUMBLED WORDS

Given below are four jumbled words. Solve the jumbles to make proper words and move them to the respective squares below. Select the letters in the shaded squares and jumble them to get the answer for the given quip.

PAEOR SLILY



Answer: Laugh at yourself first, before anyone else can - Elsa Maxwell SOLUTION: OPERA, SILLY, UNDULY, FOUGHT

OVER THE HEDGE by Michael Fry & T Lewis





CALVIN & HOBBES by Bill Watterson



MARVIN by Tom Armstrong



Difficulty Level 4s

To solve a Sudoku puzzle,

must appear in each of the

each of the nine horizontal

1s = Very easy; 2s = Easy;

3s = Medium; 4s = Hard;

5s = Very Hard; 6s =

nine vertical columns, in

rows and in each of the

nine boxes.

Difficulty Level

every digit from 1 to 9



5 6

4

5

2

5

3 6

7

3

2

I'M CHECKING TO



SOLUTION SUDOKU 475 5 9 2 6 4 8 3 1 7 1 4 6 7 2 3 9 8 5 5 9 1 5 2 6 4 7 3 8 8 3 7 9 1 5 6 2 6 2 4 8 3 7 1 5 9 4 7 9 3 5 2 8 6 1 3 6 1 4 8 9 5 7 2

2 5 8 1 7 6 4 9 3

DAY TODAY

BY PETER VIDAL

important planets

are beginning to

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23)

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20) conferring on you all the strength you

the pace of events and deal with complex issues. If it suits along and wait for those who are less sure of themselves to recover from whatever troubles them.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21) A number of planetary changes are on the way, and

you can be confident that whatever has been bothering you is soon to be resolved. Determined action may be necessary to shift a log-jam, though. I am sure you have it in you to give whatever

You are probably beginning to feel as if you are driven along by forces beyond your control. Today is likely to bring an emotional phase and there is nothing to be gained from concealing

your true feelings. But, then,

you've probably learnt that

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21)

CANCER (June 22 - July 23) There is no point in pretending that professional success does not matter to

you. You must still be

prepared to face certain harsh situations head-on, confident in the understanding that whatever the outcome, your long-term interests are being protected.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23) Stay one step ahead of the planets and turn your attention to your professional

hopes and ambitions. Whether you are directly involved in impending changes or not, this may come to be one of the most rewarding and exciting periods you have ever experienced.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23) Now that Mercury, a planet with a special

meaning in your life, is about to adjust its position, you should attempt to

stand well back and see the overall direction of vour life rather than the personal conflicts or upsets which have so often preoccupied you.

begin to look more like a blessing in disguise. This

your sign, and what once seemed like a nightmare or the

week's lunar alignments, though, will push you back on to the right course. SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 22)

It often happens that several planets shift their positions at the same time, and this is when your mood is likely to swing from one extreme to another. The trick is to remain alert to the

ebb and flow of fortune, and

stay in tune intuitively with the developing

planetary harmonies SAGITTARIUS (Nov 23 - Dec 22)

The current period. in which partners seem to be taking the lead with more confidence, is now destined to intensify. This is why cooperation must be your priority if you are not prepared to risk a split. And, if you are, then you must be aware of

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20) You know well enough that you

what you're letting yourself

practical side to your character, and deep down this is why you realise that certain involvements have had their day. It may be time to make a break, perhaps a psychological one, with past

have a wonderfully

AQUARIUS (Jan 21- Feb 19) It seems very much as if you will only have

personal associations.

yourself to blame if a professional relationship turns sour. Perhaps the message is that you should concentrate on home and family duties more than in the past, and not let worldly pressures

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)

intervene so much.



of your plans. It will not be enough merely to follow your intuition or do something 'because it feels right'. You need to have some backing from the facts as well.

Karl-Anthony Towns made big men proud when he was the winner of the NBA All-Star Weekend's 3-Point Contest on Saturday night at Cleveland. It was a record point total for a final round when Towns, who plays for the Minnesota Timberwolves, posted 29 points. The 7-footer became the first center ever to win

BRIEFLY ———

EPL title race back on as Kane sinks City

Manchester: Harry Kane, the striker Manchester City wanted to sign in the offseason last year consigned the leaders to their first league loss in nearly four months by scoring twice for Tottenham in a dramatic 3-2 win on Saturday. His second — the winning goal - came in the fifth minute of stoppage time. Kane celebrating scoring goals at Etihad Stadium was something City fans thought they'd enjoy seeing this season. By Wednesday, City could find its lead over Liverpool down to just three points. Liverpool trimmed the gap to six on Saturday courtesy of a come-from-behind 3-1 victory over Norwich and is also at home to Leeds in four days' time. And Liverpool still has to go to City, in April.

Indian boxers handed tricky draws

Sofia: Indian boxers were handed tricky draws at the Strandia Memorial even as Nikhat Zareen will begin her campaign in the quarterfinals. Sumit and Anjali Tushir are set to face tough opponents in their opening-round bouts. Zareen has received a bye in the 52kg opening round. Apart from Zareen, Nandini (+81kg) is another Indian boxer to feature directly in the last-8 stage. In the 66kg category, Tushir will face a stiff challenge from two-time World Championships medallist Russia's Saadat Dalgatova in the opening round. Among men, the 2021 World Championships bronze medallist Akash Kumar has been given a bye in the 67kg opening round.

BFC, Odisha face off in must-win game

Bambolim: Bengaluru FC and Odisha FC will lock horns in a must-win game for both the teams in the ISL, here on Monday. Bengaluru are sixth in the points table with 23 points from 17 games, four adrift of fourth-placed Kerala Blasters. Odisha are a spot below them at seventh position having 22 points from 17 encounters. The Blues saw their nine-game unbeaten streak coming to a halt against leaders Hyderabad and then suffered another defeat to lowly NorthEast United FC, derailing their fresh hopes of a semifinal berth to a certain extent. When it comes to open play, Odisha have scored 21 goals from open play, more than half

Paltan to lock horns vs Yoddha in Eliminator

Bengaluru: Puneri Paltan will lock horns with UP Yoddha in the first Eliminator match of Pro Kabaddi League on Monday. Pune clinched the sixth position on the table with a last-day victory against Jaipur Pink Panthers and will be looking to carry that momentum into the Eliminator phase. UP Yoddha won't be pushovers having registered thirdplace with a flawless end to the league stages. Pardeep Narwal and Surender Gill have led the Yoddha attack and they will be keen on clinching a win that will set up a semi-final date with leaguetoppers Patna Pirates.

WI flattened by bench press

India showcase strength in depth to register another 3-0 sweep against hapless tourists



For Rohit Sharma, this was his third successive clean-sweeps of opponents as captain, post taking over the job from Virat Kohli.

SHAMIK CHAKRABARTY KOLKATA, FEBRUARY 20

Yet again, the penultimate over of the

game proved to be the clincher for India, ike the second T20I. The West Indies kept losing wickets right from the start but didn't ditch their merry hitting. After 18 overs, they were 154/7, chasing 185 for victory.

Romario Shepherd was keeping the tourists in the game, even after Nicholas Pooran got out for a 47-ball 61. Bhuvneshwar Kumar was sitting out this game as India rotated their pacers and Harshal Patel bowled the 19th over. The first four balls accounted for four runs, including a couple of leg-byes. Then, the medium pacer dismissed Shepherd, deceiving the batsman with change of pace and Rohit Sharma taking a superb diving catch at extra cover. India's catching in the third T20I was brilliant, two dropped chances notwithstanding. Patel's bowling effort was excellent. Just eight runs in his final over saw him return with figures of 3/22 from four overs.

A requirement of 23 in the final over of the game, with two wickets in hand, was beyond the tourists' reach. They finished at 167/9, losing the game by 17 runs and the series by a 0-3 margin. The Caribbeans would take home the disappointment of back-to-back clean sweeps, in the ODIs and T20Is. As for Sharma, after taking over the reins from Virat Kohli post the T20 World Cup, this was his third successive cleansweeps as captain.

The hosts deserve even more credit for the fact that they became a bowler short in this game very early. Deepak Chahar started off by removing Kyle Mayers and Shai Hope, but while bowling the fifth ball of his second over, the seamer pulled up and hobbled off the field, holding his hip.

"The biggest take away in the ODIs was the middle order making it count. I was impressed with our seam bowling in ODIs. And even here. Harshal is new. Avesh is on debut. Shardul is in and out. So we wanted to see how the guys react and it was a good challenge to defend in both games against a quality West Indies team."

-ROHIT SHARMA INDIAN TEAM CAPTAIN

Venkatesh Iyer replaced him and stood up to be counted as a bowler, getting rid of Kieron Pollard and Jason Holder. India revelled in a perfect team performance. Everyone stepped up and raised his game. Shardul Thakur's catch to dismiss Rovman Powell brought the loudest cheer from a 20,000-odd turnout.

SKY's the limit

A club cricket old hand fell for Suryakumar Yadav's lap-swept six off Dominic Drakes, recalling Desmond Haynes during the conversation. Thirtythree years ago, at Eden Gardens, he had seen the former West Indies opener going down on one knee and sweeping Wasim Akram for a six over the fine leg boundary in the Nehru Cup final. To him, Yadav's shot against the West Indies fast bowler on Sunday offered a throwback.

For someone who is not a T20 nerd, not being aware of one of Yadav's signature shots in this format was understandable. Modern-day fans are used to the batsman's 360-degree cricket. In fact, Yadav's first six in T20Is came from a lap-sweep, against

England's Jofra Archer. On a used pitch where a new-look

Indian top order struggled for timing and even Sharma didn't get going, Yadav brought out all his innovations, in company of Venkatesh, to take the game away from the West Indies. From 93/4 after 14 overs, India went on a rampage at the back-end of their innings, posting 184/5.

The real transition, and challenge, for the Indian team would come in a few years from now, when their batting royalty, Sharma and Virat Kohli, walk into a golden

By then, though, Yadav should be at the forefront to take over the mantle. His 31ball 65, including seven sixes, was resplendent in his audacity. Even more eye-catching was his leadership qualities in the middle, the way he guided Venkatesh during an unbroken 91-run fifth wicket partnership off 37 balls. Yadav's command unnerved the West Indies bowlers, as they lost the plot and played into the batsmen's

Talking about Yadav's innovations, the lap-sweep was a starter. He took a six off Drakes over third man despite losing the bottom hand, opening the bat-face very late and timing the ball sweetly.

Mumbai Indians retained the 31-yearold for Rs 6 crore. They bought Ishan Kishan for Rs 15.25 crore at the auction. No disrespect to the latter, but IPL auctions sometimes can make a mockery of cricketing

Yadav was adjudged the Man-of-the-Match and Man-of-the-Series. He can build the innings and at the same time, go ballis-

"It was important to stay till the end when Rohit got out. We had a chat in our team meetings as well as to how we are going to react in such situations. I try to stay there till the end. Be a little harsh on yourself in the nets, that's it," he said at the postmatch presentation.

Impressive Iver

Spare a thought for Venkatesh whose performance has been steady and effective in this series.

An upright stance and a clean swing of the bat serve well for the youngster in the shortest format, especially on pitches that have a bit of bounce. He scored 35 not out off 19 balls, hitting four fours and two sixes. The West Indies bowlers offered him several hit-me deliveries but those still had to be put away. The way he picked up a slower delivery from Shepherd, sat deep in the crease and walloped it over the deep square leg fence attested intelligence.

Venkatesh embellished his batting performance with 2/23 from 2.1 overs, the type of all-round show his team has been searching for.

With the series already in the bag, the hosts made four changes to their playing eleven. Ruturaj Gaikwad, Shreyas Iyer and Thakur came in, while Avesh Khan made his debut. The decision to open with Gaikwad and Kishan followed by Iyer at No. 3 was top-class leadership from Sharma. The skipper gave the youngsters the best positions to prosper, dropping himself down the order.

Gaikwad's four off Holder showcased his talent, but he perished soon after, closing the bat-face a little early. Kishan and Iyer got out after getting in. India's bench strength has been well documented. But the team management would take heart from the fact that India successfully defended totals in consecutive matches. A relatively inexperienced batting line-up responding positively to pressure situations was a big takeaway.

BRIEF SCORES: India 184 for 5 in 20 overs (Suryakumar Yadav 65, Venkatesh Iyer 35 not out; Roston Chase 1/23) defeated **West Indies** 167 for 9 in 20 overs (Nicholas Pooran 61; Harshal Patel 3/22) by 17 runs.

Rustam Akramov, coach who gave int'l debut to Bhaichung, passes away

PRESSTRUST OF INDIA NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

FORMER INDIAN football team coach Rustam Akramov, who introduced the legendary Bhaichung Bhutia to the international game in 1995 and took the Blue Tigers to their highestever FIFA ranking, has died at his native place

He was 73.

The legendary Uzbek coach died on February 15, according to the official website of the National Olympic Committee of Uzbekistan.

'The National Olympic Committee of Uzbekistan, the Council of Sports Veterans of Uzbekistan express their condolences to the family and friends of Rustam Akramov in connection with his death," the Uzbekistan Olympic body said.

During his career, he made a huge contribution to the development of Uzbek and former Soviet football.

The All India Football Federation (AIFF) condoled the death of Akramov who was in charge of the national team from 1995 to 1997.

"We mourn the passing away of former India National Team head coach Rustam Akramov. May his soul rest in peace," the AIFF's official Twitter handle said.

Akramov did not have any major trophy to show for during his short tenure with the Indian team but it was he who gave then Sikkimese teenager -- Bhaichung Bhutia -- his debut in a Nehru Cup match against Thailand in March 1995.

fielder at club level. The Indian team under Akramov was full of great players like IM Vijayan, Carlton Chapman and Bruno Coutinho, besides a young Bhutia. No wonder the Akramov-coached Indian

Akramov helped Bhutia to shape up as a

striker instead of playing as an attacking mid-

team rose to 94th in the February 1996 FIFA rankings -- its highest ever. The team came close to this achievement in 2017 and 2018 when it rose to 96th. Born in 1948 at a place near Tashkent,

Akramov was a legend in his country as he was the first coach of the Uzbek national team after independence. During his two-vear tenure from 1992-1994, the Uzbek national team won the Hiroshima Asian Games (1994) and the Central Asian Championship.

For his great contribution to the development of Uzbek football, he was awarded the Shukhrat medal and the title of Honoured Coach of the Republic of Uzbekistan by the government. In 1970, he graduated from the football department of the Uzbek State Institute of Physical Culture as a coach. He also completed postgraduate studies at the Moscow Institute of Physical Culture.

He had coached clubs in Algeria and was on the coaching staff of the national team of that country. He was also the coach of the Tashkent Pakhtakor and youth team of Moscow CSKA. He later worked as AFC technical director and FIFA instructor.

Akramov helped Bhutia to shape up as a striker instead of playing as an attacking midfielder at club level. The Akramov-coached Indian team rose to 94th in the February 1996 FIFA rankings, its highest

CLOSING CEREMONY

Beijing pulls off a safe Winter Olympics in the midst of global pandemic

TED ANTHONY BEIJING, FEBRUARY 20

authoritarian government.

A PILE of figure-skating rubble created by Russian misbehavior. A new Chinese champion – from California. An ace American skier who faltered and went home empty-handed. The end of the Olympic line for the world's most renowned snowboarder. All inside an anti-COVID "closed loop" enforced by China's

The terrarium of a Winter Games that has been Beijing 2022 came to its end Sunday, capping an unprecedented Asian Olympic trifecta and sending the planet's most global sporting event off to the West for the foreseeable future, with no chance of returning to this corner of the world until at least 2030

It was weird. It was messy and, at the same time, somehow sterile. It was controlled and calibrated in ways only Xi Jinping's China could pull off. And it was sequestered in a "bubble" that kept participants and the city around them - and, by extension, the sporadically watching world — at arm's length.

On Sunday night, Xi and International Olympic Committee President Thomas Bach stood together as Beijing handed off to Milan-Cortina, site of the 2026 Winter Games. "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star" kicked off a no-

tably Western-flavored show with Chinese characteristics as dancers with tiny, fiery snowflakes glided across the stadium in a ceremony that, like the opening, was headed by Chinese director Zhang Yimou.

Unlike the first pandemic Olympics in Tokyo last summer, which featured all but empty seats at the opening and closing, a modest but energetic crowd populated the seats of Beijing's "Bird's Nest" stadium. It felt somewhat incongruous — a show bursting with color and energy and enthusiasm and even joy, the very things that couldn't assert themselves inside authorities' COVID bubble.

By many mechanical measures, these Games were a success. They were, in fact, quite safe — albeit in the carefully modulated, dressup-for-company way that authoritarian governments always do best. The local volunteers, as is usually the case, were delightful, helpful and engaging, and they received high-profile accolades at the closing.

"The Chinese people embraced these Games. Even in the closed loop, we could make this experience of excitement, of warmth, of hospitality and of friendliness," Bach said Friday. There was snow — most of it fake, some of it real. The venues — many of them, like the Bird's Nest and the Aquatic Center, harvested from the 2008 edition of the Beijing Olympics - performed to expectations. One new locale,



The Olympic Rings are illuminated at the closing ceremony.

Big Air Shougang, carved from a repurposed steel mill, was an appealingly edgy mashup of winter wonderland and rust-belt industrial landscape. TV ratings were down, but streaming viewership was up: By Saturday, NBC had streamed 3.5 billion minutes from Beijing,

compared to 2.2 billion in South Korea in 2018. There were no major unexpected logistical problems, only the ones created deliberately to stem the spread of COVID in the country where the coronavirus first emerged more than two years ago.

And stemmed it seemed to be. As of Saturday, the segregated system that effectively turned Beijing into two cities — one sequestered, one proceeding very much as normal — had produced only 463 positive tests among thousands of visitors entering the bubble since Jan. 23. Not surprisingly, the statecontrolled media loved this.

"The success in insulating the event from the virus and keeping disruption to sports events to a minimum also reflected the effectiveness and flexibility of China's overall zero-COVID policies," the pro-government Global Times newspaper said, citing epidemiologists who say "the COVID-19 prevention experience accumulated from this Olympics can also inspire Chinese cities to adjust their policies."

Look deeper, though, and a different story

emerges about these Games. Internationally, many critiqued them as the "authoritarian Olympics" and denounced the IOC for holding them in concert with a government accused of gross human rights violations against ethnic Uyghurs and Tibetans in its far west and harsh policies against Hong Kong democracy activists off its southeastern coast. Several Western governments boycotted by not sending any official delegations, though they sent athletes. For its part, China denied such allegations, as it typically does, and featured a Uyghur as part of its slate of Olympic torch-carriers for the opening ceremony Feb. 4.

And then, of course, there were the Russians, And doping, Again, The 15-year-old Russian figure skater Kamila Valieva tested positive for using a banned heart medication. The result wasn't announced by anti-doping officials until after she'd won gold as part of the team competition, even though the sample was taken weeks earlier.

The Court of Arbitration for Sport cleared her to compete in the individual discipline, ruling that as a minor she had protected status. But Valieva, although heavily favored to win, fell several times during her free skate routine, landing her fourth place and prompting a cold reception from her embattled coach, Eteri Tutberidze. Valieva's Russian teammates took gold and silver, but on a night of drama, even the winners were in tears. The affair produced one possible legacy for Beijing: Valieva's ordeal has inspired talk of raising the minimum age for Olympic skaters from 15 to 17 or 18.

American skier Mikaela Shiffrin also came to Beijing with high expectations, only to see them dashed when she failed to finish three races. She left without any medal at all. In an image to remember, the TV cameras captured Shiffrin sitting dejectedly on the snow, head in hands, for several minutes.

Vol. LXVI No. 43 Printed for the proprietors, The Indian Express (P) Ltd by Ms Vaidehi Thakar at The Indian Express Press, Plot No. EL-208, TTC Industrial Area, Mahape, Navi Mumbai - 400710 and published from Mafatlal Centre, 7th floor, Ramnath Goenka Marg, Nariman Point, Mumbai 400021. Editorial & Administrative offices: Mafatlal Centre, 7th floor, Ramnath Goenka Marg, Nariman Point, Mumbai 400021. Phone: 22022627/67440000. Fax: 022-22835726. Chairman of the Board: Viveck Goenka, Chief Editor: Raj Kamal Jha, Editor: Unni Rajen Shanker, Editor (Mumbai): Sandeep Singh.* (*Responsible for selection of News under the PRB Act) Additional air surcharge of ₹1.00 - Goa. Copyright: The Indian Express (P) Ltd. All rights reserved. Reproduction in any manner, electronic or otherwise, in whole or in part, without prior written permission is prohibited. The