







# India 75

### Unity as key

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### The decentralisation dream

T.R. Raghunandan on why local governments need to be empowered more

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ILLUSTRATION: SATYESH VELLINEZH

*The Hindu* is marking 75 years of India's Independence with a special issue of articles that cover the nation's birth pangs after Partition, the adoption of Parliamentary democracy and a federal Constitution, the challenges of internal security and external threats, a development paradigm that drew on lessons from other countries and yet was in many ways uniquely Indian, and the hard-won achievements in science, culture, and sports. They are both an assessment of the past and a vision of the future, a recognition of the difficulties and an understanding of the possibilities. Contributors include eminent social scientists, former public officials, and senior journalists. *The Hindu* greets its readers on 75 years of India's Independence with this special edition.

— Suresh Nambath, Editor





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FORMING MEN AND WOMEN FOR AND WITH OTHERS



### ST JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY

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A VERY HAPPY  
75TH INDEPENDENCE DAY.

Saluting those who bled for our motherland  
In whose sacrifice, today, free we stand,  
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**India Shining - Shri Vajpayee Govt.**

- Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee became the Prime Minister when NDA came to power in 1998.
- **Sarva Shiksha Campaign** was implemented during his term, which made education a fundamental right for children aged between 6 and 14.
- **The New Telecom Policy**, formulated during his term, revolutionized India's telecom sector.
- **The Golden Quadrilateral Road Project**, which connected four Metros, gave further thrust to India's development.
- **The river-linking project**, envisaged to address the drought situation in the country, was one of Vajpayee's dream projects.



**A New Era of Development under Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi**

- Shri Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister in 2014. During his term, many revolutionary transformations have taken place in the country.
- **By abolishing Article 370**, Shri Modi took a bold decision to resolve the Kashmir impasse. **Foundation stone has been laid for the New Ram Temple in Ayodhya.**
- With the implementation of **GST**, Indian economy has received a significant fillip. The handling of the Covid-19 epidemic in India received praise from WHO and world leaders.
- Schemes such as **PM Gareeb Kalyan Anna Yojan, PM Kisan Samman Scheme and PM Awas Yojana**, which benefit the farmers, labourers, and the poor, have been launched and implemented.
- **Ayushman Bharat PM Jan Arogya Yojana** has been implemented to make quality health care services accessible to the poor.
- Under NDA rule and Shri Modi's leadership, India is striding towards a bright future.



**Promising steps towards a great future**

In Karnataka, Shri Basavaraj Bommai-led Govt. has given significant thrust to welfare measures and comprehensive development of the state with the goal of building a prosperous Karnataka for the development of all.

<p><b>Amritha Schemes</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implementation of Amritha Schemes for various development programmes as part of India's 75th Independence Day celebrations</li> </ul>	<p><b>Focus on welfare of SC/ST</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rs.28,234 crore allocated under SCSP/TSP projects</li> <li>• Rs.580.19 crore grants and additional grants of Rs.410 crore for SC/ST Corporations. Total Rs.990.19 crore</li> <li>• Rs.572.18 crore scholarships for SC/ST students</li> <li>• Free electricity to poor SC/ST families raised from 45 units to 75 units. To benefit 39.25 Lakh families.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Stree Samarthyaa</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To further enhance business activity in SHGs, Rs. 500 crore community capital corpus released to 33,333 SHGs @ Rs.1.5 lakh per SHG. To benefit 3.9 lakh women.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Vidyanidhi Scheme for farmers and poor</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raitha Vidyanidhi Scheme: Rs.439.95 crore worth of scholarships distributed to 10.03 lakh children of farmers. The scheme has been extended to the children of fishermen, yellow board taxi drivers and weavers.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Fisheries-Dairy Farming-Sericulture</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Matsya Siri' Scheme to improve the income of fishermen. Under this scheme, 100 deep sea shipping vessels will be introduced in the State.</li> <li>• To establish Ksheerasmrudhi Cooperative Bank for the benefit of milk producers</li> <li>• Incentive increased by Rs.50 for every kg of bivoltine cocoons</li> </ul>	<p><b>Priority for education</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Karnataka - the first State to implement National Education Policy 2020</li> <li>• Seven Govt. Engineering Colleges of the State upgraded as Karnataka Institute of Technology (KIT)</li> <li>• Historical step taken to build 8101 classrooms at a cost of Rs.1,412 crore</li> </ul>
<p><b>Swami Vivekananda Yuva Shakti Yojane</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constitution of 27,395 "Swami Vivekananda SHGs @ 1 SHG per GP to encourage the rural youth to take up self-employment and economic activities. Goal to provide skill training to 65 lakh rural youth.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Regional Balance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grants for the development of Kalyana Karnataka doubled.</li> <li>• Rs. 3,000 crore allocated.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Karnataka No. 1 in FDI</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MoUs for 1.31 lakh crore worth of investment signed at the World Economic Forum held in Davos and later</li> </ul>



BJP - KARNATAKA

76<sup>th</sup> Independence Day Greetings to all the citizens of the State

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸರ್ಕಾರ

**ಕಲ್ಯಾಣ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಪ್ರದೇಶ**

**ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಮಂಡಳಿ, ಕಲಬುರಗಿ**

**ನಾಡಿನ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಜನತೆಗೆ**

**ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ದಿನಾಚರಣೆ**

**ಅಮೃತ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವದ**

**ಹಾರ್ಡಿಕ ಶುಭಾಶಯಗಳು**

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ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ಅಮೃತ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವ

















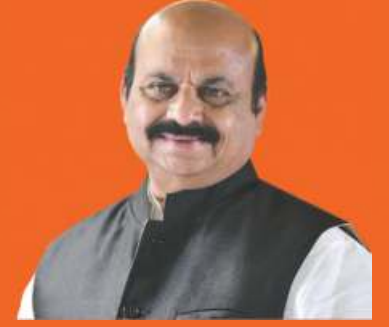





**Shri Narendra Modi**  
 Hon'ble Prime Minister



**NAVA KARNATAKA  
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**Shri Basavaraj S. Bommai**  
 Hon'ble Chief Minister

## OUR PLEDGE

### Fulfilling the aspirations of New India & building a prosperous Karnataka for the development of all

On the occasion of India's 76th Independence Day, we must remember the sacrifices of our freedom fighters and take a pledge to build India of their dreams. Under Prime Minister Sri Narendra Modi's able leadership, India has made significant strides in the last eight years. In Karnataka, Sri Basavaraj Bommai-led government has introduced several welfare and development-oriented schemes and is implementing them successfully.



#### Amritha Schemes



- Implementation of Amritha Schemes for various development programmes as part of India's 75<sup>th</sup> Independence Day celebrations

#### Farmers' Welfare



- Secondary Agricultural Directorate established to boost farmers' income
- Raitha Shakti Yojane: Diesel subsidy @ Rs.250 per acre to encourage mechanization in agriculture (Max. 5 acres). Rs.400 crore allocated.
- PM Krishi Samman Scheme: Rs.1,975.12 crore distributed to 50.35 lakh farmers in 2021-22 and Rs.956.71 crore distributed to 47.83 lakh farmers through DBT
- Farm mechanization: Distribution of Rs.483.56 Crore assistance to agriculture processing units. 4.54 lakh farmers benefitted
- PM Krishi Sinchayee Scheme: Drip irrigation systems installed in the farms of 3.12 lakh farmers
- Krishi Sanjeevini Scheme: 160 Mobile Crop Health Clinics dedicated to the nation for the proper management of pests, disease, weed problem and deficiency of soil nutrient deficiencies
- National Award for Karnataka for Agriculture Infrastructure Fund scheme

#### Vidyanidhi Scheme



- Raitha Vidyanidhi Scheme: Rs.439.95 crore worth of scholarships distributed to 10.03 lakh children of farmers. The scheme has been extended to the children of fishermen, yellow board taxi drivers and weavers.

#### SC-ST Welfare



- Rs.28,234 crore allocated under SCSP/TSP projects
- Rs.580.19 crore grants and additional grants of Rs.410 crore for SC/ST Corporations. Total Rs.990.19 crore
- Rs.572.18 crore scholarships for SC/ST students
- Free electricity to poor SC/ST families raised from 45 units to 75 units. 39.25 Lakh families will be benefitted.
- Construction of 100 Ambedkar Hostels and 10 KREIS Residential School buildings at a cost of Rs.750 crore.

#### Stree Samarthya



- Stree Samarthya: To further enhance business activity in SHGs, Rs. 500 crore community capital corpus released to 33,333 SHGs @ Rs.1.5 lakh per SHG. To benefit 3.9 lakh women.
- Rs.75 crore seed capital released to 7,500 women SHGs to establish small businesses under Amrutha SHG Micro Enterprise Scheme

#### Swami Vivekananda Yuva Shakti Yojane



- Swami Vivekananda Yuva Shakti Yojane: Constitution of 27,395 "Swami Vivekananda SHGs" @ 1 SHG per GP to encourage the rural youth to take up self-employment and economic activities.
- Goal to provide skill training to 65 lakh rural youth.

#### Fisheries-Dairy Farming-Sericulture



- 'Matsya Siri' Scheme to improve the income of fishermen. Under this scheme, 100 deep sea shipping vessels will be introduced in the State.
- To establish Ksheerasmruddhi Cooperative Bank for the benefit of milk producers
- Rs.10,000 incentive per tonne of bivoltine cocoons
- Incentive increased by Rs.50 for every kg of bivoltine cocoons

#### Welfare of Other Backward Communities

- Rs.2,249.66 crore allocated for Backward Classes Welfare Department for 2022-23.
- The allocation for all boards and corporations for OBCs is Rs.478.09 crore for 2022-23
- Construction of well-equipped buildings for 50 "Kanakadasa" hostels of backward communities housed in rented buildings at a cost of Rs.165 Crore.

#### Health & Family Welfare



- Special measures for COVID management. 11.56 crore COVID vaccines administered
- Opening of 438 'Namma Clinics' underway in prominent cities
- Upgradation of 100 Primary Health Centres (71 PHCs from North Karnataka) into Community Health Centres.

#### Karnataka No. 1 Investment Destination



- No. 1 in FDI. MoUs for 1.31 lakh crore worth of investment signed at the World Economic Forum held in Davos and later
- Karnataka has bagged first place in Niti Aayog's India Innovation Index 2022
- Special Employment Policy approved to create job opportunities for the local youth

#### Support for weavers & construction workers



- Assistance under Nekara Samman increased from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000
- Scholarships introduced for children of building construction workers. Rs. 462.12 crore distributed to 2.97 lakh students.

#### Social Security



- Monthly pension increased by Rs.200 for widows, differently-abled and beneficiaries under Sandhya Suraksha, Manasvini and Maitri Schemes.
- Acid Victims' monthly pension increased from Rs.3,000 to Rs.10,000.
- Pension increased from Rs.1,400 to Rs.2,000 for those with a 75% mental disorder.
- Altogether, 74.22 lakh beneficiaries will be benefitted.
- Monthly Honorarium of Asha, Anganwadi Workers/Assistants, Cook-cum-Helpers engaged in Midday Meal Scheme, Village Assistants raised by Rs.1,000.

#### Urban Development



- Chief Minister's Amrutha Nagarothana Yojane: Rs.6,000 crore allocated for development of Bengaluru infrastructure.
- Chief Minister's Amrutha Nagarothana Yojane: (Local Bodies) Rs.3,885 crore allocated.

#### Priority for education



- Karnataka - the first State to implement National Education Policy 2020
- Seven Govt. Engineering Colleges of the State upgraded as Karnataka Institute of Technology (KIT)
- Historical step taken to build 8101 classrooms at a cost of Rs.1,412 crore

#### Increase in agricultural production

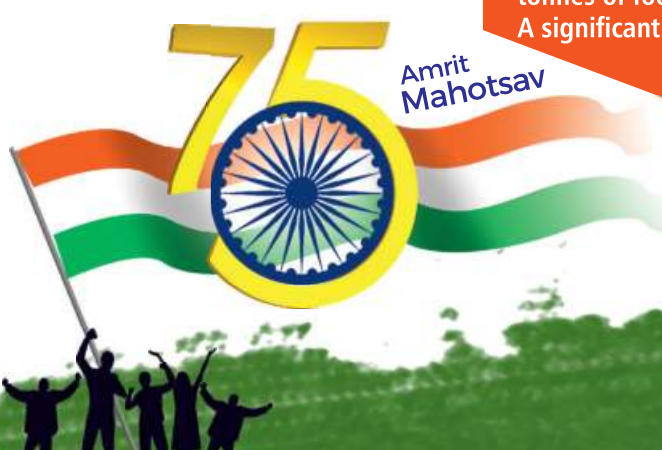


- Karnataka produced 160.28 lakh tonnes of foodgrains in 2020-21. A significant record to date.

#### Amrit Mahotsav



- Amruthabharathige Kannadadarathi program as part of the Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav 75 books on freedom fighters released.
- To identify places of 75 freedom fighters and build their memorials. PM Modi appreciated this during his 'Man-Ki-Baat' speech.
- PM's 'Har Ghar Tiranga' campaign has received an overwhelming response in Karnataka. Our heartfelt thanks to the people of Karnataka.



**76<sup>th</sup> Independence Day Greetings  
 to all the citizens of the State**





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**Stock investor Rakesh Jhunjhunwala dies at the age of 62**  
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**Shinde keeps Urban Development, Fadnavis gets Home, Finance**  
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**U.S. Congressional team makes unannounced visit to Taiwan**  
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**Salman Rushdie's agent confirms he is on the road to recovery**  
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**NEARBY**



**The firing that changed the course of struggle**  
 BENGALURU  
 Vidurashwatha witnessed a ghastly "massacre" — as described by eyewitnesses — of 32 freedom fighters in police firing for trying to hoist the tricolour on April 25, 1938.  
 KARNATAKA • PAGE 6

**Govt. under fire for its media advertisement**

BENGALURU  
 The dropping of Jawaharlal Nehru from the list of freedom fighters in the State government's media advertisement that appeared on Sunday came under sharp criticism from progressive writers and the Congress, which sought an apology from the Chief Minister.  
 SOUTH • PAGE 8

**Madhuswamy's remarks embarrass BJP**

BENGALURU/MYSURU  
 A purported audio of Law and Parliamentary Affairs Minister J.C. Madhuswamy, who is heard telling that "the government is not functioning" has gone viral on social media, causing embarrassment to the BJP government.  
 SOUTH • PAGE 8  
 INDIA @ 75 SPECIAL FEATURE  
 ► 12 PAGES  
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## India proved sceptics wrong, says President

'Democracy not only grew roots here, it was enriched too'

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
 NEW DELHI

Greeting all Indians in her address on the eve of Independence Day, President Droupadi Murmu on Sunday said the event marked the day when the people had freed themselves from the shackles of colonial rulers and decided to reshape the country's destiny.

"As all of us celebrate the anniversary of that day, we bow to all those men and women who made enormous sacrifices to make it possible for us to live in a free India," the President said and added that August 14 is observed as Partition Horrors Remembrance Day so as to promote social harmony, unity and empowerment.

Ms. Murmu said this Independence Day was a cause of celebration not only for all Indians but also for every advocate of democracy around the world. She said India proved wrong the sceptics who doubted the success of the democratic form of government in the country.

**'Universal franchise'**  
 "India, after so many years of exploitation at the hands of foreign rulers, was marked by poverty and illiteracy. But we Indians proved the sceptics wrong. Democ-



**Proud occasion:** President Droupadi Murmu addressing the nation on the eve of the 76th Independence Day in New Delhi. • PTI

**...after Independence, all the generations have toiled hard; how we met great challenges and how we have taken charge of our destiny. The lessons learnt in the process will prove useful as we move towards the next milestone in the journey of the nation — the Amrit Kaal, the 25 years to the celebration of the centenary of our Independence. We will have given a concrete shape to the vision of those who, led by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, drafted the Constitution**  
 DROUPADI MURMU, President of India

racy not only grew roots in this soil, it was enriched too," she said citing the example of universal adult franchise right since the beginning of the Republic.

She said at the beginning of civilisation, saints and seers of this land had developed a vision of humanity that was defined by equality of all; indeed, oneness of all.

She said the celebrations of Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav were dedicated to the people of India. "Indian Trico-

lour is fluttering in every nook and corner of the country. Great martyrs would have been thrilled to see the spirit of the Independence Movement coming alive again on such a massive scale," she said. She said for a country like India, the passage of 75 years is merely a blink of an eye. "But for us as individuals, it is a lifetime."

CONTINUED ON ► PAGE 14  
 MURMU INVOKES KUVEMPU IN ADDRESS ► PAGE 8

## A cross-border family's visa travails

Man gets visa after six years to visit family in India

SUHASINI HAIDAR  
 NEW DELHI

Days before Independence Day celebrations of Pakistan and India, Ganpat Singh received a call he has long been waiting for. The Indian High Commission in Islamabad said his visa to India was approved on Saturday, granting him freedom to meet his family in India after six long, tragic years.

Mr. Singh is a Pakistani citizen born in the Hindu Rajput Sodha community, based in the Umarnot (ear-



**Across borders:** Dimple Kanwar lives in India, while her spouse, Ganpat Singh, is a Pakistani citizen. • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

lier Amarnot) principality of the Sindh Province. As the ties between India and Pakistan collapsed after the Uri attack in September 2016, so did his world, as he was "blacklisted".

"When my visa was first rejected, I thought it must be

a mistake. They said I had been 'blacklisted' for overstaying in India, though I had applied for extensions online. I couldn't believe it," he said on the phone to *The Hindu*.

CONTINUED ON ► PAGE 14

Political row over Partition remembrance

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
 NEW DELHI

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday paid homage to all those who lost their lives during Partition and applauded the "resilience as well as grit" of all those who suffered.

Targeting the Prime Minister, the Congress said the tragedy of Partition was being used as fodder to fuel "hate and prejudice".

CONTINUED ON ► PAGE 14

## Ratio of women judges has risen considerably: U.U. Lalit

'Virtual courts have opened new frontiers'

KRISHNADAS RAJAGOPAL  
 NEW DELHI

Chief Justice of India-designate Uday Umesh Lalit believes the ratio of women judges has risen considerably in the 75 years of Independence as more women find a judicial career acceptable.

Justice Lalit, speaking to *The Hindu* on Sunday, said "the picture may change in the next 10 or 15 years. Today, we are completing 75 years of Independence, maybe when we complete 100 years, the ratio of women in judiciary would be completely different".



Reacting to whether the retirement age of judges should be increased from 65 to 67, Justice Lalit said, "This is for the lawmakers to decide."

The CJI-designate said "virtual courts have opened new frontiers and smudged geographical boundaries".

Justice Lalit said the collegium presided by Chief Justice of India N.V. Ramana, of which he is a part of, made 255 recommendations to the High Courts in 11 months.

INTERVIEW ON ► PAGE 14

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**76<sup>TH</sup> INDEPENDENCE DAY**

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# Chamarajpet turns into fortress for I-Day

Over 850 police personnel, including eight platoons of KSRP, have been deployed at the Idgah Maidan

STAFF REPORTER  
BENGALURU

Chamarajpet has turned into a fortress with heavy police deployment as the State government has organised a programme to hoist the tricolour at the controversial Idgah Maidan on Monday morning.

As Hindutva organisations sought permission to hold a host of events at the Idgah Maidan in June, its ownership turned controversial as both the civic body and the Karnataka State Board of Auqaf claimed ownership.

The BBMP recently turned down an application by the Wakf Board for khata in its name and declared the Karnataka Revenue Department



Personnel from the Rapid Action force and State police at the Idgah Maidan in Bengaluru on Sunday. ■PTI

as the default owner of the land, a decision being contested by the Wakf Board.

Following this, Revenue Minister R. Ashok chaired a meeting and decided that the

department will hoist the tricolour at the grounds. Assistant Commissioner will hoist the flag at 8 a.m. Monday with local MLA B.Z. Zameer Ahmed Khan and MP Tejaswi

Surya as chief guests.

Home Minister Araga Jnanendra visited Idgah Maidan on Sunday evening with DG&IGP Praveen Sood and City Police Commissioner C.H. Pratap Reddy in tow and inspected security arrangements at the grounds. He said adequate security arrangements had been made and expressed confidence that the Independence Day would pass off without any untoward incident.

Over 850 police personnel, including Rapid Action Force commandos and eight platoons of Karnataka State Reserve Police (KSRP), have been deployed at the grounds, Laxman B. Nibargi, DCP (West), told mediaper-

sons earlier in the day.

The city police have also conducted multiple route marches in Chamarajpet and surrounding areas of Valmikinagar, Azadnagar, and Tipunagar over the last two days. The police have also reportedly put the ground under constant surveillance of over 100 CCTV cameras, as they feel there was a threat to the Idgah arch at the grounds.

Meanwhile, several Hindutva organisations, including BJP leaders like national general secretary C. T. Ravi, have demanded permission to install a Ganesha idol at the grounds for the festival in the month-end. However, the Revenue Department is yet to take a call on the issue.

# 18 police officers win President's medal

STAFF REPORTER  
BENGALURU

Eighteen police officers from the State have been awarded the police medal for meritorious service by the President of India on the occasion of I-Day.

N. Srinivas, principal, SP, PTS Kadur, Pratap Singh Thorat, Dy. SP, Bantwal, T.M. Shivakumar, Dy. SP, High Court

Security, J.H. Inamdar, Dy. SP, DCRB Kalaburagi, N.T. Srinivasa Reddy, Dy. SP, CID Forest Cell, Narasimhamurthy, Dy. SP, CID, Raghavendra Rao Shindey, ACP, Bengaluru, Prakash R., DySP, ACB, Bengaluru, Dhruvaraj. B. Patil, CPI, Dharwad, Mohammed Ali S., PI, ACB, Bengaluru, G.C. Raja, CPI, Mysuru, Ravi B.S., CPI,

Chikkamagaluru, Mufid Khan, Special RPI, KSRP, Mahadevaiah, special ARSI, KSRP, R. Murali, Special ARSI, KSRP, Basavara-ja B. Andemmanavar, Assistant Intelligence Officer, State Intelligence, Balkrishna D. Shindhe, ASI, Belagavi, and Ranjith Shetty, ASI, Bengaluru are the officers who have won the medal for 2022.

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### LEGAL NOTICE

IN THE COURT OF HON'BLE CITY CIVIL JUDGE, MAYOHALL AT BENGALURU (CH-73) O.S. No. 25624/2021

**BETWEEN:**  
M/S ICICI BANK LTD. Having its branch office at 4/10, Mythree Tower, Bommanahalli Hosur Main Road Bangalore 560 068 And represented by its Collection Manager Mr. Pramodh G. ...PLAINTIFF

**AND**  
Mr. SARAT KUMAR MANAHIRA S/O Purchandra Manahari No.D-3, No.58/7, 118/1B Koushik Residency, 2nd Main Royal County Layout, Parappanna Agrahara, Electronics City, Bangalore-560100

**Also at:**  
No. C 106 Atulya Apartment Ground Floor, 1RK Township Yarandahalli, off Cross Park Bangalore-560105

**...DEFENDANT**

WHEREAS the Plaintiff has instituted the above proceedings against you seeking recovery of Rs.9,71,250.04/- as on 18/04/2021 along with interest 24% P.A. and other consequential relief. You are hereby summoned to appear before the Hon'ble City Civil Judge, Mayo hall at Bangalore (CH-73) in person or by a pleader duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the above proceedings on 13.09.22 at 11:00 AM, take notice that in default of your appearance on the day mentioned before the suit will be heard and determined in your absence. Given under my hand and seal of this Court, this 28th day of July 2022.

By order of this Hon'ble Court

Advocate For Plaintiff  
Anvaya Law Advocate & Consultants, First Floor, Indian Express Building No.1 Queens Road, Bangalore-560001.

## Patriotic fervour



(Clockwise from top left) The Tipu Sultan's Summer Palace; Government Museum; and Metro pillars on M.G. Road lit up in tricolour, and a replica of Mahatma Gandhi's iconic spectacles on display at the Mysuru Road metro station, as part of the 75th Independence Day celebrations, in Bengaluru on Sunday. ■K. MURALI KUMAR

## Exhibition on the horrors of Partition

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
MYSURU

An exhibition to mark 'Partition Horrors Remembrance Day' was organised by the Mysuru division of South Western Railway here on Sunday.

The exhibition was held on the city railway station premises and evoked a good response. The authorities said the event was organised to highlight the horrors of Partition and was announced by Prime Minister Narendra Modi who had declared during his Independence Day speech last year that August 14 would be observed as 'Partition Horrors Remembrance Day'. The exhibition was inaugurated by freedom fighter C.R. Ranga Shetty, 97. Additional DRMs A. Devasahyam and E. Vijay, were present. Mr. Ranga Shetty recalled the struggle and sacrifices of the people for decades before freedom was achieved.

Featured were photographs of those days along with newspaper clippings describing the plight of the people who were fleeing for safety.




**ಬೃಹತ್ ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಮಹಾನಗರ ಪಾಲಿಕೆ**  
ಎನ್.ಆರ್. ಚೌಕ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು-560 002.

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**ಸರ್ವಲಿಗೂ 75ನೇ ವರ್ಷದ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ದಿನಾಚರಣೆಯ ಶುಭಾಶಯಗಳು**

**ಕ್ರಾಂತಿವೀರ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ರಾಯಣ್ಣರವರ  
225ನೇ ಜಯಂತೋತ್ಸವ ಆಂದವಾದಿ**




**ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯದ  
ಮುಖ್ಯಮಂತ್ರಗಳಾದ  
ಸನ್ಮಾನ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀ ಬಸವರಾಜ ಎಸ್. ಬೊಮ್ಮಾಯಿ  
ರವರಿಂದ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ರಾಯಣ್ಣರವರ  
ಪುತ್ಥಳಿಗೆ ಮಾಲಾರ್ಪಣೆ ಹಾಗೂ  
ಗೌರವ ಸಮರ್ಪಣೆ**

**ದಿನಾಂಕ: 15.08.2022,  
ಸೋಮವಾರ, ಬೆಳಿಗ್ಗೆ 10:15 ಕ್ಕೆ  
ಸ್ಥಳ: ಕ್ರಾಂತಿವೀರ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ರಾಯಣ್ಣ  
ಪುತ್ಥಳಿ ಆವರಣ,  
ದೇವರಾಜ ಅರಸು ವೃತ್ತ  
(ಖೋಡೆ ಸರ್ಕಲ್),  
ಕ್ರಾಂತಿವೀರ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ರಾಯಣ್ಣ  
ರೈಲ್ವೆ ನಿಲ್ದಾಣದ ಎದುರು, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು.**


**ರಾಕೇಶ್ ಸಿಂಗ್, ಭಾ.ಅ.ಸೇ.,  
ಆಡಳಿತಗಾರರು, ಜಜಎಂಪಿ**


**ತುಷಾರ್ ರಿಲಿ ನಾಥ್, ಭಾ.ಅ.ಸೇ.,  
ಮುಖ್ಯ ಅಯುಕ್ತರು, ಜಜಎಂಪಿ**





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## Four held for pulling down Tipu's cutout

One of the accused says Tipu Sultan was not a freedom fighter

STAFF REPORTER  
BENGALURU

A group of miscreants pulled down cutout of Tipu Sultan put up by Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) as part of a series of cutouts of several freedom fighters across the city to mark the party's padayatra to mark the 75th Independence Day on Monday. Self-styled Hindutva activist Puneeth Kerehalli, who has floated an outfit called Rashtra Rakshana Pade, turned up with a band of his followers at K. R. Circle and Hudson Circle on Saturday late night and pulled down the cutout of Tipu Sultan.

He also broadcast it live on social media platforms, where he expressed outrage over considering Tipu Sultan as a freedom fighter.

However, he said they should instead put up cutouts of Kittur Rani Chen-

amma and Sangolli Rayanna, which were also among the series of cutouts adorning the street sides.

KPCC president D. K. Shivakumar and Bengaluru Rural MP D. K. Suresh condemned the incident and demanded legal action against the miscreants. "Tipu Summer Palace in the city, which is maintained by the Archaeology Department of the Union Government, has been decorated and honoured Tipu Sultan's contribution to the freedom struggle. Despite that, such instances are allowed to happen in the presence of police officials," Mr. Shivakumar lamented.

The Halasuru Gate police have registered a case and arrested four persons, including Puneeth Kerehalli. However, before his arrest, a defiant Kerehalli defended his action and said that Tipu Sultan was not a freedom fighter, and his act was to avenge objections raised to the photograph of V. D. Savarkar at a mall in Shivamogga on Saturday.

## 75 E-buses hit the city roads

These have been inducted under FAME-2 scheme on gross cost contract basis

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BENGALURU

The Bengaluru Metropolitan Transport Corporation (BMTC), which is celebrating its silver jubilee, introduced 75 e-buses on Sunday. The buses are inducted under FAME-2 scheme on gross cost contract basis. A total of 300 buses will be inducted under the scheme. The BMTC has branded the new service as "Astra".

### fact sheet

- The 12-metre no-AC electric buses have 40 seating capacity
- For the first time, the corporation is running buses with wheelchair ramp
- Other features of the bus include vehicular tracking system, CCTV, LED route display, and others

In the first phase, 75 buses are being operated from Yelahanka depot. Routes such as Majestic to Vidyanarayapura, Shivajinagar to Yelahanka, Yelahanka to Majestic, and others have been identified to run the buses. The 12-metre no-AC elec-



The newly launched BMTC e-bus in Bengaluru on Sunday. \* K. MURALI KUMAR

### Free bus service today

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BENGALURU

The BMTC, which is celebrating its silver jubilee, is providing free bus services on Monday. The public can travel in all types of buses

trics buses have 40 seating capacity. For the first time, the corporation is running buses with wheelchair ramp. Other features of the

without buying a ticket. The corporation will run buses as per schedule on all the routes, including AC buses to Kempegowda International Airport. BMTC Director (IT) Surya Sen A.V. said,

per bus from the centre and the State government has given ₹33.33 lakh. Switch Mobility Automotive Limited, a subsidiary of Ashok Leyland, will operate the buses for a period of 12 years. The BMTC will pay an operational cost of ₹49 per km for operating the bus for 225 km per day that includes electricity charges.

In the future, the rest of the e-buses will be operated from Yeshwantpur, Kengeri depots and from Central Silk Board bus stand.

## BMTC to lease 921 e-buses under Grand Challenge

CM says vehicle numbers will outnumber humans in 3.5 years

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BENGALURU

The State government has given approval to the Bengaluru Metropolitan Transport Corporation (BMTC) to lease 921 electric buses (e-buses) under the 'Grand Challenge' initiative of the Union government.

The BMTC had applied for leasing 1500 e-buses and Convergence Energy Services Limited (CESL), a public sector undertaking under the Ministry of Power, has given approval for leasing 921 buses.

On Sunday, while addressing a gathering on the occasion of launching the new e-bus services in the city, Chief Minister Basavaraj Bommai said that the State government has given its approval for the corporation to lease the e-buses.

Each bus will get a subsidy of ₹39 lakh per bus and the corporation has to bear the operational cost of ₹41 per km to the operator.

The new buses are likely to hit the road next year. The corporation will receive support from the State government for induction of 840 BSVI diesel buses in the coming days.

In his speech, the Chief Minister said that in three-and-a-half years, the vehicle numbers in the city will outnumber the human population. He said that the city is growing at a fast rate, and more than 1.25 crore people are living in the city and new vehicles are hitting roads in thousands every day. Vehicle numbers have already crossed over 1.04 crore. He said that in order to give impetus to the public transport system, the State government will come out with a comprehensive mobility plan to address issues of commuting by involving all the government agencies concerned.

### READER'S MAIL

**Railway timetable**  
Sir, - A few days back, there was an announcement that all services provided in the pre-pandemic regime will be resumed by the Railways. This is heartening news. However, a number of new trains have been announced and a handful of them have been suspended since July 2017. Because of COVID-19 for almost three years, the trains are running without a regular time table. In view of the big gap between 2017 and 2022, the public is totally in the dark about the railway timings. Ever since

the Railway Budget was combined with General Budget, no announcements are made by the Railways. Hence it would be very ideal that Railways introduces a fresh set of time tables to help people plan their travel by both express and passenger trains. Can we expect the Railways comes out with new timetables of all divisions and zone-wise services?

A. RAJAGOPAL,  
Bengaluru

Readers can email to  
letters.bangalore  
@thehindu.co.in

## Man feared drowned in Ghataprabha

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BELAGAVI

A man was feared drowned in the Ghataprabha in Chikalgundi village of Bagalkot district on Sunday.

The family members of 38-year-old Basappa Hirkanavar have lodged a complaint with the police stating that he went missing on Saturday evening.

They suspected that he may have been devoured by crocodiles in the river. He had gone to the river to remove the irrigation pumpset that was fixed to the ground.

Meanwhile, officers increased the outflow from Almatti reservoir to reduce the pressure on the backwaters. The water levels in the Krishna and its tributaries are stable, despite the reduced rainfall in the catchment areas.

### PUBLIC NOTICE

This is to notify for the general information of public that, one Smt. Renuka Devi W/o Late Prabhakar Reddy has purchased the Schedule Property from Smt. Aruna R. M. Punja W/o Rama Mohan Punja vide Registered Document No. 32077/2003-04, dated 13-02-2004, registered in the office of SRO Kengeri and she has conveyed the Schedule Property in favour of Vijaya Kumar J. S/o Krishnappa A., R/o #1242, 8th Cross, 4th Main near SBI Bank Chandra Layout, Bengaluru North Taluk-560040 and handed over all the documents pertaining to the schedule property. Vijaya Kumar J., has been lost Sale Deed Document 32077/2003-04, dated 13-02-2004, and it was misplaced in his home. After due search of the said document he could not find the same, for which he has lodged Police complaint on 04-08-2022, before jurisdictional Police Station, Bengaluru and the said police authority has issued acknowledgement for the same vide Lost Report No. 0285468/2022.

Any person or Group of Persons or institutions having find or any Right Title, interest Charge, Lien and minor claims whatsoever over the schedule property may lodge his/her and their claim to the undersigned with documentary proof within period of 15 days from the date of this publication failing which it will be presumed that there are no objections/claims, disputes in respect of the schedule property.

**SCHEDULE PROPERTY:**  
All that piece and parcel of the Property being the residential converted site No. 11, measuring East to West 40ft., North to South 60ft., total measuring 2400sqft., Khatha No.1324, carved out of Sy No. 24, vide conversion order No. B. Dis. ALN(SR)S/14/1996-97, dated 10-10-1996, situated at Mylasandra Village Kengeri Hobli, Bengaluru South Taluk presently under the Administrative Jurisdiction of Rajarajeshwari Municipal Council, Bengaluru and including all Civic amenities and bounded on the:  
East by :- Site No.10,  
West by :- Site No.12,  
North by :- Private Property,  
South by :- Road,

SHESHAPPAGOUA PATIL, Advocate  
R.R. Nagar, Bangalore-560098,  
Mobile No.: 9480117041.

### ANNEXURE -10 POSSESSION NOTICE [SECTION13(4)] (For Immovable property)

**Whereas:-**  
The undersigned being the Authorised Officer of the Canara Bank under Securitisation And Reconstruction of Financial Assets and Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002 (Act 54 of 2002) (hereinafter referred to as "the Act") and in exercise of powers conferred under Section 13(12) read with Rule 3 of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules 2002, issued a Demand Notice dated 21.12.2021 calling upon the borrowers 1). Sri. G.S. Ananda Ramu, S/o. Sri. G.N. Srinivasa Setty 2). GS Subbaraju Guptha, S/o. Sri. G.N. Srinivasa Setty residents of Yalanadu to repay the amount mentioned in the notice, being Rs.14,53,890.62 ( Rupees Fourteen Lakh Fifty Three Thousand Eight Hundred Ninety and Paise Sixty Two Only) with further interest rate 8.80% p.a compounded at monthly rests from 20.12.2021, Within 60 days from the date of receipt of the said notice.

The borrower having failed to repay the amount, notice is hereby given to the borrower and the public in general that the undersigned has taken possession of the property described herein below, in exercise of powers conferred on him/her under section 13(4) of the said Act, read with Rule 8 & 9 of the said Rule on this 12th AUG 2022.

The borrower in particular and the public in general are hereby cautioned, not to deal with the property and any dealings with the property will be subject to the charge of Canara Bank for an amount of Rs.14,53,890.62 ( Rupees Fourteen Lakh Fifty Three Thousand Eight Hundred Ninety and Paise Sixty Two Only) as on 20.12.2021 and interest thereon.

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

**Description of the Immovable Property**  
All that part and parcel of the property consisting of Asst. No.271/347, in Yalanadu, Hullyar Hobli, C.N.Hally Taluk, Tumkur District, Extent: East to west: 49 feet and North to South: 25 feet  
Bounded by:  
East: Lingarajappa's House, West: Galli and Gangadhariah's House,  
North: Own Property, South: Guru Sidda Rameswara Samithi's Property

DATE: 12.08.2022  
PLACE: HULIYAR  
Authorised Officer  
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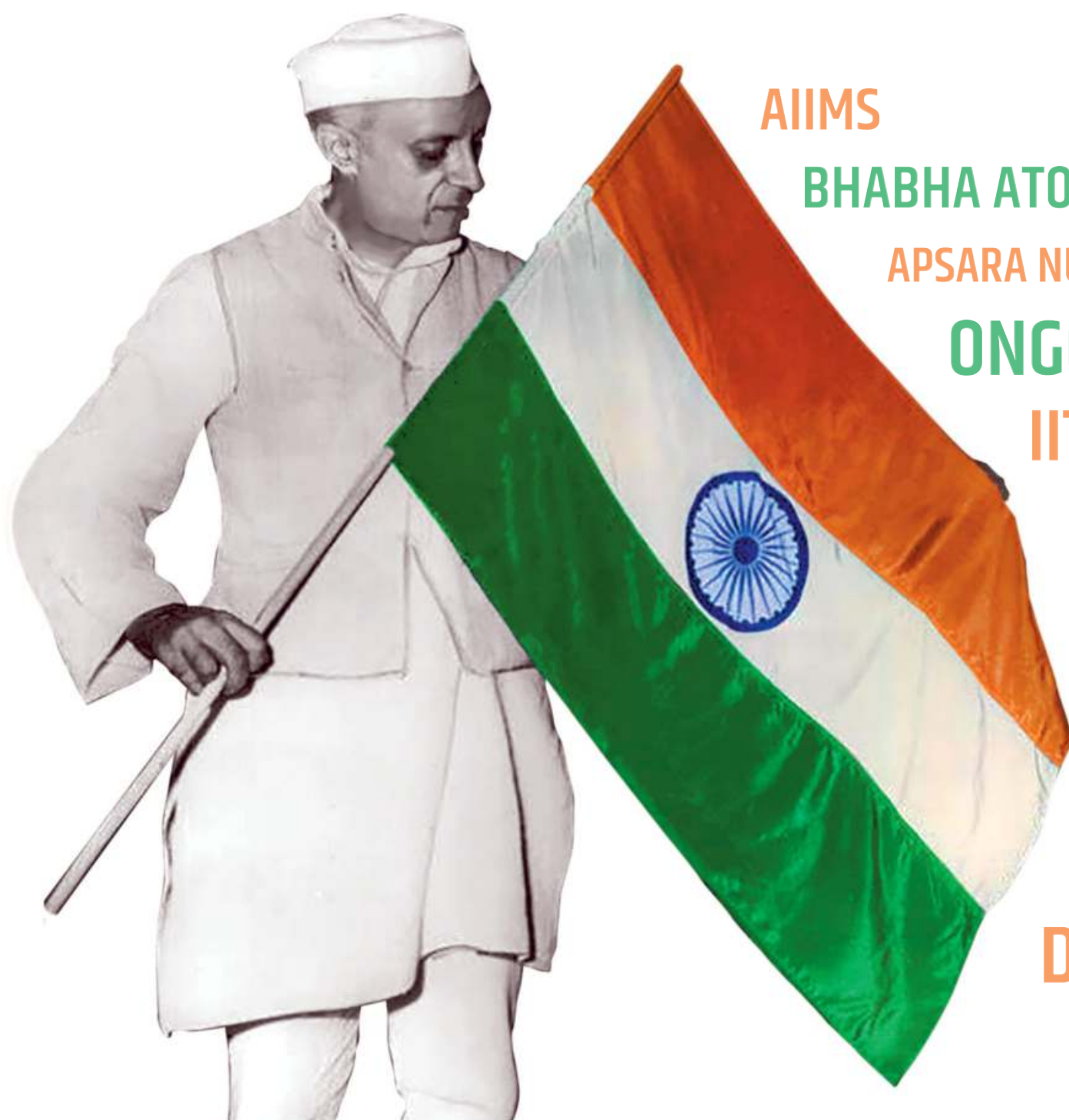
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**Now the tricolour has been hoisted,  
it must not be lowered**

**Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru**

(In the Lahore Session of Congress,  
on the banks of Ravi River on 31 December, 1929)

**Happy  
Independence Day**

**to all the people of Rajasthan and the Nation**



“Tricolour is the symbol of social harmony and unity in diversity with respect to all religions, castes, classes and regions of our country and this should be the identity of every Indian. In the many development works done in the 75 years of independence, we have never left these values. Let us contribute to the dignity of the tricolour in the true sense, by embodying these basic principles as our identity.”

**Ashok Gehlot, Chief Minister**

Department of Information & Public Relations, Rajasthan



On the 75th anniversary of India's Independence, *The Hindu* looks back at some people and movements in Karnataka that contributed their mite to the freedom movement

## Gorta – where the 'offence' of hoisting flag led to a massacre

Attack by Razakars and the counter-attack by residents resulted in the death of many in this village, now in Bidar district, on May 9, 1948

KUMAR BURADIKATTI  
KALABURAGI

The tricolour was officially hoisted across the subcontinent to celebrate Independence on August 15, 1947. However, the act continued to be an offence in some areas in Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Telangana that were part of the princely state of Hyderabad. For, Mir Osman Ali Khan, then Nizam, had refused to integrate his state with the newborn country. So, thousands in these areas continued their fight, while the rest of the country celebrated Independence.

As part of this struggle, a few people led by Baurao Patil, associated with Dayananda Saraswati's Arya Samaj, hoisted the tricolour at his village Honnali and neighbouring Halagorta in Bidar district. To punish those involved, the Nizam's police, along with Isamuddin, the local leader of Razakars (a private armed militia formed and led by Kasim Razvi, which was independent of the Nizam government but stood firmly in support of it) came to Honnali to arrest Patil and others but could not find them. The Razakars then ransacked Patil's house.



(From left) The project to build a memorial for the people who were killed in Razakars' attack and install a statue of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at Gorta village in Basavakalyan taluk of Bidar district has remained incomplete; Sahukar Mahadevappa Dumani's house that protected many people; and Jarnatappa Dhulappa Rajeshwara, one of the few survivors of the attack. ■ KUMAR BURADIKATTI

Within a few days, Patil and his associates retaliated, targeting Isamuddin, who was based in neighbouring Gorta village and serving as the local commander of Razakars in around eight villages. The team ambushed Isamuddin and killed him near Dhannur-Muchalamba area when he was travelling back from Basavakalyan to Gorta.

The Razakars suspected that Patil was tipped off about Isamuddin's travel by the people of Gorta and decided to retaliate by targeting the villagers. Suspecting attack, some people had left Gorta and others had begun preparation for self-defence. The house of Sahukar Mahadevappa Dumani was the centre of counter-Razakars activities in the village. Mahadevappa himself had left for Solapur soon after the murder of Isamuddin, leaving behind his servants who were armed with guns at the house.



and went on till the sunset. Unable to prevail over the fighters at Mahadevappa's house in the gunfight, the Razakars retreated from the village in the evening. When they returned with reinforcement the next morning, the entire village was deserted. All the people, including those in Mahadevappa's house, had fled. Most had crossed the borders of Hyderabad state and taken shelter at Solapur, Washim, and Pune. They returned only after the princely state was annexed by India.

While there is no clear picture of the number of people killed, it is estimated to be around 200 by K.M. Munshi, Agent-General of Government of India in Hyderabad, in his book, *The End of an Era - Hyderabad Memoirs*. Virupakshayya Shivalingayya Matapathi, a drama and music teacher of Gorta, who was

a witness to the clash, listed 20 people and described the sequence of events in his book published in 2014. Acharya Khanderao Kulkarni, in his book, has said that at least 50 people were killed.

**Living memory**  
Speaking to *The Hindu* at his house at Gorta, Jarnatappa Dhulappa Rajeshwara, an 85-year-old survivor of the attack, recalled the incident, complete with names, and said that the casualties were from both sides. "Hundreds of people were killed in the attack and counter-attack on both sides. We have, at the local panchayat, displayed the names of only 20 victims who belonged to Lingayats and Brahmin communities," Mr. Rajeshwara said. The project of building a memorial in the village for those killed in Razakars' attack has remained incomplete.

## Social reforms formed the basis of freedom struggle in Mysore

Nationalistic awakening due to works of Gandhiji, Nehru had kindled patriotism

R. KRISHNA KUMAR  
MYSURU

The freedom struggle in the princely state of Mysore was not marked by violent upheavals as in some parts of the country and the spirit of nationalism was kindled in a slow process alongside social reforms.

The patriotic spirit and verve being rekindled to mark the 75th anniversary of Independence Day had a different flavour in the decades leading to Independence in Mysore region whose entry into the mainstream freedom struggle was relatively late.

But historians aver that notwithstanding the delayed entry of the princely state of Mysore into the freedom struggle, the nationalistic awakening due to the works of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had kindled patriotism among the masses.

Congress leaders from the region were at the forefront of ushering in social reforms and shaping public opinion towards the large cause of at-



Statue of Mahatma Gandhi leading the Dandi March installed at Freedom Park at Subbarayanakere Ground in Mysuru which was the epicentre during Quit India Movement. ■ M.A. SRIRAM

taining freedom from the British.

Tagadur Ramachandra Rao was among the prominent leaders from Mysore who cast a spell on the people of the region through his activism, according to N.S. Rangaraju, former Dean, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore.

He said that inspired by the works of Mahatma Gandhi and his call for Swadeshi, Rao who used to sell only foreign goods on a pushcart, made a bonfire of it and won the admiration of the people.

Rao was joined by M.N. Jois and they worked for the abolition of untouchability and promoted the entry of Dalits temples at T. Narsipur and Nanjangud. "This evoked hostility from the upper caste men who subject-

ed the two to ridicule besides tormenting them or assaulting them," said Prof. Rangaraju.

### For cause of Dalits

Rao started a Khaddar Sahakara Sangha at Tagadur which came into prominence and became a source of livelihood for scores of people in the village. According to the Mysore Gazetteer, Rao took up the cause of the Dalits and led many agitations calling for ending untouchability which also represented the wider nationalistic cause during the freedom movement.

When Gandhiji toured Mysore region in 1927, he propagated the use of khadi and a khadi production unit was established at Badanwal.

In 1928, Rao opposed the visit of the Simon Commis-

sion and published a booklet opposing its visit besides addressing a public gathering. For this, he was arrested and jailed and thus became the first political prisoner in Mysore state, according to the gazetteer.

Thus the freedom struggle in the region saw two villages coming to the fore – Tagadur due to its association with Rao and Badanwal where the Khadi unit was established and was visited by Gandhiji – once in 1927 and again in 1934. The social works and activism of the Congress helped prepare the ground for larger involvement of the masses and this came to the fore in 1942 when the Quit India Movement was launched. The Subbarayanakere Grounds was the epicentre of the movement and large gatherings while the Maharaja's College hostel emerged as the nuclei for planning out the agitations.

People in Mysore by now had galvanised themselves behind the national movement and there was a surge in student participation, the seeds of which were sown through social reforms and activism decades earlier and helped shape public opinion to rally behind the Congress for Independence.

## Vidurashwatha firing changed course of freedom movement in Mysore state

32 people were killed in police firing for trying to hoist the tricolour

K.V. ADITYA BHARADWAJ  
BENGALURU

Vidurashwatha witnessed a ghastly "massacre" – as described by eyewitnesses – of 32 freedom fighters in police firing for trying to hoist the tricolour on April 25, 1938. This was also one of the rare instances when the Congress-led freedom movement was violently suppressed in the Mysore kingdom under the rule of Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV and Sir Mirza Ismail as the Diwan. Vidurashwatha subsequently came to be known as the Jallianwala Bagh of South India.

### Shivapura convention

Following the 1938 Haripura Congress convention's resolution, Mysore Pradesh Congress was established and its talks with the Mysore administration broke down with Mirza Ismail rejecting their demands to establish a *Javabdari Sarkara* (responsible government) and allow the hoisting of the tricolour across the state. To protest this, the Congress held a



A cenotaph at Vidurashwatha in memory of the martyrs. ■ SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

convention at Shivapura in Mandya district in the second week of April 1938. Then Deputy Commissioner Inayatullah Mehkri reportedly refused to open fire at the peaceful convention for breaking prohibitory orders and was transferred out. The Shivapura convention saw several leaders hoist the tricolour and get arrested. The convention was followed by similar programmes to hoist the tricolour across the state.

Congress leaders of Gauribidanur decided to hoist the tricolour at Vidurashwatha during the annual *rathotsava* and cattle fair that year from April 15 to 29 to gain more traction. However, the Amalder Magistrate of Gauribidanur imposed prohibitory orders and all Congress

leaders who were trying to organise the flag day were arrested from April 18. Two leaders who led large processions towards Vidurashwatha – Ramaiah Setty and Jvalaiah – were arrested on April 23, leading to large-scale protests and mobilisation which converged at Vidurashwatha on April 25. Amid heavy police deployment, local leaders Soorana, Narayana Swamy, Srinivasarao, and K. Subbarao hoisted the tricolour and were arrested, making the crowds agitated.

The magistrate ordered a lathi-charge on the crowd when they retaliated with stone-pelting. District Superintendent of Police A.S. Khalil fired at the crowd with his service revolver and soon the firing began – a total of 96 rounds – killing 32 people, recounted an official account of the event published by the Archeology, Museum and Heritage Department, Government of Karnataka. However, then Mysore government disputed the number of deaths and recorded it to be only 10.

### Mirza-Patel pact

Following the ghastly "massacre", Mahatma Gandhi sent Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani to

Mysore and this led to Mirza-Patel pact, in which the Mysore government accepted the demand to hoist the tricolour across the state along with the Mysore flag, recognised the Congress as a political party, among other demands. The second convention of Mysore Congress was held in Vidurashwatha in 1939.

Today, a memorial for the 32 people killed in the shooting stands at Vidurashwatha. A gallery, Veera Soudha, depicting the entire sweep of the history of freedom struggle was installed at the venue in 2009. The gallery, which is a symbol of freedom struggle, recently became site of ideological contest, as it came under attack by Hindutva groups who took objection to some exhibits at the gallery. Hindutva groups allegedly threatened to burn down the gallery if seven exhibits – two on Mahatma Gandhi's murder, one on Hindu communalism, two on Tipu Sultan, an exhibit about a young Muslim boy facing sedition in Hyderabad, and another exhibit on Adivasi struggles – were not removed and an exhibit hailing the contribution of V.D. Savarkar was not added. However, no changes have been made at the gallery.

## A case of history buried literally

There is no trace of Jakani Bavi, where the British shot 3 bravehearts, in Dharwad

GIRISH PATTANASHETTI  
HUBBALLI

When people as well as the administration become insensitive to history and its significance, ancient structures that are witness to important historical incidents get buried. This is what has happened in the case of 'Jakani Bavi' (Jakani well) in Dharwad – it has been literally buried.

If you ask any resident of Dharwad for Jakani Bavi, they will guide you to the place or give directions. And as you reach the place, you see various shops and commercial establishments displaying boards having Jakani Bavi Road or circle mentioned on them. But if you stop to look for the old well that was known as Jakani Bavi, you will see no trace of it.

### Faced the bullets

It was at this very juncture, way back in July 1921, that three freedom fighters and activists of the Khilafat Movement laid their lives. Mallikasab bin Mardansab, Goususab bin Khadarsab, and Abdul Gaffar Chautai were those bravehearts who faced the bullets of the British forces and lost their lives on July 1, 1921. They were



The present-day status of what once was historic Jakani Bavi in Dharwad. ■ GIRISH PATTANASHETTI

among the large crowd that had gathered for picketing before an arrack shop near Jakani Bavi in Dharwad to register their protest against the arrest of six of their fellow activists. Those were the days when the non-cooperation movement had spread across the country and Dharwad residents had begun actively participating in it. The firing resulted in the death of three and injuries to 39 people.

But now, Jakani Bavi, which was 'witness' to the use of brutal force by the British and the sacrifice of the Khilafat activists has been buried. The levelled

land is now the property of a community association.

The only matter of solace is that there is a memorial installed for the three martyrs and at one corner is the signboard which says 'Hutaatmara Vruttu' (martyrs' circle).

### Well to 'dustbin'

It was more than 15 years ago that the municipal authorities felt that the well, which once supplied water to the entire locality, had turned into a "dustbin" and in the interest of the "health" of the people it should be filled up.

However, 56-year-old Narayan Gudipati, who runs a salon at the circle, did not

feel so. He felt that the well could be revived if it was cleaned and restored, and approached authorities to preserve it. But they were in no mood to listen and did not realise the significance of the well too.

"My grandmother Anjannamm used to tell us about how the well catered to the needs of the locality. She also has faint memory of the police firing," said Sujata Gudipati, wife of Mr. Gudipati. Her grandparents' house is just a few feet away from what used to be Jakani Bavi.

According to Mr. Gudipati, the well was an ancient one which had the provision for having a bath also. "Our elders used to tell us that people used to take bath before entering the Tungabhadreshwar temple. Even now if you dig a few feet at this place, water will ooze out," he said.

Mr. Gudipati did not receive support from the local residents as they were afraid of going against a local politician belonging to a dominant community, which wanted the land. "I was alone and I being a small person, did not have the resources and strength to fight against mighty," he said.

## 'Nagar rebellion': A forgotten peasants' movement against harsh taxation

Budi Basveppa Nayaka revolted against the British, native rulers backed by them

SATHISH G.T.  
HASSAN

The people's struggle against the British and the native kings who ruled on behalf of the imperial regime has a long history of bloodshed and sacrifice. Among them, the rebellion of peasants in the Malnad region of Karnataka – called 'Nagar rebellion' – against the taxation and inhuman practices of the rulers to extract taxes in 1830-31, deserves a prominent place.

The rebellion, which forced the Mysuru rulers and the British to deploy heavy force, ended in the death of at least 250 people, though there were statements by officers to suggest a higher toll.

Nagar, now in Shivamogga district, was the headquarters of a district in the beginning of the 19th century. Then it was part of the Mysore state, which was under indirect British rule. Prior to this, the district was under the Keladi rulers. Hyder Ali conquered Keladi kingdom in 1763 and it stayed briefly with them till his son Tipu Sultan's death in 1799 at the hands of the British. Later,

Nagar continued with Mysore state, as per the treaty between the Mysore rulers and the British.

### Better times

Before becoming part of the Mysore kingdom, Keladi Nayaks had a distinct land revenue system, which was considered relatively "pro-people". However, the new tax regime and brutal methods adopted to extract tax, led to unrest in Nagar.

Budi Basveppa Nayaka, who claimed himself "king of Nagar", organised the farmers and held several meetings by mid-1830. He promised the people a reduction in land rents and compensation for losses. With an army of 200 people, he attacked the fort at Anandpur, now in Sagar taluk, in August 1830. Though his effort to capture the fort failed, it led to many such violent clashes with the rulers.

As clashes increased, the local officers found it difficult to contain them. Then king Krishnaraja Wadiyar III ordered the officers to act tough on the rebellions. The people who refused to pay

taxes were subjected to grave punishment. By the end of December 1830, more than 50 people were killed in different incidents.

The king himself visited Channarayapatna in Manjarabad district, now Hassan, on December 18, 1830. He witnessed a huge gathering of rebels. The crowd was dispersed by resorting to violence. Five people were executed on the spot. Later, the company government actively joined the efforts to quell the rebellion. Lieutenant Rochfort, who was a resident of the Mysore kingdom, advised the Mysore rulers on how to tackle the rebellion. They eventually succeeded to recapture forts conquered by the rebels.

During one such incident at Honnali, now in Davanagere district, on March 12, 1831, the Mysore army captured 180 rebels from a fort and a temple. Of them, 99 were later hanged on the road towards Shikaripuri. This is one of the major incidents of violence during the rebellion. By April 1831, the rulers managed to take back Nagar under their control.

The British government had constituted a committee to probe into the rebellion and submit a report. The committed in its report, based on testimonials and written sources, noted that 240 people were killed during the rebellion. The then Diwan of Mysuru had submitted that 164 had been killed. However, one officer in charge of Nagar had claimed that he alone had killed more than 700 insurgents. The rebels had also killed many civil servants. Following the rebellion, the Mysore state went under the control of the British in 1831. The king handed over the rule to the company on October 19, 1831. For the next 50 years, the state was under the direct rule of the British.

### A few accounts

The story of Budi Basveppa and the massacre is in memory of old people. D.B. Shankarappa, a retired teacher and former president of Shivamogga district Kannada Sahitya Parishat, has penned two novels based on the life of Budi Basveppa and Honnali massacre.



# THE LEGEND LIVES ON



## Dr. R N Shetty

Founder - R N Shetty Group of Institutions

15.08.1928 | 17.12.2020

*A lifetime of sacrifice and success,  
your achievements continue to  
guide us as we follow your footsteps  
towards serving our communities.*

Remembered by  
Management and Staff

- ◆ RNS Institute of Technology
- ◆ RNS School of Architecture
- ◆ RNS Pre University College
- ◆ RNS First Grade College
- ◆ RNS International School



# Indelible memories of Mahatma's visit to Tirupati

In honour of the momentous occasion on September 28, 1921, the main commercial street was renamed Gandhi Road

A.D. RANGARAJAN  
TIRUPATI

The air was festive on September 28, 1921 in Peddangadi Veedhi (then called 'Pedda Bazar'), the main commercial street in the little village of Tirupati ahead of the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi. The crowd was bursting at the seams with people walking all the way from the nearby villages to see the man who filled patriotism in every heart.

Club Circle, Hathiramji Mutt (Poola Matam) and Nalugukalla Mandapam.

Metal cauldrons with burning torches were placed on tall poles installed at these spots. Gandhiji walked under the brightness of these street lights. It was in memory of his visit that the street was renamed as 'Gandhi Road', which is known by this name even today.



Grand celebrations: Tatigari Pala Ramakrishnaiah Mandadi celebrating Independence Day in 1961. \*SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

transformed into 'Ramakrishna Bakery' after independence and remained a popular hangout for those with nationalist thoughts till the late 1970s.

"His contemporaries used to recall 'those were the days' kind of anecdotes and share memories with us while having a cup of tea," says his maternal grandson P. Kumar, who runs the bakery today.

Painted in Tricolour, the outlet resembles a museum with rare black and white pictures of the freedom movement dotting the walls.

### Srikalahasti visit

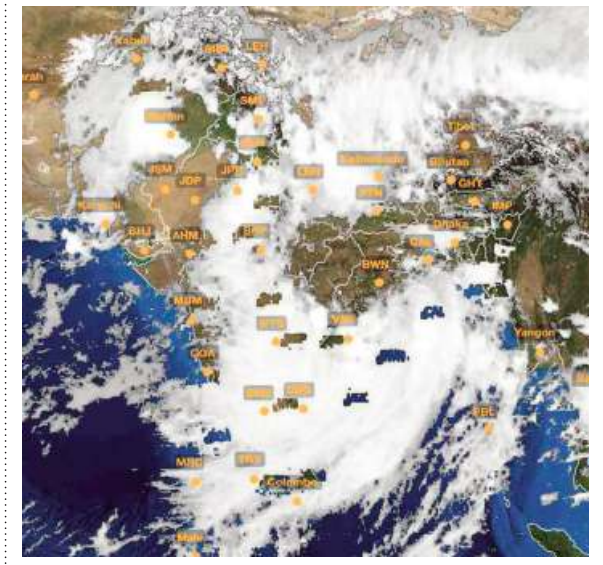
Even after Independence, Ramakrishnaiah Mandadi used to observe Independence Day and Gandhiji's death anniversary with his own funds every year, on the same 'Gandhi Road'. Gandhiji visited Srikalahasti town in May 1929, with a call to boycott foreign clothes. In December 1933, he visited Tirupati again to mobilise funds for the 'Harijan movement'.

It was during this trip that the Mahatma had discussed with the Devasthanam officials on temple entry for Harijans.

Many leaders like Madabhushi Anantasaynam Ayyangar (Tirupati), Vajravelu Chetty (Palamaner), R. Govindaswamy Naidu (Parameswara Mangalam) and T. Ramachandra (Madanapalle) shot to fame later by participating in civil disobedience movement and Salt Satyagraha, but the seeds of nationalism were sown first in this 'Gandhi Road' event.

### WEATHER WATCH

RAINFALL, TEMPERATURE & AIR QUALITY IN SELECT METROS YESTERDAY



TEMPERATURE DATA: IMD, POLLUTION DATA: CPCB, MAP: INSAT/IMD (TAKEN AT 17.00 HRS)

**Forecast for Monday:** Heavy to very heavy rainfall at isolated places likely over East Rajasthan and West Madhya Pradesh; heavy to very heavy rainfall at isolated places over Himachal Pradesh, East Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Goa and heavy rainfall at isolated places over Jammu, Kashmir, Punjab, Jharkhand, Odisha, Assam, Meghalaya and Telangana

CITY	RAIN	MAX	MIN	CITY	RAIN	MAX	MIN
Agartala	1.0	31.6	26.0	Kozhikode	...	33.5	25.0
Ahmedabad	2.0	33.1	25.2	Kurnool	...	31.5	24.2
Aizawl	7.0	26.6	21.6	Lucknow	15.2	36.0	26.5
Allahabad	...	34.8	26.4	Madurai	...	36.0	23.5
Bengaluru	...	28.7	19.5	Mangaluru	5.0	29.4	22.4
Bhopal	15.0	29.9	23.1	Mumbai	11.0	30.7	24.8
Bhubaneswar	43.0	26.7	23.9	Mysuru	...	29.0	21.1
Chandigarh	...	35.8	29.2	New Delhi	...	34.8	26.2
Chennai	...	36.6	27.8	Port Blair	...	35.5	28.2
Coimbatore	...	32.6	22.5	Puducherry	...	37.2	26.8
Dehradun	...	34.6	25.6	Pune	...	28.2	22.0
Gangtok	97.0	26.1	17.9	Raipur	...	29.2	22.5
Goa	7.0	29.2	23.8	Ranchi	...	28.2	22.0
Guwahati	0.6	35.0	27.2	Shillong	...	26.3	19.0
Hubbli	...	27.0	21.0	Shimla	...	27.0	21.2
Hyderabad	...	30.6	21.6	Srinagar	...	32.4	19.8
Imphal	5.0	27.5	20.8	Thiruvananthapuram	...	30.2	24.3
Jaipur	49.0	31.7	24.5	Tiruchi	...	37.1	26.5
Kochi	...	30.2	24.8	Vijayawada	...	3.0	33.8
Kohima	...	26.4	18.0	Visakhapatnam	...	4.0	30.6
Kolkata	3.0	34.0	26.8				

# Karnataka govt. under fire for dropping Nehru, Tipu from list of freedom fighters

Not included because ex-PM was responsible for Partition, says BJP

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BENGALURU

The dropping of Jawaharlal Nehru from the list of freedom fighters in the State government's media advertisement that appeared on Sunday came under sharp criticism from progressive writers and the Congress, which sought an apology from Chief Minister Basavaraj Bommai. The ruling BJP, however, defended it, stating that Nehru was dropped as he was responsible for Partition.



Siddaramaiah

In an open letter to the Chief Minister, a host of progressive thinkers and writers said that dropping Nehru was shocking and showed that the BJP government in the State was working for RSS.

"This is the next step after attempting to tweak and twist history in textbooks and an attempt to erase Nehru from the pages of history. To not acknowledge Nehru's contribution in the freedom struggle and as Prime Minister is an insult to history. The BJP government is struggling to peddle lies as history. Ab-

sence of Tipu Sultan in the list of freedom fighters from Karnataka smacks of the BJP's pre-conceived notion," they said. Telling the Chief Minister that dropping Nehru from the list of freedom fighters displayed cheap politics, Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly Siddaramaiah said: "Is this the level of slavery to safeguard the chair? When we thought slavery ended with the British, Mr. Bommai proved everyone wrong by showing that he is still a slave to RSS. Mr. Bommai, why did you drop the name of RSS founder K.B. Hegdegar, who was imprisoned in 1921 and 1931? Because his opposition to tricolour flag would tumble out?"

Taking to Twitter, he said: "Mr. Bommai you should remember that Nehru took part in the freedom struggle

and spent 9 years in jail. He was not a coward like your V.D. Savarkar to apologise and fall at the feet of Britishers to get out of jail. Savarkar gets position in the front row. But Baba Saheb who fought for freedom by being the voice of marginalised sections gets placed in the last row." Only Savarkar's name from the sangh in the list of freedom fighters also laid bare the Sangh's contribution to freedom struggle, he added.

The former Chief Minister demanded an apology from Mr. Bommai for insulting Nehru by not including him among freedom fighters in the advertisement that had been issued from the taxpayers money.

KPCC president D.K. Shivakumar also demanded an apology from the Chief Minister and said that such petty politics would not bring honour to the Chief Minister's chair.

"You have made an unsuccessful attempt to tweak history," he said.

BJP spokesman N. Ravikumar, MLC, told reporters

that Nehru's name had been deliberately dropped by the government as he was responsible for the Partition. "Since the country is observing the dark days of Partition, Nehru was dropped deliberately." Mr. Ravi Kumar also said that Tipu Sultan was not a freedom fighter and, in fact, he had sent Wadiyars of Mysuru, who were freedom fighters, to jail.

### HDK reaction

Meanwhile JD (S) leader and former Chief Minister H.D. Kumaraswamy described the episode of leaving out Nehru from the list of fighters in media advertisements as the "height of narrowmindedness".

Stating that Nehru and his family had made immense contribution to the freedom struggle, Mr. Kumaraswamy maintained that it was not proper to drop his name from the freedom fighters' list. One should remember that Nehru had steered the country forward during tough times when the country had just got freedom, he said.

# Murmu invokes Kuvempu in address

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BENGALURU

President Droupadi Murmu invoked Jnanpith award winning Kannada poet K.V. Puttappa (Kuvempu) in her maiden address to the country on the eve of the Independence Day on Sunday.

"The great nationalist poet Kuvempu, who enriched Indian literature through Kannada language, had written: *Nanu alive, Neenu aliwe, Namma elubugala mele Mooduvudu - Mooduvudu Navabharatada leele*, which means I will pass. So will you. But on our bones will arise the great tale of a new India," she said.

"This is a clarion call of the nationalist poet for making total sacrifice for the motherland and upliftment of fellow citizens. To follow these ideals is my special appeal to the youth of the country who are going to build the India of 2047," she said, before concluding her speech.



Kuvempu \*FILE PHOTO

"Our beloved country has given us everything we have in our life. We should pledge to give everything we can for the sake of safety, security, progress and prosperity of our country. Our existence will become meaningful only in building a glorious India," she said. These stanzas of poet Kuvempu have been picked from *Panchjanya*, an anthology of poems, brought out in 1929 by the highly respected poet known for rationalism.

# Madhuswamy's 'govt. not functioning' remarks cause embarrassment to BJP

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
BENGALURU/MYSURU

A purported audio of Law and Parliamentary Affairs Minister J.C. Madhuswamy, who is heard telling that "the government is not functioning" has gone viral on social media, causing embarrassment to the BJP government. It has also brought to light the internal discord in the party government as it has triggered a counter-attack at Mr. Madhuswamy by Cooperation Minister S.T. Somashekar.

The Minister's purported conversation with one Bhaskar, a resident of Channapattana, on phone that has been recorded and now leaked, shows the comments of the Law Minister on the functioning of the government.

"The government is not working. We are only manag-

ing. Because it is only eight months [for State Assembly elections] we are just managing," Mr. Madhuswamy is heard telling Mr. Bhaskar, who had complained to the Minister about the farm loan disbursement in VSSN Bank. Mr. Bhaskar complains to the Minister that the bank was charging ₹1,300 for renewal of the loan of ₹50,000, and sought action against such collection.

In response, Mr. Madhuswamy is heard saying: "I know all that you are saying. It is not only in your village but this is happening across the State. We have brought it to the notice of Cooperation Minister S.T. Somashekar. But what can we do if he is yet to take action. They are putting additional cess on the loan and recovering interest. They have not spared

me either?" Reacting sharply to Mr. Madhuswamy's purported remarks, Mr. Somashekar said in Mysuru that the State government under Chief Minister Basavaraj Bommai was implementing hundreds of programmes in all departments and Mr. Madhuswamy himself briefed the media about the same after the Cabinet meetings that were routinely held on Thursdays. "Did he not know that the government was crawling whenever he briefs the media? Why couldn't he have said the same then (when he briefs the media)" he remarked.

Further, Mr. Somashekar said the Minor Irrigation Department that Mr. Madhuswamy heads may be limping if he was saying so.

The Cooperation Minister said Mr. Madhuswamy was

under the impression that there were no experts in the State. "He thinks he alone is an expert and he alone is intelligent and knowledgeable. He should remove such a thinking from his mind," Mr. Somashekar said, while pointing out that the Cabinet had a lot of experienced people.

### Congress posers

Criticising the government, the Congress asked: "Is this an allegation against his own government or is it helplessness of Minister Madhuswamy or is it dissatisfaction against the governance?" It is unfortunate that the double-engine government has broken down. "Has it come to such a situation that the double-engine government to just manage?" Congress questioned.

# Kerala gears up for Nehru Trophy race

STAFF REPORTER  
ALAPPUZZHA

Arrangements are in full swing for the Nehru Trophy Boat Race (NTBR). Registration of boats for this year's Nehru Trophy Boat Race, to be held at Punnamada on September 4, will be held from August 20 to 25.

The captains' clinic is planned for August 27 morning. Allocation of tracks and heats, which will be done through a draw of lots, will be held in the afternoon of the same day.

### Budget

The Nehru Trophy Boat Race Society, the organiser of the event, has proposed a budget of ₹2.4 crore for this year's event. The Tourism department will provide ₹1 crore as a grant for the race.

The organisers said that they were in process of finding additional funds through

sponsorships and other means. Online ticket sale (<https://nehurutrophy.nic.in/pages-en-IN/online-ticket.php>) which began last week is getting a good response. Ticket sales through counters in different parts of Kerala will begin on August 16. Ticket price ranges from ₹100 to ₹3,000.

### After two years

The Nehru Trophy Boat Race will also be the first race of this year's Champions Boat League (CBL). Both the Nehru Trophy Boat Race and Champions Boat League will be held after a pandemic-induced gap of two years. The race was last held on August 31, 2019.

A total of nine snakeboats and clubs have qualified for this year's CBL.

# 3 stolen idols traced to a U.S. museum

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
CHENNAI

The Idol Wing CID has traced three idols, which had gone missing from a temple in Tiruvurur district over 50 years ago, to a museum in the U.S.

Officials are planning to bring the idols back through the UNESCO treaty soon. While investigating cases that had been pending for several years, the wing looked at the idol theft case registered in the Vikrapandiyam police station by the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment (HR&CE) Department in February 2017.

According to the complaint, three metal idols of Vishnu, Sridevi and Bhudevi from the Venugopala Swamy temple at Alathur in Tiruvurur had been missing. It further said that 12 idols belonging to the temple were placed in the custody of Tiruvurur Icon Centre for secure possession. However, it was found that these three idols were replaced with fake ones. Since the case registered in 2017 had not made much headway, a police team, headed by Deputy Superintendent of Police



Chandrasekaran, was formed to carry out a probe. Having no original pictures of the three stolen idols, the Idol Wing decided to check photographs and documents available with the French Institute of Pondicherry (IFP), and based on those pictures, the team then began looking at images uploaded on websites of museums worldwide, to check for resemblance with the stolen idols.

During the search, they found images of three idols resembling those at the Los Angeles Museum of County Art in the U.S. Experts certified that the idols in the images belonged to the Venugopala Swamy Temple. The team has submitted the papers proving the ownership of the idols to the Tamil Nadu government.

# Vishwanath: Invite Deve Gowda to inaugurate Dasara

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
MYSURU

Veteran politician and BJP MLC A.H. Vishwanath has suggested that the State government invite the former Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda to inaugurate this year's Dasara celebrations in Mysuru.

"The people of the State will be happy if the honour of inaugurating the Dasara festivities is bestowed upon Mr. Gowda in the evening of his public life," Mr. Vishwanath said.

## OBITUARY & REMEMBRANCE

**DEATH**

**V.V.GANESH**  
PARTNER, GHG Associates, CAs  
Attained Siva Sayujyam on August 14, 2022.  
Deeply mourned by Smt. Meenakshi, BharaniKrishna, SriKrishna & family  
(1961 - 2022) Mb: 8939901960 / 9884138442

**DEATH**

**OBITUARY**

**Shri H Ramakrishna**  
Formerly ED(CRL/BEL).  
Passed away on 13th August, 2022.  
Deeply mourned by Sisters, Brothers, Nephews & Nieces  
drumahirise@gmail.com

## DEATH ANNIVERSARIES

**FOURTH YEAR REMEMBRANCE**

**SHRI. N.R. SRIDHARAN**  
Former Director (Inspection & Investigation) Ministry of Corporate Affairs who attained Acharyan Thiruvadi on 15.08.2018  
Your Life was a blessing, Your memory a treasure you are loved beyond words and missed beyond measure  
Your Family S.M. MALATHI Bharath Nallappa, Samahit Nallappa 63850 14900

## BANGALORE WATER SUPPLY AND SEWERAGE BOARD

### TENDER NOTIFICATION

(Through e-Procurement Portal Only)

BWSSB invites tenders from registered eligible contractors for the following works.

Office of the Chief Engineer (WWM)-West, 5th Floor, Cauvery Bhavan, K.G. Road, Bengaluru - 560 009.

Sl. No.	Division	IFT Number	Amount put to tender EMD(In Rs.)	Last date & time for Submission of Tender	Date & time for Opening of Tender
1	WWM-STP V.Valley	BWSSB/EE(WWM-STP)/V/PB/266/2022-23 Date: 10.08.2022	Rs. 82.88 Lakhs Rs. 1.66 Lakhs	30.08.2022 upto 5:30 p.m.	01.09.2022 after 5:30 p.m.

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Office of the Chief Engineer (Design), 9th Floor, Cauvery Bhavan, K.G. Road, Bengaluru - 560 009.

2	DC & BM	BWSSB/EE(DC & BM)/PB/1989/2022-23 Date: 04.08.2022	Rs. 81,88,300/- Rs. 1,63,766/-	30.08.2022 upto 4:00 p.m.	01.09.2022 after 12:00 Noon
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## A tryst with the past

The values envisaged by the builders of India need to be imbibed for sustained progress

Seventy-five years ago, on this day, India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made these remarks in his stirring speech on India attaining freedom at midnight: "The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?" These words ring true even today just as when Independence unshackled India from British rule – a milestone that, in some cases, inspired the birth of other new nation-states across the world, freed from the yoke of colonialism. Independent India embarked upon a new journey, imbued with the vision of its freedom fighters and a mission set on course by the members of the Constituent Assembly who worked on its unique liberal democratic Constitution. There have been significant achievements – a constitutional scheme guaranteeing rights that included freedom of speech, religion and a secular state, implementation of universal adult franchise in periodic elections, a thriving legislature, establishments allowing for a formal separation of powers, a quasi-federal union of States that were reorganised on a linguistic basis, the building of institutions (industrial, educational, medical) that heralded progress, and the unleashing of knowledge and communication sectors that tied India beneficially to the world economy. There have also been missteps and failings – the inability to eradicate extreme poverty and marginalisation even though these did come down dramatically since 1947, the strains in implementing the constitutional order and values, burgeoning communal majoritarianism, which was decidedly rejected by both the freedom fighters as well as the framers of the Constitution, the incomplete nature of decentralisation of power, and rising economic inequality. Today, on the one hand, India stands tall as one of the world's emerging economies with an advantageous demographic dividend, a vibrant democracy that ensures enthusiastic participation in elections, a diverse polity, and a diversified economy. But it also faces humongous challenges. Its people live in a more chaotic world where cooperation and liberal trade relations have taken a beating and where climate change is a challenge. Also, the emergence and consolidation of a dominant political force that seeks to centralise power and homogenise the idea of India has threatened to unravel the constitutional structure of recognition of diversity and inclusion as the means for overall progress. Economic progress through inclusive growth – a process that was accelerated following comprehensive reforms in the early 1990s and the institution of a rights-based approach towards welfare in the mid-2000s – has slowed down in the last few years. Meanwhile, there is an exacerbation of inter-State disparities, with southern and western India delivering better outcomes in education, health care and thoroughgoing economic growth than other regions, an issue that requires careful deliberation in the near future.

The successes and failures of the earlier generations in post-independent India have provided the nation with the pathways to address the challenges of the future. For one, it is clear that neither a statist nor a market-only emphasis on development and growth is ideal. India must continue policies, framed in the 1990s, of allowing entrepreneurial energies to flourish while relying on comprehensive welfare with a rights approach, which was given impetus in the late 2000s, to help utilise its demographic potential. In the early years of Independence, many modern institutions of higher education, industry and health care were built and endured but India missed out on a strong focus on primary health-care and education, a weakness that has led to the persistence of poverty and social marginalisation on the basis of caste. A bottom-up approach to development that should focus on building capabilities of the citizenry through both affirmative actions and state responsiveness would lead to better release of productive forces in the economy. States getting more fiscal latitude and local governments being empowered to implement programmes could go a long way in achieving this. While, since the reforms in 1991, interdependence in a globalised world allowed for the export sectors to flourish, the lack of diversified employment and increased labour productivity in comparison to other countries such as China or South Korea is a failing. As the world transits towards a new industrial revolution in its reliance on technologies such as 5G, the Internet of Things, artificial intelligence, robotics, and green technologies, India must embark upon building significant capabilities in these in a way that does not just result in a few corporations gaining but which allows for more gainful employment and diversification of the economy. In external relations, while India must continue to skillfully navigate the contradictions emerging in the international order with an emphasis on its interests, it should not disavow the time-tested adherence to values – of non-interference, building an equanimous world order and striving for peace – that allowed it to emerge as a leader of the non-aligned world. India has come a long way since 1947 in finding its footing among the comity of nations, but there still needs a lot more distance to be travelled in fulfilling the promise that Pandit Nehru spoke of, on the eve of Independence. India's Independence generation was clear that freedom from British rule was meaningless without a constitutional order that governs a democratic system predicated on social justice, equality and unity in diversity as these were the promises that gained them the intellectual ballast and the support of the people to overcome colonialism. India's progress in the 21st century would depend upon the re-ignition of these values.

# India must protect its hard-won freedoms

Neither authoritarian arrogance nor fomented hatred must be allowed to undermine the unity of the Indian people



MANMOHAN SINGH

The world's largest democracy is soon to become the most populous country on earth. Therefore, the celebration of 75 years of Independence brings a special responsibility to set global standards in the protection and the promotion of individual and collective freedoms. While every Indian will proudly salute the flag as it flies high, the Tricolour must also remind us of the composite culture which makes us a uniquely great democracy in the world. On this historic occasion, we must resolve to never let our freedoms be robbed by authoritarian arrogance or allow fomented hatred to undermine the unity of the Indian people. That is the best tribute we can pay to our flag.

### A unity that is precious

India emerged from the chokehold of colonial rule to build a nation from a wide scatter of British-ruled territories and princely States. This unity did not magically materialise overnight. It was the freedom struggle, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi and led by the Indian National Congress, which united Indians across the land to seek an end to foreign rule. This movement united Indians across multiple identities of language, religion, caste, gender and social status. That unity is precious to India and should not be frittered away through communally divisive, linguistically chauvinist, callously casteist and gender insensitive campaigns that will fragment the Indian identity. Such ploys may pay temporary political dividends, by setting Indians against Indians,



SHAKMOHIDEEN A.

but they will create craters on India's path to progress as a great nation.

We were robbed of our riches by colonial rule and began our life after Independence as a poor developing country. We rose from that level to become one of the world's leading economies, whose growth is essential to the stability of the global economy. The policy of economic liberalisation, initiated in 1991, had a galvanising effect on our economic growth. At the same time, poverty reduction and the bridging of economic inequalities became a cardinal principle of public policy. As we pursue the path of inclusive economic growth, we should not permit only a select few among India's business leaders to reap the benefits of prosperity while income gaps keep widening.

### Flag divisive politics

Jobless growth is not a safe bet for any economy. Unemployment not only does not permit the optimal use of our human resources but also creates the breeding ground for social discord and divisive politics. As we move ahead towards the next 25 years of independent India, we must aim to optimally utilize

the demographic dividend of a young population through education, skilling, suitable employment and support to young entrepreneurs and innovators. This requires easy mobility across the country for education and em-

## India 75

ployment. Communal and linguistic barriers will hinder such mobility and adversely impact growth. Captains of Indian industry must recognise this danger and raise their voice for national unity, not remain mute spectators when divisive politics are posing a threat to the economy.

### Uphold scientific tradition

India adopted excellence in science as a path to progress since the early years of Independence. The national science policy was forward looking. Great institutions of scientific learning and research were established. India's various institutes of technology have won world renown, with many of their graduates leading global enterprises of repute. Our space, oceanog-

raphy and nuclear programmes have placed us in a select group of nations whose scientific prowess and technological excellence are respectfully acknowledged by the whole world. It would be unfortunate if our scientific institutions, universities and research bodies are undermined through the induction of sub-optimal leadership, whose given mandate is to pursue cultural revivalism at the cost of academic integrity. India has had a proud scientific tradition since ancient times, but that should not become the camouflage for pseudo-science that brings discredit to our scientific community.

In the comity of nations, India won respect for adopting principled positions, opposing colonial rule, leading the Non-Aligned Movement when two power blocs were seeking global domination, espousing human rights and promoting the cause of peace. Our relations with most of our neighbours were cordial. Even when we had conflicts with some, we tried to build bridges of understanding to enable peaceful co-existence. We need to maintain these positions, even as the world witnesses new conflicts and alliances. It is essential for us to be regarded as a reliable and respected friend in most countries of the world, but especially in South Asia. We should not let our foreign policy wobble through dependence on personalised gestures for the camera but follow clear-headed initiatives through wise leadership supported by able diplomats.

### Well-being of the young

India must focus on enhancing the health, education and skilling of young persons. The recent National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5) reminds us that stunting, undernourishment and anaemia continue to afflict a large percentage of our children and women in the reproductive age group. We need to ensure that the nutrition-specific

programmes deliver, even as we advance nutrition-sensitive policies in other sectors, especially water and sanitation.

COVID-19 revealed several weaknesses in our health system. From disease surveillance to provision of health care, we need to strengthen the capacity of health services. There are marked differences in the capacity and performance of health systems across different States. It is essential that States invest more in health and also that centrally sponsored programmes aim to provide greater support to States whose health indicators are lagging. Providing needed health services to all persons, with adequate financial protection, must be the goal of universal health coverage. We must achieve this uniformly across the whole country.

### For the citizen to ponder over

As a young boy of 14, I experienced both the exhilaration of newly gained independence as well as the painful tragedies that marred the country's partition. I hoped that India would grow strong as a nation without ever again having to experience such discord. Today, I am proud of what India has achieved and am optimistic about the future of this great nation. However, I am also worried about the sectarian slogans and communal slurs that are vitiating social harmony and dividing the people. Alongside, there is also a weakening of institutions which must safeguard democratic freedoms, uphold norms of good governance and shield electoral politics from the onslaught of money power and co-opted state agencies. It is for the citizens of India to protect and preserve the hard won gains of our freedom. Let each one of us reflect on that duty as we raise and salute our flag.

Dr. Manmohan Singh was Prime Minister of India from 2004 to 2014

# The moral failings of the developmental state

All politicians in India promise development, yet the state apparatus and political factions in control cause inequality



ADNAN NASEEMULLAH & PRADEEP CHHIBBER

Economic development is a primary means by which the Indian democratic project has legitimated itself. Given an electorate of mostly poor people, no government has been elected without making development – the uplift of the downtrodden through service provision, the creation of individual freedom, and collective opportunity inherent in economic transformation – its primary objective. Unlike archetypal developmental states such as the Republic of Korea, the Indian state after Independence had to accomplish its mandate of development in the context of a diverse and fissiparous democracy that had endured centuries of British colonial domination and the expropriation of its wealth.

This historical context, and the bureaucratic and political processes surrounding the delivery of development outcomes have generated growth but also created significant structural inequities that have taken different forms across India's post-Independence history. The inequity associated with the actions of the developmental state, the corruption, and moral outrage that constitute the state's broken promises to the people has been the driver of waves of political conflict in the Indian polity since Independence. The moral failings of different phases within the trajectory of India's developmental state have inspired collective challenges to the establishment throughout its history.

Critiques of underdevelopment and the promises of development were at the heart of the nationalist movement against colonial rule. For early nationalist thinkers, the idea of India itself was suffused with a claim that it was one economy and one nation, suppressed in the fulfilment of its destiny by an imperial apparatus that sought to keep it divided, while draining its wealth and sending it overseas. The Congress party, when taking the reins of power, legitimated its rule primarily through a solemn



promise that it would redress structures of political, economic, and social inequality by deploying the state to implement far-reaching programmes of development. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his famous "Tryst with Destiny" address, pledged the service of a sovereign government to "the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity".

### There was a disconnect

There was, however, a profound disconnect between the promises and actions of the developmental state in the first quarter-century after Independence. The Planning Commission, chaired by Nehru, drew up ambitious plans for development that entailed significant public and private investment in industry and the encouragement of cooperatives to transform agriculture. For poor peasants and aspirant workers, the solemn promises of development and the dismantling of inequality rang hollow. Structures of domination and pervasive social inequality reigned in practice as the conservative colonial-era bureaucracy and politicians, business elites, and dominant landowners benefited the most from this developmental state. The abject failures of community development programmes, and sclerotic economic growth led to the political turmoil of the mid-to-late 1960s.

Indira Gandhi changed the nature of the developmental state. She effected a populist resurgence from within the Congress to address the gap between lofty promises of the state and degraded reality. Her appeal, which ended up splitting the party and transforming the nature of party competition, did deliver an over-

whelming electoral mandate to her Congress. Indira Gandhi's slogan "Garibi hatao (eliminate poverty)" and the subsequent 20-point programme conceived of the direct intervention by an empowered and enlarged state. The politicised state apparatus was now to address social inequalities through land reform, enforcement of the minimum wage, nationalisation of key industries, and extension of agricultural credit, among many other policies.

### Controlling state resources

A main legacy of Indira Gandhi's left-populism was that the state presented itself as the antidote to social and economic inequalities. The developmental state now looked different. The state apparatus was engaged, from the national to the State and local levels. Multiple public sector companies emerged at all levels of the economy, from the Centre to the States. Financial institutions – banking and insurance – were now in the hands of state apparatchiks. This system fostered corruption, rent-seeking and the capture of the institutions and resources of the state for the benefit of influential clients.

The increased demand for public resources to satisfy an ever-growing number of clients proved financially unsustainable. The economy underwent several rounds of liberalisation that dismantled some elements of state-directed development in the 1980s, but the basic pattern remained the same. The developmental state was now a state whose resources were allocated by and through political compulsions. And as political fragmentation grew, the pressure to control the remaining state re-

sources for political gain expanded.

The storied liberalisation of 1991 renewed promises of dismantling inequality. Liberalisation offered a new idiom of increased opportunity. When combined with political fragmentation, neoliberal reform yielded crony capitalism, ineffective service delivery, and distrust of the system. Self-help and rights-based discourse now emerged as part of a new language of development. The United Progressive Alliance government expanded welfare-based rights, such as the Right to Education and the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. But the ambitiousness of these centrally-planned schemes achieved only middling outcomes on the ground, as petty bureaucrats and local rent-seekers influenced their implementation for their ends, thus failing to build a political constituency among the poor around them. The middle classes protested this new developmental state which had created a state-facing inequality, where being "known to" the state and the politicians controlling it increasingly determined life chances and the economic prospects for India's striving citizens.

### Change in 2014

In 2014, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leader Narendra Modi won a parliamentary majority by promising to restore opportunity and clean up politics. His main slogan was, 'together, development for everybody.' He attacked the Congress leadership for its corruption, projecting himself as a humble "chaiwallah" and servant of the people. While Hindu nationalist themes were never far from the surface and have become dominant in the BJP's discourse since the 2019 elections, the right-wing populist moment of the 2014 election brought together a broad and unlikely coalition of upper-middle-class professionals and lower-middle-class strivers. These groups were promised the end of inequality of opportunity, which had come to characterise many citizens' interactions with the state in India's "known-to" democracy. While Mr. Modi's treatment of what ails the Indian body-politic has been tremendously polarising, and his own government has been wanting in delivering economic growth, his politics – echoing that

of regional populists in India, from N.T. Rama Rao to Jayalalitha and Mamata Banerjee – tapped into a mood of widespread discontent toward the state's development project.

Since 1991, the Indian state is no longer in the business of keeping the solemn promises of dismantling inequalities. The state now focuses on growth and passing handouts to voters – a policy honed to perfection in Tamil Nadu by the various iterations of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

A developmental ideology is inextricably associated with democratic politics in independent India. The nation's founders made solemn promises to deliver the people from inequity and subjugation – the real meaning of development for democratic India. These ideas have been honoured more in the breach than in observance. Nehru's developmental state could not redress inequalities and failed to grow the economy quickly enough. Indira Gandhi's policies placed the state at the centre of political life. The state was the agent of growth, yet, despite the rhetoric, addressing social and economic inequalities took a back seat. Even while speaking in lofty tones about development, the current regime does not emphasise the state as central to changing social norms and addressing income inequalities.

All politicians in India promise development as a part of democratic deliverance. Yet, the state apparatus and the political factions that control it reproduce inequality. From time to time, populist leaders shine a light on these hypocrisies. Their electoral mobilisations dramatically transform Indian politics without changing the state's ability to deliver on political promises. This highlights the idea that development is the most powerful idiom of Indian democracy, an ideal on which ordinary people across social stations hold governments to account. Development, in other words, is as much a moral commitment as a technocratic undertaking. Development is inextricably linked with the meaning of Indian democracy.

Adnan Naseemullah and Pradeep Chhibber teach at Kings College, London and the University of California, Berkeley, respectively



# Such a long reckoning

We have splintered our thinking, split up our feelings. We have become a fractious family. On this defining anniversary, we have to face this searing truth



GOPALKRISHNA GANDHI

It was a wet and windy September in London. The year was 1931.

M.K. Gandhi, almost 62 years old then, was there to attend the Second Round Table Conference (RTC) as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. Called by the British government to discuss the prospect of political changes in India, the conclave was showing up the fissures in India's polity. In two other Indian barristers – M.A. Jinnah, leading the Muslims at the Conference, and B.R. Ambedkar, the clear leader of the Depressed Classes – the divides stood out.

The only political change Gandhi and the Indian National Congress required was complete independence. Jinnah, Ambedkar and representatives of India's princes, Sikhs, zamindars and other 'minority interests' sought to tear up Gandhi's claim that the Congress represented an inclusive India which wanted nothing more and could do with nothing less than Swaraj for all Indians, in equality.

On September 18, he penned a statement for *The Daily Mail* describing the genesis and goal of the Indian National Congress: "The Indian National Congress is over forty seven years old. It was conceived by an Englishman, Allan Octavian Hume. It has had, besides Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsi and Christian Presidents. It had two women as Presidents, Dr Annie Besant and Mrs Sarojini Naidu. It has zamindars too, as its members."

"The Indian National Congress... knows no distinction between classes or creeds or sexes. It has always championed the cause of the so-called 'untouchables'..."

"But the unchallengeable and unchallengeable claim of the Indian National Congress consists in its representing the millions of dumb paupers living in the seven hundred thousand Indian villages who constitute over 85% of the population."

"It is in the name of this great organisation that I claim complete independence for India."

An all-important session of the Minorities Committee was to meet on October 8. Waking up at 3 a.m. that morning, after a very strenuous night and only half an hour's sleep, he wrote out a statement to be read at the Committee: "The Congress has, since its inception, set up pure nationalism as its ideal. It has endeavoured to break down communal barriers... Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and the other minorities that no solution... in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned."

## Eighty-five years ago

It was a season of excitement. The year was 1937.

In the elections which came about under the Government of India Act,



The Second Round Table Conference in 1931. • THE HINDU PHOTO ARCHIVES

1935, a fruit of three Round Table Conferences, the Congress won spectacularly in eight provinces on its own or with allies. Independence with minority rights protected was its motto. The Muslim League failed to win any province but it installed Fazlul Huq's Krishak Praja Party at the head of a Muslim coalition in Bengal. It had done well in Muslim seats (reserved for the community) in Hindu-majority provinces. Its plank was: 'Congress domination is Hindu domination'. Likewise, Ambedkar's candidates did well in the Maharashtra region of Bombay. Their plank was: 'Congress domination is Caste Hindu domination'.

In October of that year Jinnah was asking Muslims in Hindu-majority provinces to recognise 'Hindu domination'. The Congress's concept of swaraj and 'minority satisfaction' was under strain.

## Seventy-five years ago

It was a hot and humid August. The year was 1947.

Amid unparalleled bloodshed, dispossession and tragedy, Jinnah walked away with Pakistan. He had, according to his lights, stopped Hindu domination in its tracks. Ambedkar had reason to be pleased that his supporters had made it to legislatures in good numbers. The Congress, assuming power at the Centre in an independent but truncated India, had unveiled a secular democracy and was moving towards becoming a federal Republic, where religion was separated from the State, caste was not going to be an obstacle for democratic representation. Minority satisfaction was to be the new democracy's signature.

Today, this topsy-turvy August of 2022, 75 years after Independence, Jinnah's Pakistan is in an electoral shambles, with Bangladesh having loosened itself out of its untenable yoking to Pakistan. India's Dalits, as the Depressed Classes of Ambedkar's time are now more appropriately called, have won a visible political profile in India, though social and economic deprivations remain a torment.

But what about Gandhi's and the Congress's ideal of pure nationalism, representative democracy and mi-

nority satisfaction? That ideal is in trouble, dire trouble. And this is not just because the Congress as a party today is a shadow of its past self, or because Savarkar's 1937 'warning' influences several more now than it did in the past. That ideal of pure nationalism is in trouble because majority domination, with caste domination subtly folded into its vocabulary, is being seen by increasing numbers as natural, proper and wholly unexceptionable. 'If democracy is not majority control, what else is democracy?' seems to be their understanding of the political dynamics of our nation. That a democracy is meant to re-assure the smallest, the weakest and the most vulnerable is seen as nursery-rhyme idealism.

But who are 'the minority'? Not just the religious minority but the ecological, ideological, linguistic, ethnic, communities living in the margins of fear, insecurity, uncertainty. But not them alone. Also those who are culturally out-numbered, the life-style singular, the 'different', the 'dissenting' as well. Those who, for instance, would want parity in matters of gender and make the Indian woman feel she is man's equal, our courts to be completely insulated from executive influence, our media to be free, our economy to be purged of monopolies.

A religious majority is only one among majorities, albeit a politically determining one. India, as Menaka Guruswamy has so memorably put it, is a majority of minorities. India is not about Hindu India and non-Hindu India. It is about the aspirations of peninsular India, Himalayan India, forest India, desert India, littoral India, coastal India. And the India of the two mountain fastnesses that political geography has made distinctive – Kashmiri India and North-east India.

Gandhi in London in 1931 spoke for all of these Indias. As did his colleagues in the Congress of that time. Can the Congress or any political party make that claim today? We have splintered our thinking, split up our feelings. We have become a fractious family. On this defining anniversary we have to face this searing truth. And retrieve the 'we' in us as

in 'we the people of India', the life-stream of the Constitution of India which protects us and is, in turn, preserved by us. We have to retrieve our unity in freedom and justice. The tricolour being unfurled today on home after home, with its blue in the central wheel of dharma tells us India is home to all Indians equally. 'But how do we do this?' is the question. 'Who is to guide us, lead us?'

## The 'salt of the earth'

I started this article by citing Gandhi in London in 1931. I will close by citing him in London again, in 1914. He and Kasturba Gandhi had come there at the conclusion of the highly successful satyagraha in South Africa, on their way back home. Speaking to a galactic audience which included visiting Indians such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarojini Naidu and M.A. Jinnah, he said: 'We had got the lime-light in South Africa but if we merited any approbation, how much more did those who went into the struggle with no thought of appreciation! Harbut Singh was 75 years of age when he joined the struggle and entered prison and died there. The young lad, Narayanaswami, was deported to Madras and on his return, starved and died.'

Another Tamil youth, Nagappen, was imprisoned and worked on the African veldt in the bitter cold of winter and died. And Valliamma, a girl of 18, went to prison and was discharged only when she took very ill and died shortly thereafter. Twenty thousand workers had left their tools and work and gone out in faith. Violence was entirely eschewed. It is on these men and women, who are the salt of the earth that the Indian nation that is to be will be built. We are poor mortals before these heroes and heroines.'

Those heroes and heroines have not disappeared. They have only been covered by the dust of neglect and condescension. They are the salt of India's earth we must salute today in hope, faith and solidarity. It is they, as Gandhi said, who got India her freedom. It is they who will keep it free – and just.

Gopalkrishna Gandhi is a former administrator, diplomat and Governor

# Changing contexts of caste

The meanings of caste have transformed – as a system regulating life chances, as a mode of political mobilisation, or as a socio-cultural identity



SATISH DESHPANDE

Caste today is active in three main ways. First, it is a system that regulates the distribution of material opportunity or life chances, and hence it is a source of enduring inequalities. Second, it remains one of the primary modes of political mobilisation, even though caste politics is now far more disaggregated, complex and uncertain than it used to be. Third, and perhaps most elusive, for everyone except a small upper-class, upper-caste elite caste continues to be a form of community offering a sense of kinship, belonging and identity. The contexts of caste have changed in ways that affect all three modalities.

## A rise and fall

The story of caste as a mechanism for regulating material opportunities in independent India can be told in terms of the rise and fall of what might be called the reservation-merit system.

In its original form, 'reservation' was a pre-Independence idea emerging from the Poona Pact of 1932 and codified in the Government of India Act of 1935. It was intended to be an antidote for caste discrimination rather than a remedy for backwardness. But, by the time the Constitution of the new Republic was adopted in January 1950, the idea had changed fundamentally.

The new Constitution abolished caste in principle but did not interfere with its practice. Reservation was now positioned as the exception to the general principle of castelessness, and seen as a kind of unearned 'benefit' provided by the state to certain castes. The rest of society was seen as the domain of 'merit', where privileges were assumed to have been earned through talent and hard work. In other words, caste-based allocation of opportunities continued unchecked except for a portion of government jobs and seats in public educational institutions. Unsurprisingly, the benefits of economic development – in both the state as well as the non-state sectors – have flowed in accordance with the caste hierarchy, with the upper castes getting the lion's share. The reservation-merit system was founded on a dichotomy that has now collapsed, as shown by the quota for the Economically Weaker Sections, which effectively provides reservation for merit-walas. Today, the role of caste in reproducing economic inequality is plainly visible.

The story of caste as a form of political mobilisation began with its suppression in the years before and after Independence. Caste politics was first confined to the campaign around untouchability and then strangled by the Poona Pact, which effectively ensured that only Dalit representatives acceptable to the upper castes would be elected. Invocation of caste in public was frowned upon in the Nehru era, and the Congress always downplayed caste issues, even rejecting the First Backward Classes Commission report of 1955.

However, universal suffrage had its own logic. Backed by the irresistible force of numbers, backward caste politicians began mobilising their caste constituencies in the 1960s. But the "Congress system" confined them to the regional level, leaving the upper castes free to control national politics as they had in the freedom struggle.

After decades of consolidation in the States, backward caste politics made a dra-

matic entry onto the national stage in the 1990s. The Mandal turn not only made caste a national issue; it also shattered the myth of caste-as-exception that the Nehru era had nurtured. But the intervention proved unsustainable – the 1990s were marked by unstable coalition governments.

The rise and retreat of lower caste politics at the national level highlights the formidable challenge of aggregating local-regional caste constituencies to capture power at the Centre. This challenge is made more daunting by the increasing internal differentiation within all caste groupings, especially the Other Backward Castes. Another worry is the rapid transformation of the federal structure under the Narendra Modi regime, with the Centre usurping the financial and political powers of the States. A recent example is the repositioning of the Enforcement Directorate as a kind of super-agency, with sweeping powers under the Prevention of Money Laundering Act, endorsed by the Supreme Court of India.

At a time when regional politics is seen as the last hope against an authoritarian and majoritarian regime at the Centre, events such as the change of government in Bihar may bring hope. However, it is hard to overlook the stark contrast today between the successful consolidation of an essentially upper-caste politics at the Centre against the challenges facing lower-caste politics when its State-level strongholds are being undermined.

## Identity-based mobilisation

The story of caste as a form of cultural identity has been overtaken recently by the phenomenal rise of Hindutva as a passionate, aggressive and almost pan-Indian form of identity-based mobilisation. The idea of development which emphasises shared interests was the ideological cornerstone of the Nehru-Indira-Rajiv Congress era, and also the main plank of Narendra Modi in 2014. The 2019 Modi regime has inaugurated a phase of Hindutva which emphasises a shared adversarial identity. This weaponised form of Hindutva would be expected to be the natural enemy of lower-caste politics because of the inevitable tension between horizontal Hindu unity and vertical caste hierarchy. Moreover, given that both the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Sangh Parivar are dominated by upper castes, Hindutva has traditionally been marked as upper caste.

Demographic compulsions require Hindutva to seek substantial support from the lower castes. The central question of our time is whether it will succeed in this quest. How far will the upper-caste core supporters of Hindutva be willing to go to persuade lower-caste Hindus to join their movement? Until now, concessions made to lower-caste sensibilities have been limited to tokenism, ranging from the highlighting of Narendra Modi's nominal OBC identity, or the noisy appropriation of national icons such as Ambedkar or local ones like Suheldev. Will more substantial gestures be made? Will the lower castes accept these overtures and agree to be foot-soldiers?

The answers to these questions will determine the directions that caste will take in the near future.

The contexts of caste have changed a lot in the last 75 years, transforming its meanings, whether as a system regulating life chances, a mode of political mobilisation, or a form of socio-cultural identity. But whether it is the lower castes who resist Hindutva or the upper castes who lead it to hegemony, caste itself will retain its central role even if it is enacted behind the curtain.

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# In a system of asymmetrical federalism, India must remain a mosaic

Asymmetrical federalism will continue to have its relevance; various groups need to be accommodated and provided with a share in governance



REKHA SAXENA

As India completes 75 years of Independence this August, the time is apt for us to look at the constitutional, institutional, political and fiscal arrangements that take into account the plurality of our country. It is a nation where four major religions of the world find abode; its Muslim population is the third largest in the world; and Indians speak languages belonging to five different families. Such diversity and plurality call for an arrangement that can pave the way for accommodation and integration reflected in the existing system of asymmetrical federalism.

India is not the only country with asymmetrical arrangements in its federal setup. Belgium, Germany, Canada and Spain are among other such examples. Thus this normative idea is neither new nor only locally relevant. As a matter of fact, in the neoteric time, we see governments formulating federal policies to deal with State-specific issues and concerns. And if one looks clinically at the Indian model of asymmetrical

federalism, one can gauge it based on the principle of weighted and differentiated equality. This principle calls for equal treatment of all States while being mindful that some States are more equal and unequal than others. So, the capacity to accommodate various social groups and their interests makes India a thriving federal democracy as it displays enormous asymmetric characteristics.

## Protecting diversity

While constructing an asymmetrical framework, our founding fathers chose the salad bowl approach instead of the melting pot approach. Recognising the existing pluricultural society in India necessitated such a choice. Recognising the distinctive cultural differences in the country and permitting self-rule within the scheme of a shared rule to territorially concentrated minorities is how asymmetrical federalism works in India. Such functioning pertains to *de facto* and *de jure* asymmetry, where the former is abundant while the latter is limited. Furthermore, such an arrangement only proves that an asymmetrical constitutional setup is indisputably necessary for a multicultural and multinational country such as India to protect the rights of the community and the minorities. This setup facilitates the accommodation of multiple yet complementary identities.

In this regard, it is necessary to un-

derstand the distinction made by Ronald Watts between political and constitutional asymmetry, both of which exist in our country. While in every federal nation the former is based on the territorial and demographic sizes of the constituent units, the latter characterises the Constitution's extension of legislative and executive powers to the constituent units. So when we find representation of States in the Rajya Sabha based on their population, it is a political asymmetry. That is why States such as Uttar Pradesh have 31 seats in the Rajya Sabha, whereas Meghalaya and Mizoram have just one each.

## Self-rule within shared rule

We find constitutional asymmetry in Article 370 (now diluted) and in the special provisions and powers extended to Nagaland, Mizoram and others in the omnibus Article 371. The parliamentary statute cannot be implemented in the northeast States mentioned above without the consent of the legislatures of these States. Specifically, the provisions under Article 371 requiring the State legislature's permission before implementing any parliamentary law exemptify asymmetrical provisions protecting the religious and social practices, customary laws and procedures of Nagas and Mizos. In addition, creation of the Autonomous District Council as per the Sixth Schedule also acknowl-

es the socio-cultural, political and historical rights of the tribes of the North-east, thereby facilitating the provisions of self-rule within the scheme of shared rule.

Furthermore, the Indian asymmetrical setup has evolved to include another type of asymmetry, i.e. Union Territories (UTs). Their establishment is in line with the spirit of federal asymmetry. These are special federating units that have been created multiple times. However, the reasons for their creation have been different. UTs were too small to be declared as States or could not be merged with a neighbouring State due to prevailing cultural dissimilarities, inter-State indifference, extensive isolation and other specific needs, as in the case of National Capital Territory (NCT). Among all the UTs, Delhi, Puducherry and Chandigarh are distinct examples. Since 2019, we now have Jammu and Kashmir as a UT with a legislative assembly and Ladakh as a UT without.

Delhi's case is in itself a remarkable example of asymmetrical federalism where we witness the appointment of the Chief Minister of Delhi by the President of India on the recommendation of the Lieutenant Governor (L.G.). This provision is in line with the special status of Delhi as the NCT. However, the difference between Puducherry and Delhi lies in the scope of their jurisdiction. While Puducherry has law-making pow-

er over subjects such as land, police and civil services, this is not the case with Delhi. And although there has been a long pressing demand for extending statehood status to Delhi, the Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (Amendment) Act of 2021 has not solved the conflicts between the LG and the Council of Ministers of the Government of Delhi. On the contrary, the Act makes it mandatory for the Delhi government to undertake any action after permission from the LG. However, for the smooth functioning of the asymmetrical federal setup, it is imperative to carry out the NCT's administration through cooperation, not confrontation.

## On fiscal arrangements

Another significant asymmetry is the fiscal arrangements enshrined in the Constitution. When transferring funds from the Centre to States, statutory transfers are made based on the recommendations of the Finance Commission. Also, while the Central government entirely funds specific Central sector development schemes in India, the cost of implementing Centrally sponsored schemes to bring about welfare is co-shared by both the Centre and sub-national units. In the NITI Aayog era, the Centre has considerably reduced the share of its revenue to implement the Centrally sponsored schemes.

Since 2019, many have questioned asymmetrical federalism's pertinence, ignoring its effectiveness in recognising and promoting self-rule in multiple territories across India. It all began with the dilution of Article 370 in 2019 and the subsequent debates and discussions over the dilution of the omnibus Article 371. These provisions in our Constitution are special arrangements reflective of asymmetrical features.

We must remember that the idea and arrangement of asymmetrical power-sharing can be unsettling if not utilised properly. Such features in our Constitution are neither marginal nor merely provisional. These features touch upon a considerably large number of States. And without these features and provisions, it would not have been possible to undermine the secessionist tendencies of a highly diverse society. Asymmetrical federalism will continue to have its relevance in the future because to pave the way for cooperative federalism we must be able to accommodate various groups and provide them with a share in the governance of the country at the same time.

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# The race of two Asian giants

China and India will shape Asia in the next decade, but likely in wary opposition to one another



RANA MITTER

Last month, a United Nations population survey estimated that a milestone may be passed in 2023. For the first time in over two millennia, China will not be the most populous society on earth. Instead India will have the largest population, and China will be second.

It's a rare example of a global ranking where India sits higher than China, and it's an ambivalent victory at best: a larger population does not have merit in itself, unless it is well-endowed and endowed with economic prospects. China has other number 2 rankings which may raise its standing, such as the second largest economy in the world. It is not second to India but the U.S. This is a reminder of how far the two Asian giants have come since their moments of profound political change in the late 1940s: independence for India in 1947, and the victory of the Chinese Communist Party and establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. In global power terms, China now looms above India, but the fluidity of geopolitics in the 2020s may give India advantages in the world now being shaped.

## Different directions

The world of the late 1940s was one where global order was just as much in turmoil as in the present day. India had become the first major British colony to gain freedom, and its new leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, saw the fate of India as important not only for his country's own people but also for the other, still-colonised peoples of Asia. Although the violence of Partition cast a bloody cloud across the landscape, the establishment of India as a multi-party electoral democracy with a free media was a foundation stone of the secular politics that Nehru embodied, and wanted an independent India to represent. China's fate at that time was also marked by violence, but it had a very different result. China had fought Japan from 1937 to 1945 during World War II, but was then plunged into a civil war between the ruling Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists under Mao Zedong. Mao's victory saw the establishment of the PRC, which leaned heavily on the Soviet Union for its economic model. China was kept out of the United Nations for another two decades, and did not open diplomatic relations with the U.S. for three. The years of Mao's rule saw immense domestic turmoil,



File photo of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi with Chinese Premier Deng Xiaoping at the Great Hall of the People, in Beijing, in 1988. •AFP

with events such as the Great Leap Forward of 1958-62, an experiment in self-sufficient socialism that went horrifically wrong and starved millions of farmers to death, as well as the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, in which China went to war with itself. Mao's China also, of course, went to war with India, in a border conflict in 1962 whose after-effects are still very evident today.

## Common concerns

Yet, in the later years, the thawing of the Cold War saw both countries change path, and even share some common concerns. By the 1990s, India's highly protected economy was producing limited growth, and controversial reforms under figures including P.V. Narasimha Rao opened up the economy in various ways, creating a new class of millionaires as well as increasing inequality. In a sense, China had been there first, with the astonishing economic experiment begun in the 1970s with the blessing of Mao's ultimate successor, Deng Xiaoping. Instead of the command economy that Mao had favoured, China's senior leader allowed the development of a market economy. This did not follow the model pioneered by Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Bob Hawke, of removing the government as much as possible from the workings of the market.

Instead, the Chinese private sector was given space to develop within a framework controlled by the party. But it worked astonishingly well. China became a manufacturing hub for the world, regularly posting 10% growth rates in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Today, China's per capita GDP rate is around \$9,000 a year, as opposed to around \$2,000 for India.

Today, geopolitical tensions mean that China and India mostly sit on opposite ends on major global questions. There are some areas of commonality, to be fair; both are nervous about climate change commitments that may hamper their growth, and both abstained at the United Nations this year rather than condemning Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

## Lessons to be learned

Yet there are also elements behind their rise that mean that both sides can learn from each other. One of China's most powerful engines for growth has been its stress on education: 2.4% of GDP goes on research and development broadly defined, and in international university rankings, which mostly rate hard sciences, China has a group of institutions in the top tier, many more than India. Education is not evenly distributed, with urban centres obtaining much more of the pie than the children of the countryside. Yet, there is no doubt that China's stress on building human capital has had results.

However, China's current political system runs the risk of losing its gains as it becomes narrower and more authoritarian. In the last few years, technology entrepreneurs, academics and lawyers have all become victims of political crackdowns by the party, which is concerned about any voices that do not simply follow the line sent down by Beijing. However, societies that suppress questioning voices find, in time, that their capacity to innovate is damaged. India has long had a pluralist system with a variety of voices; the flexibility and capacity to change that such a system can provide should give both China and India pause for thought if neither wants to fall behind in the next stage of global

development.

## Challenges ahead

The 2020s will provide a set of challenges for both India and China. On the international stage, both countries need to think where they can find new friends. In the case of India, there are plenty of suitors, as the establishment of the Quad naval agreement with the U.S., Australia, and Japan suggests. Yet independent India has always been reluctant to become too entangled in disputes beyond its borders. The growing strength of China has become a source of alarm for India, but it is not yet obvious that New Delhi wants to accept the invitations of the U.S. to become a full-blown ally against Beijing, nor what New Delhi's reaction would be, say, to a Chinese attempt to take Taiwan in the near future. China is likewise wary of formal alliances, but that is in part because its potential partners are ambivalent ones. Russia and China declared a "friendship without limits" in February this year, but it seems unlikely that Russian President Vladimir Putin shared the full extent of his ambition to invade Ukraine with Chinese President Xi Jinping when he met him at the Winter Olympics.

There is little doubt that the actions of both China and India will shape Asia in the next decade. But it is likely that they will continue to do so in wary opposition to each other, and not as part of a wider Asian power bloc of the sort that Nehru might have imagined back in 1947, even if they continue to remain the first and second most populous societies on earth - in whichever order.

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# An event to flag



DUSHYANT DAVE

As the nation celebrates 'Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav', with the accompanying slogan, 'Har Ghar Tiranga', we must, while saluting the flag, ponder over the events that led to the birth of this great national emblem. The Constituent Assembly made an invaluable contribution in giving us this great national flag. The debates and events that took place in its adoption were thus. On July 22, 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru moved the following Resolution before the Constituent Assembly of India: "Resolved that the National Flag of India shall be horizontal tricolour of deep Saffron (Kesari), white and dark green in equal proportion. In the centre of the white band, there shall be a Wheel in navy blue to represent the Charkha. The design of the Wheel shall be that of the Wheel (Chakra) which appears on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Asoka... The diameter of the Wheel shall approximate to the width of the white band and the ratio of the width to the length of the Flag shall ordinarily be 2:3."

The event marked the culmination of a freedom struggle across over 100 years, in which millions of Indians, men, women and children, sacrificed their lives and livelihood. The national flag was a slight change-over from the swaraj flag which was first hoisted at the Indian National Congress Session in Calcutta in 1911 by the late Dadabhai Naoroji. The flag was adopted not by a formal resolution, but by popular acclaim and usage, adopted much more by the sacrifice that had surrounded it in the past few decades. Nehru declared, with hope and trust, amid cheers, that this flag was not "a Flag of Empire, a Flag of Imperialism, a Flag of domination over any body, but a Flag of freedom not only for ourselves, but a symbol of freedom to all people who may see it".

The original flag had a *charkha* but it had a wheel on one side and spindle on the other, and if one looked at the flag from the other side, the spindle would come the other way and the wheel the other, making the flag look disproportionate. Looking at this practical difficulty, the *charkha* was replaced by the *chakra* (wheel), being a symbol of "India's ancient culture"; "a symbol of the many things that India had stood for through the ages".

Seth Govind Das dismissed some thoughts attributing a communal angle to the colours by saying, "I would remind you of the war of Independence of 1857. At that time, the colour of our flag was green and under it we fought that battle. It was at that time not the colour of Muslims alone or of Hindus but of all those who fought the war of Independence."

S. Radhakrishnan said, "The Flag links up the past and the present. It is the legacy bequeathed to us by the architects of our liberty. Those who fought under this Flag are mainly responsible for the arrival of this great day of Independence for India..."

Saiyid Mohammad Saadulla said, "In my opinion the Flag symbolises the evolution of our aspirations, the fulfilment of our strug-



• THE HINDU PHOTO ARCHIVES

gles and the ultimate result of all our sacrifices." In his view, the white portion of the flag was a reminder that we should be pure not only in word but also in deed, and that "purity should be [the] motto of our life - individually as well as in connection with the State... The Dharma chakra of Asoka reminds us of the condition of the people at the time of that great Buddhist Emperor of India. He ruled not for his personal aggrandisement but for the contentment, peace and prosperity of the people under his charge..."

Pandit Govind Malaviya put the debate on a higher pedestal by declaring that "...The flag may be of a piece of white cloth of any other insignificant material, but when it is accepted as a National Flag, it becomes the emblem of national self-respect.... It becomes its dearest object."

"Remember," said Sarojini Naidu, "under this Flag there is no prince and there is no peasant, there is no rich and there is no poor. There is no privilege there is only duty... and sacrifice. Whether we be Hindus or Muslims, Christians, Jains, Sikhs or Zoroastrians and others, our Mother India has one undivided heart and one indivisible spirit. Men and women of reborn India, rise and salute this Flag! I bid you, rise and salute the Flag," she said, amidst thunderous cheers.

The President of the Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, at the end of the lively and sombre debate, put the resolution to vote and the motion was adopted, with the whole Assembly standing.

Let us hope India continues its progress for generations to come under the aegis of the Flag, "Vivat, Crescat, floreat India (May India under the aegis of this Flag live, grow and flourish)". Article 51A describes Fundamental Duties of every Citizen of India including "to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the national Flag and the National Anthem" as also "to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom".

Let us hope and pray that the National Flag is revered at all times in light of the spirit under which it was born.

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# Time for India to reclaim its moral leadership

The challenge today is to define a unique foreign policy identity and shape the country's engagement with a chaotic world



HAPPYMON JACOB

At 75, India - a younger state and an older nation - stands at a critical juncture in its relationship with the world. The world in which India won independence in 1947 has changed beyond recognition, from a bipolar U.S.-U.S.S.R. world to a brief unipolar moment of American hegemony to one that is moving toward another bipolar competition between China and the United States, distracted by the illusions of a multipolar world. For India, the challenge today is to define its unique foreign policy identity, and shape the contours of its engagement with an increasingly chaotic world. India can address this by reclaiming its moral leadership in the region and beyond.

## A post-normative turn

India at 75 appears to have become a 'normal country' (or just another country if you will) with its claims of a moral or political exceptionalism increasingly ringing hollow (or being abandoned), and its national interests articulated in a more unembarrassed manner. There is an abiding feeling within much of the Indian strategic and political elite that its moral claims have not served the country's interests well. This post-normative turn in India's foreign policy, with its attendant aggression, a new language of self-interest and growing balance of power temptations, is likely to define India's attitude towards the world going forward. India has long given up on non-alignment, and its legal concept 'strategic autonomy' is de-

void of any normative connotations, unlike its predecessor.

While this post-normative turn has helped better clarify the country's national interests to itself and others, the moral argument is no longer viewed as a powerful foreign policy tool. There is an enduring grievance in contemporary India that the moral arguments it consistently made since (and even prior to) its independence have not taken India very far. While it is not wrong to argue that in an increasingly chaotic world, self-help is unavoidable, and moral arguments or policies alone will not take nations very far especially those located in hard geopolitical situations, it is also not inaccurate to argue that nations and leaders who can provide moral leadership have a special place in the comity of nations.

So, the question that countries such as India (because the world still, albeit occasionally, looks up to us for moral leadership or as a peace-builder) should ask is whether it is possible to uphold the norms and values in foreign policy pursuits without necessarily sacrificing its own national interests. As the historian E.H. Carr powerfully argued in his masterpiece, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*, "any sound political thought must be based on elements of both utopia and reality". India may have become a 'normal country' today, but there is no reason for us to stop being a normal power with a moral persuasion.

## India and global institutions

Another important factor in India's relationship with the world is its role as an institution builder (or the lack thereof). India has followed seemingly contradictory policies. It has been keen on participating in global institutions, including the UN Security Council (which it has been kept out of), it has made significant contributions to various types of international organisations, interna-



The earthquake in 2015 in Nepal. •AP

tional or inter-governmental, and it has been a keen participant in various global efforts at addressing common global challenges. And yet, despite our keen desire to be a part of global institutions and governance structures, have we made, sustained or supported such institutions in our own region? I agree it would not have been easy and would have involved compromises.

Let us dig a little deeper. Even as we fought for sovereign equality and non-intervention in the affairs of other countries globally, and dismissed hegemony or the dominance of any one power, we have done pretty much the opposite in our own region (once again, I get it - "it's complicated"). Notwithstanding the double standards, the point I want to

stress is that we lost an opportunity in our own region to lead by example. Once a site of India's primacy, South Asia is no longer 'India's region', and so India has lost the opportunity to build cooperative institutions and norms in the region, and to sustain its political influence in it.

The impact of such a lost opportunity is becoming evident today. India's reluctance over building institutions in its 'periphery' which can sustain democratic values and economic integration has come back to haunt the country given how Beijing's predatory economic practices have managed to sway the region so effortlessly. So, we must reimagine our approach to global and regional institutions and norm-building.

India is also a power caught between the deep desires of being a great power and the material incapacities of being unable to become one. That was perhaps a reason why the country's 'early leaders' sought to project India as a moral great power, cognisant of its debilitating material incapacities to be a 'normal' great power. Seventy-five years since Independence, India is perhaps neither - a moral great power or one in the standard material sense.

Our loss (or wilful renunciation) of moral agency in foreign policy has a number of consequences. For one, our ability to build peace or mediate for global peace has vastly diminished (not that there is much appetite for doing so in New Delhi even if material ability were available). Second, contemporary India's pursuit of its interests is hardly backed by normative arguments but by material power (which it does not have a great deal of) or exploitation of great power contradictions or playing the balance-of-power games.

As the incumbent Foreign Minister writes in his book, *The India Way*, India seeks to advance its "national interests by identifying and exploiting opportunities created by global contradictions", using "competition to extract as much gains from as many ties as possible" and soliciting or manipulating stronger forces to its advantage. Surely these are standard practices of statecraft and India cannot be faulted for adopting them in an uncertain world. And, yet, this line of thinking belongs to a passive state unwilling to proactively shape the outcomes of international politics. Can we not do better than that?

Here is a related question: when India seeks a place at the global high tables, what does it bring to the table? If the answer is one that is premised on the argument of sheer size, that is a lazy one. Consider this: India will soon be-

come the most populous country in the world, but it will hardly be a demographic superpower; it is set to be the world's sixth-largest economy but it is still too poor to spend for global peace, stability or maintenance of world order. So, what exactly can we offer the world if we want to proactively shape the global order? That is precisely where normative arguments and moral leadership are important.

## Elusive peace and stability

Another major aspect of India's engagement with the world is its search for peace and stability. New Delhi's insistent references to 'terrorism' in its statements in various forums is a partial indication of this deep desire for a stable neighbourhood. Despite enjoying regional primacy for a long time, India failed to pacify the region, and its own actions have often contributed to regional instability. But there is a larger issue here pertaining to India's moral agency: our attitudes and policies toward the outside world will also be a function of who we are internally. Our *Weltanschauung* cannot be seen to be divorced from who we are internally as a nation. Put differently, can India truly build peace externally without building peace internally? Good foreign policy starts with good domestic politics.

We must reclaim our moral leadership in the comity of nations, but it has to begin from within the country and neighbourhood. The argument is not that India must relinquish its hard national interests, but that moral arguments have the power to highlight the appeal of our national interests even more.

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# Local governments in a state of disrepair

Nearly 30 years since the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments came into force, politicians have failed to keep their word on the true devolution of powers, responsibilities and accountability



T.R. RAGHUNANDAN

One cannot strike a cheerful note when contemplating the state of India's panchayats and municipalities, 75 years after Independence. True, the local government system obtained constitutional status only through the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, which mandated panchayats and municipalities, devolved a range of powers and responsibilities and made them accountable to the people. Some say that it was lucky that those amendments were passed at all; they were tabled in Parliament on the day that the Babri Masjid was attacked by a mob on December 6, 1992. The mind of the country was somewhere else then.

These amendments, which came into force in 1993, were revolutionary; they changed the scope and extent of India's democracy. From a mere 4,000 MLAs and MPs, the number of our elected representatives exploded to nearly 3.2 million. We progressed from being representationally sparse to one of the most intense democratic participatory systems envisaged. Scope was provided for the participation of women and the marginalised sections of society in government. These reservations were not merely extended to the elected seats but to the leadership positions as well.

In the nearly 30 years since these amendments were incorporated into our Constitution, politicians have mouthed the rhetoric of power to the people, but failed to keep their word on the true 'devolution' of powers, responsibilities and accountability to local governments.

While many scoffed at enabling women, SCs, STs and OBCs to occupy leadership positions, politicians of all hues were alive to the significance of these measures.

Nitish Kumar, in 2006, enlarged women's representation in Bihar's panchayats from the minimum mandated level of one third to half of the elected seats and leadership positions. Other politicians quickly followed suit; such provisions exist in the majority of States now.

## Say of bureaucrats

Bureaucrats, insulated from political compulsions, remain steadfastly opposed to strengthening local governments. That is natural; they would lose their pre-eminent positions of power over where, how and when government money is spent, if they actually devolved power to local governments.

"Local governments have no capacity," they proclaim, waving their hands at the lakhs of elected members who had stood for elections and won them – something no bureaucrat had the capacity to do.

There is a cabal forged between top-level politicians and such bu-



People waiting to cast their votes for the panchayat elections in Jabalpur district of Madhya Pradesh. •PTI

reaucrats. The strategy is simple: let's spout the talk, but let's not walk it. Let us starve local governments of staff and money. That is exactly where we stand at the moment.

A three-pronged strategy is used to cripple the local government system.

Every local government needs to have organisational capacity, by way of staff such as engineers, office staff and social mobilisers. Staffing of local governments is scanty. In some States, many panchayats share a single secretary, who operates from a shoulder bag, a *jhola*, carrying all the books. The sub-district staff are still controlled by the Collector, seen as the head of an anachronism, the district 'administration'.

The line departments are loath to allow their local institutions – schools, *anganwadis*, primary health centres, veterinary hospitals and so on – to be placed under the control and supervision of panchayats. Yet, in a delicious paradox, one cannot hold any higher-level bureaucrat to account for the abysmal quality of local services.

Second, local governments are starved of money. The Union Finance Commissions have made desirable recommendations, but the pitifully low finances that are devolved to local governments, not more than 5% of the divisible pool of Union taxes, come with conditionalities that bind them to specific uses.

Furthermore, these funds are tied down by restrictive procedures that give officers control over local government expenditure decisions, through cheque signing conditionalities.

While local governments have their own tax resources such as property taxes, in many States, there is

no emphasis given to their collection. Where they are collected, officers exert control over how local governments use their funds, by committing these to aggregate purchases tendered and arranged at higher levels. Last, in a diabolical twist of the public finance system, funds meant for the mandated duties of local governments are diverted to parallel corporate structures that perform these duties without accountability to, or consultation with the people. The Smart City 'Special Purpose Vehicle' is a particularly ill-reputed example.

Third, technology is a much-loved tool of bureaucrats to centralise the delivery of local services, much to the detriment of local decision-making. Guess why centralised beneficiary selection, payments and location decisions of public utilities are so popular with bureaucrats? They take away from local, nuanced decision-making and put enormous powers in the hands of higher-level officers and politicians. Thus, beneficiary lists prepared through *gram sabhas* are subverted by MLAs acting in concert with higher-level officers who, in spite of their claims to professional neutrality, are unable to resist political pressure from above.

## The new battleground

What of the coming years, in the light of these dismal practices which have eclipsed the constitutional vision? I see a few trends emerging. First, urban governments will be the new battleground. The 74th amendment was the poor cousin of the 73rd, with weaker provisions, particularly regarding the enabling of peoples' participation in governance. However, the continuous breakdown of urban services is igniting interest

amongst urban citizens – most have been indifferent in the past – to engage with and combat bad governance. Over the past decade, urban NGOs have sprung up, which educate and exhort urban citizens to take a greater interest in urban governance. There are many good examples of local action in practice.

Second, there is a growing failure of local services being delivered by line departments. Earlier, in many States, line departments were unwilling to devolve decisions on location of new infrastructure – that is where the powers of patronage existed. However, as India closes the infrastructure gap, line departments seem more willing to hand over the day-to-day management of local services to local governments. One of the outcomes of the pandemic lockdowns was how panchayats rallied around to keep local institutions going, even as higher-level officials were unable to supervise and manage them. That phenomenon, hopefully, has assured line departments that local governments have the capability to manage their own essential services, if they could be treated with less condescension and greater respect.

In the final outcome, local governments cannot be ignored. For us, the Indian people, our independence for the most part lies in strong local governments that are responsive to our needs and wants. Local governments are much more than our garbage collectors and street-light managers. They are our most effective vaccines against the pandemic of big government.

T.R. Raghunandan is former Joint Secretary, Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of India

# The fastest-growing large economy in the world

India has come a long way, but much remains to be done



AJIT RANADE

India represents one sixth of the world and is today the third largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity. Even in terms of nominal exchange rate of the dollar, India is the sixth largest economy. It has grown at an average rate of 7% per annum for the past 40 years, growing from a size of \$189 billion in 1980 to nearly \$3 trillion today.

This growth rate is about 2% lower than that of China over the same period but represents a higher rate of return when compared with the investment rate of the GDP.

Until the year of the COVID-19 pandemic, India did not have a single year since 1980 when its economy contracted.

It was continuously expanding, with peak rates of 9% to 10% in between. As we celebrate our 76th Independence Day, it is worth reminding that at birth, the newborn nation was highly impoverished, thanks to centuries of colonial exploitation. It was critically dependent on foreign aid for food and forex and had an average life expectancy of only 32 years. The level of illiteracy was very high.

The sheer scale of economic transformation of this nation from bottom to top league is nothing short of spectacular. Today's India is not only self-sufficient but also an exporter of food. It holds the fifth largest stock of foreign exchange and is a net lender to the International Monetary Fund, a far cry from having to go with a begging bowl to the IMF on the brink of forex bankruptcy in 1991.

## Confident foreign investor

Foreign investors have cumulatively poured in half a trillion dollars into India in the past three decades, after the economy opened up. This reflects their confidence in the growth potential. India is the rare Asian country with a persistent current account deficit, as imports always exceed exports. And yet, foreign investors, undeterred by trade deficit, pour investment dollars into factories and businesses as well as into capital markets, leading to a consistent balance of payment currency surplus for India.

The foreign investor is confident that even with twin deficits (fiscal and external), the growth of the economy, driven by demography and dynamism, can pay for the deficits. Thanks to that consistent economic growth, the level of extreme poverty is down sharply from nearly 50% to possibly single digits, and life expectancy has more than doubled since 1947.

On the political front too, India's robust democracy stands in sharp contrast to the authoritarian regime of its more affluent northern neighbour. Surviving for seven decades, our flourishing in once piece, despite its immense diversity in every conceivable dimension, be it religion, race, language, culture or cuisine, is a minor miracle in itself. Many large countries such as the USSR broke up into smaller splinters. That is not to say that India's democracy is perfect. Nevertheless, since the first national election, the country has witnessed largely bloodless and peaceful transfer of power – 16 times – something that other former colonial, developing countries can only envy.

India's early post-Independence economic strategy had to factor in the extreme po-

verty, the scarcity of growth capital, a low tax base and an export pessimism begotten possibly by suspicion of colonial powers.

India was more inward looking and influenced, if not enamoured, by the Soviet planning model of development. One could argue, with hindsight, that it should have been abandoned much earlier than when we actually did. But in light of early conditions, the initial import substitution-led industrial strategy, supported by low wage goods (i.e., food prices), which, in turn, necessitated input subsidies to agriculture, did pay dividends in terms of infrastructure and green revolution. It just stayed longer than it needed to. India also missed the bus, unlike her East Asian neighbours, on capitalising on labour intensive export-led growth. But after the shock of 1991, the economy opened up dramatically.

India's trade to GDP ratio, an indicator of its openness is higher than the United States. It is now the world's leading exporter of software and an outsourcing powerhouse.

Indian workers send nearly 100 billion dollars of inbound remittance, which strengthens the Indian economy. In an indirect way, it is like India's labour export income.

The economy has a large domestic momentum, which can only grow once per capita income rises above \$3,000 or \$4,000. The other signs of strength are in terms of proliferation of unicorns (valued highly by equity investors), exponential growth of e-commerce and digital payments, and a widening industrial base.

Agriculture is much less dependent on the vagaries of the weather, and diversification towards more climate, soil and market-appropriate crops is evident, as is the huge growth in the animal husbandry and dairy sector. India is also meeting its very ambitious targets of renewable energy, especially of solar energy, ahead of schedule. The marriage of cheap solar electricity and of large-scale hydrogen economy holds the tantalising promise of an energy surplus, not deficient, and import-dependent economy.

## Negative aspects

The economy's glass is more than half full, but we cannot ignore the negative aspects. Unemployment remains a huge challenge, as the youth still scramble for government jobs. The government disclosed in Parliament recently that 220 million Indians had applied for just seven lakh government jobs in the past seven years.

Besides, labour force participation rate is low, alarmingly so for women. Job creation is priority number one, even as nearly 70% of industrial jobs are vulnerable to becoming extinct, thanks to automation and robotics. Despite running the world's biggest and longest-running free foodgrain distribution programme, India's ranking in the world hunger index is abysmal, signifying the lopsided distribution of economic growth. Inequality in income, wealth, access to quality education and health facilities is widening.

Hence the tilt towards more welfare spending, which increases fiscal pressure. To generate 10 million jobs annually, we need lakhs of new enterprises to be born. That calls for ease of doing business, especially in areas such as dispute resolution and contract enforcement. But the judiciary is clogged with nearly 50 million cases. Judicial reform is as urgent as job creation. India is the fastest-growing large economy, proud of her democratic foundations, but much work remains to be done.

Ajit Ranade is an economist based in Pune

# Lights, camera, action: the changing hues on a broad canvas

The evolution from within the structures of India's traditional film industry to the digital age has been spectacular



SHALINI USHADEVI

In the film *Dharavi* (1992), the hero, Raj Karan Yadav (played by Om Puri), strives to find a better life for himself, one that is free from debt and drudgery. After unsuccessful attempts to buy his own taxi, he approaches moneylenders to borrow money and set up an illegal factory. Once again, he is unable to pay the money back to them and unwittingly becomes embroiled in a gang war. As he meanders through his life with frustratingly little agency, the character, Dreamgirl (played by Madhuri Dixit), appears – a beautiful, serene mirage that becomes his only source of comfort. This encapsulates what cinema means to India – an escape from mounting bills, equated monthly instalments and infuriating socio-politics.

A good film, they say, is one that allows each one of its viewers to see a different film. A popcorn film, on the other hand, in its desperation to be understood by all, is typically understood to be tropey, allowing for little to no nuance. A perceived crowbar separation existed between the two, until recently.

In the years after Independence, sev-

eral members of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) and the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) took the Hindi film industry by storm. Donning the roles of writers, lyricists and film-makers, they embedded radical reformist themes into mainstream cinema and discourse. These set the template for plot and character definition of Indian heroes, male and female, for decades.

Some of these became high grossers and the others, festival favourites. The holy grail – a combination of the two – remained numerically few. And, down south, the Kerala People's Arts Club (KPAC) determined much of the popular culture in Kerala and beyond. Anti-imperialist and socially progressive themes formed the crux of several commercial films of the time. Remakes of successful films across industries saw the building of a certain pan-Indian ethos that embraced ideas of Nehruvian socialism.

In the 1970s and 1980s, disillusionment with the system was at an all-time high. Audiences lashed out against an oppressive system vicariously through the 'angry young man'. The need for 'black and white hero defeats villain' narratives arose. For movie villains, it was a golden age. Uni-dimensional, megalomaniac despots were stand-ins for authority figures. 'Mogambo' and 'Gambhar Singh' were the catch words. Censorship ensured that important themes had to be 'smuggled into' the consciousness of the nation, and not spelt out. As



A still from the Shah Rukh Khan and Kajol starrer *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*.

a genre, horror, though not yet mainstream, thrived. The Ramsey brothers made films that had better initials than star vehicles at the time.

## The 'crossover' age

In the 1990s, with the advent of globalisation and privatisation of channels, a new kind of Indian film was born – the 'crossover' film. The characters, who were mostly urban, spoke in English

with a smattering of the vernacular language. The genre-defining *Hyderabad Blues* featured Varun, a non-resident Indian, who was both baffled and struggling to navigate a now alien socio-cultural landscape to court his Indian love interest. The entry of the multiplex liberated the film-maker from having to create cinema that spoke to everyone. A film that resonated with only a niche audience could also guarantee a return on

investment. This also gave rise to a new breed of producers who were willing to back less conventional projects that were not necessarily 'festival' or 'award' films.

At the other end of the spectrum was Bollywood's version of the NRI film. In the expensively mounted, wildly successful *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*, Raj, the NRI hero, was seen chasing Simran, his NRI love interest, to India in order to convince her to break off her engagement with her Indian fiancé and marry him. The first half of the film featured a highly aspirational Europe trip that two young adults take on their own, while the second half hard-sold ideas of a traditional India where young adults could only meet in secret or in the company of elders. This was a period that was also rife with war cries about there being 'threats to Indian culture' and laments that children of the MTV generation were rejecting their roots. Themes of nationalism and tradition, often couched in modernity, punctuated cinema across industries. The overseas sales of Indian cinema – notably Hindi, Tamil and Telugu – rose exponentially. Films such as *Dangal* and *Baahubali* also drew non-Indian viewership, signalling the opening up of hitherto unexplored markets.

## A demystification

The year 2010 and beyond saw the popularisation of digital film-making in India, where all of a sudden it was possible for anyone to make a film. Student

film festivals and 'make-a-film' competitions sprung up across the country. It also led to a demystification of the process that made it possible to make films even outside the structures of traditional film industries. Access to different kinds of technology made it possible for film-makers to experiment with themes.

It is now the age of over-the-top (OTT) platforms and the rise of social media. There are algorithms that diligently (and alarmingly) track audience behaviour in real time. Earlier, while there were gaps in understanding that steered producers towards creating homogenous content (that guaranteed super hits), today, there is a more layered understanding of what an audience needs and wants, and also overlaps in markets that can be further exploited.

There is the understanding that someone who watches a film for 'young adults' may also watch a film about an expedition before even switching to fantasy. Notions of 'good' and 'mainstream' are constantly being reassessed and re-defined. Audiences today have more agency than ever before in determining the kind of content that gets created.

They can choose exactly what they want to watch to escape mounting bills, EMIs and infuriating socio-politics.

Shalini Ushadevi is a writer and director who won the Best Screenplay Award at the 68th National Film Awards in 2022 for her work on 'Soorai Potru'



FROM PAGE ONE

## India proved sceptics wrong, says President

“Senior citizens among us have witnessed a dramatic change in their lifetime. They have seen how, after Independence, all the generations have toiled hard; how we met great challenges and how we have taken charge of our destiny. The lessons learnt in the process will prove useful as we move towards the next milestone in the journey of the nation - the *Amrit Kaal*, 25 years to the celebration of the centenary of our Independence,” the President said and added that by the year 2047, we will have fully realised the dreams of our freedom fighters. “We will have given a concrete shape to the vision of those who, led by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, drafted the Constitution. We are already on course to build an Atmanirbhar Bharat, an India that would have realised its true potential,” she said.

Ms. Murmu said the COVID-19 pandemic has uprooted lives and also economies in the entire world. “When the world has been battling the economic consequences of the great cri-

sis, India got its act together and is now moving forward. India is among the fastest growing major economies in the world,” she added. She credited the government and policy-makers for beating the global trend and helping the economy flourish. “During the last few years, unprecedented progress has been made in the development of physical and digital infrastructure,” she said adding that the growth is becoming more inclusive and regional disparities too are reducing.

Ms. Murmu said economic success is leading to an ease in living too. “The keyword for India today is compassion; for the downtrodden, for the needy and for those on the margins,” she said. Ms. Murmu said when works are done with the spirit of ‘Nation First’, it is bound to reflect in every decision and every sector. “This is also reflected in India’s standing in the world,” she said. Quoting Kannada poet Kuvempu, she urged the youth to make total sacrifice for the motherland and upliftment of citizens.

## A cross-border family’s visa travails

Traditionally, the Sodhas do not marry within their own clan and have always intermarried with other Rajput clans in India, with a special visa mandate to travel back and forth agreed to for them some decades ago. Mr. Singh’s father was from Pakistan, his mother belongs to India, and his brother and sister, born in Pakistan, now live in Jodhpur and Jaipur, respectively.

Mr. Singh and Magan married in Jodhpur in 1996, and she moved to Pakistan, but died of hepatitis in 2012, leaving a son, Chander Veer Singh, 22, and daughters, Meena, 21 and Disha, 13. A year later, he and Magan’s cousin Dimple Kanwar married, and had two children, Kuleep, 8 and Priya, 4. The couple chose to bring up all the five children together in India.

In fact, according to the Sodha community leaders interviewed by local media, as many as 900 Sodhas found themselves and their families blacklisted, as visa regulations between the two countries were tightened, and the special man-

date was rescinded. External Affairs and Home Ministry officials declined to comment on the reasons for the visa denials.

### Bilateral tensions

As India and Pakistan shut down borders, exchanges, trade, and people-to-people ties over the next few years due to bilateral tensions and the COVID-19 pandemic, Mr. Singh began to lose hope of visiting India again, though he kept applying for his visa each time he received a rejection.

Ms. Kanwar too drafted letter after letter of appeal to officials in the Rajasthan government and the two Ministries. “I humbly request on humanitarian grounds that the visa/clearance may be granted, so that our disturbed family [can be reunited], and our kids may receive the supervision of both their parents,” Ms. Kanwar wrote in a November 2021 letter.

The frustrations multiply, says Mr. Singh, given just how close they are to each other (just about 400 km) on the map.

## Political row over Partition remembrance

Last year, Mr. Modi announced that August 14 would be observed as the Partition Horrors Remembrance Day, which would keep reminding the countrymen of the need to “remove the poison of social divisions, disharmony and further strengthen the spirit of oneness, social harmony and human empowerment”.

On Sunday, Union Home Minister Amit Shah also took to Twitter to say: “The partition of the country in 1947 is that inhuman chapter of Indian history which can never be forgotten. The violence and hatred of Partition claimed millions of lives and displaced innumerable people.”

BJP president J.P. Nadda, who participated in a silent procession in the evening to mark the occasion, tweeted: “I solemnly remember those who paid an unbearable price during Partition. We must never forget how politics of selfishness & personal interests led to Partition & pain.”

### BJP’s video

Earlier, the BJP - through its Twitter handle - released an over a seven-minute-long video in which the role of the then Congress and Commu-

nist leaders was questioned. The party said: “Those who had no knowledge of India’s cultural heritage, civilization, values, pilgrimages, in just three weeks, they drew the border between people living together for centuries. Where were those people at that time who had the responsibility of fighting against these divisive forces?”

### Congress responds

Responding to this, Jairam Ramesh, Congress general secretary in-charge of communication, said in a series of tweets in Hindi, “The real intent of PM [Prime Minister] to mark August 14 as Partition Horrors Remembrance Day is to use the most traumatic historical events as fodder for his current political battles. Lakhs upon lakhs were dislocated and lost their lives. Their sacrifices must not be forgotten or disrespected.”

He further added: “The tragedy of partition, cannot be misused to fuel hate & prejudice. The truth is Savarkar originated 2 nation theory and Jinnah perfected it. Sardar Patel wrote, ‘I felt that if we did not accept partition, India would be split into many bits and would be completely ruined.’”

## Be vigilant about threats to country, says Kharge

‘Happy serving nation for 50 years’

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

India celebrating her 75th year of Independence is truly a momentous occasion for each and every Indian, said Leader of the Opposition (LoP) in the Rajya Sabha Mallikarjun Kharge.

“As we celebrate 75 years of Independence, we see that India has emerged as one of the strongest democracies of the world and also one of the largest economies of the world,” Mr. Kharge said, adding that in the past 15 years, India managed to lift 27 crore people out of poverty and strengthen our rural economy.

He said his social background and personal experiences always made him worry that the country’s hard-fought independence, political and social freedom and rights for every citizen of the country can be lost very quickly if people are not willing to be vigilant about the threats to our country and society.

“The younger generation who have not faced discrimination or loss of freedom may not share my apprehensions. However, I am sure they will always stand up to protect the constitution, the rights of every citizen, and the unity and integrity of our country whenever needed,” Mr.



Mallikarjun Kharge

Kharge said. Independence was made possible due to the long and hard struggle of crores of freedom fighters under many illustrious leaders, he said. “It is their sacrifice, and their blood, sweat and tears that laid the foundation for a modern and free India,” he noted.

Mr. Kharge, a former Railways Minister in the UPA government, stated that he has had the privilege of serving the country and its people for 50 years now.

“The strength of Indian democracy and our Constitution can be measured from the fact that a person like me who hails from the depressed section of the society has the opportunity to serve the people as an elected representative for five decades. I am also one of the few people in Parliament today who was born before the Independence,” Mr. Kharge added.

INTERVIEW | U.U. LALIT

## ‘Women find judicial career acceptable’

Any criticism about validity or correctness of a judgment is welcome: CJI-designate

KRISHNADAS RAJAGOPAL

Justice Uday Umesh Lalit is the Chief Justice of India-designate. He is scheduled to take over as the 49th Chief Justice of India on August 27. Justice Lalit is only the second direct appointee from the Bar to be appointed the Chief Justice of India. Excerpts:

**Do you feel the retirement age of Supreme Court judges should be increased from 65 to 67 years?**

■ We came here on the Bench because our predecessors retired at the age of 65. So, it is inter-generational equity. If we stay here, perhaps the next generation of judges will not have quicker elevation to the Bench... This is a matter of policy which the lawmakers have to decide.

**Do you feel the court needs more women judges?**

■ Of course, yes. The ethos is changing. Recently, I went to an event for inducting new judges in Rajasthan. Of about 190 of them, 129 were women. Again, in Odisha, in a similar event, 65% of the new judges were women. The percentage of women judicial officers is increasing. Women find judicial career acceptable. Today, if you think of the first 100 judges of the high courts, not more than 10 are women. The picture may change in 10-15

years. Today we are completing 75 years, maybe when we complete 100 years, the ratio (of women judges) will be different.

**The Supreme Court has been recently vocal on the “indiscriminate” use of arrest powers by law enforcement agencies. Is there a need to re-look at the criminal justice system?**

■ Once a court is looking into it, we should not comment. Theoretically, if you want to relax certain conditions or to say that persons in certain situations should not be arrested, it is normal for the legislature to do that. For instance, under Section 437 (of the Cr.PC), women, children, the infirm or old persons are taken to be as a special category where your normal logic or conditions must be relaxed and the balance must be tilted in favour of these persons. It is not as if the Parliament has not noted it. The Parliament is cognisant of that, aware of that.

**On social media or**



**● Criticism of the conduct of a judge does not strengthen the institution**

**electronic media criticism about the conduct of judges?**

■ Everything can be discussed on the floor of the House except the conduct of the judge. Except when impeachment motion is considered in the Parliament. There are two compartments - the ‘judgment compartment’ and the ‘judge compartment’. Any criticism about the validity or correctness of a judgment is welcome. It strengthens the institution, the process of law and administration of justice. Criticism of the conduct of a judge does not strengthen the institution, is not good for the society. Anybody who criticises a judgment should maintain a line and not overstep. A judge cannot respond. He or she suffocates under the barrage of criticism.

**Should death sentence be struck off the law?**

■ Constitutionally, death sentence is permissible, provided the parameters laid down in the *Bachan Singh* judgment are adhered to. The endeavour of every court is to see whether every case comes within the exceptions or not. As a judge I cannot say the death sentence should not be granted. I will see whether the facts justify the imposition of death penalty or not.

**On the virtual court system?**

■ Virtual courts are opening up new frontiers. Lawyers from the Madras High Court can appear in the Supreme Court on any given day. It is opening new vistas. It is a welcome idea.

**On the work of the collegium in filling up judicial vacancies?**

■ The Collegium presided over by Chief Justice of India N.V. Ramana, of which I and Justice A.M. Khanwilkar were part of, made 255 recommendations to the High Courts. That is one-third of the entire strength of the High Courts. If responses are quick and immediate and if there is merit and talent, there would be no delay.

## 107 medals for armed forces

They include three Kirti Chakras and 13 Shaurya Chakras, says Defence Ministry

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

As many as 107 gallantry awards to the armed forces and Central Armed Police Forces (CAPF) were approved by President Droupadi Murmu to mark Independence Day, which include three Kirti Chakras and 13 Shaurya Chakras, a statement by the Ministry of Defence said.

Two Bar to Sena medals, 81 Sena Medals, one Nao Sena Medal and seven Vayu Sena medals were also announced on Sunday.

The President approved 40 Mention-in-Despatches to the Army, one to the Air Force and another to the Army Dog, Axel (posthumously), for their significant contributions in different military operations, including Operation Snow Leopard and Operation Trikuk.

The 2020 Galwan clashes in Ladakh in which 20 soldiers were killed in violent clashes with the Chinese People’s Liberation Army was code-named Operation



Havildar Ghanshyam (left) and Jasbir Singh (posthumous) selected for the Shaurya Chakra •SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

Snow Leopard.

Naik Devendra Pratap Singh from the Army was awarded Kirti Chakra for displaying indomitable courage and devotion beyond call of duty resulting in elimination of two hardcore terrorists at Pulwama in Jammu and Kashmir.

**Shaurya Chakra**

As many as eight Army personnel, two of them posthumously, and one from the Navy were awarded Shaurya Chakra. Of the eight Army personnel, two are from the



Para Special Forces while others were with the Rashtriya Rifles in the Kashmir Valley. All awards were for counter-terror and counter-insurgency operations in Jammu and Kashmir, an official said.

Constable Sudip Sarkar and sub-inspector Paotinsat Guitte from the Border Security Force (BSF) were awarded Kirti Chakra posthumously. Kirti Chakra is awarded for acts of bravery away from the field of battle.

Sarkar was patrolling the Line of Control (LoC) in Jam-

mu and Kashmir’s Kupwara on November 7 and 8, 2020, when he spotted terrorists trying to infiltrate.

He engaged the terrorists in a hand-to-hand combat, killing one of them, but succumbed to injuries. Quite engaged with a terrorist group on December 1, 2020, near the LoC and despite receiving a bullet, killed one of the terrorists. He succumbed to his injuries.

Amit Kumar, Assistant Commandant, Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF); Somay Vinayak Munde, Additional Superintendent of Police, Maharashtra; Ravindra Kashinath Naitam, Police Naik, Maharashtra; and Tikaram Sampatra Katenge from the Maharashtra Police were awarded Shaurya Chakras.

The President approved one President’s Tatrakshak Medal and three Tatrakshak Medals to Coast Guard personnel for conspicuous gallantry, exceptional devotion to duty and distinguished/meritorious service.

## 1,082 police personnel receive service medals

Gallantry medals awarded to 347

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

As many as 1,082 police personnel were awarded Police Medals on the occasion of Independence Day, the Union Home Ministry said in a statement on Sunday. The number of police personnel who received gallantry medals stood at 347.

“A total of 204 personnel are being awarded for their gallant action in Jammu and Kashmir, 80 personnel for their gallant action in Left Wing Extremism-affected areas and 14 personnel for their gallant action in North-East Region,” the Ministry said.

Among the personnel who received Gallantry Awards, 109 are from the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), 108 from the J&K Police, 19 from the Border Security Force (BSF), 42 from Maharashtra, 15 from Chhattisgarh and six each from the Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) and the ITBP.

The CRPF’s Srinagar sec-



Umesh Chandra Bhadola of the ITBP. •SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

tor under Inspector General Charu Sinha bagged 40 gallantry medals, highest in the country, among all the forces. ITBP spokesperson Vivek Kumar Pandey said that its personnel received 20 medals, which include three President’s police medal for distinguished service and 11 police medals for meritorious service. Those awarded the bravery medals include Assistant Commandants Prabhath Mukul Martin Minz and Amit Kumar, and Assistant Sub-Inspector Kuldip Raj.

## Death of Dalit boy sparks tension in Rajasthan village

Father says teacher thrashed him for drinking water from pot

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
JAIPUR

Tensions broke out at Surana village in Sayla tehsil of Jalore district of Rajasthan on Sunday as the body of a nine-year-old Dalit boy, who died after being beaten up allegedly by his schoolteacher, was brought home. The cremation could not be held till late in the evening.

According to the police, the teacher, Chhail Singh, 40, thrashed the boy and threw casteist slurs at him when he touched an earthen pot kept aside for him and drank water from it.

Inder Meghwal was admitted to hospitals in Jalore, Bhinmal and Udaipur in Rajasthan before being shifted to Ahmedabad, where he died on Saturday.

His father, Deva Ram, said in his complaint that Inder had sustained injuries in his right ear and eye. There was bleeding from the ear and the eye was sore. Inder’s family members and villagers staged a demonstration demanding strict action



Dalit Shoshan Mukti Manch activists staging a demonstration at Ambedkar Circle in Alwar. •SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT.

against Mr. Singh and cancellation of recognition of the private school, Saraswati Vidya Mandir.

The police used force to disperse a crowd which hurled stones at the policemen after raising demands for higher compensation and a government job to one of the family members. Mobile Internet services were suspended in the district for 24 hours. Senior administrative and police officers earlier went to Surana and met Inder’s family members. They informed the family that Mr.

Singh had been arrested.

The accused has been booked under Section 302 (murder) of the Indian Penal Code and provisions of the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act.

The investigation has been taken up under the “case officer scheme”, in which a single police officer follows up prosecution of the accused till the conclusion of the trial. Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot announced a financial assistance of ₹5 lakh to the family.

## ‘138 judicial appointments so far in 2022’

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

With 11 new High Court judges appointed on Sunday, the government has created a record by making 138 judicial appointments so far this year. The earlier record of 126 High Court appointments in 2016 has been surpassed, a Law Ministry statement said. In 2021, the appointments in High Courts was 120, but the Supreme Court had nine appointments. “Thus, the entire appointment process in higher judiciary has been put on a fast track,” said the Ministry. On Saturday, the Ministry notified the appointment of 26 judges in courts of Allahabad, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Gauhati, Orissa and Himachal Pradesh.

## Correction

The photo that accompanied the report headlined “Taliban offer security to Indian mission” is of the Indian embassy in Beijing and not as printed. The error is regretted.

## 30 CBI officials selected for President’s medal

24 honoured for meritorious service

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) has bagged 30 President’s Police Medal for distinguished service, and Police Medal for meritorious service on the occasion of Independence Day.

While the President’s Police Medal for distinguished service has been awarded to six officials, the Police Medal for meritorious service has been conferred on 24 others.

Among the recipients of medals for distinguished service are Additional Supe-

rintendent of Police Alok Kumar; Deputy SPs Atul Hajela, Tejprakash Devrani and T.Sridharan; Sub-Inspector Gurmeet Singh and Assistant Sub-Inspector Narpat Singh.

**Meritorious service**

Deputy Inspector General Keshav Ram, who supervised the probe in the coal scam, Additional Legal Advisor Vijay Kumar Sharma, who was instrumental in preparing the case for the agency, were awarded the Police Medal for meritorious service.



### APPEAL

One year old Baby Grace Milo Diviny is suffering from Acute Myeloid Leukemia. Her father is a daily wage earner who cannot bear the expenditure of Rs.8,00,000/- to undergo Chemotherapy at Meenakshi Mission Hospital & Research Centre, Madurai. She needs your blessings and support. Donations sent by Ch.D. (favouring Meenakshi Mission Hospital & Research Centre, Madurai) will be acknowledged. The donations sent through Ch.D./NET Transfer & GOOGLE PAY (Canara Bank, Nungambakkam Branch A/C No.6018201006310, IFSC No. CNRB0016018) favouring WOMEN’S WELFARE SYNDICATE is exempted under 80G IT.

Madurai will be acknowledged. The donations sent through Ch.D./NET Transfer & GOOGLE PAY (Canara Bank, Nungambakkam Branch A/C No.6018201006310, IFSC No. CNRB0016018) favouring WOMEN’S WELFARE SYNDICATE is exempted under 80G IT.

All correspondence is done through WWS, Regd. Public Charitable Trust, Flat No.GF 1, Corridor Apartments, O.No.13, N.No.29, Pycrofts Garden Lane, Chennai - 600006. Ph: 044-4213740/128233247/338978027. E Mail ID: womenswelfare.org@gmail.com Website: www.womenswelfare.org

WWS



## Over 74 lakh cases cleared by Lok Adalat

LEGAL CORRESPONDENT  
NEW DELHI

Over 74 lakh pending and pre-litigation cases, many of them part of a huge backlog created by the pandemic, were settled across the country in the third National Lok Adalat.

In a move away from convention, the legal services authorities under Chief Justice of India-designate, Justice U.U. Lalit, who is the executive chairman of the National Legal Services Authority (NALSA), used technological platforms to conduct 'digital lok adalat' in Maharashtra and Rajasthan.

Of the over 74 lakh disposed cases, 16.45 lakh disputes were pending and another 58.33 lakh were in pre-litigation stages.

"The total value of the settlement amount is approximately ₹5,039 crore," NALSA said in a statement on Saturday.

In an interaction with legal services authorities' officials, Justice Lalit said that lok adalats have "not only become an efficient substitute to seek redressal, but help in reducing the burden of the courts pertaining to backlog and pendency of cases."

# Kashmir's volatile pockets see flag hoisting, rallies on I-Day eve

Multi-layered security has been put in place in the Union Territory for today

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
SRINAGAR

The Kashmir Valley witnessed major events to hoist the Tricolour on Sunday, the eve of Independence Day, even in those areas that were a hub of militants and prone to frequent street protests in the past. Meanwhile, multi-layered security was put in place ahead of the main functions on Monday in the Union Territory (U.T.).

J&K Lieutenant-Governor Manoj Sinha participated in a walkathon to celebrate the *Har Ghar Tiranga* campaign. "Raising Pakistani flag is history. Now only the Indian flag will fly here. Earlier, there were less efforts to get people to raise the tiranga. Now there are efforts and people want to raise the flag," Mr. Sinha said, in an interview to a TV channel during the walkathon.

Srinagar district established a national record by displaying a 1,850-metre-long National Flag at Bakshi Stadium. Around 500 persons were engaged to roll and unroll the flag.

"It took 10 days to stitch the record 1,850-metre-long



Mubarak Mandi Heritage Complex illuminated during 'Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav' on Independence Day eve in Jammu. •PTI

flag," an official said. The flag was made of Khadi.

In Pulwama of south Kashmir, over 1,000 school-children arranged themselves in the colours of the National Flag. They also made a special pattern, by seating themselves in a way that depicted "75 years: *Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav*" on the synthetic turf of the school, a government spokesman said.

"The mega rallies held in Tral and Pulwama town saw participation of a huge number of youth and students. The Tricolour was being hoisted in the shops and other establishments, especially in the market of Pulwama

town besides private houses," Deputy Commissioner Baseer-ul-Haq said.

Pulwama has been a militancy hotbed and saw repeated anti-India street protests in the past.

A 22-km stretch of the National Highway in Pulwama district was also bedecked with bunting and the National Flag.

In north Kashmir's Kupwara, over 5,000 students held a mega rally to celebrate *Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav*.

In Baramulla, scores of self-help groups run by women were roped in to maintain the supply of the Tricolour, as multiple functions

and rallies were organised in the district.

The Army also inaugurated the 108-foot-high National Flag at Hyderabad, Pattan in north Kashmir's Baramulla.

### Security heightened

Meanwhile, security has been heightened across J&K ahead of the main functions of the I-Day on Monday.

"Multi-layered security arrangements have been put in place. Technology is being used at several sensitive locations to make the security grid more vigilant," Director General of Police Dilbag Singh said.

He said young boys were being roped in as hybrid militancy. "But many youth who had gone astray were counseled by the security forces and handed over to their parents," he said.

He said the militancy graph was going down. "More needs to be done to further reduce the militancy graph," he added.

The policeman, who was injured in a grenade attack by militants in Kulgam on Saturday evening, died of his injuries on Sunday.

# Stock investor Rakesh Jhunjhunwala passes away

His acumen earned him the title 'India's Warren Buffet'

LALATENDU MISHRA  
MUMBAI

Billionaire stock investor and an early backer of the latest entrant to India's aviation sector Akasa Air, Rakesh Jhunjhunwala, passed away in Mumbai on Sunday morning following a prolonged illness. He was 62.

He is survived by his wife Rekha, who is also an avid investor, and three children.

The son of an Income Tax officer, Mr. Jhunjhunwala took to investing in stocks as a career and built his fortune through his investment firm RARE Enterprises. With an estimated net worth of \$5.8 billion, *Forbes* had ranked him as India's 36th richest individual.

His investing acumen, particularly his ability to pick up low-priced quality stocks, earned him the sobriquet 'India's Warren Buffet'. A chartered accountant by qualification, Mr. Jhunjhunwala is reported to have started investing in stocks in 1985 with an initial capital of ₹5,000.

Commanding a large following of retail investors, Mr. Jhunjhunwala had his



Rakesh Jhunjhunwala

hind an indelible contribution to the financial world. He was also very passionate about India's progress. His passing away is saddening."

Vinay Dube, Founder & CEO, Akasa Air, said, "We at Akasa cannot thank Mr. Jhunjhunwala enough for being an early believer in us and putting his trust and faith in us to build a world-class airline. Mr. Jhunjhunwala had an invincible spirit, was deeply passionate about everything Indian and cared greatly for the well-being of our employees and customers. Akasa Air will honour Mr. Jhunjhunwala's legacy, values and belief in us by striving to run a great airline."

Mr. Jhunjhunwala's portfolio included Star Health, Nazara Technologies, Tata Motors, IHCL, Agro Tech Foods, Canara Bank, Escorts, Rallis India and Titan. He was on the boards of several companies including Apteck and Hungama Media. "Rakesh Jhunjhunwala believed in India and the sheer potential of the country," Tata Sons chairman N. Chandrasekaran said.

most famous recent investment in the low-cost airline Akasa Air, which started commercial flight operations last week.

"Rakesh Jhunjhunwala started as a street smart investor who knew how to play on fear and greed," said Arun Kejriwal, founder of Kejriwal Research. "He was a speculator, an investor and an entrepreneur. The important lesson that he has taught the market is that no matter how big your position is, you need to call it quits when the market goes against you," he added.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi said in a tweet, "Rakesh Jhunjhunwala was indomitable. Full of life, witty and insightful, he leaves be-

## Plum portfolios with BJP in Maharashtra

Fadnavis in charge of Home, Finance

SHOUMOJIT BANERJEE  
PUNE

Less than a week after the expansion of the new Maharashtra Cabinet, Chief Minister Eknath Shinde on Sunday announced the portfolios for 18 Ministers inducted in the first phase.

While the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Ministers, particularly Devendra Fadnavis, largely kept the portfolios that were held by the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) in the erstwhile Maha Vikas Aghadi government, the Sena faction led by Mr. Shinde kept those that were held by the Shiv Sena and the Congress in the previous regime.

The allocation was announced after the list was approved by Governor Bhagat Singh Koshyari.

With more than 20 Cabinet berths yet to be filled, Mr. Shinde has decided to keep the Urban Development portfolio along with General Administration, Information and Technology, Public Works (Public Projects), Transport, Relief and Rehabilitation, along with others yet to be allotted.

The Bharatiya Janata Party now holds many of the plum portfolios. Deputy



Eknath Shinde keeps the Urban Development portfolio. •PTI

Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis was given Home, Finance and Planning, Law and Justice, and Water Resources.

Senior BJP leader Radhakrishna Vikhe Patil (a long-time Congressman who switched sides in 2019) was given the Revenue, and Animal Husbandry and Dairy Development portfolios.

Atul Save, BJP MLA from Aurangabad and a first-time Cabinet Minister, was given the crucial Cooperation portfolio, which many thought would be allotted to Mr. Vikhe Patil.

In contrast to the fellow BJP leaders, other Ministers of the Shiv Sena (Shinde faction) seem to have been allotted 'lesser' portfolios.

## Behind BJP's break with old allies

Electorally dominant party is aggressive in expanding its support base

NISTULA HEBBAR  
NEW DELHI

At a meeting of the Maharashtra Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) held in 2013, just after Prime Minister Narendra Modi had been declared the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) candidate for that post, he asked leaders of the State unit as to why workers of the then ally Shiv Sena were deputed to polling booths for the BJP candidate.

After some back and forth between leaders, Mr. Modi declared that only BJP booth-level workers would be deployed in constituencies where party candidates were fighting.

This was one of the first indications that the BJP would be pushing some



Narendra Modi

boundaries in the two-decade-old alliance. That alliance subsequently broke. Last week in Bihar, for the second time, the BJP lost its old ally, the Janata Dal (United). This came after having lost one of its oldest ally, the Akali Dal, while in the throes of the farmers' protest.

These breaks from its legacy allies have invited allegations of the BJP being predatory with regard to the support bases of its allies, or plain old hubris. That the BJP is not amenable to playing nice any more has been made very clear, but political scientist Rahul Verma, associated with the Centre for Policy Research, says it's the logic of power at work.

"In Bihar, the particularities of the situation may differ, but the nature of the BJP is now that of a dominant party," he added. He emphasised that India has now incontrovertibly entered the fourth party system.

The first and second party system in India was dominated by the Congress in the years following Independence, from 1947 to around 1989.

From 1989 to 2014, India saw an era of coalition politics, its third party system, where the BJP and the Congress were the main poles

This era came to an end in 2014 with Narendra Modi at the helm of the BJP.

138 seats that it had in 2004, there is a cold hard calculation to back it," he said.

"The behaviour of the BJP vis-a-vis its allies of the past is a function of power, of negotiating from a position of strength rather than emotional disconnect. It is an electorally dominant party, and is aggressive in wanting to expand its base. If it is not behaving like the party with

has stood throughout his life for the right to artistic expression, to speak truth to power, and to offend, shock and disturb. The statement said "nobody has the right to not be offended."

The PUCL expressed concern over lack of security at the event in New York.

## U.P. police say another Jaish terrorist arrested

STAFF REPORTER  
LUCKNOW

The Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) of the Uttar Pradesh Police on Sunday arrested an alleged Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) terrorist, Habibul Islam alias Saifullah, from Kanpur.

Saifullah's name cropped

up during the interrogation of Muhammad Nadeem, who was arrested on Friday.

"Saifullah is an expert in creating fake virtual IDs for terror outfits based in Pakistan and Afghanistan. He used social media platforms to keep in touch with his handlers," said the ATS.

## PUCL condemns attack on Salman Rushdie

STAFF REPORTER  
CHENNAI

The People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) has strongly condemned the recent attack on author Salman Rushdie in New York.

In a statement issued on Sunday, the organisation said the Indian-born author

has stood throughout his life for the right to artistic expression, to speak truth to power, and to offend, shock and disturb. The statement said "nobody has the right to not be offended."

The PUCL expressed concern over lack of security at the event in New York.

## Govt. lost ₹8,000 cr. due to five cases: NITI Aayog

'SC should consider economic impact'

STAFF REPORTER  
NEW DELHI

A recent report commissioned by the NITI Aayog has estimated that five orders of the Supreme Court and the National Green Tribunal favouring larger protection for the environment had cost the government around ₹8,000 crore in revenue.

It recommends that the court undertake economic impact analysis, based on forecasts put together by a group of experts, to address and adjudicate public interest cases involving economically sensitive matters.

### Cases in spotlight

The report, prepared by Jaipur-based CUTS (Consumer Unity & Trust Society) International, studied the following five cases: the Mopa airport case, where the court required undertakings from the concessionaire GMR Goa International Airport Limited (GGIAL) ensuring additional environmental safeguards; the Goa mining cases, during which the court on two occasions cancelled iron ore mining licenses in Goa - the latest one in a 2018 case where Vedanta Group was arguing that their licence was still operational; the Sterlite

Copper case; the regulation of sand mining; and the banning of construction activities in the National Capital Region to curb air pollution.

The report, after measuring the economic impact of judicial interventions in these cases, estimated that the government lost out on a possible revenue of ₹8,000 crore between mid-2018 and mid-2021, which if invested as capital expenditure, could have resulted in an economic impact of around ₹20,000 crore.

After submitting that the economic impact in these cases included a loss of ₹15,000 crore in possible revenue to the industry and ₹500 crore in wages, the report suggested that the SC should engage experts including economists, environmentalists, and sociologists, among others, to conduct an economic-impact assessment in cases "involving economic sensitive matters".

The CUTS report also concludes that the judiciary should institutionalise the idea of a cost-benefit analysis as part of their decision-making, and the authorities should consider qualitative indicators that might not necessarily be quantifiable.

**TH CROSSWORD + 13635**  
(set by Vidwan)

To solve this puzzle online, get access to our crossword site @ <https://qrqo.page.link/jjpTn>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9				10			
11					12		
13			14				
18					19		
		22			21		
24		25			26		
27					28		
29							30

**Across**

9 Most nuclear waste relocation in the east is messy (7)

10 Restrain men at pub consumed by self-importance (7)

11 Step out with fellow spending millions a month (9)

12 Mocking right away like Greek? (5)

13 Smell of inlet off western coast (4)

14 Use a GPS slyly as surveillance tool (7)

**Down**

1 Found out about United Nations Security Council Resolution on radiation shield (9)

2 Mouth organ music? (1,8)

3 Lesser, half-hearted passion (5)

4 Helped fit into finale (7)

5 Go back and host party again (7)

6 Without doubt, boy's soul travels around void occasionally (9)

7 Scene near a ground (5)

8 Duke and Knight going bit sober in Scotland (5)

15 A brisk walk through breaking waves on beach or some man-made stretch of grass (9)

16 Abductor or lullaby singing babysitter? (9)

17 Sounds like a festival booking for priests (4,5)

20 Spirit of the masses? (3,4)

21 Counter gold display (7)

24 Taming the most unbound spirit (5)

25 Partly second-rate American news organisation (5)

26 Initiations of Eleusinian practices or philosophical traditions for the beginner (5)

### SUDOKU

5	8	3		1				
		4		7				
	1			8	2			4
	6		1			7		3
4	9			3		5		
3			7	9			1	
			2			6		
				4		3	8	7

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★

### FAITH

## Concern for Krishna

Periyazhvar sang his pallandu verses to ward off evil eyes from Lord Narayana. The verses include ones sung to different avatars of the Lord. The first avatara referred to is Krishna. Rama and Narasimha are also praised, but the Krishna avatara which came later gets Periyazhvar's attention first. Nanjeeyar wondered why such extraordinary concern was shown to Krishna, rather than to Rama, said M.A. Venkatakishnan in a discourse.

Nanjeeyar's Acharya Parasara Bhatta was a great scholar, handpicked by Ramanujacharya to succeed him. Bhatta explained the reason for the special consideration shown to Krishna. Rama's father was a king. He had advisers scholarly sages like Vasishtha. Rama was born in a palace, and was adored by not only the citizens of Ayodhya, but even by the vegetation in Ayodhya. When Rama's coronation was announced, plants rejoiced. When He was exiled, they wilted. Yodhya means that which can be subjugated. Ayodhya means that which cannot be conquered. Such was the nature of the city in which Rama was born. So His safety was never in doubt.

But Krishna was born in a jail, not far from the palace of Kamsa, who was determined to kill Him. In Gokula, Krishna was threatened by demons all the time. Putana tried to poison Him. Cakatasura tried to crush Him to death. One asura took the form of a calf. Krishna's foster father was no emperor. Nor did he have ministers to advise him. Rama avatara was in Treta yuga, when the threats to dharma were not so many. But Krishna was born towards the end of Dwapara yuga, when Kali yuga was about to begin. Given all these circumstances, was it any surprise that Periyazhvar was more worried about Krishna than about Rama?

**Solution to puzzle 13634**

L	E	G	A	L	E	S	E	A	D	D	L	E	D
G	A	M	E	B	I	R	D	G	R	I	M	E	A
U	I	Y	V	S	E	P	I	G					
M	A	N	Y	A	T	I	M	E	D	U	P	I	G
E	I	V	O	T	E	D	E	V	I	S	E	S	
L	R	E	C	T	E	D	V	A	L	E	P		
A	G	H	A	A	P								
P	R	I	M	E	T	A	V	E	R	S	E		
F	R	A	N	D	O	M	S	C	O	R	N	F	
O	E	A	A	B	E	A							
G	A	R	U	D	A	A	N	G	S	T	R	O	M

**Solution to yesterday's Sudoku**

1	7	4	3	8	2	6	9	5
3	5	8	7	6	9	1	4	2
6	2	9	1	5	4	7	3	8
9	4	6	8	7	1	5	2	3
7	3	2	9	4	5	8	1	6
5	8	1	2	3	6	9	7	4
4	1	3	6	9	8	2	5	7
2	6	5	4	1	7	3	8	9
8	9	7	5	2	3	4	6	1



# Rushdie on road to recovery, says agent

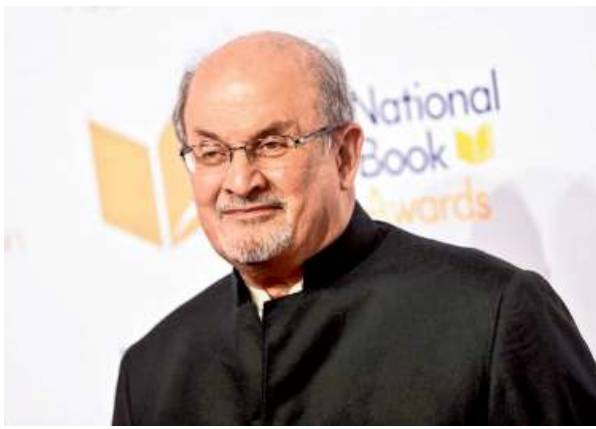
Taken off ventilator; despite severe injuries, his feisty & defiant sense of humour remains intact, says son

ASSOCIATED PRESS  
NEW YORK

Salman Rushdie is "on the road to recovery," his agent confirmed on Sunday, two days after the author of *The Satanic Verses* suffered serious injuries in a stabbing at a lecture in upstate New York.

The announcement followed news that the lauded writer was removed from a ventilator on Saturday and able to talk and joke. Literary agent Andrew Wylie cautioned that although Rushdie's "condition is headed in the right direction," his recovery would be a long process. Rushdie, 75, suffered a damaged liver and severed nerves in an arm and an eye, Mr. Wylie had previously said, and was likely to lose the injured eye.

"Though his life changing injuries are severe, his usual feisty & defiant sense of hu-



**Pulling through:** Salman Rushdie attending a National Book Awards ceremony in New York, in this file photo. • AP

mour remains intact," Rushdie's son Zafar Rushdie said in a Sunday statement that stressed the author remained in critical condition.

The statement on behalf of the family also expressed gratitude for the "audience members who bravely leapt to his defence," as well as

police, doctors and "the outpouring of love and support from around the world."

**Suspect pleads not guilty** Hadi Matar, 24, of Fairview, New Jersey, pleaded not guilty Saturday to attempted murder and assault charges in what a prosecutor called

"a targeted, unprovoked, preplanned attack" at the Chautauqua Institution, a nonprofit education and retreat centre.

The suspect appeared in court wearing a black and white jumpsuit and a white face mask, with his hands cuffed in front of him.

A judge ordered him held without bail after District Attorney Jason Schmidt told her Matar took steps to purposely put himself in position to harm Rushdie, getting an advance pass to the event where the author was speaking and arriving a day early bearing a fake ID.

"This was a targeted, unprovoked, preplanned attack on Mr. Rushdie," Mr. Schmidt said.

The attack was met with global shock and outrage, along with praise for the man who, for more than three decades, has weath-

ered death threats and a \$3 million bounty on his head for *The Satanic Verses*. Rushdie even spent nine years in hiding under a British government protection program.

Authors, activists and government officials cited Rushdie's bravery and long-time championing of free speech in the face of such intimidation. Writer and long-time friend Ian McEwan labeled Rushdie "an inspirational defender of persecuted writers and journalists".

"Salman Rushdie — with his insight into humanity, with his unmatched sense for story, with his refusal to be intimidated or silenced — stands for essential, universal ideals," U.S. President Joe Biden said in a Saturday statement. "Truth. Courage. Resilience. The ability to share ideas without fear."

# Electrical fire at Egypt's Coptic church kills 41, mostly children

Blaze blocked an entrance to the church, causing a stampede

REUTERS  
CAIRO

An electrical fire swept through an Egyptian Coptic Christian church during Mass on Sunday, causing a stampede and killing at least 41 people, most of them children, security sources said.

The blaze started just before 9 a.m. in the Abu Sifin church in the city of Giza where 5,000 people had gathered.

The fire blocked an entrance to the church, causing the stampede, the two sources said, adding that most of those killed were children.

"People were gathering on the third and fourth floor, and we saw smoke coming from the second floor. People rushed to go down the stairs and started falling on



A view of the damage at the Coptic church in Giza on Sunday. • AFP

top of each other," said worshipper Yasir Munir.

"Then we heard a bang and sparks and fire coming out of the window," he said, saying he and his daughter were able to escape.

Electrical fires of this kind are not a rare occurrence in Egypt; in late 2020, a fire at a hospital treating COVID-19 patients killed seven people

and injured several others.

In a statement, the Interior Ministry said a forensic examination showed that the fire began in the second floor air conditioning as a result of an electrical malfunction.

Smoke inhalation was the main cause of death, it said. Families of those who died will receive 1,00,000 Egyptian pounds (\$5,220), according to a cabinet statement.

"I offer my sincere condolences to the families of the innocent victims that have passed on to be with their Lord in one of his houses of worship," said Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi in a tweet.

Giza, Egypt's second-largest city, lies just across the Nile from Cairo.

## Police probe 'online threat' to Rowling

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE  
LONDON

Scottish police on Sunday said they were investigating an apparent "online threat" made to Harry Potter author J.K. Rowling in response to her tweet supporting Salman Rushdie following his stabbing.

"We have received a report of an online threat being made and officers are carrying out enquiries," said a Scotland Police spokeswoman.

The writer tweeted on Friday that she was "feeling very sick right now" as news broke of the attack on Rushdie. In response, a user tweeted "Don't worry you are next".

## More U.S. lawmakers arrive in Taiwan

This unannounced trip comes days after Pelosi's trip sparked tensions with China

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE  
TAIPEI

A U.S. congressional delegation arrived in Taiwan on Sunday, officials said, days after China held military drills around the island in retaliation for U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit.

Sunday's unannounced trip came after Ms. Pelosi infuriated Beijing by visiting Taiwan earlier this month, sparking unprecedented air and sea drills that raised the prospect of conflict.

The five-member delegation, led by Senator Ed Markey of Massachusetts, will meet with President Tsai Ing-wen and attend a banquet hosted by Foreign Minister Joseph Wu during the visit,



**Friction point:** An official of Taiwan's Foreign Ministry with the U.S. delegation at Taipei Songshan Airport on Sunday. • REUTERS

according to Taiwan's Foreign Ministry.

They will discuss "U.S.-Taiwan relations, regional security, trade and investment, global supply chains, climate change, and other significant issues of mutual interest", the American Insti-

tute in Taiwan said in a statement.

Taiwan hailed the delegation's visit as another sign of warm ties between Taipei and Washington.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses its sincere welcome (to the delega-

tion)," the Ministry said in a statement on Sunday.

"As China is continuing to escalate tensions in the region, the U.S. Congress has again organised a heavy-weight delegation to visit Taiwan, showing a friendship that is not afraid of China's threats and intimidation, and highlighting the U.S.' strong support towards Taiwan."

The other members of the delegation are Democratic members John Garamendi and Alan Lowenthal of California, Don Beyer of Virginia and Republic representative Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen from American Samoa, according to the institute.

## Not holding war games with Pak.: Sri Lanka Navy

Conducting a 'passage drill' with warship

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
COLOMBO

The Sri Lankan Navy on Sunday rejected as "fallacious" reports that it will hold war games with a Pakistani warship docked at the Colombo port, but confirmed that it will hold a "Passage Exercise" in the western seas with *PNS Taimur* as it leaves the nation.

The docking of Pakistan's newly-commissioned Chinese-built frigate at the Colombo port on Friday came amid Sri Lankan government allowing a high-tech Chinese research ship to visit the Hambantota Port from August 16 till 22 for "replenishment purposes,"

despite India's concern over the vessel's presence in its neighbourhood.

**Bangladesh denies entry** Sri Lanka allowed *PNS Taimur* to make a port of call in Colombo while on its way to join the Pakistan Navy fleet after the Bangladesh government denied it permission to dock at Chattogram Port.

The Sri Lankan Navy on Sunday said the Pakistani ship is scheduled to conduct a Passage Exercise with SLNS Sindurala in seas off Colombo as she departs the island nation on Monday upon completion of her visit.

## Eight injured in Jerusalem bus shooting

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE  
JERUSALEM

Israeli police said on Sunday they had arrested a suspect in a shooting attack on a bus in Jerusalem's Old City that wounded eight people, including a pregnant woman. Two were critically injured.

"The terrorist is in our hands," police spokesman Kan Eli Levy told public radio hours after the attack that took place not far from the Western Wall, the holiest prayer site for Jews.

A gunman started spraying bullets at the bus in the pre-dawn attack at the Tomb of David bus stop, recounted bus driver Daniel Kanievsky.

# Independence Day Greetings to All Fellow Citizens on Completion of 75 Years of Freedom

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- Narendra Modi

Watch live telecast of the Independence Day ceremony from the ramparts of the Red Fort on Doordarshan from 6:25 a.m. onwards

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# Kane salvages a draw for Spurs against Chelsea

Conte and Tuchel sent off after the full-time whistle for their second physical altercation of the match

## EURO LEAGUES

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE  
LONDON

Harry Kane snatched a 96th minute equaliser to salvage a 2-2 draw for Tottenham from a feisty London derby against Chelsea on Sunday.

Both managers Antonio Conte and Thomas Tuchel were sent-off after the full-time whistle for their second physical altercation of the match.

Chelsea looked set to get a new era at Stamford Bridge off to the best possible start as they twice led through Kalidou Koulibaly and Reece James.

Conte and Tuchel were both booked in the aftermath of Pierre-Emile Hojbjerg's first equaliser.

Tempers then flared again during a handshake after Kane nodded in with virtually the last action of the game.

Tottenham has still only won once at Stamford Bridge in 32 years in the league, but Conte will be delighted to escape with a share of the

spoils against his former club.

Earlier, Nottingham Forest celebrated its first home game in the Premier League for 23 years by beating West Ham 1-0.

The two-time European champion has made 14 new signings in a bid to maintain its top-flight status and two of those making their home debuts were the stars as Taiwo Awoniyi scored the only goal and Dean Henderson saved Declan Rice's penalty.

### Lucky

Forest had fortune on its side as the Hammers also had a first-half goal controversially ruled out and hit the underside of the crossbar twice after the break through Pablo Fornals and Said Benrahma.

But that mattered little to a jubilant 30,000 crowd at the City Ground, who revelled in their first three points back in the big time.

Robert Lewandowski endured a frustrating debut for Barcelona on Saturday when Rayo Vallecano held on for a

0-0 draw at Camp Nou in their Spanish league opener.

Lewandowski and his new teammates were kept well in check by Rayo, which also proved dangerous on the break and was only stopped from scoring by the goal-keeping of Marc-Andre ter Stegen.

### The results:

**Premier League:** Chelsea 2 (Koulibaly 19, James 77) drew with Tottenham 2 (Hojbjerg 68, Kane 90+6); Nottingham Forest 1 (Awoniyi 45+2) bt West Ham 0.

**La Liga: On Saturday:** Celta Vigo 2 (Aspas 45+2, Paciona 63) drew with Espanyol 2 (Exposito 72, Joselu 90+7-pen); Real Valladolid 0 lost to Villarreal 3 (Jackson 49, Baena 81, 90); Barcelona 0 drew with Rayo Vallecano 0.

**Bundesliga:** Mainz 0 drew with Union Berlin 0; Bayern Munich 2 (Musiala 33, Mueller 43) bt Wolfsburg 0.

**Serie A: On Saturday:** AC Milan 4 (Hernandez 12-pen, Rebic 15, 68, Diaz 46) bt Udinese 2 (Becao 2, Masina 45+4); Sampdoria 0 lost to Atalanta 2 (Toloi 26, Lookman 90+4).



Down to the wire: Kane nodded in with virtually the last action of the game. •AFP

## New challenge



Getting ready: Members of Team India have arrived in Harare for an ODI series against Zimbabwe. The city will host all the three matches scheduled on Aug. 18, 20 and 22. •TWITTER/BCCI

# Will Rahul allow Gill to continue as opener?

The young batter is likely to play at three with the skipper opening with Dhawan

## INDIA IN ZIM

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI

The ODI series against Zimbabwe will be K.L. Rahul's dress rehearsal before the Asia Cup and hence he is all set to replace Shubman Gill at the top-of the order alongside Shikhar Dhawan.

With T20 World Cup being paramount and Gill not exactly in the scheme of things as far as shortest format is concerned, he might be handed a number three slot in order to ensure that his captain gets enough game-time before the continental championship in the UAE, starting on August 27.

This provided all three are fit and available for all the games in the series.

While there will be no Rahul Dravid heading the team of support staff for the short three-match series, starting



Long-awaited return: One has to wait and watch if skipper Rahul opens the batting with Dhawan on his comeback •FILE



on August 18 in Harare, NCA head V.V.S. Laxman is almost certain to follow the blueprint set by the head coach.

Rahul's comeback also creates problems for young

Gill, who has had a stellar 50-over series in the West Indies, where he scored 64, 43 and 98 not out in three games to win the Player of the Series award.

So will Rahul allow Gill to continue his good form at the top of the order or perch himself out there at the onset with one eye on the Asia Cup?

"I think Shubman is being groomed in the right way by the Indian team management. While he has done exceedingly well in the Caribbean ODIs, what I can gauge from this team's philosophy is prepare players for multiple slots. Hence I feel for this particular series, Shubman might have to come in at No. 3," former national selector and Test opener Devang Gandhi gave his viewpoint.

In the 50-over set-up since the home series against England in 2021, Rahul was being seen as a middle-order anchor rather than an opener but once he was the skipper in the ODI series in South Africa, he had promoted himself as an opener.

# IOA awaits Delhi High Court verdict

'Expect elections to be held in the next three or four months'

KAMESH SRINIVASAN  
NEW DELHI

The Indian Olympic Association (IOA) awaits the Delhi High Court verdict on Aug. 16 to spell out a road map for its election.

The acting president of the IOA, Anil Khanna pointed out that the court had not given permission on IOA's request to hold the adjourned Annual General Meeting and other related meetings.

The IOA has also sought a meeting with the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to make matters clear. The IOA president, along with secretary-general Rajeev Mehta and treasurer Anandeshwar Pandey are scheduled to visit the IOC Headquarters in Lausanne, for speeding up the matter, on Sept. 1 and 2.



IOA acting president Anil Khanna. •FILE PHOTO

"We have a right to be heard. We expect the elections to be held in the next three or four months," said Khanna.

"The honourable courts had to step in as there were major differences internally within the IOA regarding electoral rolls and non-compliance of IOA Constitution,

as already approved by IOC and the law of the land. The electoral college has to be clean. IOA will ensure this before elections are held as per timelines to be reached in consultation with the IOC and OCA," stated Khanna.

During the Commonwealth Games in Birmingham, the IOA officials did interact with the IOC and Olympic Council of Asia (OCA) officials in an attempt to provide clarity to the situation.

Thus, the IOA expects to have a robust Constitution soon, in compliance with the Sports Code as well the law of the land, and "duly approved by the IOC".

The IOA election will also be conducted under the supervision of observers from IOC and OCA, among others.

## LIVE TELECAST

**KSCA Maharaja T20:** Star Sports 2 (SD & HD) & Fan-Code, 3 p.m. & 7 p.m.  
**Grand Prix Badminton League:** Eurosport (SD & HD), 3 p.m.  
**Ultimate Kho-Kho league:** Sony Ten 3 (SD & HD) & Sony LIV, 7.30 p.m. & 8.45 p.m.

# Durand Cup on Sports 18, Voot

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
KOLKATA

The 131st edition of the Durand Cup football tournament will be telecast on Sports 18 Network and streamed live on Voot platform.

All the 47 matches of the tournament, which will be held in Kolkata, Guwahati and Imphal from August 16 to Sept. 18, will be telecast across Sports18 1 SD and HD and Sports 18 Khel as well as streamed on the OTT platform Voot, said a statement.

For commentary, former India international Henry Menezes and India women's goalkeeper Aditi Chauhan have been roped in as experts, along with former footballers Karan Sawhney and Darren Caldeira.

The ticket are priced at ₹50, ₹100 and ₹250 in Guwahati, ₹50, ₹100 and ₹300 in Imphal and ₹50, ₹100 and ₹200 (only for Salt Lake Stadium).

# Sania loses doubles semifinals

SPORTS BUREAU

Sania Mirza's fine run in partnership with Madison Keys was halted in the doubles semifinals by Coco Gauff and Jessica Pegula 7-5, 7-5 in the \$2,527,250 WTA tennis tournament in Toronto. The Indo-American pair won 350 WTA points and \$39,680. **The results: \$2,527,250 WTA, Toronto, Canada: Semifinals:** Coco Gauff & Jessica Pegula (US) bt Madison Keys (USA) & Sania Mirza 7-5, 7-5.

# Pujara smashes career-best List-A score

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
HOVE

India's Test specialist Cheteshwar Pujara smashed his way to a career-best List A score of 174, notching up his second hundred in a span of 48 hours as Sussex amassed a mammoth 378 for six against Surrey in the Royal London Cup One Day Championship on Sunday.

On Friday, Pujara had caned the Warwickshire attack en route his 79-ball 107, albeit in a losing cause.

On Sunday, Sussex batted first on a small county ground at Hove, and was 9 for two inside first four overs when Tom Clark (104 off 106 balls) and Pujara joined forces to add 205 runs for the third wicket.

Pujara, who has a near 55 average in List A cricket, scored his 13th hundred in the 50-over format and, in all, faced 131 balls from which he hit 20 fours and five sixes. By the time he was dismissed



Pujara... in fine form. •FILE PHOTO

in the 48th over, Pujara had nearly scored half of his team's runs (350) at that time.

Pujara hit a six each off pacers Matt Dunn, Conor McKerr and Ryan Patel. Spinners Amar Virdi and Yousef Majid were also tonked for a maximum each.

At the Grace Road ground in Leicester, left-arm spinner Krunal Pandya emerged as the most successful bowler for Warwickshire with figures of three for 69 against Leicestershire in another List A game.

Krunal's victims were Louis Kimber (78), South

African international Wiaan Mulder (68) and Aaron Lilley (33).

Leicestershire scored 338 for eight in 50 overs.

Veteran Indian Test pacer Umesh Yadav continued his good showing for Middlesex with figures of two for 58 from 10 overs with wickets of Somerset openers Andrew Umreed (10) and skipper James Rew (114).

Umesh currently has 13 wickets from four games with a five-for and four-for under his belt. Somerset scored 335 for six in 50 overs.

Out of favour India pacer Navdeep Saini had figures of none for 43 for Kent against Northamptonshire, which was bowled out for 210.

While Saini went wicketless, this was the least number of runs that he has conceded in Royal London Cup so far, having gone for above 61, 71 and 68 runs in his previous three appearances.

# Mbappe or Neymar? Galtier won't name primary penalty taker

ASSOCIATED PRESS  
PARIS

Paris Saint-Germain coach Christophe Galtier played down questions of who is the club's main penalty taker this season after Kylian Mbappe missed from the spot and Neymar scored with the next spot kick in a league game.

Mbappe saw his effort saved and Neymar coolly converted his in the league leader's 5-2 win against Montpellier on Saturday night. It led to questions whether there is a No. 1 penalty taker at the club.

"For this match, the order was chosen thus," Galtier said after the game.

logical that Neymar went next. We'll see in the future." While there was no animosity between the two players on the field, after the game Neymar liked a Tweet that said he should not be a No. 2 penalty taker at any club.

Mbappe was named the French league's player of the third time. The France star netted 39 goals overall and led the league scoring charts with 28, including four penalties from four attempts. Neymar scored three penalties out of four in his total of 13 goals during another injury-hit campaign.

The penalty talk after Saturday's game evoked memories of a spat between

Neymar and former striker Edinson Cavani during the 2017-18 season.

The two argued over who should take a penalty during a league game – an incident that came to be known in French media as "Penaltygate." Later that same season, Neymar refused to let Cavani take a late penalty, even though PSG was already 7-0 up in the game and Cavani needed one goal to become PSG's outright all-time leading scorer.

Cavani went on to become PSG's best scorer with 200 goals before leaving the club.

Mbappe has 172 career goals for PSG and could catch Cavani this season, especially if he takes penalties.



Intriguing: PSG coach Galtier played down the obvious question involving Neymar and Mbappe. •AFP

# Aditi makes it to the final round

## GOLF

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
GALGORM (N. IRELAND)

Aditi Ashok was the lone Indian to get past the second cut at the ISPS Handa World Invitational here.

The 24-year-old from Bengaluru closed birdie-birdie after starting from the 10th to card 71 which helped her get past another cut applied after 54 holes. She was Tied-34th.

There have been two cuts, the first after 36 holes, at which point Tvesa Malik exited, while after 54 holes Diksha Dagar (73-72-76) missed the second cut as only

# Winning start by Gujarat Giants

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
PUNE

Gujarat Giants beat Mumbai Khiladis 69-44 in the opening game of the inaugural edition of Ultimate Kho-Kho which began on Sunday.

Mumbai started with the PowerPlay, activating two wazirs – Durvesh Salunke and Avik Singha – when the batch comprising Vinayak Pokarde, Akshay Bhargave and Mareppa took the field.

However, within less than two minutes, they successfully managed to out all three of them.

Khiladis dominated with a 22-2 lead and kept up the pressure till the end.



# Strikers register their first points

Break a six-game losing streak against Warriors; United beat Mystics

## MAHARAJA TROPHY

CORRESPONDENT  
MYSURU

Shivamogga Strikers helped by some good bowling in the middle and death overs by skipper K. Gowtham (2/22), Utham Aiyappa (2/35) and M.B. Darshan (2/44), combined with a valuable knock by B.R. Sharath (53), posted their first win in six games over Mysore Warriors by 13-runs on the eighth day of the Maharaja Cup KSCA T20 tournament played here on Sunday.

Mysore Warriors set a target of 175 runs, got off to a bad start losing skipper Karun Nair (0), was gobbled up by the wicket-keeper off medium-pacer Aiyappa (1-0.2 overs).

Nihal Ullal (13), and G.S.Chiranjeevi (0) departed quickly and the Warriors were struggling at 32 for three in 4.3 overs.

### Regular wickets

Wickets fell at regular intervals with Shreyas Gopal (7) and Shubhang Hegde (13), and C.Shivraj (19), departed soon and the side was reduced to 115 for six in 15.4 overs.

Left-hander Pavan Deshpande top-scored with 64 (47b, 6x4, 2x6). Mysore end-



Good hand: B.R. Sharath scored a valuable 53 for Shivamogga Strikers. • M.A. SRIRAM

ed up scoring 161 for eight in 20 overs.

Put into bat, Shivamogga Strikers posted a decent total of 174/8 in 20 overs. Shivamogga got off to a decent start with openers Rohan Kadam (18,15b, 3x4) and B.R.Sharath (53, 35b, 6x4, 2x6) adding 56 runs for the opening wicket in 5.1 overs.

The second wicket fell at 62 when Vinay Sagar (1) departed off Shubhang Hegde.

B.R. Sharath batted freely executing some neat cover drives and lofted strokes to

add 33-runs in 28-balls with K.V.Siddarth (36, 30b, 2x4), before he fell to the guile of leg-spinner Shreyas Gopal.

Avinash (25,17b, 3x4,1x6) used the long handle well to boost the total to 174/8 in 20 overs.

Medium-pacer Vidyadhar Patil impressed with figures of 3/39 and was supported well by left-arm spinner Shubhang Hegde (2/19) and medium-pacer Aditya Goel (2/38).

### The scores:

Shivamogga Strikers: 174/8

in 20 overs (B.R. Sharath 53, K.V. Siddarth 36, D. Avinash 25, Vidyadhar Patil 3/39, Shubhang Hegde 2/19, Aditya Goel 2/28) bt Mysore Warriors 161/8 in 20 overs (Pavan Deshpande 64, K. Gowtham 2/22, Utham Aiyappa 2/35, M.B. Darshan 2/44).

Gulbarga Mystics 192/6 in 20 overs (Manish Pandey 86 n.o., M.S. Bhandage 29, K.L.Shrijith 36, Vyshak Vijaykumar 3/28, H.S.Sharath 2/44) lost to Mangalore United 195/7 in 19.4 overs (Abhinav Manohar 55 n.o., Aneeshwar Gautham 30, S.S.Sujay 29, Macneel H N 24, Shreeshra S Achar 3/26, C.A.Karthik 2/33).

# Ranjeet clinches bronze medal

Kirrtane emerges third in mixed doubles

## ITF SENIORS

SPORTS BUREAU

Former national champion V.M. Ranjeet had a memorable outing in the ITF Seniors World Championship, winning the singles bronze medal, in the over-35 section, in Lisbon, Portugal.

In a cracker of a semifinal, Ranjeet was beaten by the top seed, eventual gold medalist and former World No. 62 in the professional circuit, Fred Gil, 4-6, 6-3, 7-6(2).

“Got a standing ovation after the semifinals against Fred Gil. It was a high quality match and lasted more than three and a half hour,” said Ranjeet, who had negotiated a strong field in a draw of 64.

Ranjeet said that he would go to Spain and compete in two more tournaments before returning home.

India players won more medals in doubles and mixed doubles in the World Championship.

Nitten Kirrtane won the mixed doubles bronze in the over-45 section with Stefanie Kolar of Germany.

The duo won two matches after a bye before being beaten 6-4, 6-0 in the semifinals by Caroline De Vries and Marcus Hilpert of the Netherlands.

Neeraj Anand and Narendra Singh Choudhary won the men’s over-45 doubles bronze, by winning three rounds before being beaten 6-1, 6-1 by Andrew Lux and Matthias Schramm of Germany in the semifinals.

Radhika Tulpule Kanitkar won the women’s doubles bronze medal in the over-40 event with Virginie Villani of Canada.



Creditable: V.M. Ranjeet lost to the top seed, and eventual gold medalist, Fred Gil in the semifinal. •SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

# Indian hockey players share heartfelt messages

ANI  
NEW DELHI

A few members of the Indian men’s and women’s hockey teams shared heartfelt messages on the eve of the Independence Day. “I would like to wish all the citizens of our country a very Happy Independence Day. This one is ex-

tra special for us as it’s our 75th Independence Day. We have grown tremendously as a nation, especially in the field of sports,” said men’s team captain Manpreet Singh.

Defender Harmanpreet Singh said: “It’s been absolutely fantastic to see our

growth as a nation in the last few years and I am eager to see how far we can go in the future. The determination and persistence we have shown in every field are simply amazing.”

The men’s team goalkeeper P.R. Sreejesh said: “There’s no greater pride than playing

for your country and therefore Independence Day is always special to me. It’s been truly magnificent to be a small part of this journey. I wish everyone happiness and light this Independence Day.”

The women’s skipper Savita Punia also wished the fellow citizens.

# Bengaluru FC signs Sandesh Jhingan



Sandesh Jhingan. • K. MURALI KUMAR

ASHWIN ACHAL  
BENGALURU

Indian Super League (ISL) side Bengaluru FC (BFC) signed India international defender Sandesh Jhingan on a one-year deal, BFC announced here.

The 29-year-old Jhingan, who most recently turned out for ATK Mohun Bagan, was unveiled for BFC’s open training session at Bangalore Football Stadium on Sunday.

Jhingan had turned out for BFC in a loan spell in the 2016-17 season.

“The club has built a

strong team this season and has never been short on ambition. They know how to win trophies.

“In addition to some quality new signings, players like (Sunil) Chhetri bhai, Gurpreet (Sandhu) and Udanta (Singh) have been here for a while now and we’re looking good as a unit,” Jhingan said.

BFC, under new manager Simon Grayson, commences its 2022-23 campaign with a Group ‘A’ clash against Jamshedpur FC in the Durand Cup on Tuesday.

# Lifes Song should repeat in main event

HYDERABAD: The four-year-old filly Lifes Song, who won well in her last start, should repeat in the Independence Cup, the chief event of Monday’s (Aug. 15) races here.

**1. DONCASTER PLATE (1,400m), (Terms) Maiden, 3-y-o only (Cat. II) - 2:10 p.m.:** 1. City Cruise (9) Nakhat Singh 56, 2. Milton Keynes (8) B. Nikhil 56, 3. My Way Or Highway (10) Mohit Singh 56, 4. Resurgence (1) Surya Prakash 56, 5. Shubhraj (3) Mukesh Kumar 56, 6. Wind Sprite (7) Kuldeep Singh 56, 7. Lights On (5) Aneel 54.5, 8. This Is Me (6) P. Vikram 54.5, 9. Tiger Mountain (4) A.A. Vikram 54.5 and 10. Yaktown (2) Akshay Kumar 54.5.

**1. YALETOWN, 2. RESURGENCE, 3. WIND SPRITE**

**2. KAMAREDDY PLATE (1,600m), 2-4-y-o & upward, rated 20 to 45 (Cat. III) - 2:45:** 1. Isra (1) Aneel 60, 2. Ice Berry (6) R.S. Jodha 59.5, 3. Mireya (2) D.S. Deora 59, 4. Gurbaz (5) Kuldeep Singh 53.5, 6. Ashwa Migsun (4) B.R. Kumar 52.5 and 7. Starwalt (7) Akshay Kumar 52.

**1. ICE BERRY, 2. STARWALT, 3. MIREYA**

**3. ANANTHAGIRI HILLS PLATE (1,200m), rated 20 to 45 (Cat. III) - 3:15:** 1. Siyavash (4) Abhay Singh 60.5, 2. Salisbury (1) Afroz Khan 57, 3. Indian Temple (10) Mohit Singh 56, 4. Quality Warrior (3) Akshay Kumar 55, 5. Black Onyx (5) D.S. Deora 54.5, 6. Blazing Jupiter (8) Kuldeep Singh 52.5, 7. New Hustle (2) B. Nikhil 51, 8. Ashwa Pushkin (6) Santosh Raj 50.5, 9. Smolensk (7) P. Sai Kumar 50 and 10. Space Time (9) P. Gaddam 50.

**1. BLACK ONYX, 2. QUALITY WARRIOR, 3. SALISBURY**

**4. DEVARAKONDA PLATE (1,600m), rated 40 to 65 (Cat. II) - 3:45:** 1. Lamha (5) Akshay Kumar 60, 2. Aerial Combat (6) Khurshad Alam 54.5, 3. Galwan (1) Ajeeth Kumar 54.5, 4. Char Ek Char (7) Ishwar Singh 53.5, 5. Miss Marvellous (4) Afroz Khan 53.5, 6. Pacific Command (2) Rafique Sk. 53.5 and 7. Beauty Flame (3) B. Nikhil 53.

**1. GALWAN, 2. LAMHA, 3. MISS MARVELLOUS**

**5. INDEPENDENCE CUP (1,200m), rated 40 to 65 (Cat. II) - 4:15:** 1. Blue Origin (7) Mukesh Kumar 60, 2. Kingston (1) Kuldeep Singh 59.5, 3. Amyra (3) Afroz Khan 58, 4. Lifes Song (10) Akshay Kumar 56.5, 5. Palomar (9) Ajeeth Kumar 56.5, 6. General Atlantic (2) B. Nikhil 53.5, 7. Angelita (5) B.R. Kumar 52.5, 8. Morior Invictus (8) Ishwar Singh 52.5, 9. Gusti Note (6) P. Gaddam 51.5 and 10. Sandown Park (4) Md. Ismail 51.5.

**1. LIFES SONG, 2. BLUE ORIGIN, 3. KINGSTON**

**6. THREE WISHES PLATE (1,100m), rated up to 25 (Cat. III) - 4:45:** 1. Battle Ready (2) Deepak Singh 60, 2. Golden Forza (3) Kuldeep Singh 60, 3. Inside Story (5) R.S. Jodha 60, 4. N R I Secret (10) Santosh Raj 59.5, 5. Lifetime (9) Surya Prakash 59, 6. Charmer (1) Nakhat Singh 58.5, 7. Choice Of Diamond (6) Aneel 58.5, 8. Healthhappiness (8) D.S. Deora 56.5, 9. Open Affair (7) Mohit Singh 56.5 and 10. Good Tidings (4) Akshay Kumar 54.5.

**1. GOOD TIDINGS, 2. GOLDEN FORZA, 3. BATTLE READY**

**Day’s Best: LIFES SONG**  
Jackpot: 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6; Mini Jackpot: 3, 4, 5 & 6.  
Trebble (i), 1, 2 & 3; (ii): 4, 5 & 6.  
Tanala: All races.

## KARNATAKA ROUND-UP

### Siva and Ridhima corner glory

BENGALURU: S. Siva and Ridhima Veerendra Kumar were adjudged the men’s and women’s individual champions respectively at the Karnataka State Senior Aquatic Championship drew to a close at the Padukone Dravid Centre for Sports Excellence here on Sunday. The duo capped their performances on the final day by claiming their respective 50m backstroke races. Siva took gold in a time of 27.19s, while Ridhima came home in 30.48s.

Both Siva and Ridhima finished the championship with two new meet records to their names.

**Select results (winners all):**  
**Men: 4x100m medley:** BAC-A, 3:59.77s (NMR, OR: BSRC, 4:00.50, 2019); **Women: 4x100m medley:** Dolphin Aquatics, 4:33.78 (NMR, OR: BAC, 4:36.78, 2019).

**Overall championship:** Basavanagudi Aquatic Centre (BAC) (468 points).  
**Individual championship:**  
**Men:** S. Siva (BAC, 40 pts); **Women:** Ridhima Veerendra Kumar (BAC, 43 pts).

**Tuskers overcome Tigers**  
Bandipur Tuskers beat Kodagu Tigers 6-3 in the Grand Prix Badminton League at the KBA courts on Sunday.

**The results:**  
Bandipur Tuskers bt Kodagu Tigers 6-3 (Alfiya Riyas lost to Rujula Ramu (Trump) 9-15, 11-15; Abhishek Yeliger & V. Vaibhav (Trump) bt Adarsh Kumar & H.R. Vasantha Kumar 15-13, 11-15, 15-8; Abhishek Yeliger bt Vishesh Sharma 15-6, 15-7; Kishal Ganapathy & Apeksha Nayak lost to Saneeth Dayanand & Ramya Venkatesh 10-15, 12-15; Daniel Farid & Vaibhav & Ganesh Vittalji bt Saneeth & Vasantha Kumar & Adarsh 21-16.

**On Saturday:** KGF Wolves bt Malnad Falcons 6-3 (Rashmi



On top: Ridhima and Siva, individual champions at the State Senior aquatic championship. •SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

Ganesh lost to Drithi Yateesh (Trump match) 12-15, 9-15; Prakash Raj & V. Suhas (Trump match) bt Aravind Kongara & Pruthvi K. Roy 15-11, 15-13; Rudra Shahi lost to Mithun Manjunath 10-15, 6-15; Hemanth M. Gowda & Gloria Vinayakumar bt Shanthan Rao Kidiyoor & Drithi 14-15, 15-13, 15-11; Hemanth & Prakash Raj & V. Suhas bt Pruthvi & Mithun Manjunath & Samanth 21-19).

**Ayush, Neeti triumph**  
K. Ayush and Neeti Agarwal emerged the under-15 boys’ and girls’ singles champions respectively at the Karnataka State-ranking table tennis tournament, organised by Bellary District Table Tennis Association. Ayush defeated B.R. Gaurav 11-9, 12-10, 2-11, 11-13, 11-6, 11-6, while Neeti beat Saanvi Vishal Mandekar 11-9, 11-7, 11-8, 11-8.

**Mandara on song**  
Mandara top-scored with 28 points as DYES Mandya beat DYES Mysore 57-40 to enter the girls’ final of the State Youth basketball championship on Sunday. In the summit clash, Mandya will take on Mounts Club, which defeated S. Blues 60-54.

**The results (semifinal league):**  
**Boys:** PPC 47 (Milind 26, Hriday 15) bt Vivek’s SC 33 (Aarush 13);

VNSC 62 (Daksh 19, Varun 18, Avush 10) bt Beagles BC 60 (Chirag 22, Jitesh 12).

**Girls:** DYES Mandya 57 (Mandara 28, Deepshree 12) bt DYES Mysore 40 (Yashaswini 32); Mounts Club 60 (Nakshatra 17, Nilaya 14) bt S. Blues 54 (Nidhi 27).

**Anvith, Aditya win titles**  
Anvith P. Bhat (5 points) and Aditya Trehan (5) won the under-10 and under-16 titles respectively at the Independence Challenge chess tournament, conducted by Champions Chess Academy on Sunday.

**Bengaluru Blues-A thrashes KV NAL**  
Bengaluru Blues-A thrashed KV NAL 19-0 in the DS Murthy & Radha Murthy Memorial hockey tournament, on Sunday.  
**The results:**  
Bengaluru Blues-A bt KV NAL 19-0; Samanth Sports Academy bt Bengaluru Blues-B 7-3; Rainbow bt East India 5-3; Aristocrat bt Naveen-A 15-0; DPS East bt Bangalore United-B 9-5; East India bt Team Wildboar 4-2.

Bengaluru Blues-A bt Naveen 8-2; DPS East bt Rainbow 6-5; Aristocrat bt Coorg Direwolves-A 4-3; Team Wildboar bt Bangalore United 8-4; Bengaluru Blues-A bt Flying 8-5.

# Don’t pay attention to ban threat: Chhetri

‘All other verticals in the AIFF are trying to fix things’

## FOOTBALL

ASHWIN ACHAL  
BENGALURU

India and Bengaluru FC footballer Sunil Chhetri advised players to “not pay much attention” to FIFA’s threat to suspend the All India Football Federation.

“I’ve spoken to the boys about this - do not pay much attention to this (ban threat), because it is out of your control.

“People who are involved (in this discussion) are doing their best to emerge with the best result possible.

“As far as players are concerned, do your work properly.

“Improve yourself as a



Keep focusing: Chhetri, seen with BFC head coach Grayson, centre, and Roy Krishna, wants players to put their best foot forward. • K. MURALI KUMAR

player, and whenever you get the opportunity to play for your country or club, put your best foot forward.

“All other verticals in the

AIFF are trying to fix things to make sure that they come out with flying colours,” Chhetri said in a virtual media interaction on Sunday.

# Olivier setback for South Africa

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE  
LONDON

South Africa suffered a setback just days before its Test series against England when fast bowler Duanne Olivier was ruled out of the entire campaign with a hip injury.

The 30-year-old sustained the injury during this week’s four-day tour match against the second-string England Lions in Canterbury and Olivier, a veteran of 15 Tests, is now returning home.

“Duanne Olivier presented with significant discomfort involving his right hip flexor muscle at the close of play on day three of the four-day tour match,” said the team doctor Hash-

endra Ramjee in a Cricket South Africa (CSA) statement on Sunday.

“After clinical assessment, he was referred for an MRI scan which revealed a grade two tear involving the right pectineus muscle.

South Africa has not named a replacement for Olivier, with fellow quicks Kagiso Rabada, Lungi Ngidi and Anrich Nortje already in the squad.

The first Test at Lord’s is scheduled to start on Wednesday.

# Easy for ASC & Center FC

## FOOTBALL

SPORTS REPORTER  
BENGALURU

BENGALURU: ASC & Center FC beat Bangalore Eagles FC 3-1 in the C. Puttaiah Memorial football tournament on Sunday.

**The results:**  
MEG & Center FC 1 (Shaik Muzeeb 17) drew with Bangalore Dream United FC 1 (Palzor Bhatia 40).

ASC & Center FC 3 (Lash Ram Premkumar Singh 40, Tony Huidrom 45+1, Melem Tomthin Metei 66) bt Bangalore Eagles FC 1 (Immanuel Derrick 70).

## APPOINTMENT

**VIGNAN'S** UNIVERSITY  
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**Eligibility Criteria**  
• Ph.D. in relevant discipline. • Candidates who have submitted their Ph.D. thesis and awaiting Viva may also attend.  
• M.Tech. with 5 years of experience in Teaching/Industry may also attend.

**Salary**  
• As per AICTE norms • Salary will not be a constraint for deserving candidates from Premier Institutions like IITs/NITs/IIITs

**Date & Time of Interview:** 20.08.2022 (Saturday) & 21.08.2022 (Sunday) from 09.00 AM to 06.00 PM  
**Venue:** Ramada Hotel, Gandhi Irwin Rd, Ansari Estate, Egmore, Chennai, Tamil Nadu - 600008.  
**Contact - Job Details :** Assistant Registrar - 8500444991  
**Venue Details :** Mr. Pavan Kumar + 91-9291244551

**Note:** • The candidates are requested to attend the interview along with the copies of their certificates • Candidates with Ph.D. in ECE & Mathematics who can teach Computer Science subjects for B.Tech. programme may also attend. • Candidates may forward their CV to recruitment@vignan.ac.in.

# Netherlands names squad for Pakistan ODI series

ANI  
AMSTERDAM

Netherlands on Sunday announced a 15-member squad for the upcoming three-match ODI series against Pakistan at home.

The series forms part of the ICC ODI Super League and the teams will have the opportunity to gain automatic

qualification for the 2023 ICC Men’s Cricket World Cup.

**The squad:**  
Scott Edwards (capt.), Musa Ahmad, Shariz Ahmad, Wesley Barresi, Logan van Beek, Tom Cooper, Aryan Dutt, Arnab Jain, Viv Kingma, Ryan Klein, Bas de Leede, Teja Nidamanuru, Tim Pringle, Max O’Dowd and Vikram Singh.

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“India @ 100: Achieving our Tryst with Destiny”  
by  
**Mr. Arun Maira**  
Former Member, Planning Commission, Govt. of India.  
Author of “Remaking India: One Country, One Destiny”  
And other books  
at 06.00 p.m. IST on Monday,  
15<sup>th</sup> August 2022  
**Meeting Link :**  
<https://youtu.be/pGDqnjbqYQo>



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The University of Essex Online invites applications for its PG Cert International Business Law with an indicative study duration of eight months.

**ELIGIBILITY:** For the academic entry route, an undergraduate degree from an approved institution, equivalent to a UK Honours degree, or relevant professional qualification. For the work experience entry route, applicants must have at least five years of senior-level work experience. If English is not applicants' first language, their English ability should be equivalent to an IELTS score of 6.5. Those who don't hold an IELTS or equivalent qualification will need to pass the university's free online English test

**DEADLINE:** September 1  
<https://bit.ly/3QmfWKY>

**M.Sc. Advanced Computer Science with Data Science**

The University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, invites applications for its M.Sc. Advanced Computer Science with Data Science course starting in January 2023.

**ELIGIBILITY:** Minimum second-class honours degree or international equivalent in Computer Science or another numerate discipline (Maths, Physics, Engineering, for instance). Some programming or database experience is normally required.

<https://bit.ly/3SLZsgX>

**Applications open at University of Sheffield**

The University of Sheffield, the U.K., invites applications for a four-year B.Sc. Computer Science (Artificial Intelligence) with an Industrial Placement Year course starting in September 2023.

**ELIGIBILITY:** 85% in Class 12 including Maths. IELTS grade of 6.5 with a minimum of 6.0 in each component; or an alternative acceptable English language qualification.  
<https://bit.ly/3QHSF15>

The university is also introducing a three-year, full-time B.A. Global Sustainable Development from September 2023.

**ELIGIBILITY:** 80% in Class 12, ELTS grade of 6.5, with a minimum of 6.0 in each component; or an alternative acceptable English language qualification.  
<https://bit.ly/3JPzBQZ>

**HERITAGE fellowships launched**

InterGlobe Foundation recently launched InterGlobe HERITAGE Fellowships to encourage researchers, journalists, architects, and others to bring previously undocumented aspects of Indian culture to light and raise awareness of our heritage.

Four applicants will be selected and the fellowship will last for three months from November 1, 2022.

**DEADLINE:** August 31.  
<https://bit.ly/3bHQM41>

**M.Sc. in Electro-Optical Engineering**

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (BGU), Israel, has opened admissions for the two-year MSc. in Electro-Optical Engineering for Fall 2022.

**ELIGIBILITY:** A B.Sc. in related Science and Engineering fields (Electrical Engineering, Material Engineering, for instance), with minimum GPA of 80/100; TOEFL score of 85/120 or equivalent in an internationally-recognised English proficiency exam.

GRE is recommended but not required. Additionally, prior to applying the applicant should contact a potential advisor among the EOPE faculty.  
<https://bit.ly/3p6peyF>

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# The mobile chat that sent people into a tizzy at Mangaluru International Airport

**SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
MANGALURU**  
Contents of chat over mobile phones between a male passenger, travelling on a Mum-

bai bound flight which was ready to take off, and a female passenger sitting inside the terminal building of Mangaluru International Airport

created anxious moments over security, forcing the flight crew to deplane all 186 passengers here on Sunday. Finally, the flight to Mum-

bai which was to take off here at 11 a.m. started the journey at 5 p.m. after security agencies took both the passengers into custody. An

inquiry revealed that the duo, who were friends, did it for "fun" and there was no security threat. Sources said that the Mumbai-bound

flight was entering the runway when a co-passenger sitting behind the male passenger in question noticed the chat with his (male passen-

ger's) female friend sitting inside the terminal building. One of the messages sent by the woman read: "You are a bomber." Seeing the content,

the co-passenger alerted the crew who reported the matter to the ATC. Immediately, the flight was made to return to the parking area.



**Karnataka State Road Safety Authority**  
(Strive for Road Accident Free State)



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- Providing safer roads for all road users
- Conducting safety and awareness programmes

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- Don't forget to fasten safety belts
- Do not use Mobiles while driving
- Keep a safe distance between the vehicles
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- Avoid Rash & Negligent Driving
- Don't drink and drive

Good Samaritan is a person who helps road accident victims to get medical aid

- No enquiry or detention by Govt.,
- No disclosure of personal identity
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Hon'ble Chief Minister



**Sri B. Shriramulu,**  
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**REWARDS:** Girl students will be awarded 60% of the course fees up to ₹60,000 per year till the completion of course based on academic performance. Students in the special category (differently abled and transgender students or students with single parents, or those who lost their parents due to COVID-19) will be awarded 80% fees up to ₹1 lakh per year till the completion of the course based on academic performance.

**APPLICATION:** Online  
**DEADLINE:** August 31  
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# Text & Context

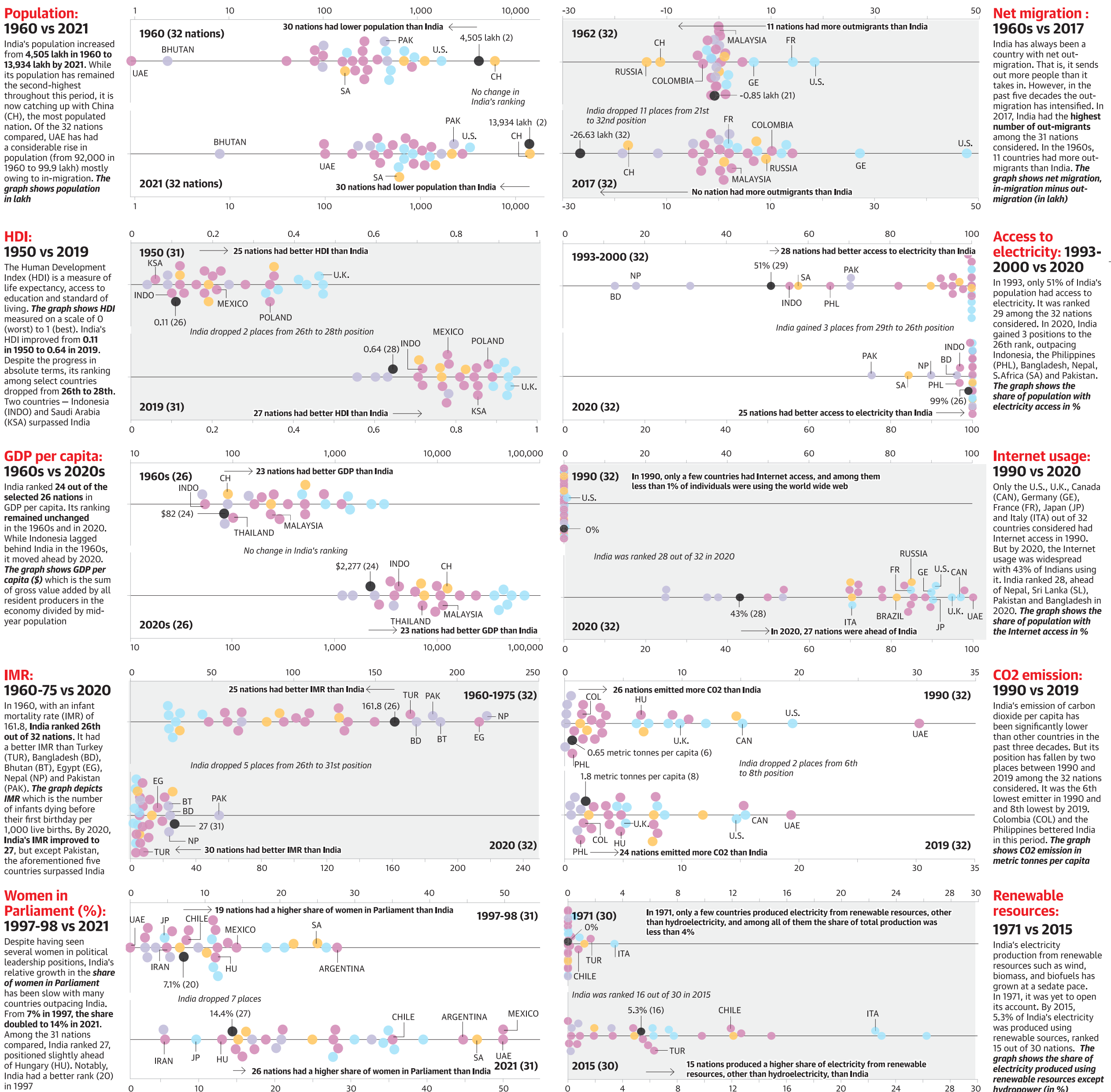


## India's relative pace of growth @75

As every country including India has progressed in the past 75 years, it becomes imperative to compare India's relative progress with other countries.

A look at ● India's performance across several indicators, earlier and now, with a specific set of countries:

● BRICS ● Emerging economies ● Indian subcontinent and ● G7. By **Rebecca Rose Varghese** and **Vignesh Radhakrishnan**





## STATES IN NUMBERS



## Life expectancy

70

In years, the average life expectancy of Indians at birth in 2020, according to the World Bank. The life expectancy improved to 41 years in 1960, more than a decade after the country got independence. Men in India had a life expectancy of 69 years, while women's stood at 71 years in 2020. The corresponding numbers for men and women in 1960 were respectively 42 and 41 years, indicating a relatively better improvement for women than men. The death rate has decreased from 22 per 1,000 people in 1960 to 7 in 2020.

## Urban population

5.08

In crore, Maharashtra's urban population in 2011, the highest among all States/U.T.s in the country, according to RBI data. India's urban population grew from 6.2 crore in 1951 to 37.71 crore in 2011. In 2021, the country's urban population stood at 49.31 crore, according to data collected by the UN Population Division. Urban population refers to people living in urban areas, calculated using World Bank population estimates and urban ratios from the UN World Urbanisation Prospects.

## Infant mortality

4

The infant mortality rate (IMR) of Nagaland in 2018, the lowest among any State/U.T. in India, according to RBI data. Madhya Pradesh had the highest IMR (48) in 2018. India's IMR improved from 58 in 2004 to 31 in 2020. IMR is the number of infants dying before their first birthday, per 1,000 live births in a year. India's maternal mortality ratio (the number of women who died from pregnancy-related causes while pregnant or within 42 days of pregnancy termination per 100,000 live births) stood at 143 in 2017, according to World Bank data.

## Poverty rate

33.7

In percentage, Bihar's poverty rate in 2011-12, the highest among any State/U.T. in the country. With a poverty rate of 5.1% in 2011-12, Goa was the State with the lowest share, followed by Kerala (7.1%). Andaman and Nicobar Islands had only a 1% poverty rate in 2011-12 and was the U.T. with the lowest percentage of poor people. The poverty rate is the share of the population below the poverty line in a country based on the Lakdawala Methodology in 1993-94 and Tendulkar Methodology in 2011-12.

## Factories in India

37,787

The number of factories in Tamil Nadu in 2017-18, the highest among any State/U.T. in India, according to RBI data. The State's figure stood at 21,053 in the early 2000s. Altogether, there were 2,37,684 factories in India by 2017-18, when compared to the 1,36,353 in the early 2000s. With 82 factories, Sikkim is the State with the least number of factories. Andaman and Nicobar Islands is the U.T. with the least number of factories, decreasing from 21 in 2004-05 to 18 by 2017-18.

COMPILED BY THE HINDU DATA TEAM



Step-by-step: Workers under the the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. • DEEPAK K. R.

## LETTER &amp; SPIRIT

## The spectrum of law-making in independent India

Coalition governments have shown greater allegiance to the constitutional promise than super-majority governments

## THE GIST

■ The article looks at the history of legislation of various governments starting from Nehru. The initial years of independent India saw various institutional pieces of legislation. While Nehru dealt mainly with the aftermath of the Partition and organising of States into the Union, Shastri's brief tenure confronted acute national food insecurity.

■ Indira Gandhi's tenure saw neo-socialist economic policies such as the nationalisation of mines, banks, and insurance companies. But her rule is primarily marked by her proclamation of Emergency and the passage of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment, suspending civil rights and elections.

■ Current Prime Minister Narendra Modi's legislative philosophy in the first term had an overwhelming financial orientation. In his second term, there was a seriously authoritarian bent of mind. There was the dilution of Article 370 withdrawing the special constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir, followed swiftly by the Citizenship (Amendment) Act.

KABEER SHRIVASTAVA

In India, Parliament is the supreme law-making body. With the exceptions of items reserved unto the people – by the virtue of Fundamental Rights – and items reserved unto the States by the virtue of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, Parliament can make laws on virtually any subject within India's territory, and, in exceptional cases, extra-territorially.

The Preamble lists the objectives of the Constitution to secure for all citizens justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity. Undeterred by India's deep-seated inequalities and factionalism before and at the time of Independence, the framers of the Constitution undertook a leap of faith and envisioned a liberal, more egalitarian nation-state in the post-colonial world.

## Building blocks of the Nehruvian years

The first government led by Jawaharlal Nehru inherited a copious body of constitutional, substantive, and procedural laws made between the early 1800s to 1947, and a trained bureaucracy to administer them. In his first term (1947-1952), Nehru met once-in-a-lifetime challenges of a newly-born country: the rehabilitation of Partition survivors and the administration of evacuee properties; assimilating princely states and the grant of privy purses; creating the statutory framework for the defence forces, the Reserve Bank of India as well as the Election Commission of India, and, finally, the initiation of land reforms.

After winning a handsome majority in independent India's first general election in 1952, Nehru presented more institutional pieces of legislation: inducing new States and reorganising them on linguistic grounds (1956-1962); reforming Hindu personal laws (1955, 1961); enacting an entire body of revenue and company codes (1956-1962); administration of food and public distribution (1962); enacting labour protection laws (1948-1952); creating institutes of public importance such as the University Grants Commission, the Life Insurance Corporation of India, the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and the Indian Institutes of Technology (1956, 1961); and, finally, extending English as the official language (1963).

Nehru's notable legislative failing was the staggering number of times that the Constitution was amended within his lifetime (16); creating the exceptions to free speech and enacting the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958, the two pieces of legislation that continue to be deeply contentious in its usage until this day.

Lal Bahadur Shastri's brief tenure, of 18 months, confronted acute national food insecurity. In response, he set in motion the institutional blocks of the Green and White Revolutions, enacted the Food Corporations Act and set up the National Dairy Development Board.

## Indira Gandhi's long shadow

Indira Gandhi continued Shastri's policies towards a food-secure India and legislated the Seeds Act 1966, the Insecticides Act 1968, and also created two

agricultural universities in 1970. She deserves credit for substantial reform to criminal procedure (1973), landmark rights-based pieces of legislation such as decriminalising abortion (1971); two years before the U.S. Supreme Court legalised it, enhanced labour rights (1970, 1976) and wildlife and environment protection laws (1972-1981).

## V. P. Singh's singular policy legacy was the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations, and reserving additional seats in public employment for Other Backward Classes

All the while, Mrs. Gandhi could not tame her authoritarian instincts and enacted the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 (or UAPA), the Maintenance of Internal Security Act 1971, and its economic adjunct, the Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Prevention of Smuggling Activities Act, 1974, all of which were grossly misused at the time; to this day, the UAPA continues to be weaponised. The most damning moment was the proclamation of Emergency and the passage of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment, suspending civil rights and elections.

Mrs. Gandhi's neo-socialist economic policies saw the nationalisation of mines, banks, and insurance companies (1969-1976), the abolition of privy purses of erstwhile rulers (1971), ceiling urban land holdings (1976) and restricting corporations from paying dividends (1974). Strictly speaking, most of these pieces of economic legislation did not grossly offend the Constitution, and the Supreme Court held them as such.

The foremost legislative task before the Morarji Desai government was to roll back the excesses committed under the Emergency with the enactment of the 44th Constitutional Amendment and restore civil liberties and judicial independence. It continued, in large measure, the predecessor's confiscatory economic policies, notably nationalising more industries and also the first exercise of demonetisation of currency notes in 1978. Indira Gandhi returned for a second stint in 1980 and in what can be described as a volte face of her economic philosophy, entered into the Indo-Mauritian Tax Treaty which became the largest source of foreign direct investment (FDI) to India for decades to come (about \$140 billion between 2000-2020 alone). Extension of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) to quell the rising insurgency in Punjab was Mrs. Gandhi's last major parliamentary legislation; the conflict cost her her life in 1984.

## A super majority

Rajiv Gandhi's term in Parliament saw five critically contested issues. The legislative apathy toward the 1984 Sikh pogrom; the hastily drafted Bhopal Gas Tragedy (Processing of Claims) Act 1985; the undoing of the Supreme Court's judgment in *Shah Bano* giving maintenance rights to divorced Muslim women; insertion of anti-defection laws as the 10th Schedule to the Constitution (making elected representatives essentially subservient to party

bosses), and, finally, sending the Indian Army to Sri Lanka, a conflict which led to Rajiv Gandhi's assassination.

His legislative legacy was saved with comprehensive codification of environment protection, juvenile justice, mental health, and consumer protection laws (1986-1987); the creation of a legal services authority to deliver the constitutional promise of free legal aid (1987); and easing of onerous labour laws (1988). Even while mired under allegations of corruption, Rajiv Gandhi, to his credit, enacted a comprehensive anti-corruption and benami prohibition law (both in 1988), which are in force until today.

V. P. Singh's singular policy legacy was the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations, and reserving additional seats in public employment for Other Backward Classes.

P.V. Narasimha Rao inherited a nation facing severe headwinds – from a balance of payment crisis to dangerous arousal of communal passions. Heading a minority government, his legislative response was reasonably sober: the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991 for maintenance of the religious character of places of worship; creation of the Securities and Exchanges Board of India (1992), introduction of a service tax regime (1994), and consolidating public sector enterprises. His social welfare laws were also laudable: the creation of a National Human Rights Commission (1993); prohibition of manual scavenging (1993); prohibition of pre-natal gender selection (1994), and protecting the rights of disabled persons (1995). Fulfilling Mahatma Gandhi's vision of local self-government, Narasimha Rao amended the Constitution to give legislative basis to Panchayati Raj and Urban Local Bodies.

Despite accolades, his greatest constitutional failure was lethargy in bringing the chieftains of the Babri Masjid's demolition, and the ensuing riots, to justice. Atal Bihari Vajpayee's interventions were mainly economic in nature. Continuing with his predecessor's economic policies, he liberalised foreign exchange laws and created a new insurance regulator (both in 1999); revamped the intellectual property regime (1999, 2000); enacted a substantive information technology regime (1999), enabled a substantive anti-money law (2002) and created a fiscal responsibility and budget management protocol (2003). Two of his striking constitutional amendments were the insertion of Article 21A, guaranteeing free and compulsory education to children between the ages of six to 14; and implementing the recommendations of the Tenth Finance Commission (of pooling and sharing all taxes between the Union and States).

Like P.V. Narasimha Rao, A.B. Vajpayee's apathy towards riot victims (Godhra, 2002) remains his most glaring constitutional blot.

## A rights-based approach

Manmohan Singh's legislations reflect a rights-based approach to secure the egalitarian demands of democracy. Notable were the right to information; the right to employment (the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act);

granting married Hindu women equal right in intestate succession of her parents; protection of women from domestic violence and senior citizens welfare (2005, 2007); operationalising free and compulsory education to children (2009); the setting up of the Unique Identification Authority of India (Aadhar) in 2009 and the National Green Tribunal (2010); and, finally, a comprehensive law protecting children from sexual offences (2012).

In response to the Mumbai terror attacks in 2008, Manmohan Singh created the National Investigation Agency that effectively cut into the powers of States to manage law and order. Earlier that year, global financial crises impacted India, followed by a global outcry against tax havens. The legislative response came between 2009-2012, with the execution of multiple tax information exchange treaties, and requiring residents (even if not permanently resident) to disclose their global assets in Indian tax returns.

In the penultimate year of his government's tenure – contrary to the charge of a "policy paralysis" – Manmohan Singh comprehensively reformed corporation laws, enacted a rights-based approach to food security and land acquisition; strengthened criminal laws to protect women from sexual crimes, and before leaving office, enacted the Lokpal and Lokayukta Act.

## On Modinomics

Like A. B. Vajpayee, Narendra Modi's legislative philosophy in the first term had an overwhelming financial orientation. Key among them was enacting the Black Money Act and the Commercial Courts Act (both in 2015); enacting a monetary policy committee to manage consumer inflation, demonetisation of currency notes and a new bankruptcy regime (all in 2016); an electoral bonds scheme; delivery of welfare schemes through Aadhar; adding teeth to benami prohibition law; enactment of a comprehensive Goods and Services Tax regime (all in 2017), and, finally, a fugitive economic offence act (2018). The exception to this theme was the 103rd Constitutional Amendment – reservation of 10% seats for Economically Weaker Sections in direct Union employment and education.

In Mr. Modi's second term, there was a seriously authoritarian bent of mind. There was the dilution of Article 370 withdrawing the special constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir, followed swiftly by the Citizenship (Amendment) Act with the aim of excluding Muslims refugees from rights to fast-track citizenship. There was a crescendo with the agricultural "reforms" law, which was repealed after much protest and loss of life.

Contrary to the rhetoric that a majority government is more beneficial to secure our constitutional guarantees, India's legislative history (except for the Nehruvian era) indicates that coalition governments – on either side of the aisle – show greater allegiance to that cause. Of course, this is because coalitions make consultation mandatory. And in a nation of such immense diversity like ours, that's a beautiful thing.

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