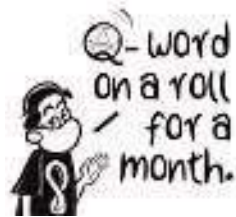




The opening ceremony of the football World Cup at the Al Bayt Stadium in Al Khor, Qatar, on Sunday. In the first match of the tournament, hosts Qatar were beaten 2-0 by Ecuador. AP

BUSINESS AS USUAL

By UNNY

FULL COVERAGE
PAGE 15

World Cup Day 1: Hosts Qatar lose on the field, but win hearts outside

SANDIP G
DOHA, NOVEMBER 20EXPRESS AT
WORLD CUP

THE REAL moment when it sunk in that the World Cup was upon the world was not when the fireworks wobbled into the smoky skies like flying snakes, or when Morgan Freeman spoke, or when Qatar's emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani addressed the crowd, a sentence in

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

SUMMIT ENDS IN EGYPT

Landmark deal at climate talks on fund for damage

Historic for developing nations: India



EXPRESS AT COP27

AMITABH SINHA
SHARMEEL-SHEIKH (EGYPT),
NOVEMBER 20

THE CREATION of a landmark "loss and damage fund", a key demand of developing countries, was the lone bright spot in the final outcome of COP27 with countries at the Sharm el-Sheikh climate meeting settling for an

extremely weak agreement that does little to strengthen efforts to tackle the main cause of global warming.

Loss and damage had been on the periphery of climate talks for several years. In this meeting, countries not only agreed to bring it on the main agenda but also decided to create a fund to help vulnerable nations hit by climate-induced extreme weather events.

"Setting up a loss and damage fund is a historic decision. The world has waited far too long for this," Union Environment Minister Bhopender Yadav, who headed the Indian delegation, said.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Mangaluru autorickshaw blast an act of terror: Police

EXPRESS NEW SERVICE
BENGALURU, MANGALURU,
NOVEMBER 20

A BLAST that occurred in an autorickshaw in Mangaluru on Saturday evening was an act of terror, Karnataka Police said on Sunday. A driver and a passenger were injured in the blast which, according to police sources, was caused by an improvised explosive device (IED) contained in a pressure cooker.

"It is confirmed now. The

blast is not accidental, but an act of terror with the intention to cause serious damage. Karnataka State Police is probing deep into it along with central agencies," Praveen Sood, Karnataka's Director General of Police, said.

The passenger in the autorickshaw was identified as 24-year-old Mohammed Shariq. Police sources said he is wanted in a terror case registered in Shivamogga — his hometown — in September for alleged links to the Islamic State group, and had

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

In last 5 years, Rs 10 lakh crore in write-offs help banks halve NPAs

Banks recovered only Rs 1.32 lakh cr from write-offs in 5 years ending March 2022

GEORGE MATHEW
MUMBAI, NOVEMBER 20

AFTER WRITING off a huge amount of loans worth over Rs 10 lakh crore in the last five years, banks have been able to recover only 13 per cent of it so far.

The mega write-off exercise has enabled banks to reduce

YOUR RIGHT TO KNOW

AN EXPRESS RTI APPLICATION

their non-performing assets (NPAs), or defaulted loans, by Rs 10,09,510 crore (\$123.86 billion)

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

EXPLAINED Why do banks write off loans

AFTER A loan turns bad, a bank writes it off when chances of recovery are remote. It helps the bank reduce not only its NPAs but also taxes since the written off amount is allowed to be deducted from the profit before tax.

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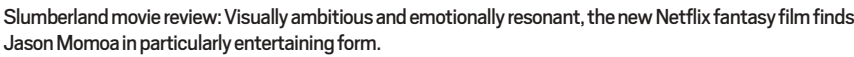
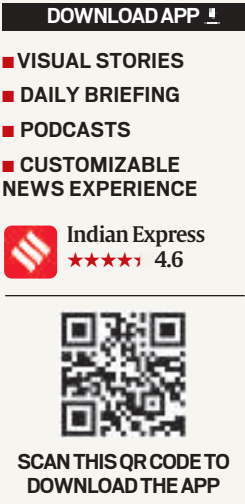
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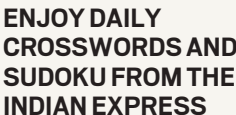
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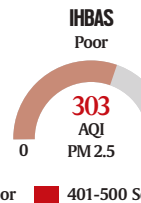
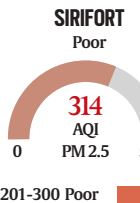
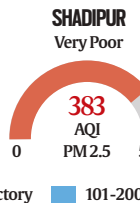
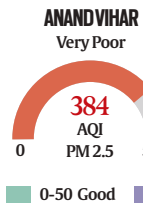
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PUZZLES AND GAMES



New Delhi



0-50 Good 51-100 Satisfactory 101-200 Moderate 201-300 Poor 301-400 Very Poor 401-500 Severe

SKYWATCH

FORECAST: November 21
Mainly clear sky.
Mist in the morning

MAX: 29
1.2°C above normal

MIN: 9
2.6°C below normal

13 days to go, MCD poll campaigning reaches crescendo



Kejriwal at the 'jan samvad' in Paharganj on Sunday morning; (right) BJP national president J P Nadda at an MCD poll rally in Sangam Vihar. *Abhinav Saha/Gajendra Yadav*



Don't vote for those who stop work, vote for those who work, says Kejriwal

SUKRITA BARUAH
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

MAKE A BJP candidate win from your locality 'even by mistake' and all work will stop there because they will be busy fighting with us, claimed Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal in his first public meeting ahead of the upcoming municipal polls.

Kejriwal conducted a 'jan samvad' in Paharganj on Sunday morning. In his address, he said he is confident that the Aam Aadmi Party would gain control of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi and that "it's just a question of how many seats".

"There's going to be an AAP government in the MCD. It's just a question of how many seats... We want 230 out of 250. We have got the Delhi government, we are going to form the MCD

government. So we will work for Delhi. If you, even by mistake, make a BJP candidate win from your locality, all work will stop there. Because they will fight with us, do dharnas against me... Do you want this for the next five years? You want work to be done? *Toh upar bhi humari sarkaar hai, neeche bhi humari sarkaar hai. Kaam toh Kejriwal hi karega,*" he said, adding "Don't vote for those who stop work, vote for those who work."

Trying to deal with the jurisdictions of multiple agencies in Delhi, Kejriwal spent considerable time underlining that sanitation and garbage collection are responsibilities of the MCD, not of the Delhi government.

"Several people have a misunderstanding. I talk to many people, they tell me Kejriwal ji, you have fixed electricity,

schools, hospitals, you have made mohalla clinics. Why don't you fix the garbage problem? I tell them that it makes me very sad too. I go around Delhi, there's so much filth, there are heaps of garbage. I tell them that the responsibility to clean garbage in Delhi is not mine. Has everyone understood? Clearing garbage is which party's responsibility? BJP or AAP? AAP can only clear garbage if everyone comes together this time and gives a chance to the Aam Aadmi Party," he said.

Similar to MLA Atishi's claim last month that the MCD has planned to set up a new landfill site at Govindpuri, Kejriwal alleged that one such landfill is being planned in the Paharganj area as well.

"They are planning to start a new mountain of garbage here on Basant Road. All the garbage

in Karol Bagh will be collected and dropped in Basant Road, and within a year this will become a mountain of garbage. It will start stinking, there will be mosquitoes and flies, and the air that comes from that causes cancer. Do you want a garbage mountain in your area? If you vote for them, within one year there will be a garbage mountain. I guarantee that I will not let it happen," he said.

Through the course of the public meeting, anganwadi workers and helpers, who had been terminated from their services after their strike earlier this year, raised slogans against the AAP. The Delhi State Anganwadi Workers and Helpers Union had resolved to boycott both the AAP and the BJP in the municipal polls to press their demand for the terminated workers to be reinstated.

Excise 'scam' to Jain video, BJP's Nadda takes swipe at AAP in Sangam Vihar

ABHINAYA HARIGOVIND
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

PEOPLE WHO talk about schools are now steeped in corruption and involved in a liquor scam, said BJP national president J P Nadda at an MCD poll rally in Sangam Vihar and asked voters to "teach the Delhi government a lesson".

Nadda referred to the AAP's "scams" and "corruption", pointing to the excise policy and a video of AAP Minister Satyendar Jain receiving a "massage" in Tihar jail. "The victory (of the BJP) will not be a victory of the candidates, but a victory of people's rights, *Dilli sarkar, jo upar se neeche tak bhrashtachar mein doobi hui hain...* it has tried to strangle even the municipal corporation and do injustice to the people of Delhi. The chance to teach such people a lesson comes in the elections," he said.

Nadda was among a set of senior BJP leaders, which included Union Ministers Rajnath Singh and Hardeep Singh Puri, and Chief Ministers Manohar Lal Khattar and Pushkar Singh Dhami, who held rallies in the city.

"There is talk today about what the Aam Aadmi Party has done... Initially, they said we won't form a party, they made one. Then he (Kejriwal) said he won't fight elections, he fought them. He used to say that the Lokpal Bill will be introduced. For how long have we been waiting for the Lokpal Bill? He used to say he will fight the water mafia... *school ki baat karne waale log sharab ki ghotale mein aakar doob gaye* (people who talk about schools are now steeped in a

liquor scam). A 2% commission became 12%. Their work is that they brought liquor to each area. They talk about model schools, but in the tender, the rate for the classroom and bathroom is the same. These are their big scams," Nadda said.

Referring to the video of Jain, Nadda said, "Yesterday, you saw on television, how massage was being done. He (Kejriwal) said he won't give tickets to criminals... but people are now in jail. *Jail main islye hain ki dange karwa rahe hain...* They talk about garbage, but more than Rs 300 crore has been given to them by the Centre to deal with waste. The only way to teach them a lesson is to give the BJP a victory." Nadda's rally, part of the cam-



BRIEFLY

DU likely to introduce more skill-based courses

New Delhi: Delhi University is likely to introduce more Skill Enhancement Courses as part of its four-year Undergraduate Curriculum Framework programme, including courses on horticulture, food skills and agriculture. Skill Enhancement Courses are skill-based courses with stated aim of providing students with hands-on training, skills and competencies. **ENS**

Delhi-Meerut RRTS trial runs expected from next month

New Delhi: Trial runs on the 17-km-long "priority section" of the Delhi-Ghaziabad-Meerut regional rapid transit system (RRTS) corridor are expected to start next month. The Duhai-Sahibabad priority section, with five stations, is part of the 82-km RRTS between Delhi and Meerut. **PTI**

Cong ex-MP Mahabal Mishra joins AAP

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

FORMER WEST Delhi MP Mahabal Mishra, who was also elected as an MLA in the Delhi assembly three while he was in Congress, joined AAP during Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal's public meeting in Paharganj Sunday.

A senior Congress leader, Mishra was a strong influence in West Delhi, especially in Dwarka. His son, Vinay Mishra, had quit the Congress and joined AAP before the 2020 Delhi Assembly elections and won from the Dwarka constituency, from which his father was an MLA. The Congress had suspended Mishra in early 2020 for anti-party activities for allegedly helping his son during his election campaign.

"I welcome Shri Mahabal Mishra, who is popular in Delhi among the Purvanchali community, in Aam Aadmi Party. We will take the country forward and use his experience with the people," Kejriwal tweeted.

Taking to Twitter, Mishra said: "I am moved by the messages of welcome pouring in from all over the country. My salutations and thanks to every worker of Aam Aadmi Party. I promise Arvind Kejriwal ji that by becoming a soldier of the Aam Aadmi Party, I will strengthen the party across the country."

While Mishra has not been a



Mahabal Mishra joined AAP during Kejriwal's public meeting, Sunday. *Abhinav Saha*

very active member of the Congress for a few years now, especially after this son joined AAP, his shift could mean a significant boost in AAP's popularity among the Purvanchali population in MCD wards in East Delhi. Tweeting about his father's switch to the AAP, Vinay Mishra said: "Papa got very angry when I joined AAP and I had told him that this is the people's party, they have a vision. One day you will have to join as well. And father joined AAP in the presence of Arvind Kejriwal ji and Manish Sisodia ji. Welcome, father. All I have learnt has been from him. I have learnt to fight for the rights of people and will continue learning..."

Shraddha murder case: Police recover 'part of a skull', look for evidence in lake

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

WITH SEARCHES continuing in Delhi and Gurgaon to find Shraddha Walkar's remains, who was killed and her body chopped into multiple pieces allegedly by her live-in partner Aaftab Poonawala, Delhi Police Sunday recovered bones, one of which appears to be a part of a skull, from different forest areas. The same will be sent for forensic examination to verify if they are human, said police.

Police are also pumping out water from a lake in Maidangarhi as it is suspected that Poonawala allegedly threw body parts into it.

Police have only two days left to conduct searches and find evidence in Poonawala's presence as his custody will end Tuesday. Police will send him for a narco-analysis test on ei-



Police are also searching for evidence at a lake in Delhi. *PTI*

ther Monday or Tuesday as they suspect he is misleading them.

On Sunday, a team also went to Gurgaon, where the accused worked at a call centre, for the third consecutive day and conducted searches around DLF Phase 3 forest area and other localities as they suspect he might have dumped the murder weapon, Walkar's phone and body parts on his way to work.

Poonawala was also taken to the room at the couple's rented Chhattarpur Pahadi flat where he allegedly killed Walkar. Police said they were looking for the bag he carried while allegedly discarding the body parts in Mehrauli forest.

At present, police have recovered 17 suspected human bones from the Mehrauli forest area. Officers have been trying to

'recreate' the scenes at the time of the murder and how Poonawala allegedly dumped the body parts. This was the third time they recreated the scenes as the accused had allegedly misled police earlier.

Meanwhile, police teams in Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Maharashtra have been questioning hotel owners, landlords and friends about Poonawala's behaviour, the couple's relationship, alleged domestic violence among other things.

Poonawala was arrested last week. The incident took place in May and the matter came to light after Walkar's family approached Mumbai Police in October to look for their daughter. Police are yet to find key evidence — the murder weapon, blood-stained clothes, body parts, and Walkar's phone. Forensic analysis of bones collected from the forest area in Mehrauli and Gurgaon is awaited.

COURIER COMPANY PROPRIETOR MOVES COURT

'Cop not returning jewellery worth Rs 6 cr recovered in heist'

JIGNASA SINHA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

NEARLY TWO months after the Delhi Police solved the robbery case of a jewellery consignment worth Rs 4-6 crore and nabbed four men involved in the crime, the proprietor of the courier company who was handling the consignment has moved court alleging a senior officer is not releasing the recovered items.

On August 31, two courier company executives were waylaid in Central Delhi's Paharganj by four miscreants who threw chilli powder into their eyes and decamped with their consignment. The complainants were carrying two bags and a box filled with diamond, gold and silver jewellery. Police had said the accused posed as policemen and stopped them on the pretext of frisking them. Nearly 24 hours after the incident, police caught the accused from Jaipur.

In September, the complainant approached police to re-

lease the recovered items, and the same was approved, but he alleged the officer refused to do so. The complainant moved court.

The court order, dated September 13, states the said articles recovered "are directed to be released to the applicant" following "proper panchama" and photos of articles by the IO. The order states that the IO should also "weigh all the articles and record (their) quality".

Police then filed a plea seeking a request for TIP (test identification parade) of case property. In a court order dated September 30, the judge dismissed the application and said TIP would be an "exercise in futility as the same is now a matter between the consignor and jewellery shop owners concerned".

The complainant, in an application filed on Friday in court, alleged: "The police agency... especially a (senior officer) of Central District... is not inclined to release the articles recovered on one pretext or other."

Responding to the allegations, Dependra Pathak, Special

CP (Law & Order), told *The Indian Express*: "We respect the court and its decisions. There was some confusion as the complainant is a courier and not the owner. Senior officers and staff were only trying to get the owners and return the items after the TIP procedure. However, we do understand that there are 100 owners. We have approached our legal advisor since the items are of high value. We will submit a revision before the court. If they agree, we will call the owners and get their consent before releasing items. If not, we will follow what the court says."

Deepak Singh Thakur, the complainant's advocate, alleged: "... The articles are worth Rs 6 crore. There are more than 1,000 pieces. How can TIP be done on all of them?... We approached court in September and on Friday... We are now waiting for their (police) reply to our latest application. My client doesn't own the jewellery. He's only a courier... there are around 100-110 clients/owners who are waiting for their consignment..."

PUBLIC NOTICE

Umang Realtech Private Limited (Developer)

Regd. Office: D-64,
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New Delhi-110024
And

Jan Priya Build Estates Pvt. Ltd.

(Licensee Company)

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Aurobindo Apartment
Adhchini, New Delhi 110016
Phone No. 011-41413131
Email: info@umangrealtech.com

Umang Realtech Private Limited is in the process of developing Group Housing Society "Winter Hills 77" having total land area admeasuring 16.540 Acres located in Sector-77, Village Shikohpur, Gurugram, Haryana ("Colony"), in accordance with the provision of License No. 67 of 2011 dated 16.07.2011 granted by Director General Town of Country planning, Chandigarh, Haryana ("DTCP"). The Colony is built in two phases, Phase-I is separated with Phase-II by 24 meter road.

Various allottees / home buyers have made booking / executed Apartment Buyer Agreements for allotment / purchase of flats in Phase-I of the Colony in respect of which construction has already been completed and there is no change in areas of such building viz Towers No. A to L (1 to 12), EWVS Block & Community Building.

Stakeholders are hereby notified that the building plan earlier approved for the Colony is now proposed to be revised. The office of DTCP has required the Company to seek objections in relation to the revision of the said building plan.

A copy of earlier building plan approved by DTCP and the part building plan now being proposed to be revised vide memo number Z-P-739-Vol.-I/UD(RA)/2022/33987 dated: 11-11-2022 are available on website www.umangrealtech.com for perusal.

The said building plan can also be perused at the offices of undersigned at Umang Realtech Private Limited correspondence corporate office address D-64, 2nd Floor Defence Colony New Delhi - 110024 and Phase I site office of the Colony "Winter Hills 77" located at Sector-77, Gurugram, Haryana as well as in the office of Senior Town Planner, HUDA Complex, Sector-14, Gurugram-122001, Haryana.

Any allottee / home buyer having any objection to the revised building plan may file his/ her/ their objection in the office of Senior Town Planner, Sector 14 Gurugram-122001 within 30 days of publication of this notice failing with it shall be assumed that there are no objections to the proposed revision in the building plan.

Umang Realtech Private Limited
Gaurav Verma
Company Secretary
Place: Gurugram
Date: 21.11.2022

4 DECISION 2022

GUJARAT • HIMACHAL PRADESH



I HEREBY DECLARE



IMTIAZ KHAN PATHAN, 45
Contesting on a JD(U) ticket from Bapunagar, Ahmedabad

■ He is a key witness of the Gulberg Society massacre during the 2002 Gujarat riots. He contested from Kheda on an Apna Desh Party ticket in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. Pathan joined the AIMIM but resigned saying the party refused to field him.

MOVABLE ASSETS: (including spouse's) **₹96,000**
(including two-wheeler worth **₹56,000**)

IMMOVABLE ASSETS: None

LIABILITIES: None

PROFESSION: Daily wage labourer

CRIMINAL CASES: None



AMIT SHAH, 63
Contesting on a BJP ticket from Ellisbridge, Ahmedabad

■ He is a former mayor of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation and is a retired bank manager and social worker. Shah has listed pension, rent and interest earned on bank deposits and dividends as income sources.

MOVABLE ASSETS: (including spouse's) **₹1.33 crore**

(About 550 grams of gold, shares in Reliance Industries, Reliance Power, Vedanta Limited, Swan Energy and Powergrid Corporation)

IMMOVABLE ASSETS: (including spouse's) **₹1.82 crore**

(Two residential flats, two commercial spaces, and non-agricultural land in Pethapur, Gandhinagar)

LIABILITIES: None

CRIMINAL CASES: A case from 2002 for demonstrating at the Sabarmati Ashram against activist Medha Patkar

BATTLEGROUND GUJARAT

BJP sits pretty in 44 urban seats as Cong, AAP pin hopes on 'real issues'

Urban Assembly seats across eight municipal corporations have always been a key bastion for ruling party, giving it a decisive edge since 1995

PARIMAL DABHI
GANDHINAGAR, NOVEMBER 20

AS THE campaigning by the political parties for the Gujarat Assembly elections, due in first week of December, goes full steam now, they have been focusing sharply on the 44 urban seats in eight municipal corporation belts — Ahmedabad, Surat, Vadodara, Rajkot, Gandhinagar, Jamnagar, Bhavnagar and Junagadh — across the state.

Gujarat's urban Assembly constituencies have always been a key bastion for the ruling BJP, giving the party a decisive edge in elections after elections. However, besides the BJP's traditional rival Congress, two more players, the Arvind Kejriwal-led Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) and the Asaduddin Owaisi-headed All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimin (AIMIM) are now keen to contest these seats, thus raising their electoral stakes.

Its near-total dominance in the urban seats has always been at the heart of the saffron party's winning streak in Gujarat since 1995.

In the 2012 Assembly polls, of the state's total 44 urban seats, the BJP won 40. In Ahmedabad, of the 16 seats, the party won 13. It won all 12 seats in Surat's urban areas and all five in Vadodara's urban pockets. Similarly, it won all four seats, 2

seats each, in Bhavnagar and Gandhinagar. In Rajkot, it won three of four such seats.

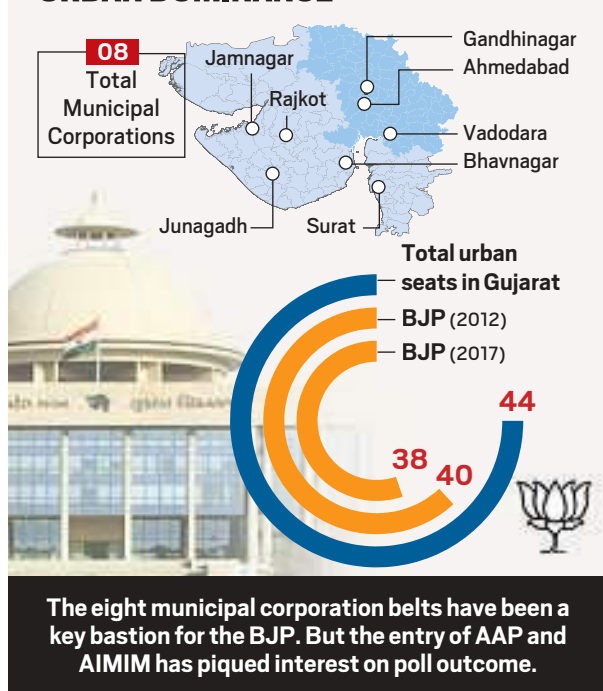
In the previous 2017 Assembly elections, the BJP won the polls but recorded its lowest tally since 1995, winning 99 of the state's total 182 seats. The elections were held in the backdrop of the Patidar quota agitation and subsequent emergence of three youth leaders — Hardik Patel, Alpesh Thakor and Jignesh Mevani. This hurt the party's prospects in rural areas, especially in the Saurashtra region.

However, even in the 2017 polls the BJP managed to hold on to its urban seats with a haul of 38, just two less than the previous elections. In Ahmedabad, the party won 12 seats, while in Surat and Vadodara it continued to sweep all 12 and five seats, respectively. It also bagged all urban seats of Rajkot (4), Bhavnagar (2) and Jamnagar (2).

In the upcoming Assembly elections, Surat city may especially witness a keen battle between the BJP and the AAP. Some top leaders of the Patidar Anamat Andolan Samiti (PAAS) that spearheaded the Patidar quota stir — Gopal Italia, Alpesh Kathiriya and Dharmik Malaviya — are currently fighting elections from Surat as the AAP candidates.

The entry of the AIMIM may be notable in some seats of Ahmedabad city, which have a sizeable Muslim population. In

URBAN DOMINANCE



all, AIMIM has fielded 13 candidates across the state.

A senior BJP leader said, "Urban seats can be considered as the backbone of our party. It is very crucial not only for maintaining a decisive majority over Opposition, but also for the fact that it revolves around party's core political ideology of Hindutva."

The BJP leader also said, "Except those urban seats where there is minority domination like Jamalpur-Khadia, Dariapur and Danilimda in Ahmedabad, we don't see any major Opposition in urban segments. One of the major reasons for this is the communal violence that

the cities of Ahmedabad, Surat and Vadodara have seen in 1980s and 1990s. After that, BJP has come to power and people have seen the difference. Communal safety is the key consideration for an urban voter and precisely for that reason no party is even close to BJP in urban areas."

He also said, "And an incident like the Aaftab Poonawala-Shraddha Walkar case can further polarise the urban people, who are mostly educated, in favour of BJP."

According to the BJP leader, the infrastructure created by the BJP in Gujarat's urban belts and the facilities set up at places of worship like Ambaji, Somnath,

Pavagadh etc. are "added advantage" for the party there.

Rejecting the AAP's impact on urban seats, he claimed, "Out of (every) 10 votes that AAP may get in urban areas, eight are going to be those of Congress. It is going to be a major spoiler for Congress this time and one of the reasons for our comfort."

The AAP, however, believes that the elections in urban areas are this time going to be fought on "real issues of the people" while going "beyond Hindutva-based politics". The AAP's spokesperson Yogesh Jadvani predicts 25-30 seats for the party in urban segments.

"For BJP, Hindutva-based politics was an easy and cheap politics available to it. But, this time around, for the first time, the state is witnessing issue-based politics," said Jadvani. "In urban areas common people live who are feeling harassed by rise in costs of education, electricity and house rents. And so, they are attracted by various guarantees given by Arvind Kejriwal like up to 300 unit free electricity, free health, free education etc."

The Congress also echoes this point while hoping to improve its performance in urban seats. The grand old party's spokesperson Manish Doshi said, "We had worked very hard in urban areas in 2017, but did not get the desired result. But in 2022, we are pretty confident that our performance will improve." He also said, "Urban areas have four major issues of education, employment, health and tax. And people have realised that unlike BJP, we are talking about real issues. We have promised to bring urban employment guarantee scheme. So, we are hopeful."

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KEY PLAYERS

ARVIND KEJRIWAL:
BJP LOSING, CONG TO LOSE DEPOSIT, AAP WILL FORM GUJARAT GOVT

BJP COMPLAINS TO EC AGAINST SIDHPUR CONG CANDIDATE'S SPEECH

Congress exploited tribals, Modi gave India its first tribal President: Shah



Amit Shah at an event in Nizar, Tapi district, Sunday. *Twitter*

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
AHMEDABAD, NOVEMBER 20

UNION HOME Minister Amit Shah on Sunday hit out at the Congress, saying that while the party exploited tribals since Independence Prime Minister Narendra Modi had given the country its first President from an Adivasi community. He was referring to President Droupadi Murmu who belongs to the Santhal community.

Shah addressed rallies in Dediapada constituency in Narmada district and in Tapi district's Nizar Assembly seat. In Dediapada, which is a constituency reserved for Scheduled Tribe (ST) communities, he told the audience that the BJP government started celebrating the birth anniversary of tribal hero Birsu Munda as Adivasi Gaurav Diwas.

"The Narendra Modi government, be it in Gujarat or the Centre, has always talked about making tribals proud. Even after 75 years of Independence, not a single tribal daughter or boy was made the President. Narendra Modi made Droupadi Murmu the President and all tribals in the entire country were made proud," Shah said in Nizar.

Claiming that "Congress people do not know tribal development", Shah said, "In its last Budget for Gujarat, the Congress (when it was in power in the state) had earmarked Rs 1,000 crore for tribals. (Whereas) Our Bhupendrabhai (Patel) presented our last Budget in which Rs 1 lakh crore has been earmarked for tribals."

He added, "I want to ask the Congress party... You had given a slogan for poverty eradication in the 1970s. You did not eradicate poverty but eradicated the poor. The task of eradicating poverty has been done by Narendrabhai (Modi)."

Speaking about Birsu Munda, Shah accused the Congress of neglecting the sacrifices of Adivasi freedom fighters and only thinking about the Nehru-Gandhi family. "Several freedom fighters from Bhagwan Birsu Munda to Shankar Shah, Raghunath Shah, and Tanya Mama led the uprising against the British and Mughals and sacrificed their lives but nothing was made in their memory. Everything was made for the Nehru-Gandhi family. Narendrabhai is making museums for 10 tribal freedom fighters, of which one is being built in Gujarat for Rs 1,000 crore."

At the Dediapada event, senior tribal leaders of the BJP from the region were also present along with candidates for Dediapada and Nandod constituencies Hitesh Vasava and Dr Darshana Deshmukh.

Shah listed a range of initiatives of the BJP governments at the Centre and in Gujarat for the welfare of tribal communities. Of those, the Union minister cited the Van Bandhu Kalyan Yojana, all-season road connectivity, scholarship to 33 lakh students, allotment of 13 lakh acre land under the Forest Rights Act, opening nine industrial training institutions, opening a government medical college in Rajpipla, and water for irrigation.

Wary about poaching bid by BJP, AAP shifts out nominees

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
AHMEDABAD, NOVEMBER 20

FEARING POACHING of candidates, the AAP has shifted its candidates for the Assembly constituencies where elections are scheduled in the second phase on December 5 to "a safe place" in Somnath, said party sources.

The move came in the wake of an AAP party candidate for Surat East constituency, Kanchan Jariwala, withdrawing his nomination on November 17. The AAP claimed that Jariwala was "forced" to pull out by the BJP, which termed it "baseless".

An AAP office-bearer said, "We have shifted the candidates who were fielded in the second phase lest something similar to what happened in Surat East happens. There was also some information about these candidates being pressured by the BJP to withdraw their nominations."



LOOK UP

BJP supporters watch as PM Narendra Modi's helicopter flies away after an event at Dhoraji in Rajkot district on Sunday. *PTI*

CAMPAIGN TRAIL

'Outsider' Rivaba up against veteran rivals in Jamnagar (North)

AVINASH NAIR
JAMNAGAR (GUJARAT), NOVEMBER 20

RIVABA JADEJA is dressed in a teal-coloured saree and sneakers for her padyatra on Saturday in Gujarat's Jamnagar North constituency, where she is hoping to win in her electoral debut.

A Rajkot native, Rivaba is popularly known as cricketer Ravindra Jadeja's wife. The BJP candidate who is considered an "outsider" is looking to make her mark in Jamnagar. She will face off against veteran Congress leader Bipendrasinh Jadeja whose campaign is being managed by Ravindra Jadeja's sister and the Congress women's wing head Nainaba Jadeja. The Aam Aadmi Party's (AAP) candidate is Karsan Karmur who quit the BJP last year.

Barely three years old in the BJP, two BJP workers introduce

Rivaba as the party's in the residential colonies along the airport road of Jamnagar city, which is the first stop of the day.

Accompanying Rivaba on her "Loksampark" padyatra is "Hakuba" or Dharmendrasinh Jadeja, the incumbent BJP MLA from Jamnagar North. He barely interacts with her during the padyatra and trails off after accompanying her for 20 minutes.

In the 2017 polls, Dharmendrasinh got 59 per cent of the votes, with his victory margin being a record 41,000 for the constituency. After Rivaba replaced him for the coming polls, he was placed in charge of the constituencies of Jamnagar North, Jamnagar South, and Jamnagar Rural.

Rivaba, whose family assets are worth Rs 97 crores according to her poll affidavit, is unimpressed of Hakuba's absence and confidently visits the lanes of the



Rivaba Jadeja out campaigning on Saturday. *Avinash Nair*

residential colonies.

She barely speaks to the voters, restricting herself largely to waves and smiles. Some wave back, but few ignore her and ask if Hakuba is campaigning.

"Unlike Hakuba, locals do not

know her well. Her only link to the city is Ravindra Jadeja. We are sure of a victory in the coming elections, but the margin is expected to be thin," says a party worker.

The yatra is led by two men beating drums. A few residents

step out and are asked to garland Rivaba, after which pictures are clicked. Rivaba tries her best to connect with the voters. Members of the Kshatriya community, which she belongs to, instantly recognise her. She offers chocolates to kids and poses for selfies.

At Yadav Nagar, a couple of angry women confront the BJP candidate and her entourage. "The gutters have been overflowing for the last two years. You guys come once in five years seeking votes," says one of them.

Rivaba does not stop to inquire. Aniruddhsinh Zala, the husband of Jamnagar Municipal Corporator Jasubha Zala, assures her the work will get done within 15 days, and the BJP contingent moves on.

A recurring talking point throughout Rivaba's campaign is the AAP. Karmur, a member of the Ahir community, is a five-time corporator and former

deputy mayor. "Is it true that the AAP will cut into the BJP votes in urban areas?" asks a BJP worker.

While Rivaba visits two temples in ward Number 6 and also garlands a statue of BR Ambedkar, she ends up not visiting any area where the residents are predominantly from minority communities.

Congress nominee Bipendrasinh, who claims to have covered half of the Assembly constituency by foot since his nomination, has also taken to padyatras. "Rivaba is an outsider and that's my advantage."

A businessman by profession, Bipendrasinh has been with the party for 32 years and is the president of the Jamnagar Chamber of Commerce. "All these years, I have only helped others contest elections. I am fighting polls for the first time," says the leader who is also a general secretary in the Gujarat Congress Committee.

HASHTAG POLITICS



• AAP's song for 'change'



Calling it the "badlaav song (song for change)", the AAP launched its official song for the Gujarat Assembly polls on Sunday. The music video features its convener and Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal, CM face Isudan Gadhvi, and state head Gopal Italia. The party tweeted, "Here to give you goosebumps. Badlaav No Aavyo Vakhat." Sharing the video, Delhi Deputy CM Manish Sisodia said, "This is not just a song but it is the hope of every citizen of Gujarat who is helpless due to 27 years of BJP's deception and corruption and is looking forward to change."



Russian Culture Festival in India 2022

DELHI, KOLKATA & MUMBAI NOVEMBER, 21-29, 2022



ADVERTORIAL

#дружбадоस्ती

Dear friends!
It gives a great pleasure to welcome you to the Russian Culture Festival in India, which starts today and will roll over New Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai up to November 29, 2022.



It is of particular significance that the Festival came to India in the year when we celebrate the 75th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries.



Russia extremely values the equal and respectful relationship with India, which not only can be transformative, but is also capable to transform the environment. Our unique partnership has every chance to get stronger embracing new dimensions for the sake of wellbeing of our nations and the world at large. Unchanged will remain only the foundations laid down 75 years ago and embodied in the five "mutuals" – respect, trust, support, interest and goodwill.



The Festival is brought to you by the Federal State Budgetary Institution of Culture ROSCONCERT, with the support of the Russian Ministry of Culture and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations under the Ministry of External Affairs of India.

During the Festival, there will be concert performances by three famous Russian groups: the State Academic Honored Dance Ensemble of Dagestan "Lezginka", the Musical Ensemble "Terem-Quartet" and the State Ensemble of Cossack Song "Krinitsa", each of which will perform in three Indian cities and demonstrate the best samples of the unique folk art of Russia.

The State Academic Honoured Dance Ensemble of Dagestan "Lezginka"

NOVEMBER 21, 2022

Siri Fort Auditorium, New Delhi

7.00 pm



THE State Academic Honoured Dance Ensemble of Dagestan "Lezginka" was founded on September 6, 1958. The ensemble has toured throughout 75 countries around the world and has been the winner of 52 world renowned folklore dancing competitions. In 2014 "Lezginka" was invited to perform at the special concert at the Sochi

Winter Olympic Games. In August 2012, Lezginka presented a program dedicated to the North Caucasian region of Russia to the guests and participants of the XXX Olympic Summer Games in London. The ensemble staged over 100 dances of the peoples of Dagestan, the Caucasus region and Russia. On June 2021, the Head of the Dagestan

Republic issued a decree declaring the Lezginka ensemble a cultural heritage of Dagestan. From 1991 to the present day, the ensemble is headed by general manager Dzhabulat Magomedov, holder of the Order of Friendship, the Order of Honor, Honored Worker of Culture of the Russian Federation.

Musical ensemble "Terem-quartet"

November, 22, 2022,

Siri Fort Auditorium, New Delhi. 7.00 pm

TEREM-quartet is a musical group from St.Petersburg, performing in the style of a classic crossover on the Russian folk instruments. "Terem-quartet" has released 17 albums in Russia and abroad. The ensemble's repertoire includes more than 500 compositions of classical and contemporary music. The team gave more than 2,500 concerts and performed in more than 60 countries. "Terem-quartet" has repeatedly represented St. Petersburg at many international events, so it is often called the "symbol" of the city.



State Cossack Song Ensemble "Krinitsa"



NOVEMBER 29, 2022

Kamani Auditorium, New Delhi

7.00 pm

THE history of the ensemble "Krinitsa" began in 1994. The head of the ensemble is Vladimir Kapaev, the Honored Art Worker of Russia and the Republic of Adygea. The ensemble gave concerts in all corners of Kuban and other regions of Russia, performed at prestigious concert venues in Moscow, such as Tchaikovsky concert hall, Concert hall "Russia", the Kremlin Palace, took part in the festival-marathon "Songs of Russia" held under the leadership of the People's Artist of Russia Nadezhda Babkina. They also gave concerts in France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Turkey and Lebanon. The ensemble takes an active part in the theatrical activity of the Krasnodar Musical Theatre.

FESTIVAL OF RUSSIAN CULTURE IN INDIA

DELHI, KOLKATA & MUMBAI NOVEMBER, 21-29, 2022

NEW DELHI		
Date/Time	Event	Venue
21 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the State Academic Honored Dance Ensemble of Dagestan "Lezginka"	Siri Fort Auditorium August Kranti Marg, Siri Fort Institutional Area
22 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the Musical Ensemble "Terem-Quartet" (Saint-Petersburg)	Siri Fort Auditorium August Kranti Marg, Siri Fort Institutional Area
29 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the State Cossack Song Ensemble "Krinitsa"	Kamani Auditorium 1, Copernicus Marg, Opposite Doordarshan Bhawan

KOLKATA		
Date/Time	Event	Venue
23 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the State Academic Honored Dance Ensemble of Dagestan "Lezginka"	Rabindra Sadan Auditorium 71, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road
24 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the Musical Ensemble "Terem-Quartet" (Saint-Petersburg)	Rabindra Sadan Auditorium 71, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road
25 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the State Cossack Song Ensemble "Krinitsa"	Rabindra Sadan Auditorium 71, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road

MUMBAI		
Date/Time	Event	Venue
25 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the State Academic Honored Dance Ensemble of Dagestan "Lezginka"	The Royal Opera House Mama Parmanand Marg
26 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the Musical Ensemble "Terem-Quartet" (Saint-Petersburg)	TIFR – Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Homi Bhabha Road, Colaba
28 November 2022 7-00 – 8-15 pm	Performance by the State Cossack Song Ensemble "Krinitsa"	The Royal Opera House Mama Parmanand Marg

6 GOVT & POLITICS



LESSON FROM CJI

A WISH came true for a group of students from DAV Centenary Public School, Paschim Enclave, New Delhi, when Chief Justice of India D.Y. Chandrachud accepted their request to interact with them this weekend. The CJI spoke to the students, who were part of 31 visitors on a guided tour of Supreme Court, over video conferencing. He explained to them the responsibilities of the court. To a student who sought tips to become a judge, and possibly the CJI, one day, he said, "I am now at the final tip of my career, but this has been preceded by 20 years of hard work as a lawyer, before that hard work as a student... If you want to become a judge, you must always do something that is right. Never take shortcut to success by doing wrong things...."

BREAK FROM CAMPAIGN

UTTAR PRADESH Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath, one of the star campaigners of the BJP in Gujarat, will take a brief break from campaigning on Tuesday to discharge his official duties. Adityanath is expected to travel to Delhi to attend a curtain-raiser event related to the Global Investors Summit, which will be organised by the UP government in February next year in Lucknow. It is learnt that envoys of about two dozen countries are also expected to participate in the curtain-raiser event. The event holds significance in view of requirement of investment to raise UP's growth, which has been sluggish so far.

EXCLUSIVE SHOW

WHILE A chunk of the inaugural event of the International Film Festival of India (IFFI) in Goa was telecast live on Doordarshan, the latter part, which comprised performances by actors Varun Dhawan, Sara Ali Khan and Kartik Aryan, was only meant for live audiences. The telecast rights have been sold to Viacom 18 in a three-year deal and will be shown on Colors TV later.

Sangma's NPP to go it alone in 2023 polls

DEBRAJ DEB
AGARTALA, NOVEMBER 20

THREE MONTHS ahead of the state's forthcoming assembly elections, Meghalaya Chief Minister Conrad Sangma on Sunday said his party — National People's Party (NPP) is ready to fight the elections alone next year.

NPP has been pushing for singular battle for quite some time. In 2018, NPP had contested on 53 seats alone.

Speaking to a news agency, CM Sangma said, "NPP has its individual identity. We shall contest the state assembly elections next year alone. However, we have our support to the NDA and



Conrad Sangma

it will be continued. We have finalised 58 candidates out of 60 seats in the state assembly".

On the recent rise of TMC with 11 Congress MLAs defecting to TMC last year, the CM said he doesn't think the Bengal-based party would be able to put up a good show in the elections next year. Sangma, however, didn't comment on MDA ally BJP, which has been training guns at the NPP over a host of issues.

BJD, BJP spar over promised rail link

SUJIT BISOI
BHUBANESWAR, NOV 20

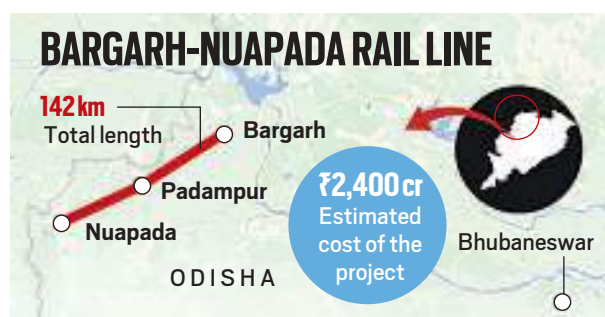
DELAY IN construction of a rail line via Padampur, where a by-election is due on December 5, is the new bone of contention between the ruling BJD and opposition BJP in Odisha.

Keeping the bypoll in mind, state's Commerce and Transport Minister Tukuni Sahu on Sunday sought the intervention of Railways Minister Ashwini Vaishnaw for taking up the rail line between Bargarh and Nuapada via Padampur. In December 2018, Union Minister Dharmendra Pradhan, while addressing a public meeting at Padampur, had announced sanctioning of the railway line by the Centre.

"Contrary to the announcement by Pradhan ji, the Ministry of Railways in 2019 communicated that the proposed new line has been shelved as it didn't ap-

pear to be financially viable, despite the high rate of return, which is beyond the requirement for approving a new line," said Sahu in a letter to Vaishnaw. Months after shelving the project, the Railway Board on October 10, 2019, had asked the state to contribute free land and rehabilitation cost for land acquisition. The state agreed to give free land and also pledged Rs 300 crore towards the construction cost. Sahu said despite the Odisha government coming forward to offer all cooperation, the project is still waiting to advance from paper work.

Bargarh MP and senior BJP leader Suresh Pujari said the ball is in the state's court as the survey for the required land is yet to be completed. "Before blaming the Railways, the state government should inform people when the land survey taken up by state-led joint venture would be completed and when are they going to hand it over to the Centre," Pujari said.



PM slams Cong over Medha Patkar in Bharat Jodo Yatra

Chides Dhoraji voters for electing Cong leaders in 2017: 'What benefit did it do?'

GOPAL KATESHIYA
DHORAJI (RAJKOT), NOV 20

LASHING OUT at the Congress over Narmada Bachao Andolan leader Medha Patkar joining Rahul Gandhi's Bharat Jodo Yatra in Maharashtra, Prime Minister Narendra Modi Sunday said this was an indication of how much damage the party intends to cause to Gujarat in the coming days.

Addressing a BJP rally in Rajkot's Dhoraji, which votes on December 1 in the first of the two-phase Gujarat elections, Modi went on to say that while people in parched Saurashtra and Kutch were longing for water, there were those who launched agitations, "defamed" Gujarat and "blocked" the Narmada dam for three decades.

Referring to images of Rahul with Patkar during the Yatra, Modi said, "Think about the type of people who blocked the Narmada project. You should have seen a photo published in newspapers yesterday... Narmada was the only source of drinking water for our people in Kutch and Saurashtra. For blocking those waters for three decades, they went to court and launched agitations. They defamed Gujarat... no one in the world, including the World Bank, was ready to lend money to Gujarat. Yesterday, a leader of Congress was out on a padyatra, placing his arms on the shoulders of that sister who had led this agitation."

He said, "This is an example of the extent to which you want to ruin Gujarat in the coming days... When Congress leaders



Prime Minister Narendra Modi addresses a rally in Dhoraji, Gujarat, on Sunday. Chitral Khambhati

come to you to seek your votes, ask them with what face are they (asking for your votes)."

Modi also chided voters in Dhoraji for electing Congress candidates in the 2017 elections. "Last time round, you went off the mark somewhat... Now tell me, what benefits did that bring? Should such mistakes be committed? Don't even commit the slightest of such mistakes," he said.

Rahul Gandhi, incidentally, is scheduled to address an election meeting in Rajkot city on Monday.

The Prime Minister had referred to the Narmada protests in September, too. Addressing via video link a meeting of environment ministers at Ekta Nagar in Narmada district, he had blamed "Urban Naxals" and "some global institutions and foundations" for stopping "modern infrastructure" projects, such as the Sardar Sarovar dam. He had also cau-

tioned against getting caught in the "conspiracies of such people" who, he said, have been able to influence "even the World Bank and higher judiciary".

During his speech Sunday, Modi reminded the gathering of how water had to be transported to Rajkot by train in 1986 to overcome a shortage and how the police had to be deployed at the time. He said that when he would plan visits to areas like Dhandhuka in Ahmedabad and Ranpur in Botad district, people would welcome him. "But they would say, please don't stay for the night as there is no water for a shower in the morning," he said.

Modi, who served as CM of Gujarat from 2001 to 2014, claimed that BJP governments in the state had changed the scenario. "We used to believe nothing could be done as it was not raining and leading such a life was our destiny.

All governments also used to think this way. But we came out of that mentality," he said.

Listing various initiatives, Modi said new canals were constructed, stepwells revived, new wells and ponds dug and a campaign launched to dig one lakh farm watersheds in 100 days to store rainwater in villages, farms and wasteland. Besides, he said, 17 lakh hectares of land started getting irrigation water from the Narmada project, enabling farmers to cultivate three crops every year.

Instead of installing a pillar or constructing a monument to mark 75 years of Independence, his government is getting 75 big ponds dug in every district of the country, Modi said.

Earlier in the day, Modi performed puja at the Somnath temple near Veraval in Gir Somnath. Later, addressing a poll meeting, he appealed for a "record turnout" and said that he would help BJP leader and CM, Bhupendra Patel, break his own records as CM.

Modi also addressed poll meetings in Amreli and Botad. In Amreli, he claimed that the Congress would not be able to help Gujarat achieve the next level of growth. "Not a single person of the Congress will be able to do any good for you... Last time, you sent Congress people from here... Can you recall one work they did? Did they do anything good? You, residents of Amreli, why are you wasting your votes?" he said.

In 2017, the Congress had won all five Assembly seats in Amreli district; all four in Gir Somnath district; two in Rajkot district, including Dhoraji; and, one of two seats in Botad.

Congress counters PM: 'Why is activist Patkar a poll issue?'

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
AHMEDABAD, NOVEMBER 20

Gujarat Congress leaders on Sunday shrugged off suggestions about a negative fallout of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's criticism of the party and its former president Rahul Gandhi for being seen along with activist Medha Patkar at the Bharat Jodo Yatra the day before in Maharashtra. The party claimed the PM's comments were part of the BJP's "diversionary tactic".

Modi hit out at Gandhi and Patkar at an election rally in the town of Dhoraji in Rajkot district on Sunday. For the BJP, Patkar is not just the face of the agitation against the Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada — a pet project of Modi as chief minister and PM — but also one of the figures who led protests against the 2002 riots.

On Saturday, tagging pictures showing Gandhi with Patkar at the Yatra, CM Bhupendra Patel said on Twitter, "Congress and Rahul Gandhi have time and again shown their animosity towards Gujarat and Gujaratis..."

But, Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee president Jagdish Thakor said the PM's comments would have "no impact" on the outcome of the election. "If they ask us about Patkar) we have a thousand questions to ask them (BJP). Did he (Rahul) join her yatra? Anybody is free to join the (Bharat Jodo) Yatra. People have seen through them ... you make an issue of a non-issue. I tell you, if you make a mistake and say sorry, people will accept. This is not the Congress saying, people's experience of the government has been such that they are now tired (of the

BJP). For 27 years you have been saying the same thing. I don't think this is going to have any impact."

"Who built the dam?" asked All India Congress Committee (AICC) general secretary in charge of Gujarat Raghu Sharma, referring to India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

He also said Modi's criticism on the matter was not an election issue. "When she (Patkar) was doing the agitation, it was (former CM) Chimanbhai Patel and his wife (Urmila) who stopped her from entering Gujarat. Where was the BJP then? Before starting his Yatra, Rahulji talked to all NGOs... Mahatma Gandhi's great-grandson also joined the Yatra. Why is Modi not talking about that?"

Playing down any political impact of Modi's attack, Sharma said, "It is his (Modi's) habit to divert from the main issue. There is an atmosphere of fear ... Why is he not talking about the three lakh people who died of Covid because of the unavailability of healthcare? Why is he not talking about drug trafficking? The fact that Gujarat is a dry state, but illegal liquor is available through home delivery. These are the issues that should come up. Let him (Modi) talk about unemployment, about the economy."

Asking why Gandhi walking with Patkar was an election issue for the BJP, Sharma went on to say, "Every time they deviate ... they are in search of issues. People are tired of this bhashan (lecture). Where is the roadmap for education and health infrastructure? Is he even talking about implementing the old pension scheme as the Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh governments have done? This is for the social security of a person who gave 35 years to the government."

MAINPURI LOK SABHA BYPOLL

Akhilesh touches Shivpal's feet as they seek votes for Dimple

LALMANI VERMA
LUCKNOW, NOVEMBER 20

IN A message to party workers that the Yadav family is united ahead of the crucial Lok Sabha by-elections in Mainpuri, Samajwadi Party (SP) president Akhilesh Yadav on Sunday shared the dais with uncle Shivpal Yadav, who leads a separate political outfit, while campaigning for wife Dimple in Saifai. Akhilesh also touched his uncle's feet in a show of bonhomie and assured party workers that the two have indeed come together after burying the hatchet of the past.

The bypoll in Mainpuri was necessitated by the death of party patriarch Mulayam Singh Yadav. While the SP has fielded former MP Dimple Yadav, BJP has fielded Raghuraj Singh Shakya, a long-time close associate of Shivpal.

At the party workers meet held in Saifai on Sunday, Shivpal welcomed Akhilesh with a bouquet and offered him a chair. Akhilesh in turn touched Shivpal's feet. The SP chief also touched the feet of uncle and SP general secretary Ram Gopal Yadav, who was seated on the podium.

Saifai falls in Jaswantnagar constituency, which was won by Shivpal in March when the uncle



SP president Akhilesh Yadav with uncle Shivpal Yadav at a party workers' meeting in Saifai on Sunday. Express

and nephew had come together for the Assembly elections. However, soon after the election results, the relations soured with Shivpal and Akhilesh making barbs at each other publicly.

The relations between the two had soured in the run-up to the 2017 Assembly election when Akhilesh took over the party president's post after a dramatic turn of events in which he and his father Mulayam were seen to be at loggerheads, and Shivpal quit the party to form his own outfit — Pragatisheel Samajwadi Party-Lohia (PSP-L).

A few days ago, Shivpal met Akhilesh and Dimple at their ancestral village in Saifai in Etawah

district. Earlier, the SP included Shivpal in the list of star campaigners for Mainpuri bypoll.

"You all had asked us to come together. So, we have come together. Now, it is your responsibility to break the record of the previous elections and ensure a big win (for Dimple)," Shivpal told party workers on Sunday.

Reiterating that the bypoll was an election of "pratisitha (prestige)", Shivpal said: "It's an election of prestige. Dimple is our daughter-in-law. So this is a fight of honour... The responsibility, which Netaji (Mulayam) has left on us, will have to be led by Akhilesh," Shivpal said indicating that he accepted Akhilesh's leadership.

'Some want me on side bench, but I want to play forward'

SHAJU PHILIP
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, NOVEMBER 20

UNEASINESS IS brewing in the Kerala unit of Congress over party MP Shashi Tharoor's North Kerala visit, which is seen as his bid to become more active in the state politics. On Sunday, the first day of Tharoor's four-day North Kerala tour, Congress in Kozhikode prevented Youth Congress (YC) from hosting his talk on "Sangh Parivar and challenges to secularism", even as party leader Rahul Gandhi is on Bharat Jodo Yatra attacking Parivar on its "divisive politics".

Unfazed, Tharoor has found another organiser — pro-Congress Jawahar Youth Foundation — to conduct the talk. Elsewhere in North Kerala, pro-Congress platforms would host Tharoor's "Congress event" after the party pulled back its venues.

Reacting to the party's decision, Tharoor on Sunday told mediapersons that he saw things (the party ban) with sportsman spirit. "I want to take these things with a sportsman spirit. Certain people wanted me to sit on the side bench. But I want to play forward," he said. Later in the day, Tharoor demanded a party probe into YC withdrawing from hosting his talk. Kozhikode DCC president Praveen Kumar said it stemmed from the intervention of the party, which felt that Tharoor's events smacked of factionalism.

Congress leaders in Kerala have sensed a threat in the MP after he contested the recently held presidential election and won 12 per cent vote share. This has helped him demonstrate that there is a demand for change in the party. Tharoor's contest for the national political slot was virtually cold-shouldered by the leadership in his home state as his emer-



Congress MP Shashi Tharoor at an event organised by Indian Lawyers Congress in Kozhikode on Sunday. PTI

gence to prominence is slated to eclipse AICC general secretary KC Venugopal, currently the most influential party leader from Kerala.

Back in Kerala, Tharoor's move to gain a bigger role in Congress politics is likely to change equations, particularly the upper caste Hindu Nair camp. Tharoor is the

chief guest for the annual birth anniversary celebrations of Nair Service Society founder Mannathu Padmanabhan on January 2. Tharoor would be attending various events organised by IUMIL, the main stay of UDF in North Kerala.

FULL REPORT ON
www.indianexpress.com



Pandian is currently serving in the TN govt

has become a law unto himself... (He) has now resorted to invoke U.P. Goondas Act against the petitioner misusing the forum of criminal administration," the court said. "... a cost assessed at Rs 5 lakh is imposed upon... District Magistrate, Gorakhpur, to be deposited with the High Court Legal Services Committee within 10 weeks," said the court.

It also directed the government to "initiate disciplinary enquiry against the then delinquent District Magistrate, Gorakhpur."

As per the order, the petition was regarding a bungalow on Gorakhpur's Park Road that was acquired by Jaiswal in September 1999 through a freehold deed from then Gorakhpur DM. At the time of execution of the freehold deed, the Sales Tax Department, now the Trade Tax Department, was occupying the premises on rent. The petitioner said that Trade Tax Department defaulted on rent, and he instituted an SCC suit seeking ejectment, as well as, recovery of arrears of rent.

EXPLAINED

IUML wants 'credible' leader at helm

IUML IS rolling out the red carpet for Tharoor at a time Congress state president K Sudhakaran is on the backfoot over his repeated pro-RSS statements. Taking note of Sudhakaran's pro-RSS stand, IUML has sent a message to Congress that the party wants to see a credible, secular leadership at the helm of the party. Ruling CP(M)-led LDF has kept its door open for IUML, which has already sensed a pro-Left stand has developed among a section of scholars in Samastha Kerala Jam-Iyyathul Ulema, which has a critical say in IUML.

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

THE THIRD No Money for Terror (NMFT) Conference, which concluded on Saturday, has affirmed that the UN sanctions regime must function in an objective manner and should be "free from political considerations and quality of standards". It also expressed concerns over ability of terrorists to find safe havens and flagged use of drones to transport weapons and explosives.

"Affirmed that terrorism and its financing, in all forms and manifestations, continues to constitute one of the most serious threats to international peace and security and that any acts of terrorism and its financing are criminal and unjustifiable regardless of their motivations, whenever and by whomsoever committed, and called for listings and de-listings under these sanction regimes to be done in an objective-manner, based on evidence and free from political considerations and duality of standards," the Chair's statement following the conclusion of the event said.

Notably, China has blocked five proposals from India and the US to list LeT and JeM operatives as terrorists under the UN list. They include LeT chief Hafiz Saeed's son Talha, LeT operative Shahid Mahmood, 26/11 terror attack accused Sajid Mir, Jamaat-ud-Dawa leader Abdul Rehman Makki and JeM chief Masood Azhar's brother Abdul Rauf Azhar.

The statement stood out for expanding the concerns over terrorism beyond trans-national groups such as the Islamic State and Al Qaeda and flagging existence of safe havens, two pet concerns of India. In the last two conferences — at Paris in 2018 and Melbourne in 2019 — the statements particularly mentioned IS and Al Qaeda as prime threats and had not touched upon issues of cross-border terrorism in the Indian subcontinent.

The Saturday statement skipped mention of any terror group in particular. "Reaffirmed that the actions to counter terrorism and its financing should be collective and unified, without exceptions on any ground and recommitted to a zero-tolerance approach to terrorism," the statement said.

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BRIEFLY

PUNJAB

Dera follower's murder: Sixth shooter arrested

Chandigarh: The Punjab Anti-Gangster Task Force and Rajasthan police Sunday arrested the sixth shooter involved in the targeted killing of Dera Sacha Sauda follower Pardeep Singh after a brief encounter in Jaipur. In a conspiracy hatched by Canada-based terrorist Goldy Brar, Pardeep, accused in the 2015 Bargari sacrilege case, was killed by six shooters in Kotkapura on November 10, police said. **ENS**

CHHATTISGARH

Man kills woman, keeps body in car

Bilaspur: A man allegedly strangled a 24-year-old woman to death over money-related dispute and kept her corpse in his car days after committing the crime in Chhattisgarh's Bilaspur city, police said on Sunday. The body of the victim Priyanka Singh, was recovered from the car of the accused Ashish Sahu, police said. Sahu had befriended Singh over time and had lured her to invest some money in the share market. **PTI**

WEST BENGAL

Actor Aindrila loses battle to brain stroke

Kolkata: Twenty-four-year-old Bengali actor Aindrila Sharma, who defeated cancer twice, died on Sunday after a weeks-long battle for life following a brain stroke. She is survived by her parents. A native of Murshidabad, Sharma, who had appeared in TV serials such as *Jhijan Kathi and Jhumur*, was admitted to a Howrah hospital on November 1 after a brain stroke. **ENS**

Body found in suitcase: Police identify woman

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

TWO DAYS after a young woman's body was found wrapped in a polythene bag and stuffed in a red suitcase along the Yamuna Expressway, the Mathura police identified it.

The brother and mother of the deceased identified the body, police said, adding they are residents of Delhi's Badarpur.

Police had dispatched teams to the neighbouring districts in UP and were examining CCTV footage and call records. Posters were also put up and the matter widely publicised on social media. A police official said that they were talking to the family members. "We will take further action based on the information," the official added.

Ex-Navy man killed by wife and son, body chopped into 6 parts

SWEETY KUMARI
BARUIPUR, NOVEMBER 20

DAYS AFTER Shraddha Walkar's killing in Delhi shook the country, a similar murder has come to the fore in Baruiipur, 40 km from Kolkata, where a 50-year-old woman and her 25-year-old son have been arrested for allegedly killing her husband and then chopping his body into six parts before dumping them in nearby areas.

Police said 55-year-old Ujjawal Chakraborty, a former Navy personnel, was killed by his wife Shyamali Chakraborty, and son Raju Chakraborty alias Joy, on November 14 evening after they had a quarrel over paying Rs 3,000 examination fees of the son.

"So far, investigation has found Ujjawal was an alcoholic and used to assault his son. On November 14 evening, he had a fight with his wife when his son attacked him. Out of rage, Raju strangled his father," Superintendent of Police (Baruiipur) Pushpa said.

The son, who had studied polytechnic from ITI and was looking for a job, used a hacksaw from his carpentry class kit to cut the body into pieces, said police.

Ujjawal's body was chopped into six pieces and his son disposed of them in a nearby pond and bushes, said a police officer, adding the parts were wrapped in plastic bags. The son made at least six trips on his cycle to dump the parts in a radius of around 500 metre in Khas Mallick and Dehmedan Malla areas, said police.

The next morning after disposing of the body parts by 3 am, the wife and son went to the police to file a missing person's report, saying Ujjawal, who worked as a security guard in a private agency, didn't return home.

Two days later, on November 17, parts of the body started to float in a nearby pond.

"On Thursday evening, I was sitting on the top floor of my house



The house where the Chakraborty family lived in Baruiipur, on Sunday. Partha Paul

when we saw a red T-shirt floating in the pond. Soon, we understood it was a human body. The head was wrapped in a polythene bag. After people confirmed it was a human body, we informed the police," said Subhra Chatterjee, whose house is located adjacent to the pond.

According to police, the head was wrapped in a polythene bag of a famous garment shop in the area. "That helped us to trace the locality of the victim. After we identified the body, the mother and son were questioned. They had come under suspicion when they lodged a missing diary in the wee hours of November 15. The time when they went to Baruiipur police station to lodge the missing complaint was what struck us. Even after we established the identity of the dead person, they claimed that Ujjawal must have been killed by some outsider since he was a habitual drinker and would often get involved in fights. But after prolonged interrogation, they confessed to killing him and chopping the body into six parts," said a police officer. Till now, police have found four out of the six body parts, including the head, waist, and two legs.

Neighbours: He beat them frequently; on murder night TV was unusually loud

SWEETY KUMARI
BARUIPUR, NOVEMBER 20

RESIDENTS OF Baruiipur's Hariharpur gram panchayat, which has suddenly come into the spotlight, following the gruesome murder of former Navy personnel allegedly by his wife and son, recount frequent quarrels at the Chakraborty household.

According to neighbours, most of them spoke on the condition of anonymity, Ujjawal Chakraborty was an alcoholic who used to beat up his wife and son almost every day. "For years, we have been witnessing domestic violence in their house. The son (Raju alias Joy) was relatively nice. When he was a kid, his father used to tie him up with a rope in the backyard of the house and beat him. That man used to beat his wife so much that she was embarrassed to talk with anyone in the locality. She would hardly step out of the house," said Anjali

Roy, a neighbour.

"Joy's father was very violent. We used to play with Joy when we were kids but slowly we grew apart and stopped talking. His father used to beat him like a mad man. Sometimes he used to beat him from morning to evening. We never thought that it would end like this," a woman said.

The family had been residing at Mansa Nivas, a single-storey house at Prantik Abasan, in Salepur Paschim for more than a decade now. According to some neighbours, they heard a quarrel on November 14 evening over paying the son's examination fees. "I and my wife sensed that the fight was not just verbal, but they were hitting each other. However, the doors and windows were shut. Surprisingly, while all the lights of the Chakraborty household were off, the TV remained on till late night, and that too at a high volume," said a resident.

4 suspected coal thieves shot in Jharkhand

ABHISHEK ANGAD
RANCHI, NOVEMBER 20

FOUR PEOPLE were killed and two injured when CISF personnel opened fire on them after they were allegedly caught stealing coal in Dhanbad district of Jharkhand.

The incident occurred on the intervening night of November 19 and November 20.

"As per the initial police and CISF report..., near Benidih railway siding, people on more than two dozen motorcycles were stealing coal. When the CISF personnel stopped them, they started hurling stones at them... and attempted to snatch their weapons. In retaliation, the CISF personnel fired at them leading to the deaths," the Dhanbad district administration said in a statement. Two CISF men were also injured in the incident.

The dead were identified as Pritam Nonia (29), Ataul Ansari (26), Shahzad Khan (32) and Shamim Ansari (25). Dhanbad Deputy Commissioner Sandeep Singh has formed a team for a magisterial inquiry into the incident.

Man held for killing woman, chopping body in Azamgarh: Police

MANISH SAHU
LUCKNOW, NOVEMBER 20

FIVE DAYS after the dismembered body of a 22-year-old woman was recovered from a well, Azamgarh police on Sunday arrested a 24-year-old in connection with the woman's murder.

Police said the accused Prince Yadav had allegedly been in a relationship with the victim Aradhana Prajapati for the past two years and he had been pressuring to end her marriage.

On November 15, Azamgarh police had recovered a partially decomposed body of a woman with her limbs chopped from a well in Ahraula area. Police later identified the victim as Aradhana Prajapati, a native of Ishaqpur village in Azamgarh, who had been missing since November 10.

"While scanning the victims call records, we got to know that she had been in a relationship with a youth named Prince Yadav. We interrogated him and he confessed to the crime," said police.

"Prince admitted that he was in a relationship with the victim for two years. He was in Dubai when Aradhana got married to another youth. After getting to know about her marriage, he returned to India and started pressuring her to end it," said a police officer.

Police told his parents about the relationship and the family reportedly advised him to kill her if she was not ready to marry him. "Prince went to his maternal uncle Rama Yadav's house and planned the murder. On November 10, he called Aradhana and asked her to meet him. Prince and Rama's son Sarvesh took her to a field and strangled her. Later, they chopped her body with a sharp-edged weapon and threw it in two different wells," he added.

Police took Prince to another well to recover the head and weapon used. "While police were busy searching, Prince took out a pistol he had hidden near the well. He opened fire and tried to escape. Police also fired during which Prince sustained a bullet injury in his leg," said the officer.



A cooker fitted with detonator, wires and batteries found during investigation on Sunday after the explosion. PTI

MANGALURU BLAST

Eyewitnesses thought it was an accident, helped driver, accused

AKRAM M
MANGALURU, NOVEMBER 20

AUTO DRIVER Purushotham, and the prime accused, identified as 24-year-old Mohammed Shariq, in the Mangaluru blast case were on fire when shopkeepers and local residents rushed to their rescue soon after the blast on Saturday afternoon.

When the locals heard a loud sound around 4.45 pm, some of them thought it was a tyre burst of a passing bus. A few others thought the gas tank of the auto-rickshaw exploded.

Eyewitnesses recalled the auto-driver was trying to pull the passenger out of his vehicle. "Skin in many parts of his body was dangling as the youth (the suspect) ran out after being pulled out of the auto," recalled Wilson, a security guard in a building at Garodi in Mangaluru where the blast occurred. When he rushed to the spot, the passenger's (terror accused) face was on fire and an earphone was seen glued to his body (due to the fire). The auto-driver had burns in his head and back, but he appeared relatively better than the youth, he said.

Dhanraj Shetty, who resides nearby, was among those who tried to douse the flames with water. "But we were advised not to do so by others and we threw sand

and mud at the passenger as his clothes were on fire," he said.

Shetty said that the accused had injuries all over his body and his leg appeared broken. People got suspicious about the cause of the explosion only after they saw the pressure cooker in the back seat of the auto-rickshaw. "The youth was in a bad shape," Mustafa, a shopkeeper in a nearby chicken stall, said, adding the fingers on his hand were shattered and his left eye was damaged.

"Many of us rushed to their help. We stopped two auto-rickshaws passing by and sent them to Father Mullers Hospital. We realised the gravity of the situation only after a few hours when authorities said that it was a bomb blast," he said.

'Auto driver injured in bid to save passenger'

A devotee of Swami Koragajja, considered to be a form of Lord Shiva, Purushotham was known among his friends as a good person. Lokesh, a fellow auto driver, said the 60-year-old picked up the suspect near Padil in Mangaluru for a drop about three kilometres away at Pumpwell. Lokesh said Purushotham had suffered a cardiac issue recently. Prushotham has two daughters. Uday, a distant relative, said, "Most of his injuries happened during his attempt to help the passenger."

'Hybrid militant' in custody killed in south Kashmir gunfire: Police

BASHAARAT MASOOD
SRINAGAR, NOVEMBER 20

AN ALLEGED "hybrid militant" was killed in police custody in south Kashmir Saturday. Police said he was shot dead by militants when he was accompanying a police search party for identification of a militant hideout in Checki Dudoo village of Bijbehara.

This is the second such incident in south Kashmir in a month. On October 19, an alleged "hybrid militant" — a name given by police to those who are not listed as ultras but are radicalised enough to carry out a terror strike and then slip back into the routine life — was killed in police custody in south Kashmir's Shopian, a day after his arrest. Notably, police have given similar reasons for the killing of both the "hybrid militants".

"When the search party reached a suspected hideout, terrorists opened fire and a bullet hit Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) hybrid terrorist Sajjad Tantray of Kulgam, who was with the police team," police said in a tweet. He was rushed to Sub District Hospital, Bijbehara, where doctors declared him dead, police added.

According to police, Tantray confessed to attacking two migrant workers in Kulgam. "During questioning hybrid terrorist Sajjad Tantray revealed that he attacked two labourers on November 13 at Rakhmomen, Bijbehara in Anantnag," police said.

"On November 18, one of the migrant workers, Chota Prasad, succumbed to injuries at a hospital. A pistol and the vehicle used for the crime were recovered from a hideout. Investigation is underway to arrest more terror associates of this module," the police added.

Tantray was earlier a terrorist associate of LeT and involved in various crimes. He was also detained under Public Safety Act from June 2019 to December 2019, police said.

Views of Musk, Twitter converging... is the platform neutral or Republican?

Platform's former India CEO says there may be bigger purpose behind acquiring Twitter: 'May want to become most influential politically'

NANDAGOPAL RAJAN
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

BILLIONAIRE ELON Musk's personal views are now converging with that of Twitter which he acquired a few weeks ago, and that is the problem, according to Manish Maheshwari, the former India head of the microblogging platform. "The question then is whether the platform is neutral or is it Republican?" he told *The Indian Express* in a podcast interaction.

Maheshwari, who resigned from Twitter in 2021 after a three-year stint to start working in the ed-tech space, is optimistic that Twitter, the big brand that it is, "will not die instantly..." though at this rate, "you will start seeing this decay happening over time".

As India CEO, Maheshwari was in the eye of the storm in early 2021 after the government pulled up Twitter over what it termed as deliberate defiance and failure to comply with IT rules. Soon after he was booked as part of a probe into a viral hate crime video, he was transferred to the US.

"Elon will have to figure things out, realise the problems and then pull together a solid team to help Twitter recover. If he fails to do so, it is a downhill path from here," Expressing surprise at how Musk has functioned since the takeover, Maheshwari said: "Why would you act irrationally if you have put so much of your wealth into this? But here, I am beginning to believe that he has a bigger purpose behind acquiring Twitter. It is not purely commercial."

According to Maheshwari, Musk appears to be focused on proving his point and upholding his ideology at the moment. "He's already over 50 and has had good commercial successes at SpaceX and Tesla with no dearth of money. So what's next for him? He is already the wealthiest person. So what do you do next? You may want to become the most influential person politically as well," he said, suggesting that the Tesla founder also has presidential ambitions for which he is using the platform.

Maheshwari said Musk's business plan to investors was logical with a three-pronged strategy focused on quality users, real conversations, paying users; revenues beyond advertising from subscription along with content mon-



Manish Maheshwari

etisation. "Elon could have thoughtfully executed this strategy to inspire confidence among employees, users, and advertisers. However, what he has done over the last few weeks looks pretty brash and impulsive."

He explained that Twitter was at the core a "two-sided platform", one side where content creators and personalities will choose to share information, opinion, news

and updates about themselves and the other where people check out what is happening. "If you equalize everything, you have to consider the incentive for a content creator to be on this platform, especially compared to TikTok, Instagram, Mastodon, or Koo in India. Similarly, on the other side, you also have a problem because the followers need to know who they are following because everyone's the same," he said on the confusion about verified users. "If you go down this path, you convert this platform into any other user messaging system. A user-to-user messaging system is different from a digital town square where celebrities broadcast their news and updates. That changes the foundation of Twitter." According to him, Twitter needs

verified users more than they need Twitter, because users have multiple choices. "This network will not be valuable if you don't have prominent people on the platform. If PM Modi is not tweeting, why would people who follow politics be on this platform?" Maheshwari feared the way Twitter has shaped in the past few weeks will impact its neutrality. "If you favour one side, you are bound to lose the other."

"So far, Twitter has had the monopoly and the advantage of being the top player. This advantage will be lost when people start fleeing the platform. And if it loses neutrality, it may also lose one side faster than the other. If it loses its user base, it will lose both sides. Either way, it is failing."

Although India is one of its

largest user bases, Maheshwari does not think Twitter will in the short term be focused on getting India-relevant content.

But he underlined that the value of Twitter as a public service has its benefits in plugging the information gap in many countries and in times of natural calamities. "If you remove the political and business aspects, Twitter still has tremendous value purely as a public service platform."

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MUSK REINSTATES TRUMP'S TWITTER ACCOUNT
THE WORLD, PAGE 12



New Delhi





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Framing the EWS quota



ANUP SURENDRANATH

SC has not clarified tricky questions at intersection of equality, non-discrimination, affirmative action

THE HISTORICAL CONFUSIONS in the Supreme Court’s reservation jurisprudence have come home to roost in the EWS judgment. Despite seven decades of constitutional adjudication on reservation, fundamental questions remain unexamined resulting in a jurisprudence that permits constitutionally perverse outcomes. The constitutionally perverse outcomes resulting from the majority judgment are: India’s most marginalised sections that comprise a significant proportion of the poor stand excluded from reservation meant for the poor, and second, it is now far easier to provide reservation for this narrowly constructed EWS than it is to do the same for India’s most marginalised sections. These outcomes are fuelled by a flawed constitutional logic that does disservice to the founding constitutional agreement, social history and lived reality of India’s vulnerable sections.

At the heart of the flawed constitutional logic in the majority judgment is a profound misunderstanding of the role for reservation and the impact it has on groups identified for reservation. Reservation and its impact on groups can have different meanings and the Supreme Court’s reservation jurisprudence has never engaged with this complexity.

The point here is best exemplified by a few questions. Does reservation in primary education through something like the Right to Education Act mean the same thing as reservation in higher education? Is reservation in public employment meant to achieve the same ends as reservation in higher education? Does reservation in different levels of public employment achieve the same ends? Should we view the purpose of reservation in representative bodies as being different from their purpose in education and public employment? While these questions about the sites of reservation reveal much about unresolved constitutional issues, the same is also true for groups identified for reservation. Are we trying to achieve the same ends when reservation is provided for SC/STs, OBCs, domicile groups, religious minorities, women? This intersecting matrix of normative considerations has to be engaged with, understood, and accounted for in our constitutional jurisprudence on reservation. Without that, we are go-

ing to struggle to demonstrate any fidelity to our equality and anti-discrimination commitments in the Constitution.

In understanding reservation, there are different political, social and normative considerations in play. Reservation could be used for historical compensation, to achieve representation of groups and inclusivity, to promote diversity and as a redistributive measure. Such intersections of the sites of reservation, the groups identified for reservation and the underlying purpose must drive our constitutional jurisprudence on reservation. The absence of that must be acknowledged as having played a major role in the majority opinion that “backward classes” comprising SC/STs and OBCs can be excluded from EWS reservation. Justices Jitendra Maheshwari, Bela Trivedi, and J B Pardiwala are of the view that since backward classes are already provided with reservation in Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution, it is legitimate for the 103rd Constitution Amendment to exclude them from EWS reservation. The faulty constitutional logic must be immediately apparent in light of the foregoing discussion.

The reservation for backward classes in Articles 15(4) and 16(4) cannot be seen as redistributive measures aimed at poverty alleviation of the group and its members identified therein. Reservation in Articles 15(4) and 16(4) speaks to a very significant constitutional commitment to recognise, acknowledge and address social injustice and discrimination (both historical and contemporary). There are significant aspects of social discrimination that cannot be overcome by economic mobility and that reality drives the opposition to introduce creamy layer considerations for SC/STs. Social backwardness lies at the heart of Articles 15(4) and 16(4). It then defies this constitutional commitment and logic that the backward classes are excluded from EWS reservation. Economic deprivation and vulnerability are a stark reality confronting India’s backward classes along with social backwardness. It is constitutionally perverse that the compelling need for measures to address social backwardness in turn became a justification for exclusion from measures to address economic deprivation.

The dissent by Justices Bhat and Lalit are right in pointing out this constitutional perversity as the basis for their opinion. If economic deprivation is an integral part of the lived reality of backward classes and such classes comprise a significant proportion of poor, the constitutional justification for excluding them from EWS reservation is hard to see. It would require the majority opinion to argue that current reservation measures are achieving sufficient equality for backward classes, a claim that would be unsustainable in light of compelling evidence that shows exclusion along multiple axes of social, educational, economic, political and cultural factors.

An aspect of the dissenting opinion that hasn’t received sufficient attention is the difference in the treatment it accords to EWS reservation in education compared to public employment. Article 16(4) is explicit in its purpose of achieving “adequate representation”. Reservation for backward classes in public employment is permitted only if they are not adequately represented in the opinion of the State. However, this requirement does not exist for EWS reservation, according to the terms of the 103rd Amendment, and it would anyway make no constitutional sense to talk of adequate “representation” of the poor in public employment. Therefore, we end up in a situation, that the dissenting opinion rightly identifies, where it is far more onerous for the state to provide reservation to backward classes in public employment.

The fact that the SC has not clarified tricky questions at the intersection of equality, non-discrimination, and affirmative action will only complicate its reservation jurisprudence. As states begin to test the waters on the permissible extent of reservation beyond 50 per cent as approved by the majority opinion, these constitutional fault lines will once again emerge. Meanwhile, the majority opinion’s constitutional approach to use one aspect of a group’s vulnerability to exclude them from measures aimed at addressing another aspect of their vulnerability is a constitutional moment we will come to regret in due course.

The writer is a Professor of Law at the National Law University, Delhi

The COP27 agreement on loss and damage is significant. But meet did not address several other pressing issues

THE PATH TO the most significant outcome of the UNFCCC 27th Conference of Parties (COP27) was laid out on the first day of the two-week long meet. On November 6, the delegates assembled at Sharm El-Sheikh in Egypt agreed to expand the COP’s agenda to include the demand to compensate countries that suffer climate change-related loss and damages. The summit concluded with the members agreeing to set up a global fund for the purpose. This is a major breakthrough. Though the idea of loss and damage reparations is nearly as old as global climate change negotiations, mitigation and adaptation dominated COPs for nearly three decades. There was a growing feeling amongst countries with the highest vulnerability to climate change, but with a minuscule GHG (greenhouse gases) footprint, that their concerns were not being addressed. The devastating floods in Pakistan, this year, led to the amplification of the demands for climate reparations.

After its inclusion in the Sharm El-Sheikh agenda, “loss and damages” got embroiled in the perennial source of strife in climate negotiations — funding. For more than 10 days, the US and the EU resisted all attempts to create a separate corpus, arguing, instead, that a chunk of the existing funds — by all accounts inadequate — be diverted for the reparations. Then on November 18 — the scheduled day of the COP’s closure — the EU agreed to create a new fund on the condition that developing countries that are big emitters should not be included as recipients. Instead, a way should be found to include them as potential donors. Developing countries saw this as a tactic to create a rift amongst them, and rightly criticised it as another prevarication ploy of the rich nations. Another day went in sorting out a compromise, according to which the “most vulnerable” countries will be prioritised and the door will be open for contributions by big emitters, still categorised as developing countries.

After working 36 hours overtime, the climate negotiators may have just about saved UNFCCC the blushes. COP27 was a disappointment even by the none-too-high standards of the annual UNFCCC gathering after the high in Paris, seven years ago. At the last COP in Glasgow, countries had agreed to “phase-down” the use of coal. At Sharm El-Sheikh, a proposal by India and other developing countries to inject more ambition into the fossil-fuel reduction strategy did not make it to the final agreement. This was expected given the turn to coal in many countries in the aftermath of the Ukraine war. But the lack of progress after Glasgow speaks poorly about global intent, especially that of the rich countries, on arresting climate change. The Sharm El-Sheikh agreement does mention that \$4 trillion will be required every year to meet the renewable energy targets till 2030. Yet, the rich countries are nowhere close to delivering on their commitment to provide \$100 billion every year. COP27 was yet another opportunity missed in pushing them to fulfil this promise.

CUP OF JOY

Football World Cups are among the sport’s greatest spectacles. Qatar 2022 can’t be different

CAN YOU ENJOY a magical Lionel Messi moment on the turf while ignoring Qatar’s poor human rights record in how it treated its migrant workers? FIFA is banking on the world’s most passionately loved sport to deliver that dazzling dribble — to carve sinuous paths around the unrelenting desolation arising from all the problematic red flags raised in the lead up to this World Cup. Accused of sportswashing, Qatar found a defence in FIFA chief Gianni Infantino who called out the West’s hypocrisy in closing its own borders to migration and instead, merely virtue signalling. Infantino would also thunder at the racism intrinsic to labelling Indian supporters “fake fans”. But like Russia four years ago, or Beijing ahead of the 2008 Olympics — both with dubious human rights records — it will be down to the sport’s cleansing powers to gauge if it can shift attention from immorality or incompetence of hosts to the party on the field of play. Sport and football in particular, have long been the most potent getaways for both players from underprivileged backgrounds and fans grappling with grim realities of everyday lives. And all the World Cup stakeholders will hope this heady escapism rooted in unscripted reality takes over, like a mirage in the desert.

For despite all the pressure on players and coaches, and all their genuine concerns to call out Qatar, these are young men who grew up on singular and blinkered dreams of winning the World Cup for their nations. The suits who allotted the hosting rights to Qatar might not have managed to allow beer to flow freely as it might have at previous venues. But it isn’t the closed taps that will decide how this World Cup is remembered. World Cups get etched in our minds because of the free flowing style of footballers. With Messi and Cristiano Ronaldo expected to play their last World Cup, FIFA might just find salvation in its swan song.

Football is elementally simple and beautiful, and World Cups have tended to convert even the indifferent to their magic. Defending champion France who are bleeding players to injury, resurgent Spain who are always teeming with talent and England, with their perennial wait for the Cup will find their faithful straight away. But it is the relatively unknowns from Latin America, Africa and Asia, who FIFA will be hoping can elevate this World Cup from a nightmare to a night sky of dazzling talent. Fans wait four years to view sport’s biggest spectacle. The hosts and FIFA will hope that football can light up this party. Granting of hosting rights was in a shambles, but when did football not find meaning amidst chaos.

FREEZE FRAME

E P UNNY



RAJIV BHATIA AND MANJEET KRIPALANI

THE WEIGHT OF THE GAVEL

India takes over the G20 presidency at a challenging geopolitical time

ON THE RETURN flight from Bali, Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s suitcase contained a special object: The gavel of the G20 President. It is the symbol of honour that comes with presiding over the world’s premier forum for global economic cooperation. But it also signifies responsibility and proffers an unprecedented opportunity for India’s leadership to shape the international response to pressing challenges. This is the moment when India can step forward and transition from being a rule-taker to being a rule-maker.

Can India handle this mission successfully? It must. Given the overlay of geopolitics on the G20’s core agenda this year, it will fall on India to steer it away from rocky waters. The task is difficult, and its first success will lie in reading the outcome of the Bali summit accurately and drawing the right lessons. The Leaders’ Declaration, based on consensus, was an achievement in itself, as many feared that the grouping may fail to produce it. Several features are of particular note, especially those on current political tensions, economic crises and climate change, among others. Significantly, the backdrop of “unparalleled multidimensional crises” against which the summit took place was recognised upfront. It is necessary to acknowledge the impact evident in the economic downturn, increasing global poverty and the delay in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals.

The G20’s instinct, therefore, was right to stay focused on securing long-term economic

growth. The effort will continue to ensure food, fertiliser and energy security for all, especially the more vulnerable economies. In particular, there was support for full implementation and continuation of the Black Sea Grain Initiative for good exports from Ukraine.

On climate change, the G20 reiterated its commitment to achieving global net zero greenhouse gas emissions/carbon neutrality “by or around mid-century” and keeping to the 1.5°C temperature limit. Developed countries were reminded to fulfil their previous commitment to mobilise \$100 billion per year “by 2020 and through to 2025”. Similar gaps are evident in health security collaboration between the finance and health ministries of the nations for the pandemic fund to prevent, prepare and respond to future pandemics. The financing gap of \$10 billion must be bridged through energetic collective endeavours.

Lastly, the value of digital technology for multiple sectors — sustainable agriculture, trade, job creation, human capacity development, and inclusive industrialisation — was reiterated, especially for developing countries.

Achieving a final formulation on the key political-cum-security issue of Ukraine was a task. But it emerged. The sherpas burnt the midnight oil to find formulations that could satisfy the two contending camps. A finely-balanced outcome saved the Bali summit. The stamp of Indian diplomacy is visible in the last line: “Today’s era must not be of war.” But, while the officials delivered, the G20 was a divided house with several leaders shedding

their responsibility of charting the path to a peaceful settlement in Ukraine. Political leaders must recognise the root cause of the food, fuel, and fertiliser crisis: The conflict in Ukraine and its related sanctions. The false missile crisis on the summit’s last day underlined the perils of delaying a serious bid for peace.

India has made a correct assessment. “Without peace and security, our future generations will not be able to take advantage of economic growth and technological innovation”, said Modi. His promise for an action-oriented and ambitious presidency will be closely watched, especially by his domestic constituency, which will expect his foreign policy abroad to be equally convincing when conducted from the home ground.

Is India prepared? The country has not invested much in multilateral rule-making institutions like the G20, but it is never too late to start. India is ahead in some aspects, particularly technology with digital public goods and its governance. But it will certainly need help and expertise, which can come from the other two members of the next troika, Indonesia and Brazil, as well as from France and Turkey gave their deep knowledge of the region around Ukraine. The Modi-Macron lunch on November 16 may have sown the seeds of a future peace initiative. Perhaps Modi, after visiting Moscow in December, will travel to Kyiv.

Bhatia is Distinguished Fellow, Gateway House and Kripalani is the Co-Founder and Executive Director of Gateway House

NOVEMBER 21, 1982, FORTY YEARS AGO

JANATA REJECTS DRAFT

THE NEGOTIATORS’ INABILITY to hammer out a face-saving device has ended yet another Lok Dal (K)-Janata unification bid. Even the pro-unity leaders in the Janata Party including Chandrashekhar are reportedly opposed to the 10-point unification draft of the Lok Dal (K). They are against entertaining any conditions from any of its breakaway groups, including the Lok Dal (K).

GHAFFAR KHAN FREED

PAKISTANI MILITARY AUTHORITIES have freed ailing Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the

Frontier Gandhi, from house arrest after three weeks, official sources said.

DU STRIKE

THE DELHI UNIVERSITY and college karamcharis called off their two-month old agitation “in response to an appeal from the Vice-Chancellor, Prof Gurbaksh Singh” according to Nilamber Pande, general secretary of the University and College Karamchhari Union, Delhi. The Vice-Chancellor had appealed to the karamcharis to call off their agitation, informing them of “massive efforts” being made by the university authorities to have two major demands of the employees ful-

filled by the University Grants Commission and the Ministry of Education. The two major demands are time-bound promotion and adequate housing for non-teaching staff.

CHIMANLAL SHAH DIES

CHIMANLAL CHAKUMBHAI SHAH, eminent solicitor and chairman of the Saurashtra Trust, publishers of the Jannabhoomi group of newspapers, died in Bombay after prolonged illness. He was 80. He is survived by two sons. Shah was a member of Parliament for five years till 1957, and was elected to the constituent assembly the following year.

THE IDEAS PAGE



C R Sasikumar

The BJP's Muslim outreach

The Pasmanda Muslim identity is rooted in social justice politics. It fits well with RSS's new conceptualisation of Indian national identity and the BJP's labharthi welfarism



HILAL AHMED

THE BJP'S ENTHUSIASTIC programme to mobilise Pasmanda Muslim communities in UP and Bihar underlines a specific political trajectory. The party is keen to expand its support base in such a manner that the established political equilibrium in favour of the RJD, the SP and the JD(U) in these states could easily be dismantled. This move is understandable.

The BJP establishment is confident that its core Hindutva constituency has been sufficiently nurtured. No political party is in a position to ignore Hindutva as an electoral narrative. However, the party is facing another kind of challenge. Hindu victimhood politics has reached a saturation point. Hence, there is a serious need to have a constructive programme of action to include those groups that do not fit well within the established framework of aggressive Hindutva.

The Pasmanda Muslims are a group most relevant for outreach for two reasons. First, the Pasmanda Muslim identity does not disturb the ideological premise of Hindutva. It is easy to accommodate these communities in the RSS's new conceptualisation of the Indian national identity. It could be argued that these communities were forced to give up their original Hindu faith at one point of time. Hence, their *ghar wapsi*, at least in the formal political sense, is morally desirable. It is worth noting that the government has recently constituted a three-member commission, headed by former Chief Justice of India, KG Balakrishnan, to examine the possibility of granting Scheduled Caste status to Dalits who have converted to religions other than

Buddhism and Sikhism.

This strategic move might help the BJP in the long run. The inclusion of Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians in the SC list has been a serious political demand for some time now. The Pasmanda leadership, especially former MP Ali Anwar Ansari, argues that the SC category should be completely secularised so as to realise the constitutional principle of social justice. The newly appointed commission, in this sense, has a political value of its own.

The *labharthi* (beneficiary) phenomenon is the second, and perhaps the more profound, reason for the BJP to get involved in Pasmanda politics. In recent years, the BJP has nurtured a new kind of affirmative action politics. The Modi government represents a state that recognises welfarism as a kind of political compulsion. A clear dividing line between the market-driven economic life of the country and the realm of politics has been drawn. At the same time, welfare is defined as a form of political benevolence — citizens are addressed as *labharthis*.

I call this the charitable state model ('The new charitable state', IE, March 14, 2022). The Pasmanda Muslims, being among the most deprived and marginalised communities in the country, can easily be identified as a specific category of Muslim *labharthis*. CSDS-Lokniti surveys confirm that the BJP has been successful in reaching out to poor and marginalised Muslims through various welfare schemes, especially in UP. The Supreme Court judgment in the Janhit Abhiyan case that upheld the 103rd Constitutional Amendment providing reservation to the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) of the population, also legitimises the charitable state-driven politics of social justice. It is now possible for the BJP leaders to argue that poor/Pasmanda Muslims are eligible for EWS reservation.

These political advantages, however, should not be overstated.

The Pasmanda Muslim discourse is not entirely about reservation. It is a social movement that aims to democratise the internal

power structure among Muslims. The Islamic ideals of equality and justice are often evoked by the Pasmanda leadership to question the Ashraf hegemony.

The Pasmanda demands are rooted in the secular politics of social justice. These groups have been an inseparable constituent of the grand alliance created by social justice parties such as the RJD and the JD(U) in Bihar and the SP and the BSP in UP to defeat the BJP. Although the nature of OBC politics has changed considerably in the last eight years, the relevance of caste in electoral politics cannot be underestimated. The caste census emerging as a unifying factor in OBC politics, at least in Bihar, is the latest example of the relevance of caste in politics.

The Pasmanda groups are instrumental in this campaign. In fact, these groups forced the non-BJP parties in Bihar to redefine their position on caste census. The All India Pasmanda Muslim Mahaz (AIPMH) questioned the one-sided and Hindu reform-centric reading of caste census. The president of the Mahaz, Ali Anwar Ansari, issued a statement criticising the communalisation of backwardness.

The violence against Muslims, especially the lynching of innocent Muslim individuals, is another important concern for Pasmanda groups. Most of the victims of lynching were poor and marginalised Pasmanda Muslims. This was why the *sneh yatra*s proposed by the BJP were criticised by leading Pasmanda intellectuals and politicians.

The BJP is aware of these factors, it seems. The Pasmanda groups are yet to become an electorally reliable constituency. Besides, it is natural for the BJP leadership to rely on its aggressive Hindutva-centric politics of nationalism. In this scenario, the BJP's Pasmanda outreach is an act of balance that will help the party to retain its hegemony without dominance.

The writer is assistant professor at CDS and author of Muslim political discourse in post-colonial India: Monuments, Memory, Contestation

The Pasmanda Muslim discourse is not entirely about reservation. It is a social movement that aims to democratise the internal power structure among Muslims. The Islamic ideals of equality and justice are often evoked by the Pasmanda leadership to question the Ashraf hegemony.



NAGENDRA NATH SINHA

THERE IS A class of quasi-judicial agencies that are not discussed in conversations on the pendency of cases. These are generally handled by the revenue authorities and largely relate to land, tenancy, excise, arms, mining, or preventive functions under the Criminal Procedure Code. There is a hierarchy among these fora and usual judicial procedures like appeal and revision can be made to superior authorities. Decisions of superior courts are binding, especially that of the highest forum — for instance, the Board of Revenue in many states. The procedures for handling these cases have been laid out in the Civil Procedure Code. Many of us have horror stories in this respect — cases remaining undecided for years.

The functioning of these bodies is of paramount importance as they deal with vital land and related issues. Their failure to administer speedy justice leads to harassment of citizens, besides abetting criminal activity by unscrupulous elements. If we aim at the ease of living by citizens, not only do we have to ensure the reduction of licences and regulations but also make adjudication by administrative authorities timely, accessible and affordable.

The maladies that these agencies suffer from are far graver than judicial set-ups, as they are staffed by revenue authorities who have several other functions. Usually, many of these offices are understaffed. Their engagement with duties such as law and order,

protocol, coordination and other administrative functions leaves them with much less time for court work. Their access to court clerks and record keepers is limited. Computers and video recorders are not available in many of these courts. Only a few states — such as Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan — have electronic platforms for supporting activities such as the filing of cases, publication of cause lists and sending summons. Several of the presiding officers lack proper knowledge of law and procedures — which has landed many a civil servant in deep trouble in sensitive matters such as those related to arms licences.

The most critical issue faced by these systems is the lack of adequate supervision and ownership by the administrative and political leadership. Data on the level of pendency or the speed of disposal is not compiled in many states. This is why there is scarcely any attempt to increase staff strength. There is hardly any public scrutiny say by the press or legislature.

What can be done to improve matters? A multi-pronged action plan inclusive of legal, governance and HR reforms is required to move ahead. I lay out 10 steps:

First, the government should make the efficient functioning of these agencies a priority and clearly articulate its position on the issue.

Second, detailed data on the functioning of these agencies must be collected and published from time to time — at least annually.

These should be laid before the concerned legislatures. These results should be the basis of decisions regarding the rationalising of staff strength. If the pendency exceeds a certain threshold, additional officials should be posted to exclusively handle judicial functions. This data should be used to enforce accountability.

Third, an electronic platform should be established to handle all ancillary work related to the administration of justice, such as filing of complaints, issue of summons, movement of case records between courts, issuing copies of the judgments and so on. It could establish a sound basis for analysing the functioning of these bodies and facilitate the publication of statistics.

Fourth, annual inspections of the subordinate courts should be made mandatory. This should be an important indicator for assessment by the superior authority. The inspections could become the basis of customised training of presiding officers.

Fifth, interdisciplinary research on the functioning of these courts should be encouraged. This would identify the areas of improvement such as legal reforms or issue of clear guidelines.

Sixth, regular training and orientation of the adjudicating authorities should be taken up from time to time. If it is possible to deliver customised orientation to the adjudicating officers in their areas of weakness, the benefit is likely to be multiplied.

Seventh, the state index of performance of these quasi-judicial courts be made and published. It would draw the attention of the states to their performance in comparison to others and help them identify areas of weakness.

Eighth, important decisions, guidelines and directions could be compiled and published on the portal of the apex adjudicating forum such as the Board of Revenue. These would be helpful to lower-level agencies.

Ninth, more rigorous induction training of officials handling judicial work would help. Usually, training academies, at the Central or state levels, largely focus on the executive magistrate's courts, rather than on revenue courts. The importance of judicial work should be instilled among the trainees and the skill and confidence in handling them should be developed.

Tenth, procedural reforms such as minimising adjournments, mandatory filing of written arguments and other such reforms proposed by bodies like the Law Commission for reform of the Civil Procedure Code should be adopted by these adjudicating bodies.

This is too important a reform to be left unattended by the governments at all levels. Else, we would continue to make a mockery of our commitment to ease of living for the citizens.

The writer is secretary, Rural Development, Government of India

WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

“The Nepalese people can send a powerful signal in favour of a more youthful and ideology-based politics by voting wisely. Let the transformation begin on November 20.”

— THE KATHMANDU POST

Moving ahead in J&K

Elections could end the present impasse. For Pakistan's civilian population, it could be an opportunity to liberate themselves from army



M N SABHARWAL AND MANISH SABHARWAL

PAKISTAN PRIME MINISTER Shehbaz Sharif's speech at the UN pleading for neighbourhood peace last month was delivered while his army intelligence reportedly approved a heavily-funded plan to disrupt next year's J&K elections. This duplicity between words and deeds hasn't changed in 35 years. Sharif merely parroted a Pakistani President's 1987 quip to an Indian President at a cricket match in Jaipur, “*Hum Hindustan ke saath sirf aman chahte hain.*” Giani Zail Singh responded (in a politically incorrect manner) to Ziaul Haq, “*General Sahib, ek ladi do gaal ni kar sakdi; aankh bhi maare te ghunghat bhi kade*” (a girl can't wink and cover her face at the same time). Unfortunately, the Pakistan army's incompetence — losing every war it has fought — is irrelevant because its wealth and power are purchased by exporting terror to India. The prospect of J&K elections next year — the first under the Indian constitution — is a unique opportunity for Pakistan's *awaam* to liberate themselves from their army.

Farooq Abdullah once told us that Pakistan's *fitrat* — nature or spirit — changed with the “three As” of America, Army, and Allah. America used Pakistan for Cold War spying, Afghan Mujahideen hospitality, and Nixon's 1972 detente with Mao. Henry Kissinger cheekily told Yahya Khan that for a dictator, he ran a lousy election. Pakistan's Army has not read Samuel Huntington's 1957 book *The Soldier and the State*, which suggests “a highly professional officer corps stands ready to carry out the wishes of any civilian group which secures legitimate authority”. Pakistani politics have been sabotaged by Generals Iskander Mirza (1958), Ayub Khan (1958), Yahya Khan (1969), Ziaul Haq (1977), Pervez Musharraf (1999), and Qamar Bajwa (2022). The army's wealth — skilfully investigated in *Military Inc.* by Ayesha Siddiq — is symbolised by the 90-acre prime land allotment to former Army Chief Raheel Sharif. Civilian outrage at the allotment received the terse military response that “every four-star general gets a similar allotment under a constitutional provision with the decision made by Army General Headquarters”. To paraphrase Voltaire, many countries have an army, but Pakistan is the only army that has a country.

General Zia combined Army and Allah by unleashing the ISI, allowing the Tablighi Jamaat to operate freely within the military, requiring comments on an officer's religious sincerity in evaluation forms, and embracing the Ghazwa-E-Hind (holy raid) propagated by Jamaat-e-Islami (JI). In 1987, Pakistan's army raised terrorist funding, set a Nizam-i-Mustaafa deadline, and introduced Afghan Mujahideen leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar to Hizbul Mujahideen co-founder Mohammad Abdullah Bangroo. Since then, the export has continued. Terrorists used a +92 phone number for conveying threats in the Hazratbal siege, Norwegian Hans Christian Ostro's beheading, and American John Child's kidnapping. We underestimate that since 1990, Pakistan has exported one lakh handguns and AK-47s, misled one lakh youth, and hurt 75,000 families. As Foreign Minister Jaishankar told the UN, “no rhetoric, however sanctimonious, can ever cover

up the blood stains”.

Pakistan and Kashmir are hardly similar in monoclonal religiosity and gun violence. Kashmir's Shaivism dates to 850. Hari Singh carried the title of Tibetpadi, the first Christians arrived in 1854, Sheikh Abdullah's great grandfather was a Sapru, there is a large peaceful Shia population, there was a large peaceful Pandit population, and most Sunnis are moderate *Ahle-Aitquad* (believers in saints and shrines). There were no gunshot deaths before 1987. Many Kashmiris participate in *Zaba* (the Bakra-Eid goat sacrifice) by touching the knives to their foreheads before turning their backs to the actual slaughter. Unlike Pakistan's persecution of Ahmadiyyas, Abdul Salam Deva was an MLA from Anantnag for a decade. When Zia hung Bhutto, angry mobs targeted JEI supporters by burning the bridge connecting Arwani village and cutting the apple orchard of legislator Abdul Razak Bachru. When JEI “*rukuns*” later remonstrated to Sheikh Sahib, he suggested the damage was *Khuda Ka Keher* and urged them to mend their ways. Pakistan's use-and-throw mentality doesn't value loyalty; an ISI proxy later murdered Bachru after dragging him in handcuffs through the market in Kulgam.

The amusingly titled book *5000 Years of Pakistan* in 1950 reflected the need to convert Indian Muslims into Pakistanis via what historian Eric Hobsbawm called the “invention of tradition.” But a normal sovereign identity is sabotaged by selfishness (the army wants to roll back the 18th Pakistani constitutional amendment that decentralised government spending), and the Chinese all-weather friendship that, in theory, is “higher than the Himalayas, deeper than the Indian Ocean, and sweeter than honey” but in practice is taking Pakistan the Sri Lanka way. Pakistan's Army is stuck in a doom loop where patronage networks destroy productive ones, faith replaces realism, and purists rout pragmatists.

Elections are invisible threads that tie Sheikh Abdullah's frequent distinction between *Siyasat* (politics), *Riyasat* (government), and *Awaam* (citizens). Harvard Professor Pippa Norris suggests that electoral thresholds influence whether parties adopt bridging or bonding strategies; ballot structures shape how far parties adopt diverse or homogenous candidates, and context affects the emphasis on programmatic or particularistic campaigning. An election next year in J&K would have exciting new electoral thresholds, ballot structures, and context. Meanwhile, Pakistan's economy is now smaller than Maharashtra, and the army is refurbishing F-16s. Pakistan needs new politicians that replace *Jihad* (war) with *Ittihad* (friendship). J&K's current renewal is an opportunity.

In 1975, Sheikh Abdullah silenced party detractors who suggested his accord with Indira Gandhi and the Plebiscite Front merger was a surrender to *Siyasat Suleh Hai Aur Suleh Siyasat Hai* (politics is compromise, and compromise is politics). Election compromises, statehood restoration and new local politicians are the paths to peace. Some people — especially entitled dynasts who brandish soft separatism in their self-interest — suggest the next J&K elections will fail because fear is holding back talented local candidates from forming new parties, forging coalitions, and forgetting the past. But we know too many fearless academics, doctors, lawyers, entrepreneurs, and civil servants in J&K to believe that is true. As Ghalib said, *Gumrah to woh hain jo ghar se hi nahi nikle*.

The writers are a former Director General of J&K Police and a J&K-born entrepreneur

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SHIFTING FOCUS

THIS REFERS TO the article, ‘Pick the winners’ (IE, November 19). The much needed new industrial policy must focus on small and medium scale industries. They make up 30 per cent of the GDP and employ around 110 million people. Aiding these industries may be possible through several measures: Easing credit, liberalising the licensing and compliance process; supporting exports through measures like the Niryat Bandhu scheme. There is also a need to create a class of venture bureaucrats who can enhance ease of doing business.

Abhishek Mishra, Allahabad

WAKE-UP CALL

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, ‘Victim blaming’ (IE, November 19). The gruesome Mehrauli murder should be a wake-up call. Laws pertaining to the premature release of convicts, including those on death row, should be revisited.

SS Paul, Nadia

NOVEL INITIATIVE

THIS REFERS TO the report, ‘Every SC bench will take up 10 transfer, 10 bail pleas daily: CJI’ (IE, November 19). This is a novel initiative by the new CJI based on the impact of these case for families, and individual liberty respectively. Its success would also depend on the contesting parties' preparation to argue their cases without the need for seeking adjournment on flimsy grounds.

LR Murnu, Delhi

CURBING TERROR

THIS REFERS TO the report, ‘Impose cost on nations which back terror: PM targets Pakistan, China’ (IE, November 19). A month after Pakistan was removed from the Grey List of the FATF, PM Narendra Modi has called for a “cost” to be imposed on countries that support terrorism. The NIA director has warned that social media platforms are increasingly being used for terror financing. We need concerted global effort to combat state-sponsored terror.

Khokan Das, Kolkata

TELLING NUMBERS

Another mass shooting in the US, more than 600 already this year



■ At least five people were killed and 18 were injured in a shooting at an LGBTQ nightclub in Colorado Springs late on Saturday night, US media reported, quoting police.



Crime scene at a gay nightclub in Colorado Springs early on Sunday after a shooting in which at least five people were killed. AP

■ At least 601 mass shooting incidents have occurred in the US this year, an average of almost two every day, *The New York Times* reported, quoting the Gun Violence Archive, a nonprofit research group that tracks gun violence using police reports, news coverage and other public sources.

■ A mass shooting is one in which at least four people are killed or injured, according to the Gun Violence Archive. This is also the definition accepted by the United States Department of Justice.

IN 2021
692 MASS SHOOTINGS were recorded by the Gun Violence Archive, with 28 involving four or more fatalities.

20 SHOOTINGS this year have involved five or more fatalities, including the latest massacre in Colorado.

THE WORST mass shooting in the US this year was the killing of 19 children and two teachers at a school in Uvalde, Texas, on May 24.

77% OF MASS SHOOTERS between 1966 and 2019 obtained their weapons through legal

purchases, *The NYT* reported in May this year, quoting a comprehensive survey of law enforcement data, academic papers and news accounts compiled by the National Institute of Justice, the research wing of the Justice Department.



20% OF THE 167 mass shootings studied by the Justice Department occurred in the last five years of the more than half century covered by the study, underlining a rising trend in gun violence.

■ More than half the mass shootings occurred after 2000, of which 33% occurred after 2010, the study report, published in February this year, said.

SOURCE: THE NYT, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE

EXPLAINED HEALTH

USFDA NOD FOR FIRST TREATMENT TO DELAY TYPE 1 DIABETES

THE UNITED STATES Food and Drug Administration has approved the first treatment that can delay — possibly for years — the onset of Type 1 diabetes, a disease that often emerges in teenagers.

The new drug, teplizumab, is made by Provention Bio, which will partner with Sanofi to market the drug in the United States under the brand name Tzield. Provention said the drug would cost \$13,850 a vial or \$193,900 for the 14-day treatment. The company said teplizumab should be available by the end of the year.

The drug does not cure or prevent Type 1 diabetes. Instead, it postpones its onset by an average of two years and, for some patients, much longer — the longest so far is 11 years, said Dr Kevan Herold of Yale, a principal investigator in the trials.

The only other treatment for the disease — insulin — was discovered 100 years ago and does not affect the course of the

disease. It just replaces what is missing. Teplizumab will be used to treat patients at high risk for Type 1 diabetes who have antibodies that indicate an immune attack on their pancreas and whose glucose tolerance is not normal. Treatment involves a 14-day infusion of the drug, a monoclonal antibody that blocks T cells, preventing them from attacking the insulin-producing cells of the pancreas.

Type 1 diabetes typically emerges in adolescence when patients suddenly are tired all the time, urinating frequently, drinking copious amounts of water, and losing weight.

The new drug is not a treatment for the much more common type of diabetes, Type 2, in which the pancreas makes insulin but the body's cells do not respond to it.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

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Data privacy: India & world

The reworked version of the data protection Bill, released months after the Govt withdrew an earlier draft, eases cross-border data flows and increases penalties for breaches. But it gives the Centre wide-ranging powers, and many of the specifics are left to subsequent rules

SOUMYARENDRA BARIK & ANIL SASI
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

THE NEW Digital Personal Data Protection Bill, 2022 released on Friday is focused on personal data, as compared to an earlier unwieldy draft. The reworked version of the legislation incorporates hefty penalties for non-compliance, but which are capped without any link to the turnover of the entity in question. It has also relaxed rules on cross-border data flows that could bring relief to the big tech companies, alongside a provision for easier compliance requirements for start-ups.

There could be two potentially significant red flags: a near blanket exemption for government agencies from complying with some of the more onerous requirements under the Bill, and a dilution of the remit of the proposed Data Protection Board, which is mandated to oversee the provisions of the proposed legislation.

Officials at the Ministry of Electronics and IT (MeitY) have said the new draft strikes a delicate balance and factors in learning from global approaches, while staying aligned to the Supreme Court's ruling on privacy as a fundamental right, but within reasonable restrictions.

While comparisons have been drawn with the EU's landmark General Data Protection Regulation or GDPR — which, according to Graham Greenleaf, professor of Law & Information Systems at the University of New South Wales, has substantially influenced legislation in nearly 160 countries — the Government of India sees its version of the Data Protection Bill as only one of the pieces that form part of its larger policy vision for the entire digital economy.

This larger policy includes a comprehensive digital India Act that would eventually replace the existing IT Act, the new data protection Bill that has just been unveiled, and the new telecom Bill that was put in the public domain last month.

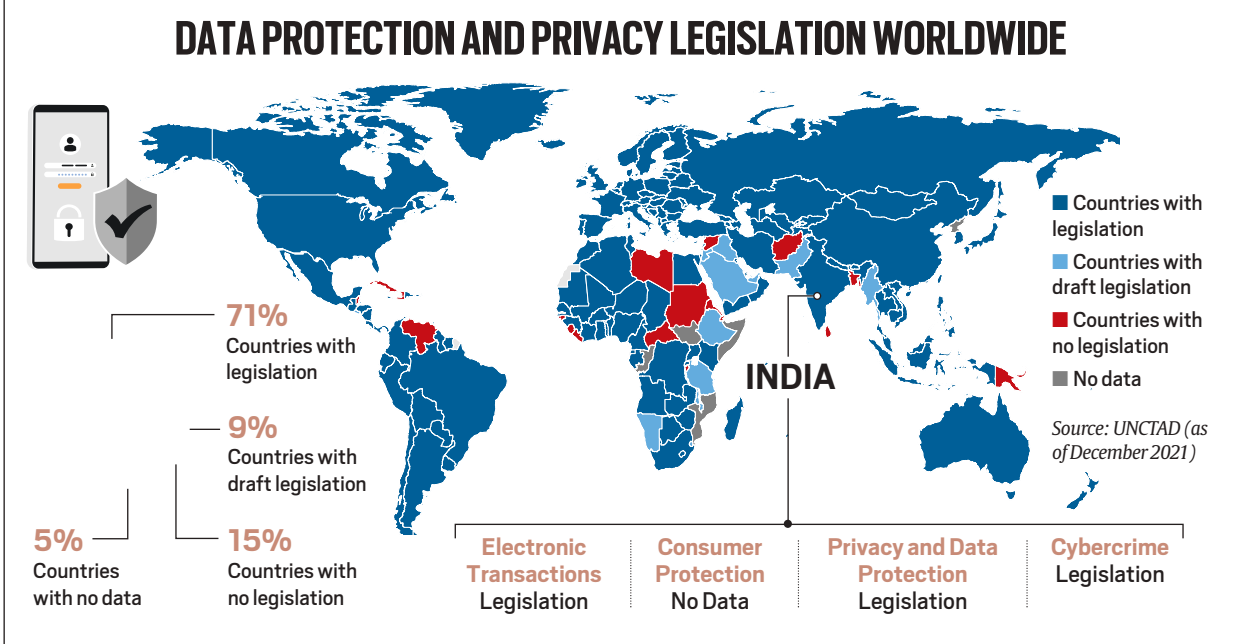
In contrast, the landmark GDPR, in force since May 2018, is clearly focused on privacy and requires individuals to give explicit consent before their data can be processed. A pair of sub-legislation — the Digital Services Act (DSA) and the Digital Markets Act (DMA) — take off from the GDPR's overarching focus on the individual's right over her data. The DSA focuses on issues such as regulating hate speech, counterfeit goods etc. while the DMA defines a new category of “dominant gatekeeper” platforms, and is focused on uncompetitive practices and the abuse of dominance by these players.

Data protection laws in other geographies around the world

An estimated 137 out of 194 countries have put in place legislation to secure the protection of data and privacy, with Africa and Asia showing 61% (33 countries out of 54) and 57% adoption respectively, according to data from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), an intergovernmental organisation within the United Nations Secretariat. Only 48% of the Least Developed Countries (22 out of 46) have data protection and privacy laws. (See map)

EU MODEL: The GDPR focuses on a comprehensive data protection law for processing of personal data. It has been criticised for being excessively stringent, and imposing many obligations on organisations processing data, but it is the template for most of the legislation drafted around the world.

In the EU, the right to privacy is enshrined as a fundamental right that seeks to protect



an individual's dignity and her right over the data she generates. The European Charter of Fundamental Rights recognises the right to privacy as well as the right to protection of personal data, and is backed by a comprehensive data protection framework, which applies to processing of personal data by any means, and to processing activities carried out by both the government and private entities. There are certain exemptions such as national security, defence, public security, etc, but they are clearly defined and seen as ex-clusions on the periphery.

US MODEL: Privacy protection is largely defined as “liberty protection” focused on the protection of the individual's personal space from the government. It is viewed as being somewhat narrow in focus because it enables collection of personal information as long as the individual is informed of such collection and use. The US template has been viewed as inadequate in key respects of regulation.

There is no comprehensive set of privacy rights or principles in the US that, like the EU's GDPR, addresses the use, collection, and disclosure of data. Instead, there is limited sector-specific regulation. The approach towards data protection is different for the public and private sectors. The activities and powers of the government vis-à-vis personal information are, however, sufficiently well-defined and addressed by broad legislation such as the Privacy Act, the Electronic Communications Privacy Act, etc. For the private sector, there are some sector-specific norms.

CHINA MODEL: New Chinese laws on data privacy and security issued over the last 12 months include the Personal Information Protection Law (PIPL), which came into effect in November 2021. It gives Chinese data principals new rights as it seeks to prevent the misuse of personal data. The Data Security Law (DSL), which came into force in September 2021, requires business data to be categorized by levels of importance, and puts new restrictions on

cross-border transfers.

These regulations will have a significant impact on how companies collect, store, use and transfer data, but are essentially focused on giving the government overreaching powers to collect data as well as to regulate private companies that collect and process information.

According to an EY analysis, China's PIPL is deemed to be “similar” to the EU's GDPR in that it gives Chinese consumers the right to access, correct, and delete their personal data gathered by businesses, but credibly impacts offshore data processors that deliver goods and services or analyse individuals in China.

The law includes stringent penalties, with fines as high as RMB 50 million, or up to 5% of a company's turnover in the previous financial year. Businesses may also be required to suspend operations until they “demonstrate compliance”. There are also impacts on individuals, with anyone directly responsible for data protection personally facing fines of up to RMB 1 million.

The DSL requires that business data be classified according to its relevance to national security and the public interest, and companies looking to transfer “important” data outside China must perform an internal security review before applying for a security assessment and approval from the Cyberspace Administration of China (CAC) and other relevant authorities.

Companies that mishandle data under the DSL face severe penalties: the ride-hailing giant Didi faced a \$1.2 billion (RMB 8.026 billion) fine in July this year for allegedly breaking China's cyber security laws. Other companies have also been facing regulatory action.

India's draft Bill and some red flags that have been raised

Wide-ranging exemptions to the Centre and its agencies with little to no safeguards,

and reduced independence of the proposed Data Protection Board are among the key concerns flagged by experts. It is also worth noting that the new Bill has just 30 clauses compared to the more than 90 in the previous one, mainly because a lot of operational details have been left to subsequent rule-making.

The central government can issue notifications to exempt its agencies from adhering to provisions of the draft law for national security reasons. In an explanatory note accompanying the proposed legislation, the government argued that “national and public interest is at times greater than the interest of an individual”, while justifying the need for such exemptions.

The draft law leaves the appointment of the chairperson and members of the Data Protection Board entirely to the discretion of the central government. “While the Data Protection Authority was earlier envisaged to be a statutory authority (under the 2019 Bill), the Data Protection Board is now a central government set up board. The government continues to have a say in the composition of the board, terms of service, etc.,” said Nehaa Chaudhari, partner at Delhi-based Ikigai Law.

Minister of State for Electronics and IT Rajeev Chandrasekhar has said the new draft puts India in a position where the entire digital economy can be viewed through the prism of “trust and protection”, and will help the government “move towards more data-led governance where we can create analytical models to figure out where the gaps are and then plug them”.

“We have clearly stated in the Bill that the Data Protection Board will be very independent... The board will have a purely adjudicatory mechanism to decide on the issue of data breaches. It carries the same rank as a civil court and its decisions will be appealable to a High Court. This... is enough of an incentive or disincentive for the board to work transparently. Simply saying that it would be appointed by a third party will not guarantee its adequate performance,” Chandrasekhar told *The Indian Express*.

“The objective of this government is that the board adjudicates on disputes fairly and transparently because it can otherwise be legally challenged. I believe the system's structure is efficient and cost-effective. Anyone who insists that the board is not independent enough is missing the point that the board will have to establish its credibility through its own performance,” he said.

MP law on declaring intention to convert is illegal: what the HC said

IRAM SIDDIQUE
BHOPAL, NOVEMBER 20

IN A decision that provided relief to interfaith couples seeking to marry, the Madhya Pradesh High Court on Thursday restrained the state government from prosecuting “adult citizens if they solemnise marriage on their own volition” and violate Section 10 of the Madhya Pradesh Freedom of Religion Act (MPFRA), 2021. On Sunday, Advocate General Prashant Singh said the state would challenge the High Court's order in the Supreme Court “shortly”.

Under what circumstances was the Madhya Pradesh Freedom of Religion Act, 2021 enacted?

After Kamal Nath's Congress government was toppled and the BJP's Shivraj Singh Chouhan returned as Chief Minister in March 2020, the state government announced its intention to curb religious conversions carried out solely for the purpose of marriage. On December 28 that year, a

special meeting of the state Cabinet cleared the Madhya Pradesh Dharma Swatantrata Adhiniyam, 2020, a proposed law to tighten restrictions on religious conversions.

The new law was intended to replace the existing Madhya Pradesh Dharma Swatantraya Adhiniyam, 1968. The 1968 law had faced a challenge in the High Court, but it had been upheld by the Supreme Court in 1977.

An ordinance was promulgated on January 7, 2021 and, two months later on March 8 last year, the Madhya Pradesh Freedom of Religion Act, 2021 was passed by voice vote amid slogans of Jai Shri Ram in the state Assembly. With the passage of the Act, Madhya Pradesh became the third BJP-ruled state after Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh to bring a law to punish religious conversions for marriage.

What are the main provisions of the MPFRA, 2021?

Section 5 of the MPFRA, 2021 prohibits unlawful conversion from one religion to another by use of misrepresentation, force, un-

due influence, coercion, any other fraudulent means, allurement, or promise of marriage.

Violators face between one year and five years of imprisonment. If the person who is converted is a child, a woman, or a person belonging to a Scheduled Tribe or Scheduled Caste, the punishment varies from two years to 10 years, with a fine of 50,000. The punishment for mass conversions is five to 10 years in prison, with a penalty of Rs 1 lakh.

Cases under the Act are cognizable (which means an arrest can be made without a warrant) and non-bailable. Complaints can be registered by the victim, the victim's parents or siblings, or anyone else including a guardian with permission from the local court. The complaint will be investigated by a police officer of the rank of sub-inspector and above.

For a religious conversion to be valid, the law requires a 60-day prior “declaration of the intention to convert” to the district magistrate by the individual as well as the priest carrying out the conversion. It is only after this, that a couple from different religions

can be legally married. Failure to notify the state of the intent to convert will render the wedding null and void, and an individual can be prosecuted for fraudulent conversion on promise of marriage. A priest who fails to notify the government can be punished with imprisonment from three to five years and a minimum fine of Rs 50,000.

How many cases have been registered under this law so far?

The purpose of the law was to prevent or discourage forcible or fraudulent religious conversions with the promise of marriage, something that Hindutva groups often refer to as “love jihad”. Home Minister Narottam Mishra had informed the state Assembly that between the time the ordinance came into effect and the passage of the Act on March 7, 2021, at least 16 cases had been registered for alleged violation of the provisions of the law. By the end of December 2021, 68 cases had been registered under the Act across the state.

An investigation published by *The Indian Express* in March 2021 showed that in at least

11 of the 21 cases registered (against 47 individuals) under the anti-conversion law until then, the women who registered the complaints knew the accused — they were friends, in a relationship, and in one case, married for over five years. In at least four cases, the couple had eloped and returned before the women involved approached the police. Three other cases were lodged after the intervention of Hindutva groups. The remaining six cases were filed against alleged Christian missionaries “trying to lure villagers” to convert.

What did the High Court say in its order on Thursday?

The order passed by Justices Sujoy Paul and Prakash Chandra Gupta of the Jabalpur Bench of the Madhya Pradesh High Court found Section 10 of the MPFRA *prima facie* unconstitutional. This section requires individuals who are intending to convert, and the priest who would carry out the conversion, to notify the district magistrate of their intention 60 days in advance.

The court said: “Section 10 makes it oblig-

atory for a citizen desiring conversion to give a declaration in this regard to the District Magistrate which in our opinion *ex facie*, unconstitutional in the teeth of aforesaid judgments of this Court. Thus, till further orders, respondent shall not prosecute the adult citizens if they solemnise marriage on their own volition and shall not take coercive action for violation of Section 10 of Act of 21.”

In August 2021, a division Bench of the Gujarat High Court comprising then Chief Justice Vikram Nath and Justice Biren Vaishnav had stayed several provisions of The Gujarat Freedom of Religion (Amendment) Act, 2021, including those pertaining to prior permission from district magistrates, punishment for marriage by unlawful conversions, etc.

The Gujarat law, which amended an earlier 2003 law pertaining to punishment for forcible conversions, was notified on June 15 last year. The Gujarat HC Bench observed that certain sections of the law “interferes with the intricacies of marriage including the right to the choice of an individual, thereby infringing Article 21 of the Constitution of India”.

ECONOMY

SECTOR WATCH SATELLITE IMAGERY

MapMyIndia seeks level playing field with Google

SALMANSH
BENGALURU, NOVEMBER 20

DOMESTIC DEVICE manufacturers and app makers may have got relief from the Competition Commission (CCI) against Google's monopolistic practices in the Android space, but homegrown MapMyIndia, which works on geospatial data, continues to seek a level playing field with the US tech giant on the usage of satellite imagery.

Indian government's regulations put a limit on domestic companies working with geospatial data with regard to satellite imagery, but as Google is a US company, it is free from such restrictions.

"Private companies in India using satellite imagery for either consumer or enterprise use cases cannot put out imagery finer than one-metre resolution. However, Google Maps does not comply with this directive and offers even finer and crisper resolution on their maps to consumers, making this regulation a grey area. This way Google is able to offer fine imagery on its apps, which we are not able to do, and this is definitely not a level playing field," Rohan Verma, CEO and executive director, MapMyIndia, said.

MapMyIndia offers multiple, digital mapping, navigation, and geospatial tech offerings and currently has a client base of 2,000 enterprise customers. "From 1995 to 2004, we were primarily in the B2B space selling tech to large corporates, especially in FMCGs like Coca-Cola and Marico. But 2004 is when we launched our consumer internet mapping platform which was India's first interactive mapping platform. But building a consumer-facing digital map is a tough business and it took us 10 years to cover a majority of the country," Verma said.

The company currently earns majority of its revenue from enterprise customers across three major categories — corporate, automotive, and government. In addition,

Gove's regulations put a limit on domestic companies working with geospatial data with regard to satellite imagery, but as Google is a US company, it is free from such restrictions

MapMyIndia also offers professional-grade maps and products directly to retail customers through the Mapppls app and GPS IoT-enabled gadgets and devices.

"We now have around 95% digital mapping coverage of India alone, and now we use a combination of computer vision and AI to digitally map out geographies. We have moved on from strict feet-on-street options to drones and crowd-sourced data to build more coverage, especially for our 3D view maps," he added.

MapMyIndia's recently re-branded consumer-facing app Mapppls also offers features like road conditions, traffic patterns and conditions in real time using its partnerships with original equipment manufacturers and mobility fleet. It has also extracted some 400 crore geotagged photographs, panoramas and videos of millions of kilometres of roads across India which it plans to expand further. The company has made two noteworthy acquisitions this year, including a 9.9% stake in Pupilmesh, and a 26.37% stake in Kogo Tech Labs.

According to Verma, the first acquisition will allow MapMyIndia to offer critical technology to logistics clients to further drive down their overall shipping costs, while the acquisition in the travel commerce space will enable it to disrupt the hyperlocal commerce segment. The company also plans to offer location-based suggestions to travellers on the navigation search results which is aimed at driving up engagement on its app. **FE**

2023-24

Budget may steer clear of major reforms, PSB sale

PRASANTA SAHU
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

BUDGET 2023-24 will likely side-step major reform initiatives, be it the targeting of fertiliser subsidy via direct benefit transfer (DBT) or the privatisation of public sector banks (PSBs) and state-run insurance firms, people familiar with discussions in government said.

This is because the Centre has decided to go slow on stalled financial-sector and expenditure reforms that could potentially lead to any political backlash and cost it electorally. Nine state Assembly elections are to take place before the general elections, which will be held latest by May 2024. "The government doesn't want to antagonise people just when so many states are going to the polls ahead of the general elections in early 2024. Political opponents could instil fear among people about reforms even though they are well-intentioned," a senior official said. "There is no appetite for any major disinvestment now in the banking or insurance sector. Even

'NO APPETITE'

A SENIOR official said, the govt doesn't want to antagonise people just when so many states are going to the polls ahead of the general elections

THERE IS no appetite for any major disinvestment now in the banking or insurance sector, another official said

many BJP leaders are against privatisation," another official said.

Finance minister Nirmala Sitharaman, in her Budget speech of 2021-22, had announced that two PSBs and one state-run general insurer would be privatised, adding that Bills would be introduced in Parliament for this purpose. The voting rights cap of 10 per cent for a non-government shareholder irrespective of her shareholding is among the key constraints identified for the privatisation of PSBs. The government will need to either amend

or repeal the Banking Companies (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Acts of 1970 and 1980, usually referred to as nationalisation Acts, to remove the hurdle. While the Banking Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2021, was listed as part of the legislative business for the winter session of Parliament that concluded on December 23, 2021, it is yet to be tabled in the House. The Cabinet, too, has to ratify the draft Bill before it is introduced in Parliament. Sections within the government feel that the process could be initiated only after more consultations among stakeholders, particularly potential investors.

On its part, the Niti Aayog has already recommended the privatisation of Indian Overseas Bank and Central Bank of India, but the government is yet to take a final call on the names of the sell-off candidates. The stalemate is even as the government is open to the idea of offloading its entire equity in the two banks that are proposed to be privatised, instead of the initial plan to retain a 26% stake, to garner greater interest from potential investors. With it, there would be procedural

changes, including the quantum of individual shareholding in these banks, to facilitate the sell-off. Already, Parliament has cleared a Bill to facilitate the privatisation of state-run general insurance companies by removing the requirement of the central government to hold at least 51% stake in an insurer. But the sale of a state-run insurer is yet to take place. Even though the government has successfully managed to privatise ailing national carrier Air India this year, it abandoned the privatisation of fuel retailer-cum-refiner BPCL due to adverse market conditions as well as the lack of real pricing freedom for oil marketing companies.

The Centre's fertiliser subsidy bill, which has almost tripled to about Rs 2.3 trillion in FY23 from Rs 70,000-80,000 crore per annum before FY21, may remain elevated in FY24, too, if global hydrocarbon prices don't moderate. To curb the rise in subsidy, the government was toying with the idea of giving subsidised fertilisers or equivalent cash on a per-acreage basis. "No one is talking about the fertiliser subsidy reforms now," another official said. **FE**

BUDGET SUGGESTIONS

Decriminalise GST law, slash personal IT rates: CII to govt

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

INDUSTRY BODY CII has pitched for a reduction in personal income tax rates, decriminalisation of the goods and services tax and a realook at the capital gains tax rates as part of its agenda presented to the government for the forthcoming Budget.

Arguing that the GST law already contains adequate penal provisions for deterrence against evasion of taxes, CII has suggested decriminalisation of GST law. Also, the applicability of prosecution provisions should not be based on the absolute amount of tax evasion but should be based on real intent to evade the taxes and a certain percentage of the tax payable, it stated. "A fresh look is needed at the capital gains tax with respect to its rates and holding period to remove complexities and inconsistencies. Moreover, the Government should contemplate a reduction in the rates of personal income tax in its next push for reform as this would increase disposable incomes and revive the demand cycle," Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) president Sanjiv Bajaj said. Tax certainty for businesses should continue and

corporate tax rates should be maintained at the current levels, the chamber said, adding that no arrests or detention should take place in civil cases unless criminalisation in business has been proved beyond doubt.

On fiscal consolidation CII suggested that a credible road map be drawn up and announced during the budget, which would gradually bring down the fiscal deficit to 6 per cent of GDP in FY24 and 4.5 per cent by FY26.

For reviving investment, it raising capital spending to 3.3-3.4 per cent of GDP in FY24 from 2.9 per cent currently, with an aim to increase it further to 3.8-3.9 per cent by FY25. It also suggested increasing outlays on green infrastructure like renewables along with traditional infrastructures, such as roads, railways, ports etc. Also, full implementation of Gati Shakti and NIP should be expedited to bring efficiency to infrastructure creation. For financing infrastructure, it recommended deepening corporate bond markets, prioritising a package for large play of urban municipal bonds and launching a Blended Finance Star Multiplier programme for sustainability projects with an allocation of Rs 10,000 crore, among others.

FM to begin pre-Budget consultations from today

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

FINANCE MINISTER Nirmala Sitharaman will begin her pre-Budget meetings from Monday starting with industry leaders and experts in infrastructure and climate change. The meetings will be held virtually seeking suggestions for the 2023-24 Budget-making from stakeholders.

"Finance Minister Smt. @nsitharaman will be holding her 1st #PreBudget2023 consultations with the captains from Industry & experts of #Infrastructure and #ClimateChange in two groups, tomorrow, 21st Nov. 2022, in forenoon and afternoon," the Ministry of Finance said in a tweet.

On November 22, the minister will meet agriculture and agro-processing industry, representatives from the financial sector and capital market. She will also be meeting the representatives of



Nirmala Sitharaman, Finance Minister. File

services sector and trade bodies, besides experts from social sector, including health, education, water and sanitation, on November 24. The pre-Budget meetings with the trade union representatives and economists are scheduled for November 28.

The participants will give suggestions on the 2023-24 Budget which will be presented in Parliament by the Finance Minister on February 1.

'America cuts thousands of jobs as recession looms'

Job cuts announced by US-based employers jumped 13% to 33,843 in October, the highest since February 2021, according to a report



Walt Disney Co: The media giant is planning to freeze hiring and cut some jobs, according to a company memo seen by Reuters

AMAZON.COM INC: The company targeted around 10,000 job cuts, including in its retail division and human resources

META PLATFORMS INC: The Facebook-parent said it would cut more than 11,000 employees, in one of the biggest tech layoffs this year

CITIGROUP INC: The bank eliminated dozens of jobs across its investment banking division

MICROSOFT CORP: The software giant laid off under 1,000 employees across several divisions this week

MORGAN STANLEY: The Wall Street is expected to start a fresh round of layoffs globally in the coming weeks

TWITTER INC: The social media company laid off half its workforce across teams following Elon Musk's \$44 billion takeover. However, it is reported Twitter was reaching out to dozens of employees who lost their jobs, asking them to return

JOHNSON & JOHNSON: The pharmaceutical giant said it might cut some jobs amid inflationary pressure and a strong dollar

WARNER BROS DISCOVERY: Film subsidiary Warner Bros. Pictures is planning to cut a number of jobs in distribution and marketing that will reduce headcount by 5% to 10%

Lyft Inc: The ride-hailing firm said it would lay off about 683 employees, after it already cut 60 jobs earlier this year and froze hiring

Source: Reuters

BRIEFLY

EPFO

New Delhi: Retirement fund body EPFO added 16.82 lakh subscribers on a net basis in September 2022, the labour ministry said in a release on Sunday. Year-on-year comparison of payroll data reflects a 9.14 per cent increase in net membership addition in September, 2022 compared to the corresponding month during last year in 2021, the ministry said.

Isha Ambani

New Delhi: Mukesh Ambani's daughter Isha and son-in-law Anand Piramal have been blessed with twins — a boy and a girl, the family said on Sunday. They have been named Aadiya and Krishna. "We are delighted to share that our children Isha and Anand have been blessed by the Almighty with twins on 19th November 2022," a statement said.

Deloitte report

New Delhi: India is likely to post a 6.5 per cent to 7.1 per cent economic growth during the current financial year 2022-23 amid rising inflation and impending global slowdown, Deloitte India said in a report. The persistent inflation has challenged policymakers over the past few months. Despite the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) raising interest rates by 1.9 percentage points since April 2022, inflation has remained above its tolerance range for over 9 months now. **PTI**

No prospect of recession in India, says Rajiv Kumar

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

INDIA WILL still grow at 6-7 per cent in the next 2023-24 fiscal even as the economy may be affected by uncertain global conditions, former Niti Aayog Vice-Chairman Rajiv Kumar has said amid growing fears of the world slipping into a recession.

Kumar further said there is a synchronised downturn in the US, Europe, Japan and also in China and that could take the global economy into a recession in the coming months. "Thankfully, there is no such prospect of recession in India, because although our growth may be negatively affected by the global conditions, we will still manage to grow at 6-7 per cent in 2023-24," he told *PTI* in an interview. The World Bank on October 6 projected a 6.5 per cent growth rate for the Indian economy for 2022-23, a drop of one percentage point from its June 2022 projections, citing the deteriorating international environment, while IMF projected a growth rate of 6.8 per cent in 2022 as compared to 8.7 per cent in 2021 for India.

IMF chief Kristalina Georgieva has said the global economy is moving from a world of relative predictability to one of greater uncertainty. Replying to a question on high inflation, Kumar said retail inflation will probably be in the range of 6-7 per cent for some more time. "After that, my estimate is that it should begin to peak and then come down," he said.



Former Niti Aayog VC Rajiv Kumar. File

Agencies assessing some countries on incorrect reports, says Sanyal

New Delhi: A senior government advisor has accused World Bank and other multilateral agencies and rating agencies in assessing countries like India based on factually incorrect reports being peddled by vested interest private agencies to suit their politically coloured views.

Sanjeev Sanyal, a member in the PM's economic advisory council, while addressing the global summit of accountants here on Sunday also said it's high time that the World Bank and rating agencies question such reports. "Most of the western reports, be it political or economic, are prepared by a narrow group of individuals who pedal their politically mired opinions as facts," Sanyal said, adding and "when such reports are about India I can say that they are very far from reality." Unfortunately, we have been paying a heavy price... in the form of our low sovereign rating, which has been BBB- for decades now, he noted. **PTI**

RHI Magnesita to buy Dalmia Bharat refractory biz for ₹1,708 cr

New Delhi: RHI Magnesita is in process of acquiring the refractory business of Dalmia Bharat Refractories Limited (DBRL) in India for about Rs 1,708 crore, Stefan Borgas, CEO of the Vienna-based company, has said. The share swap deal is being made through RHI Magnesita India, he added.

"DBRL will transfer its business to Dalmia OC. Under the terms of a share swap agreement, RHI Magnesita will acquire all outstanding shares in DOCL in exchange for 27 million new shares in RHI Magnesita," Borgas said. Based on the issuance price of RHI Magnesita India Limited at Rs 632.5029 per share, the share consideration had a value of approximately Rs 1,708 crore (about 208 million euros), the CEO said. **PTI**

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

FOREIGN INVESTORS have been aggressively buying Indian equities in November, having invested Rs 30,385 crore so far this month. The spurt in net inflows has come owing to the stabilisation of the rupee and resilience of the domestic economy compared to global counterparts.

However, going forward, buying by Foreign Portfolio Investors (FPIs) is unlikely to turn very aggressive as high valuations in India are a headwind, said V K Vijayakumar, Chief Investment Strategist at Geojit Financial

Twitter is in a tough spot today, says former India CEO

RISHI RAJ
NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 20

THE TURMOIL at Twitter is expected to continue for a long time as Elon Musk is trying to change the model on which the microblogging site functions on the user side as well as business — and that's not going to be easy — Manish Maheshwari, former CEO, Twitter India, told *FE*.

Maheshwari, who was transferred from India to the US in August 2021 and quit Twitter in December that year, said Musk may eventually succeed in the changes he is trying to bring in, but would have spent a great deal of time, money and energy by then.

"Twitter is in a tough spot today. On the user side, Musk wants to have only human, verified sub-

Manish Maheshwari, former CEO, Twitter India, transferred from India to the US in August 2021 and quit Twitter in December that year

scribers, and no bots, which is a complete change. On the business side, he wants to make the platform subscription oriented, which again is a big change as currently 90 per cent of the revenues are advertising oriented. He also wants to focus on content creation, which is not going to be easy," Maheshwari said. According to him, the business model can successfully transition from advertising to subscription-based only if

at least 10 per cent of the total users opt for it.

Musk has already spoken about charging \$8 for the blue tick label which verifies Twitter handles of individuals as well as organisations. What do users get after paying, apart from the blue tick? Maheshwari said Musk wants to offer users premium content, for which he would have to tie up with major newspapers and other content-generating channels which provide such content on a paid basis to users. Further, such users may also get to post longer videos, he said. On layoffs, he said they are expected to continue as Musk has centralised engineering operations at the headquarters in the US, so everyone working in engineering-related departments will have to move there and come to office regularly. **FE**

FPIs invest ₹30,385 cr in Nov so far

EXPLAINED
₹1.4L crore total outflow this year

THE LATEST SPURT in net inflows has come owing to the stabilisation of the rupee and resilience of the domestic economy compared to global counterparts. So far this year, the total outflow by foreign investors in equities stands at Rs 1.4 lakh crore. Stabilisation in global markets also helped.

Services. Further, valuations in markets like China, South Korea and Taiwan are very attractive now and so more Foreign Portfolio Investors money is likely to move to these markets, he added.

According to data with the depositaries, Foreign portfolio investors invested a net sum of Rs 30,385 crore in equities during November 1-18.

This came following a net outflow of just Rs 8 crore last month and Rs 7,624 crore in September. Prior to the last three months, FPIs were net buyers in August to the tune of Rs 51,200 crore and nearly Rs 5,000 crore in July. Before that, foreign investors were net sellers in Indian equities for nine

months in a row which started in October last year. So far this year, the total outflow by foreign investors in equities stands at Rs 1.4 lakh crore. The latest spurt in net inflows can be attributed to the recent surge in equity markets, stability in the Indian economy compared to its global counterparts and stabilisation of the rupee, Morningstar India associate director — Manager Research Himanshu Srivastava said. On the global front, lower than anticipated rise in inflation in United States raised hopes that the US Federal Reserve may not go for further aggressive rate hikes, which also eased recessionary concerns in the US.

"The contention of the appellant (Go Digit) is that their product was already providing cover for accidental death and, therefore, addition of death under Section 29(e) of the modified product did not partake the nature of a life insurance under Section 2(11) of the Act and that only an additional/ancillary benefit was provided to the insured in case of death," it said.

"It must be borne in mind that Section 3(1) of the Act read with Regulation 4 of the Regulations of 2000 clearly provides that any insurer can only carry one class of business and cannot carry two classes of insurance business," SAT said.

TOP OF THE WORLD



Australian actor Chris Hemsworth. Reuters

USA

I'm at increased risk of developing Alzheimer's, says Chris Hemsworth

New York: Hollywood star Chris Hemsworth says he will take "time off" from acting after learning he has a genetic predisposition to Alzheimer's disease. The Australian actor, who is currently promoting his Disney+ docu-series "Limitless", told the Vanity Fair magazine that after doing an episode on death and mortality, he realised the importance of spending time with his family. "I want to sit and be in this space with a greater sense of stillness and gratitude. And then you start talking about kids and family and going... It really triggered something in me to want to take some time off. And since we finished the show, I've been completing the things I was already contracted to do," Hemsworth said. PTI

USA

Kirpan allowed for Sikh students

New York: A prominent US university has announced that it would allow Sikh students to wear a kirpan on campus, a religious article in Sikhism. The University of North Carolina on Thursday said the school's policy will allow students to wear kirpans on campus as long as the blade length is under 3 inches and is "worn close to the body in a sheath at all times." PTI

MALAYSIA

Muhyiddin gains backing for PM

Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia's former PM Muhyiddin Yassin secured backing from two political blocs on Sunday as he sought to form a new government after a general election produced a hung parliament, but he had yet to win the majority. Muhyiddin, of the Perikatan Nasional coalition, said he had won support from two regional blocs based in the island of Borneo. That would boost his alliance's seat tally from 73 to 101 — short of the required 112 majority. REUTERS

CHINA

1st Covid death seen in 6 months

Beijing: China on Sunday announced its first new death from Covid-19 in nearly half a year as strict new measures are imposed in Beijing and across the country to ward against new outbreaks. The death of the 87-year-old Beijing man was the first reported by the National Health Commission since May 26, bringing the total toll to 5,227. AP

AFGHANISTAN

19 people lashed in NE province

Kabul: Nineteen people in northeastern Afghanistan were lashed for adultery, theft and running away from home, a Supreme Court official said Sunday. On Thursday, a Taliban spokesman said they are committed to implementing all Sharia laws. The official, Abdul Rahim Rashid, said 10 men and nine women were lashed 39 times each in Taloqan city in northeastern Takhar province, on November 11. AP

'OVER 12 BLASTS SHOOK PLANT'

Ukraine nuclear plant shelled, UN warns: You are playing with fire

REUTERS

LONDON, NOVEMBER 20

UKRAINE'S ZAPORIZHZHIA nuclear power plant, which is under Russian control, was rocked by shelling on Sunday, drawing condemnation from the UN nuclear watchdog, which said such attacks risked a major nuclear disaster.

More than a dozen blasts shook Europe's biggest nuclear power plant on Saturday evening and Sunday, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said. Moscow and Kyiv both blamed the other for the shelling of the facility.

"The news from our team Saturday and Sunday morning is extremely disturbing," said Rafael Grossi, head of the IAEA,



Repeated shelling of the plant in south Ukraine has raised concern about the potential for a grave accident. Reuters

whose team on the ground said there had been damage to some buildings, systems and equipment at the plant.

"Explosions occurred at the

site of this major nuclear power plant, which is completely unacceptable. Whoever is behind this, it must stop immediately. As I have said many times before,

you're playing with fire!"

Repeated shelling of the plant in southern Ukraine has raised concern about the potential for a grave accident just 500 km from the site of the world's worst nuclear accident, the 1986 Chernobyl disaster.

Both Kyiv and Moscow have accused each other of attacking the plant on several occasions during the conflict and risking a nuclear accident, and they again exchanged blame on Sunday.

Russia's defence ministry said Ukraine fired shells at power lines supplying the plant, while TASS reported some of the site's storage facilities had been hit by Ukrainian shelling, quoting an official from Russian nuclear power operator Rosenergoatom.

"They shelled not only yes-

terday, but also today, they are shelling right now," said Renat Karchaa, an adviser to Rosenergoatom's CEO, adding that any artillery attack at the site posed a threat to nuclear safety.

Karchaa said the shells had been fired near a dry nuclear waste storage facility and a building that houses fresh spent nuclear fuel, but that no radioactive emissions had currently been detected, according to TASS.

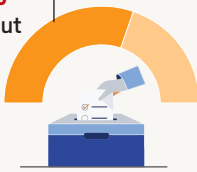
Ukraine's nuclear energy firm Energoatom accused the Russian military of shelling the site and said there were at least 12 hits on plant infrastructure. It said that Russia had targeted the infrastructure necessary to restart parts of the plant in an attempt to further limit Ukraine's power supply.

61% TURNOUT IN NEPAL'S ELECTIONS

Nepal went to polls on Sunday to elect a new Parliament and provincial assemblies. Federal and provincial polls were held to elect 275 members of the House of Representatives and 550 seats of the seven provincial assemblies.

KEY FACTS

61% turnout



17.9 million electorate cast their votes

15 places to hold repoll

8 days likely for the full results



A man casts his vote during the general election in Kathmandu, Nepal, Sunday. AP

MAIN PARTIES IN FRAY



There is the ruling coalition led by PM Sher Bahadur Deuba's Nepali Congress, which includes Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda's Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist Centre and Madhav Kumar Nepal's Communist Party of Nepal-Unified Socialist

The opposition coalition is led by the Communist Party of Nepal-United Marxist Leninist of former Prime Minister K P Sharma Oli, who hopes to return to the post after the election

SPORADIC VIOLENCE AT SOME PLACES



A 24-year-old man was shot dead by police at a polling booth in Tribeni Municipality in Bajura after a dispute over voting.

Minor explosion took place near in Dhangadhi in Kailali district. No casualty was reported

INDIA TEAM LANDS AS OBSERVER



A delegation from the ECI led by Chief Election Commissioner Rajiv Kumar observed the elections and visited several polling stations. Kumar was leading a four-member delegation

Oldest voters:

113-year-old, Gopi Maya Pokhrel became the oldest person to cast a vote

107-year-old Jasmani Kami cast her vote at a polling centre in Myagdi district

TEXT: YUBARAJ GHIMIRE & PTI

BANGLADESHI-AMERICAN BLOGGER MURDER CASE

Death row convicts flee from court premises in Bangladesh

ANISUR RAHMAN

DHAKA, NOVEMBER 20

TWO ISLAMIST militants, who were sentenced to death for killing prominent Bangladeshi-American secular blogger Avijit Roy and his publisher, escaped dramatically from the premises of a crowded court on Sunday

with the help of unidentified bikers, who sprayed some chemical on police and created a smoke screen before whisking away the convicts.

Hours after the incident, home minister Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal told reporters that a nationwide alert has been issued to recapture them and an investigation launched to ascertain how the event took place.

The government has issued a red alert at all the entry and exit points of the country and asked the law enforcement agencies to increase surveillance at the border areas, he said.

Kamal said the government had issued a directive asking police not to produce death row convicts in-person in courts and

it will be probed why the order was not followed in this case. Bangladesh Police also announced a reward of Taka 20 lakh (approx \$19,428) for tip-off leading to the convicts' recapture.

Police and court officials said Moynul Hasan Shamim alias Samir alias Imran and Abu Siddiq Sohail were among four operatives of the outlawed ter-

rorist group Ansarul্লাh Bangla Team (ABT). Police said Shamim and Sohail were sentenced to death last year for killing 42-year-old Bangladesh-born US secular blogger Roy and his publisher Faisal Arefin Dipan, who was also in his early 40s. "The prisoners were just handcuffed, their legs were not shackled," a court official said. PTI

UKRAINIAN FILM CRITIC WAS PULLED INTO A THEATRE HE NEVER EXPECTED TO ENTER

Words were once his harshest weapon, now he carries AK-47

JEFFREY GETTLEMAN & OLEKSANDRA MYKOLYSHYN

ROZDOLIVKA, NOVEMBER 20

BEFORE THE war arrived at his doorstep, Anton Filatov, a Ukrainian film critic, said the most dangerous thing he ever carried was a fork. "I had never touched a weapon," he said. "I was against war. I ran as far as I could from it."

But as with so many other Ukrainians, the fighting found him, and his life, has become a real-life war movie. He is serving on the front lines of Ukraine's war with Russian invaders, in some of the most contested, blood-soaked

territory, caught in a theater he never imagined for himself.

In late August, he was stationed in an abandoned house in the village of Rozdolivka, in the war-ravaged Donbas region. This used to be a place where the gardens had grape vines crawling up trellises and the houses had roofs. Then the shelling began.

During one barrage, Filatov, 34, ducked into a bomb shelter, still wearing his owlsh glasses. He is extremely nearsighted, minus 7, one of the many reasons his wife was shocked he was drafted.

Even with the horrors he has to squint to see, and the daily grind of being a soldier, he hasn't given up on his writing. The op-



Anton Filatov (left) in an abandoned house near the front in Donbas in August. NYT

posite. Ukraine's war has become his new material, as he delves into the fear, sorrow, rage and anxiety

he is experiencing and tries to find meaning in the smallest things around him, such as the mice that

scurry over him while he sleeps.

In a recent text message, he wrote: "Once, during one of the heavy attacks, I sat in a dugout and watched the earth tremble. Chopped pine roots stuck out from the wall of our shelter. The sap of the tree flowed out of them. It shined like mercury and resembled tears. A few months later, I don't remember how many explosions there were that evening or what weapons had been fired. But I clearly remember one image: how the earth wept with heavy, cold tears."

War has always provoked remarkable writing, from the Iliad onward. Norman Mailer published "The Naked and the Dead"

after serving in the Pacific in World War II as a young man just out of Harvard. Bao Ninh wrote perhaps the saddest, most agonizing account of the Vietnam War, in which he narrowly survived as a North Vietnamese foot soldier, in "The Sorrow of War."

Filatov's blog posts on Facebook are a 21st-century version of this, and they have gained him a growing audience.

"The war opens his gifts even more," said Alexandr Gusev, a veteran Ukrainian film critic, who was an admirer of Filatov's film writing before the fighting and has been following his wartime blogging since.

Cinema, he said, helps him "un-

derstand people," and film criticism lets him explore his love for the movies, his interest in stories — and his talent for evocative writing.

In a recent voice message, he spoke softly and slowly about his own mortality: "One morning I went to the post office to receive a shipment from my family of warm clothes. They came in a big plastic bag. Then I was busy all day and took this plastic bag everywhere I went. In the evening, unexpectedly, I was asked to help our medics load a plastic bag with a casualty from our battalion. This coincidence just struck me emotionally. 'Are you going to carry the bag?' Or are you going to be in the bag?" NYT

EFFORT TO END POLITICAL CRISIS

In a first, Pakistan ruling coalition initiates talks with Imran's Opp party

SAJJAD HUSSAIN

ISLAMABAD, NOVEMBER 20

FOR THE first time since coming to power, the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) alliance-led federal government has initiated a dialogue with ousted prime minister Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) to resolve political issues, including the appointment of a new Army chief, as per a media report on Sunday.

The development came as Finance Minister Ishaq Dar met with President Arif Alvi on Friday and offered dialogue to resolve political issues. The Express Tribune quoted a source as saying. The source said the president, a member of Khan's party, told Dar that his message would be conveyed to the PTI leadership.

In response to the government offer, the PTI leadership also showed willingness and authorised the president to engage with the government, the source added. Dar held two meetings with the president in the last

three days, the paper reported.

"The PTI wants the announcement of the date for the early general elections. If the government agrees, then the PTI is willing to rejoin parliament for a dialogue on the electoral framework," the paper reported.

It is also reported that the purpose of the meeting between the finance minister and the president was to ensure that the process regarding the appointment of a new Pakistan Army chief would culminate smoothly.

The sources, however, said the appointment of an Army chief was a sensitive matter, and it would not be in the national interest to delay the process.

A PTI leader told The Express Tribune that if the government appoints an Army chief in violation of the settled process then the president may hold the summary for reconsideration. He, however, said the party would not dispute the appointment of any general as the army chief. "Now, the appointment of the new chief is not an issue of PTI," he added. PTI



Security vehicles at the crime scene. Reuters

5 killed, 18 injured at gay club shooting in Colorado

ASSOCIATED PRESS

COLORADO SPRINGS, NOV 20

A 22-YEAR-OLD gunman opened fire in a gay nightclub in Colorado Springs, killing five people and leaving 18 injured before he was subdued by "heroic" patrons and arrested by police who were on the scene within minutes, authorities said Sunday.

Two firearms, including a "long rifle," were found at Club Q after the Saturday night shooting, said Police Chief Adrian Vasquez. Investigators were still determining a motive, and the attack was being investigated to see if it should be prosecuted as a hate crime, said El Paso County

District Attorney Michael Allen.

Police identified the gunman as Anderson Lee Aldrich, who was in custody and being treated for injuries. Authorities were called to the Club Q at 11.57 pm Saturday with a report of a shooting, and the first officer arrived at midnight.

"At least two heroic people" confronted the gunman and stopped the shooting, Vasquez said, adding: "We owe them a great debt of thanks." Of the 18 people injured, some were critical and at least two had been treated and released, officials said.

The shooting brought back memories of the 2016 massacre at the Pulse gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, that killed 49 people.

CROSSWORD 4904

ACROSS

1 Central heating off, apparently (5)

4 Casters out to obtain one to play a part (7)

8 One politician showing bad spirit (3)

9 It's a lever that may be turned to many uses (9)

10 Free indeed yet treated with scorn (7)

11 Make an excellent start and do even better (5)

13 Perfect voice for a trio? (6)

15 Doesn't agree the brutes need reforming (6)

18 Ready to fight (3-2)

19 I call 'Go' uncertainly but it follows (7)

21 An error of management (9)

23 You may get some dinner here (3)

24 Primate in a role that offers limited protection (7)

25 It beats vegetable seeds (5)

DOWN

1 Ditch in damaged World War Two fighter (7)

2 Tense as all human beings are (9)

3 Survived a tangle with the devil (5)

4 Grind a new bread (6)

5 The work of these artists is above our heads (7)

6 The man from whom Samuel imbibed wisdom (3)

7 She will shortly be a nut case (5)

12 Famous statesman badly led by the clergy (9)

14 Sets one's sights higher and improves (5,2)

16 One hears it being broken (7)

17 A quick getaway - by air (6)

18 Kitty's capsized sailing boat (5)

20 Rise and dress (3,2)

22 Heart to heart listener (3)

Solutions Crossword 4903: Across: 1 Custard pie, 8 Booze, 9 Candida, 10 Stick up, 11 Exact, 12 Ignore, 14 Staple, 17 Kilns, 19 Undress, 21 Tighten, 22 Avers, 23 Tie-on label, Down: 2 Utopian, 3 Tweak, 4 Recipe, 5 Pungent, 6 Erica, 7 Waitresses, 8 Bus tickets, 13 Rosette, 15 Precede, 16 Turn in, 18 Light, 20 Drama.

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.

None can love freedom heartily but good men the rest love not freedom, but _____. John Milton (7)

ANTEE

HOTIS

AFTULN

DEIKWC

SOLUTION: EATEN, HOIST, PLANNED, WIKED

Answer: None can love freedom heartily but good men the rest love not freedom, but none.

Classifieds

PERSONAL

I,SWASTIK S/O Smt.Shelley Kashyap R/o Flat-B-13, Dainik Janjyug Apartments, Vasundhara Enclave,Delhi-96 have changed my name from Swastik to Swastik kashyap for all future purposes.

0040641720-1

I Indira Rani D/O, Gurditta Ram R/o Flat No. 113, Tower C-4, Sidco Shivalik Apartments, Sec - 1, Imt Manesar, Gurgaon, Haryana 1220051 have changed my name to Indira Rani Aneja D/o Sh. Gurditta Ram for all purposes.

0040641659-1

I,SHELLEY D/O Sh.Shyam Kashyap R/o Flat-B-13, Dainik Janjyug Apartments, Vasundhara Enclave,Delhi-96 have changed my name from Shelley to Shelley Kashyap for all future purposes.

0040641709-1

I, Vishal Singh, S/o Mahesh Kumar Pal, R/o 110, MIG First Dabauli West, Udyog Nagar, Kanpur Nagar, Uttar Pradesh-208022, have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Vishal Singh Pal.

0070813720-1

I, Vansh Khurana, S/o Sanjeev Khurana, R/o House No. K-24, Ground Floor, Kirti Nagar, West Delhi-110015, declare that Name of Mine & My Father and My Mother has been wrongly written as Vansh Gandhi & Pankaj Gandhi and Charu Gandhi in my 10th Class Certificate and 12th Class Certificate. The actual name of Mine & My Father and My Mother are Vansh Khurana & Sanjeev Khurana and Charu Khurana, which may be amended accordingly.

0070813730-1

I, Babita Kumari spouse of No JC-289483Y Rank NB Sub (OPR) Harbhajan Singh resident of Vill.&mp; PO- Bara, Tehsil-Nadana, Distt - Hamirpur (HP) PIN - 177044 have changed my name from Babita Kumari to Babita Devi vide affidavit no. BF654493 dated 15-11-2022 before Notary Public Suratgarh.

0110033444-1

I, Surinder Kumar Taneja, S/o Krishan Lal Taneja, R/o 61, Pkt-1, Ramprastha Green, Sec-7, Vaishali, Ghaziabad, have changed my name to Surrender Kumar Taneja.

0070813735-1

I, Puneet Pal, D/o Mahesh Kumar Pal, R/o 110, MIG First Dabauli West, Udyog Nagar, Kanpur Nagar, Uttar Pradesh-208022, have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Puneeta Pal.

0070813728-1

I, Neelakanta Ramalingeshwar, S/O Neelakanta Kondaiah, R/o 5-8-42/4, 2, Shams Nagar, B T S, Miryala Guda Road, Nagondga, Andhra Pradesh- 508001. I have changed the name of my minor daughter Neelakanta Bruthitha aged about 3 Years and She shall hereafter be known as Neelakanta Bilwasri.

0070813734-1

I, Md Sakir Raza, S/o Md Zakir Hussain, R/o A-148, 2nd Floor, Aram Nagar, Amar Puri Nabi Karim, Pahar Ganj, Central Delhi-110055, have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Sameer Malik.

0070813715-1

I, Kusum, W/o Jai Parkash, R/o 7-B, Gurdev Nagar, Near Bal Singh House, Thanesar, Kurushetra, Haryana-136118, have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Kusum Lata.

0070813729-1

I, Dev Kapil, S/o Bhopal Singh, R/o Kakor Kalan, Baghpatt, Uttar Pradesh-250617, have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Kapil Saroha.

0070813713-1

I,Ritu,W/O-Shrl Rajesh Kumar,R/O-S-1/56-B,Budh Vihar,Phase-1,Delhi-110086,have changed my name to Ritu Singhal.

0040641792-1

I,Roobina Warsi W/O, Mohd Aamir R/o 222 Pratap Khand Vishwakarma Nagar Jhilmil Colony, Delhi 110095 have changed my name to Rubina Warsi for all purposes.

0040641658-1

I,NAWAB MOHAMMAD ZAKKHAR ALDIN KHAN S/o Mohd Ghayasuddin Khan, R/o F-10/14 Joga Bai Extn, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi-110025 have changed my name to NM ZAKKHAR ALDIN KHAN

OVER THE HEDGE by Michael Fry & T Lewis

CALVIN & HOBBS by Bill Watterson

MARVIN by Tom Armstrong

SUDOKU 5025

Difficulty Level 5s

Instructions

To solve a Sudoku puzzle, every digit from 1 to 9 must appear in each of the nine vertical columns, in each of the nine horizontal rows and in each of the nine boxes.

Difficulty Level

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

SOLUTION SUDOKU 5024

It is for general information that I,Anil Kumar Shokeen,S/o-Lt.Sh.Raj Singh residing-D-8, Prashant Vihar,Delhi-110085 also nicknamed as-Sushil declare-that name of mine has-been wrongly-written Sushil,S/o-Lt.Sh.Raj Singh in-my DDA Allotment-Letter of-my Plot No.3,Block-AG, Shalimar Bagh,Delhi-110088. Sushil and Anil Kumar Shokeen is one and the same person. Henceforth will be known as Anil Kumar Shokeen for all purposes. 0040641633-1

कार्यालय अधीक्षण अभियन्ता, राप्र.सा. एवं ज.सा. बांध वृत्त कोटा

--: संशोधन-1 --:

इस कार्यालय को ई-निविदा सूचना संख्या अर्ध.अभि./ 04 वर्ष 2022-23 कार्य Renovation and modification work of Bundi Ka Gothra dam Tehsil Hindoli District Bundi & Paibalapura dam Tehsil Nainwan District Bundi में निम्नानुसार संशोधन किया जाता है।

Existing provision	Amended provision
Guniting/ similar work	Guniting

3.2 (B) में Guniting/ similar work के स्थान पर Guniting पढ़ा जावे।
ऐसे तब तक संशोधन रहेगी।

हस्ता./-
अधीक्षण अभियन्ता,
राप्रसा एवं जसा बांध वृत्त कोटा

UBN No. :- WRD2223WSOB02000
DIPR No. 14422 date 16.11.2022
DIPRC/14791/2022

TENDER NOTICE FOR
SALE OF POWER TURBINE

Brand New Un-used Industrial Steam Turbine (in Original packed condition) is available for Immediate Sale. Details as under-

1. Make

Shin Nippon - Triple Extraction Condensing of ACC design

2. Capacity

24.33MW Gross Generation

3. Steam Inlet

128TPH, 122 Ata, 540°C

4. Process Steam

3 nos. Bleeds for 3 nos. HP heaters, 1 no. Controlled Extraction for Deaerator and Process steam (Process steam = 2.25 Ata, 90TPH)

5. Condensing

0.18Ata, 60TPH (to Air Cooled Condenser)

6. Scope

Shin Nippon Steam turbine with Triveni gearbox and 11kV TDPs alternator, Lube oil system, Control panels (TCP, TGP, AVR), QCNRV, Instruments.

Interested Parties may please submit their Expression of Interest on

Email - turbine24.33mw@gmail.com

MANGALORE ELECTRICITY SUPPLY COMPANY LIMITED

(Government of Karnataka Undertaking)

Corporate Office, MESCOM BHAVANA, Kavoor Cross Road, Belaj, Mangaluru - 575 004.
Ph: 0824-2885795, CIN: U40109 KA 2002 SGC 030425

No. MESCOM/PROC/WORK/171/2022-PROC Date: 16.11.2022

TENDER NOTIFICATION (THROUGH E-PROCUREMENT PORTAL ONLY)

MESCOM invites TENDER for Manufacture & Supply of following material as per technical specification:

Tender No.	Name of the Material proposed for Procurement	Quantity
MESCOM/2022-23/IND898	12.5 MVA, 33/11 KV Power Transformer with OLTC, RTCC & Accessories as per Technical Specifications.	2 Nos.

The interested eligible bidders may log on to www.eproc.karnataka.gov.in on or after 21.11.2022.

Sd/- Superintending Engineer (Ele.)(Proc.) Corporate Office

For Power Related Complaints & Assistance Call Toll Free Number 1912

MEGHALAYA ENERGY CORPORATION LIMITED

Corporate Identification Number: U40101ML2009SGC008374

'ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT'

"LUM JINGSHAI", SHILLONG - 793 001

Phone No: 0364-2590194 Fax No: 0364-2591344.

No. ACM/(II)/1216(A)/2014/87 Dated 18th November 2022

EXPRESSION OF INTEREST

Expression of interest is hereby invited from reputed Firm/Firms for appointment of IRDAI registered Direct Insurance Broker for insurance requirements for MeECL and its three subsidiaries engaged in the business of Generation, Transmission and Distribution of power in the state of Meghalaya. The submission of bid has been fixed till the 13th December 2022 up to 15:00 hrs.

Interested bidders may log on to the website www.meecl.nic.in from the 21st November 2022 where the details of Terms of reference are available.

Firms may submit their bids in the prescribed format along with the Annexures so as to reach the Office of the undersigned within the above mentioned date and time. The bid offers will be opened on the 14th December 2022 at 15:00 hrs. Further, for any queries, email may be sent to meeclcaobudget@gmail.com

(R. Warjri)
Chief Accounts Officer
MeECL, Shillong.

MIPR No.1332 dt. 18/11/2022

"IMPORTANT"

Whilst care is taken prior to acceptance of advertising copy, it is not possible to verify its contents. The Indian Express (P) Limited cannot be held responsible for such contents, nor for any loss or damage incurred as a result of transactions with companies, associations or individuals advertising in its newspapers or Publications. We therefore recommend that readers make necessary inquiries before sending any monies or entering into any agreements with advertisers or otherwise acting on an advertisement in any manner whatsoever.

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR, UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES (PREVENTION) TRIBUNAL, CHAMBER NO. 15, GROUND FLOOR, BLOCK'A', DELHI HIGH COURT, NEW DELHI-110503

RE: Notification bearing No, S.O.4559(E) dated 27th September, 2022, published in the Official Gazette on 28th September, 2022 declaring the Popular Front of India (PFI) and its associates or affiliates or fronts including Rehab India Foundation (RIF), Campus Front of India (CFI), All India Imams Council (AIIC), National Confederation of Human Rights Organization (NCHRO), National Women's Front, Junior Front, Empower India Foundation and Rehab Foundation, Kerala as "unlawful association" in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-sections (1) and (3) of Section-3 of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention), 1967 read with Notification No. S.O. 4758(E) dated 06th October, 2022

To

Popular Front of India (PFI) and its associates or affiliates or fronts

WHEREAS the Central Government in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-sections (1) and (3) of Section 3 of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. 1967 (37 of 1967) (hereinafter referred to as "the Act") has declared Popular Front of India (PFI) and its associates or affiliates or fronts vide Notification No. S.O.4559 (E) dated 27th September, 2022 [published in the Gazette of India: Extraordinary Part II. Section 3 (ii)].

AND WHEREAS by Gazette Notification No. S.O.4758(E) dated 06 October. 2022 [published in the Gazette of India: Extraordinary Part II, Section 3 (ii). in exercise of powers under sub-section (1) of Section 5 read with subsection (1) of Section 4 of the Act, the Central Government has constituted a Tribunal comprising Ho'ble Mr. Justice Dinesh Kumar Sharma, Judge of the High Court of Delhi, for adjudicating as to whether there is sufficient cause for declaring Popular Front of India (PFI) and its associates or affiliates or fronts including Rehab India Foundation (RIF), Campus Front of India (CFI), All India Imams Council (AIIC), National Confederation of Human Rights Organization (NCHRO), National Women's Front, Junior Front, Empower India Foundation and Rehab Foundation, Kerala as "Unlawful Association" as required by sub-section (1) of Section 4 of the said Act.

NOW THEREFORE, a notice is hereby given under sub-section (2) of Section 4 of the Act and you are hereby called upon to show cause, within 30 days from the date of service of notice, as to why your Associations, declared as unlawful, be not adjudicated to be so and why an order confirming such declaration be not made under Section 4(3) of the Act.

The objections/reply affidavits, if any, may be filed/delivered, before the next date of hearing of the Tribunal, to the undersigned at his office in Chamber No. 15, Ground Floor, 'A' Block, Delhi High Court, Sher Shah Road, New Delhi 110503. In case the objections/reply and the documents are in regional language. true English Translation thereof be also attached.

You may appear through a duly authorized person before the Tribunal on 08.12.2022 at 4:00 pm in Court Room No. 24 Ground Floor, 'A' Block. Delhi High Court. Sher Shah Road, New Delhi-110503 for further proceedings.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal, High Court of Delhi, New Delhi this the 31st October, 2022.

Sd/-
(Reetesh Singh)
Registrar
Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Tribunal

DAY TODAY BY PETER VIDAL

ARIES (Mar 21 - Apr 20)

It's easiest to take the line of least resistance and find a reasonable compromise. Probably the only decent way to proceed is to voluntarily insist that other people have their say. That way they'll give you the credit. Impeccable manners will help you achieve your aims, and traditional values will help cement a relationship.

LIBRA (Sep 24 - Oct 23)

Although the general situation is looking very positive, you must realise that in a number of minor issues the sands of time are running out. In particular, a run of social or emotional good luck is now almost coming full circle. That's why you need to pay attention to partners who are disgruntled.

TAURUS (Apr 21 - May 21)

For once the planets are supremely considerate, aligned with your houses of work, partnerships and money in different ways. You could have a conventional day if you wish, but you can also gently experiment with new options. And then you can enjoy family and friendly activities.

GEMINI (May 22 - June 21)

Your basic lunar picture reverses the day's normal arrangements, favouring leisure early on, followed by powerful working influences this evening. This is perfect if you're either a shift worker, or if you only click into gear when evening family obligations take over.

CANCER (June 22 - July 23)

You may not know what to do at work, but that won't prevent you from doing it. You must accept that past decisions may have to be revived, and there is nothing to be ashamed of in admitting that you may have been wrong. In fact, a partner might follow suit and concede that they weren't always right either.

LEO (July 24 - Aug 23)

It's an intriguing day for communication and discussion. This naturally favours those of you with important arguments to make, or interviews to attend. The mood of the week, as will become clear over the next few days, is creative rather than routine.

VIRGO (Aug 24 - Sep 23)

The prevailing mood should be optimistic, but you have to make sure that your expectations match up with reality. Do try to tackle financial issues, amongst which are your own extravagant tendencies. There is nothing wrong with spending more than necessary, just as long as you have the readies in your pocket.

SCORPIO (Oct 24 - Nov 23)

The fact that constructive alignments are powerful today, directly supports elements of your emotional character. Your deep secrecy and concern with justice, should guide your feelings. Your behaviour should be designed to boost the common good rather than merely your own self-interest

SAGITTARIUS (Nov 24 - Dec 22)

This is your week. Don't imagine that what happens on any one day will take place in isolation from the rest of your life. Instead, take a look at the way doors are opening to the future. The more detailed your plans, then the better the outcome will be.

CAPRICORN (Dec 23 - Jan 20)

Happily, the general situation looks very reassuring. At work, a reasonably ambitious day may raise questions of law, morality and rights. An overseas contact may also come to be of increasing significance, and you might have a chance to mend fences with someone you haven't seen for a long time.

AQUARIUS (Jan 21 - Feb 19)

The overwhelming general influence today is nice and pleasant. You should be cushioned against lingering stress in a number of areas, including social engagements. You may be reminded of certain long-term responsibilities late this evening.

PISCES (Feb 20 - Mar 20)

Business partnerships on every level are favoured if your connection is with a young person, preferably a woman capable of exerting a sort of comforting and protective influence. It's also quite simply a good day for domestic bargains, mainly because you've a shrewd head on your shoulders.

Office of the Superintending Engineer PWD Circle Sri Ganganagar

No. 2330 Date: 11/11/2022

NOTICE INVITING BID No. 02/2022-23

NIB No.- PWD2223A2745

Bids for One package of road works in Sri Ganganagar Distt. is invited from interested bidders from dated 14.11.2022 to 05.12.2022 upto 06.00 PM. Other particulars of the bid may be visited on the procurement portal (<http://eproc.rajasthan.gov.in>, <http://sppp.rajinic.in>) of the state; and <http://pwd.rajasthan.gov.in> department website. The approximate value of the procurement is Rs. 361.10 lacs.

UBN-PWD2223WSOB10790

DIPRC/14616/2022

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Out-muscled, out-thought, outplayed

Ecuador show that Qatar may be able hosts, but are quite some way off from being competitive against top opposition



EXPRESS AT WORLD CUP

SANDIP G
DOHA, NOVEMBER 20

QATAR 0-2 ECUADOR

AS THE final whistle blew, one that ripped Qatari hearts like a poisoned arrow, the home players slumped onto the ground dejectedly. They dragged their defeated bodies and defeated minds, ruing the spilled chances at the end and their sloppiness at the start, as sanguine coach Felix Sanchez embraced them and applauded the spectators that had come in droves to support their nation's greatest moment at the global stage.

The sweetest moment had turned into their sourest one too. After a smooth and splendid opening ceremony, the defeat was the anticlimax they had never wanted, or the one they feared. The 2-0 defeat broke their hearts and made their eyes well up in despair, but it was a blatant verdict of where they stand as a footballing nation. Ecuador outplayed, outthought and out-muscled, even without playing their best football, even though their game was error-strewn. Qatar froze, Ecuador pumped in heat and fire, spearheaded by the evergreen Enner Valencia, who put on a vintage show.

Qatar spent the last year drilling their team into a slick unit, even excluding them from league games. But on a windy evening at the magnificent Al Bayt Stadium, Ecuador were the more coordinated side.

The game, though, was won long before the final whistle was blown; the result was a foregone conclusion the moment Valencia and Renato Ibarra began to run the Qatari defence ragged with their immaculate precision and telepathic understanding in the early minutes of the game. Qatar had spent the last year drilling their team into a slick unit, even excluding them from league games. But here, on a windy evening at the magnificent Al Bayt Stadium, Ecuador were clearly the more coordinated side. Qatar were bland and flat, lacking both imagination and grit, as Ecuador repeatedly slit open their defence with fluid passes and bossed the midfield.

Not that Qatar gave up too early. As they staggered off the pitch at half time, with sunken shoulders and flickering eyes, captain Hassan Al Haydos stopped beside the stands near the tunnel to the change room, waved at his fans and gesticulated at the crowd to shout louder, throw their heart and soul deeper into the game. He then wrapped a consolatory arm around goal-keeper Saad Alsheeb, whose sloppy back of Valencia resulted in the penalty, and Ecuador's first goal.

Just minutes ago, he had nearly let another goal in, reacting late to the lobbed ball inside the box and then impetuously rushing to clear it away, but was too slow and ended up punching the air. In those fleeting seconds, Valencia had blazed the ball into the back of the net. When he returned after the break, Haydos pulled a couple of his teammates aside for an animated chat beside the touchline.

There was a sense of urgency, a whiff of a comeback, a scent of hope perhaps, a thrilling narrative waiting to unfold. But



Ecuador players celebrate after scoring their second goal against hosts Qatar at the Al Bayt Stadium on Sunday. AP

nothing significant emerged. Ecuador, as they had in the first half, ripped their defence apart, demonstrating the gulf of quality between the sides. All of Qatar's players ply their trade in the local league, whereas most of Ecuador's feature in the top European leagues.

None perhaps as sparkling as Valencia. For long, Europe's finest coveted him. He was long linked with Manchester United, but eventually ended up at West Ham before joining UANL and now spending the sunset of his career at Fenerbahce. He is 33 and almost a forgotten figure in Europe, lost some of his blinding pace, but has made up for it with ruthlessness in front of goal, a trait that blossomed late. It was his sloppy finishing that hindered his progress from a mid-table club to an elite one. Often, he was accused of show-boating, of wielding an expansive style of game. At the sunset of his career, when no European powerhouse would knock on his doors for his signature, he has ripened into what he always wanted to be, a versatile forward.

Clinical goals

His two goals, the penalty and header, perfectly illustrate his career. There was a hint of arrogant cheekiness. He waited until the moment Alsheeb dived and then caressed the ball into the bottom-right corner. He then grabbed the ball, kissed it and ran towards the raptured Ecuadorian fans. He almost pulled off his jersey but for

Moises Caceido's due intervention. Ecuador cannot afford a yellow card to their spearhead, if they are to nurse serious ambitions of progressing to the last 16, which they have managed just once in four appearances.

Valencia's second symbolised another aspect of his game. The goal originated from a laser-guided pass from Caceido, It fell onto the feet of Angelo Preciado, who stroked a first-time cross to the far post. Valencia was nowhere in the frame, but spun past Bassam Hisham, who must have felt that Valencia was a phantom lurking between the shadows, leapt and stretched every sinew of his neck to power a downward header past Alsheeb, again clueless and petrified.

It's the polish that Valencia could not acquire in his prime. The goal that was eventually ruled out as off-side, the VAR making an instant presence, was from the poacher's manual.

But as much as the goals, his movement off the ball confused Qatari defenders. He twisted and turned, nutmegged and dummed them, so much so that they eventually gave up on him. He combined delectably with Romario Ibarra, a more direct player and threatened to pile even more agony on Qatar. An embarrassment.

though, was saved, even though the defeat would put in perspective that the hosts are a few notches away from putting up a stern test for better teams on the global stage. Qatar might be able hosts, but not so able adversaries on the field.

UNUSUAL OPENER

■ The 2022 edition is the first ever World Cup tournament to see the first goal being scored from the penalty spot, courtesy Ecuador captain Enner Valencia.

■ Valencia scored his fourth and fifth FIFA World Cup goals to become Ecuador's leading scorer in World Cups, overtaking Agustin Delgado (3).

■ Only 11 shots were taken in this match, making it the joint-fewest shots overall in a FIFA World Cup match since 1966.

■ With the 2-0 win, Ecuador have now gone 7 matches - or almost 11 hours - without conceding a goal.

■ With the loss, Qatar became the first nation to lose the opening match at the Men's FIFA World Cup.

Once chased by police, now a national hero

MIHIR VASAVDA
NOVEMBER 20

ECUADOR CAPTAIN Enner Valencia showed incredible calmness while converting the penalty in the 16th minute during the World Cup opener against Qatar at the Al Bayt on Sunday. He scored his - and Ecuador's - second 10 minutes later and could've had a first-half hat-trick but for a disallowed goal in the third minute.

While on the field the 33-year-old forward has always given the impression of being a man in control of what he's doing, his life outside football has often been chaotic.

Most (in)famously, he was once chased by police while being carried off the field during Ecuador's 3-0 win over Chile in a 2018 World Cup qualifying match in Quito. Some reports suggest he faked an injury to avoid being arrested but the video footage of the incident shows Valencia, who played for Premier League side Everton back then, had an oxygen mask put over his face as he was taken to the touchline on a buggy when he was pursued by police officers.

According to reports, he was on police radar following a dispute with his ex-wife over child maintenance payments. Valencia settled the case but it took a toll on his career, as he endured a severe slump of form.

Four years later, Valencia's sister Erci was rescued by Ecuadorian security forces, 10 days after she was kidnapped by heavily armed people in the Ecuadorian town of San Lorenzo. The incident occurred on the same day he was announced as a Fenerbahce player.

Born to a poor family, Valencia did odd jobs to support his family as well as keep his football dreams alive. He had to help take care of his family's livestock in order to make ends meet.



Ecuador skipper Enner Valencia. Reuters

"Yes, it's true that I come from a very poor background. In order to buy my first boots I had to go and work with my dad on the farm milking cows," he once told *Daily Mail*. "I had to sell the milk and stuff in order to afford to buy my first boots. I was forced to sleep at the Capwell Stadium (Emelec's stadium in the city of Guayaquil) I had often to go without eating because I did not have any money," he said. "It was just my love of football that kept me going."

"This is something I've dreamed about since I was a kid, when I was out in the countryside selling milk to buy football boots. Luckily for me, now it's coming true.

"It's an amazing feeling. Words can't express how I felt when I got my head to the ball and realised it was going in. I couldn't stop screaming, I had such a rush of emotion."

After a career full of ups and downs, Valencia found his redemption and that too on the biggest stage of all - the World Cup



SHOWCASE GAME IN A NUTSHELL

GROUP B

England vs Iran

6.30 pm, Khalifa Int'l Stadium
(LIVE ON SPORTS 18 AND JO CINEMA)

The script

THERE IS little doubt that, on paper, England have one of the most talented and well-balanced line-ups at the World Cup this year. But their recent form has been miserable, which has seen them being relegated from League A of the UEFA Nations League, and scrutiny on manager Gareth Southgate has never been higher. The Three Lions, will be keen to open their campaign with a win and ease a bit of pressure.

In Iran, however, they come up against the kind of side they have usually struggled against. Team Melli, as they are known, are back under the tutelage of former Real Madrid coach Carlos Queiroz. A draw against England would be a huge boost for them.

How they'll line up

England: 3-4-2-1

SOUTHGATE IS unlikely to waver from the three at the back, which allows them to maintain defensive shape, and be dangerous from wide on the pitch using their wing-backs.

Likely XI: Pickford; Stones, Maguire, Dier, Trippier, Bellingham, Rice, Shaw; Foden, Mount; Kane

Iran: 4-1-4-1

QUEIROZ TYPICALLY goes for this formation that allows him to have a defensive midfield option to protect their backline as they defend quite deep.

Likely XI: Beiranvand; Moharrami, Kanaani, Khalilzadeh, Hajisafi; Ezatollahi; Jahanbakhsh, Nourollahi, Amiri, Taremi; Ansarifard

The schemer

IRAN'S BIGGEST star is Bayer Leverkusen forward Sardar Azmoun, dubbed the 'Iranian Messi', but his place in the starting XI is in doubt given his recent injury troubles, putting their goalscoring responsibility on FC Porto's Mehdi Taremi. Taremi has scored 20 goals in the Portuguese league last season and is the third-highest scorer in this year's Champions League group stage. His versatility is what makes him a threat. He's also great at set-pieces.

Language of football

■ **Havaa-shi**
■ **Origin:** Iran
■ **Translation:** Sidelines

It's a term used to describe the rumours and gossip that take place on the sidelines. Of late, Iranian stars have been a routine topic of havaa-shi - since their build-up to the tournament has been dominated by the team's show of support for those protesting the establishment in the wake of the death of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini, who was arrested for not wearing a hijab.

Other Matches

Senegal vs Netherlands
9.30pm, Al Thumama Stadium
USA vs Wales
12.30am, Al-Rayyan Stadium

Bouncing back from cancer: Netherlands coach Van Gaal's last dance at the World Cup

MIHIR VASAVDA
NOVEMBER 20

FOR THE players who trained under him for more than a year, Louis van Gaal was a man of rules and a disciplinarian who'd be dressed in a loose tracksuit, was always close to blowing his top and whose raised eyebrow would often mean trouble for someone.

Beneath the stern exterior, what they did not see was a 71-year-old in his most vulnerable state - a man who had a catheter and a colostomy bag fitted under the ill-fitting tracksuit, and who would sneak out at night, either after training or a World Cup qualifying match, to go to the hospital.

What they did not know was Van Gaal was suffering from an aggressive form of prostate cancer and had undergone 25 chemotherapy sessions, some even after he took charge of the Dutch side in August 2021.

As the players gave it all on the pitch to en-

sure the Netherlands returned to the stage where they belong - the World Cup - after failing to qualify four years ago, their coach was battling for his life. Van Gaal never mentioned a word of any of this to the players. He spoke about it for the first time only after the Netherlands qualified for the World Cup, and when the doctors assured him that the treatment was successful.

Last week, in an interview with the Dutch newspaper NRC, Van Gaal said the reason he hid his illness was to ensure the players focussed on the game and 'not worry about their trainer's illness.' There was another reason, which gave a glimpse into Van Gaal's personality. "Man is weak by nature. I am an exception," he told the NRC.

It was typical Van Gaal - he'd never hide his emotions but not reveal his vulnerabilities either: "I'm made of a little bit of iron," he'd once said in a press conference after taking charge as the Manchester United boss. "So I have a shield, an iron shield."



Louis van Gaal underwent 25 chemotherapy sessions. Reuters

It was a statement by a man devoid of any insecurity and who had loads of self-confidence, built on the back of a glorious coaching career that has seen him win trophies with Ajax, Barcelona, AZ Alkmaar, Bayern Munich

and Manchester United.

He may longer be a path-breaking coach, a great thinker of the sport that he was, say, until a decade ago. But Van Gaal - who has a suite name after him at a posh five-star hotel in the Dutch city of Noordwijk (former Netherlands coaches Bert van Marwijk, Guus Hiddink and Dick Advocaat, too, have suites named after them at this hotel but Van Gaal insists his is the 'best and most popular') - remains one of the most compelling figures in football.

When Ronald Koeman quit as the Netherlands coach two years ago to take charge of Barcelona, captain Virgil van Dijk and other influential players in the squad, including Memphis Depay and Georginio Wijnaldum, told the national federation to appoint a coach was a 'people manager who would give players a lot of freedom', the NRC reported.

The KNVB - the Dutch federation - turned to Frank de Boer, a lifelong student of Van Gaal's methods, but his stint quickly turned into a disappointment after he was removed after the

Netherlands were eliminated in the Round of 16 of the Euros last year.

At this point, Van Gaal had retired from football. He was, in his own words, a 'pensioner'. He wasn't a 'people manager' that the players wanted as well. Anything but that, in fact. He didn't care for reputations, made deep tactical assessments of his team and the rivals, and wasn't afraid to publicly admonish his players if needed, as was the case with Wijnaldum after he joined the training camp being 'out of shape'.

Yet, there was little resistance when KNVB chose him as a coach, oblivious to the fact that he was diagnosed with cancer. For Van Gaal, it was a chance to redeem himself. For all he'd achieved at the club level, his two previous stints with the Dutch side weren't successful.

irst term ended in a fiasco after the Netherlands failed to qualify for the 2002 World Cup in South Korea and Japan. In his second attempt, at the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, the Netherlands defied expectations by reach-

ing the semifinals but with the kind of talent that was at his disposal, the inability to reach the final was seen as a failure of sorts.

This, now, is his last dance.

His record since taking over the team while battling cancer simultaneously is rather impressive - the Netherlands have played 15 games, won 11 and drawn four, and scored 41 goals in the process. His use of wing-backs and the mouthwatering possibility of playing Luuk de Jong, Wout Weghorst and Vincent Janssen - if Van Gaal starts with his pet 4-3-3 formation - could spell trouble for the opponents, especially in the group stage where the Dutch are paired up with Qatar, Ecuador and Senegal, against whom they open their campaign on Monday.

Despite almost half a decade of under-achieving, Van Gaal believes the Netherlands have a 'great chance' of becoming world champions. Old and fragile he may be, but his confidence isn't shaken

BRIEFLY

Youth Boxing
Worlds: eight Indians
advance to quarters

Lu Nucia: Reigning Asian youth champions Vishwanath Suresh and Vanshaj were among eight Indian boxers who advanced to the quarterfinals of the Youth World Boxing Championships in La Nucia, Spain. Vishwanath (48kg) was up against Attrattivo Salvatore of Italy and the Chennai boxer produced a clinical performance to convincingly win the pre-quarterfinal bout 5-0. Vanshaj (63.5kg), who hails from Sonipat, displayed his power and technical superiority to blank Spain's Kakulov Enrique 5-0 and make it to the quarterfinals. Jadumani Singh (51kg), Ashish (54kg) and Deepak (75kg) were the other three men boxers to win their bouts unanimously and move to the last eight stage. **PTI**

FC Goa script win
against ATKMB

Margao: After losing three and drawing one against ATK Mohun Bagan in all previous matches, FC Goa finally registered their first victory against the Mariners in the Indian Super League (ISL) here on Sunday. Aibanhba Dohling, Mohamed Fares Amaout and Noah Wail Sadaoui were on target to spoil Juan Ferrando's return to Fatorda with a 3-0 win. The win helped FC Goa leap from seventh to third in the ISL table, three points shy of Mumbai City FC with a game in hand. ATK Mohun Bagan dropped one place to sixth, level on points with Chennaiyin FC. Both sides will be in action on November 26. The Gaurs will be up against Bengaluru FC at home, while the Mariners will host Hyderabad FC. **PTI**

Carlsen crushes
Praggnanandhaa

San Francisco: Indian Grandmaster Arjun Erigaisi scored a fine win over speed game specialist Quang Liem Le while his compatriot R Praggnanandhaa was outplayed by world No.1 Magnus Carlsen in the penultimate round of the Meltwater Champions Tour Finals on Sunday. Erigaisi moved up to fourth place with the 2.5-0.5 win over his opponent while Praggnanandhaa slipped to seventh after the sixth round. Meanwhile, Carlsen with the 2.5-0.5 demolition of the 17-year old Indian GM, won the Tour Finals with a round to spare. **PTI**

Surya ton sings Kiwis

With unbeaten 111 off just 51 balls, Yadav shines as India outclass Black Caps

EXPRESSNEWSSERVICE
NOVEMBER 20

SURYAKUMAR YADAV continued his purple patch, further proving his credentials as the best T20 batsman in the world, as his masterly unbeaten 111 off just 51 balls took India to a resounding 65-run win over New Zealand at Mount Maunganui on Sunday.

The first game of the three-match series was washed out but Yadav lit the second match with his pyrotechniques.

He took India to 191/6 after they were put in to bat, and the Kiwis never threatened the target, bundled out for 126 with skipper Kane Williamson providing the sole resistance with 61. Deepak Hooda was the surprise with the ball, snaring 4/10.

The recent T20 World Cup in Australia had added to Yadav's aura, and he continued in the same way after crossing the Tasman Sea.

After the match was interrupted by rain in the first half of the Indian innings, Yadav took charge and the home bowlers had no answers to his onslaught. It was only a 20th-over hat-trick by veteran Tim Southee that prevented India from reaching the 200-run mark.

"In T20, a hundred is always special but at the same time, it was really important for me to bat till the very end. Hardik (Pandya) was telling me to bat till the 18th or 19th over and get to a score of 185 or so. After the end of the 16th over, we had a chat about taking it deep.

"It was important to maximise the last few overs. I have been doing the same things over and over again, in the nets and it's just coming off for me," Yadav told Prime Video about his innings that featured 11 fours and seven sixes.

The Mumbai batsman offered a peek into his confident attitude.

After 10-12 overs, I just started batting fearlessly to express myself. My innings took off like a rocket because there weren't too many runs on the board. It is always better to have more runs. The ground was getting wet so, I thought, I must try to accumulate as many runs as possible at that juncture."

The hosts were never in the chase after suffering a setback in the first over when the dangerous Finn Allen was dismissed by Bhuvneshwar Kumar. Williamson and Devon Conway steadied the ship to an extent, but the asking rate kept climbing.

After the opener was dismissed in the eighth over, wickets continued to fall around the captain.

Pandya, anointed skipper for the white-ball tour, was delighted with another Surya special and also with a batsmen (Hooda) chipping in with the ball.

"Can't get any better than this. Everyone chipped in but it was surely a special innings by Surya. We would have taken a score of 170-



Suryakumar Yadav celebrates after scoring a century on Sunday.

AP

The recent T20 World Cup in Australia had added to Yadav's aura, and he continued in the same way after crossing the Tasman Sea. He took charge and the home bowlers had no answers to his onslaught.

175," Pandya said during the post-match presentation.

"Bowlers did well and it was about being aggressive in the mindset. It doesn't mean taking a wicket every ball, but being aggressive with the ball is important.

"The conditions were very wet, so credit to the bowlers. I have bowled a lot. Going forward, I want to see more bowling options. Not always that this will work but I want more batters to chip in with the ball," the captain added.

Williamson, no mean batsman himself, was left to admire Yadav's batsmanship.

"Surya's innings was out of this world. One of the best knocks I've ever seen. Some of those shots, I've never seen before. They were outstanding," the Kiwi captain offered graciously.

"...His innings was the difference. Sometimes, a special innings can happen,

SURYA VS INDIA

Nation	R	B	4s	6s
SKY	111	51	11	7
Rest of India	69	69	7	2

NUMBER PLATE

217- Surya Kumar Yadav's strike rate against New Zealand in the second T20I.

58% - The percentage of runs scored by SKY in India's total of 191 runs.

Surya is the best player in the world."

The two teams play the final match of the T20 series in Napier on Tuesday, before the three-match ODI series gets underway in Auckland on Friday.

BRIEF SCORES: India 191/6 in 20 overs (Suryakumar Yadav 111 not out; Tim Southee 3/34) beat New Zealand 126 all out in 18.5 overs (Kane Williamson 61; Deepak Hooda 4/10) by 65 runs.

Verstappen signs off with record-extending win

ASSOCIATED PRESS
NOVEMBER 20

A YEAR after one of the most controversial finishes in the history of Formula One, Sunday's Abu Dhabi Grand Prix was anything but.

Max Verstappen, as usual this season, was far ahead of the rest on his way to a record-extending 15th win of the season. "Incredible to win again here, 15th win of the season is unbelievable," Verstappen said. "It's been really enjoyable to work with the whole team and to be able to achieve something like this this year."

At the track where he beat Lewis Hamilton last year - after a restart call that is still hotly disputed to this day - Verstappen held off his teammate Sergio Perez at the start and didn't face a serious challenge after that in the season-ending race. Instead, much of the attention was on retiring four-time champion Sebastian Vettel battling in the midfield pack in his final race, while a hydraulic problem ended Lewis Hamilton's race for Mercedes as the seven-time champion finished an F1 season without a win for the first time in his career.

"I am very pleased it is over and done with," Hamilton said. "I gave it everything, but ultimately the last race was like my whole season. It summed up my year."

There was potential for a fight for second place on track and in the championship standings, but little real drama. Perez and Ferrari's Charles Leclerc came into the race equal on points, just like Verstappen and Lewis Hamilton did last year. Leclerc got past Perez by opting for one less pit stop and managed his old tires so that Perez couldn't get close enough to try an overtake.

That thwarted Red Bull's bid to have its drivers place first and second, as Leclerc finished three points ahead of Perez in the standings. It meant Verstappen's refusal to yield sixth place to his teammate at the last race in Brazil - which left Red Bull facing questions over an apparent rift in the team and was followed by a wave of abusive comments on social media aimed at Verstappen and his family - turned out not to be decisive at the end of the season.

"I knew the only possibility to beat Checo (Perez) today was with a different strategy and playing with the tire management, which we did really well today," Leclerc said. "I really hope next year we can do a step forward to fight for the championship."

Leclerc and Ferrari seemed able to challenge Verstappen for the title at the start of the season, but Red Bull improved its car performance advantage through the season. Errors on track from Leclerc and in Ferrari's race strategy held them back too.

Carlos Sainz was fourth in the other



Red Bull's Max Verstappen on the podium after winning the Abu Dhabi Grand Prix.

Ferrari, while George Russell was fifth despite a five-second penalty when the Mercedes team released him from a pit stop into the path of another car. Lando Norris was sixth for McLaren, ahead of Alpine's Esteban Ocon, Aston Martin's Lance Stroll and Norris's teammate Daniel Ricciardo, who is without a race contract for 2023 and is likely to be Red Bull's reserve driver next year.

Vettel bows out

Four-times world champion Sebastian Vettel said there was more to life than "racing in circles" as he brought the curtain down on his Formula One career with a points-scoring finish in Sunday's season-ending Abu Dhabi Grand Prix.

The 35-year-old German raced his heart out from his ninth-place grid spot in his Aston Martin, engaging in a wheel-to-wheel battle with Alpine's Esteban Ocon over several laps.

But he could do no more than pick up the final point on offer for 10th after his hopes of a bigger score were compromised by a one-stop strategy.

"I enjoyed the race," said Vettel who capped a glittering career of 53 wins and four world titles with celebratory tyre-smoking donuts on the start-finish straight.

"I think it was a bit of a different warm up today to get into the race but once the lights go off it's full on race mode."

Vettel's impending retirement had triggered an outpouring of affection for the former Red Bull and Ferrari driver.

The tributes have flooded in, with the German's stand on social issues and the environment and his conduct with rivals, peers, colleagues and fans endearing him to many.

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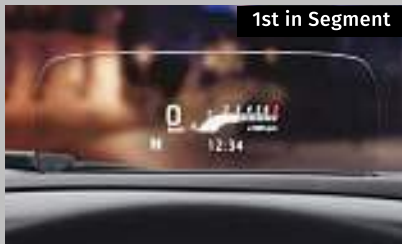
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*T&C apply. Offers may vary across variants. Maruti Suzuki reserves the right to withdraw offers at any point in time. Smart Finance available only in select cities. Creative Visualization. Black Glass on vehicle is due to lighting effect. ^For details on functioning of safety features including air bag, kindly refer to the Owners manual.