

ROT IN CONGRESS

The death of former Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh has further exposed the Congress party's falling standards and myopic vision. First, the party wanted to create a scene over the proposed memorial for the late Prime Minister while his body was yet to be cremated. Later its leaders tried to use the occasion to launch a propaganda blitzkrieg against the BJP. We all know that the Narendra Modi government has created systems to institutionalize national awards and other protocols associated with national honour. This has not only led to the jettisoning of the discretionary system of earlier government but also made grassroots change-makers receive these awards. Dr Manmohan Singh was the Prime Minister of India and not of Congress; he was accorded a state funeral as per the protocol that is due to a former PM. Congress played petty games before and at the time of his cremation.

It took a traditional Congress activist like Sharmistha Mukherjee, daughter of former President Pranab Mukherjee to further the hypocrisy of the Congress party. Sharmistha was once an active member of Congress and firmly supported the party's policies. He continued to hold brief for Congress even when it was the rule of BJP and her father President Pranab Mukherjee enjoyed a cordial relationship with the government/. She later quits the party and is a neutral person. She took this occasion to speak about the problem with Congress, Referring to the controversy that Congress sought to rake up about a proposed memorial for Manmohan Singh, Sharmistha said Congress had not shown courtesy to her father when he passed away for formally condoling his death by calling a Working committee meeting to pass a resolution. She made it clear that it was due to such an eco-system that people like her and many others had left the party. She feels disillusioned about Congress. Sharmistha said that decay has set in the Congress and advised its leadership to go in for serious introspection.

India must stand firm against Sheikh Hasina's extradition

Hiranmay Karlekar

Sheikh Hasina must not be sent back to Bangladesh in response to the note verbale received from that country's interim government calling for her extradition. Dhaka's move has followed the issue of an arrest warrant by Bangladesh's International Crimes Tribunal (ICT) against her and a number of her former ministers, advisers, military and civil officials. The allegation? "Crimes against humanity and genocide". There are two broad reasons why India should not send her back. As prime minister of Bangladesh, she has been a steadfast friend of India whereas other heads of that country's government, except her father, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, have tended to be unfriendly. Second, she will, by no means, receive a fair trial in Bangladesh and perhaps even be lynched, given the intense hostility of the current rulers of Bangladesh harbour towards her.

There will be solid legal basis for India's stand. Article 8 (1) (a) of the Treaty Between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bangladesh Relating to Extradition, says that a person may not be extradited if "he satisfies the Requested State that it would, having regard to all the circumstances, be unjust or oppressive to extradite him" because, in the words of Article 8 (1) (A) (iii), the accusations against him "have not been made in good faith in the interests of justice." Besides Article 8 (2) reads, "A person who has been convicted of an extradition offence may not be extradited therefor unless he was sentenced to imprisonment or other form of detention for a period of four months or more."

Sheikh Hasina has yet to be sentenced to any period of imprisonment or detention. Also, she can very well claim that it would be "unjust or oppressive" to extradite her because the accusation against her had not been made in "good faith in the interest of justice", and are a



result of pure vindictiveness. That she would be justified in saying so becomes clear on considering the diatribes unleashed against her by the advisers of the interim government and the relentless persecution, including involving in hundreds of false cases, of Awami League's leaders and ministers in the party's government.

According to a report in The Daily Star carried under the headline, "No option but to succeed: Yunus" on August 18, 2024, Chief Adviser Muhammad Yunus had said during a "Meet and Greet" session with foreign diplomats in Dhaka, "In their efforts to stay in power, the Sheikh Hasina dictatorship destroyed every institution of the country. Judiciary was broken. Democratic rights were suppressed through a brutal decade-and-a-half long crackdown. Elections were rigged blatantly. Generations of young people grew up without exercising their voting rights. Banks were robbed with full political patronisation. And the state coffer was plundered by abusing power."

Referring to a proposed Awami League rally on November 10, 2024, Muhammad Yunus' press secretary, Shafiqul Alam, had written in a Facebook post on November 9, "The Awami League in its current form is a fascist party. There is no way this fascist party will be allowed to hold protests in Bangladesh. Anyone who would try to hold rally, gathering and processions by taking orders from the mass mur-

derer and dictator Sheikh Hasina will face full force of the law enforcing agencies."

Leaders of the Anti-Discrimination Students Movement (ADSM), formed on July 1, 2024, to carry the students' struggle forward, and Jatiya Nagarik Committee (National Citizens Committee), formed on 8 September, 2024, to consolidate the movement's message and political goals, have spoken in a similar strident and denunciatory vein.

According to a report by Ashibul Islam Rifat in the Dhaka Tribune (23 October, 2024) appearing under the headline "Nahid: Awami League will never be allowed back into politics in our lifetime," Md Nahid Islam, an ADSM leader who is now advisor, in charge of information and broadcasting and other ministries, said at a discussion, that the Awami League's return to politics in the manner and ideology it previously adhered to would be tantamount to "a betrayal to the martyrs of the uprising. And certainly, as long as we are alive, we will not allow this to happen." Leaders of political parties like the Bangladesh Nationalist Party and the Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami (Jamaat) have also denounced the Awami League.

One can argue that the ICT, and any other court where Sheikh Hasina and other accused may be tried, will ignore such vituperations and pronounce its judgement on the basis of the evidence and arguments placed before it. A horse would guffaw on hearing this. The judiciary has been brought to heel through forced resignations and dismissals. The process began as early as August 10, 2024, when chief justice Obaidul Hassan of the Supreme Court and five judges of the appellate division, resigned as hundreds of students affiliated to the ADSM gathered on the court premises demanding that they quit, and threatened to besiege their residences if they did not.

On October 16, the new chief justice,

Syed Refaat Ahmed, sent 12 High Court judges, appointed during the Sheikh Hasina-led Awami League rule, on leave following a demonstration in the court premises by adherents of the ADSM led by Hasnat Abdullah and Sarjis Alam. According to a report in Bangladesh's The Business Standard on October 16 itself, announcing the plan, Hasnat Abdullah, had written in a Facebook post on October 15, "In demand of the resignation of the fascist judges of the Awami League, we will besiege the High Court tomorrow (Wednesday) at 11am."

The ICT itself was reconstituted on October 15, 2024, with Justice Md Golam Mortuza Majumder from the High Court Division of Bangladesh Supreme Court as its new chairman, and Justice Md Shafiqul Alam Mahmud and retired District and Sessions Judge Md Mohitul Haque Enam Chowdhury as members of the panel.

The result is a pliant judiciary and the use of the justice system to persecute not only those associated with the Awami League but civil society activists, writers, journalists and human rights activists. A shocking example is the levelling of a false murder charge against a highly-respected senior advocate of Bangladesh's Supreme Court, ZI Khan Panna. Referring to the case, The Daily Star wrote in an editorial titled "This weaponisation of legal cases must stop" and published on October 21, 2024, "Over the two months and a half since August 5, we have published multiple reports and editorials on the indiscriminate filing of such murder cases without any evidence, mostly implicating the leaders, activists, and suspected supporters of the Awami League regime. Even journalists and rights activists were not spared. In many cases, fabricated FIRs were filed. There were also instances of the names of accused in cases predating August 5 being replaced. This is nothing but a weaponisation of the legal process for harassment and political vendettas." Will Sheikh Hasina get justice in such a situation?

HUNGER FOR POWER

APS MALHOTRA

I have come to seek your support and valuable vote, as I have decided to stand for re-election, declared the bespectacled, heavyset, middle-aged man—dressed in an off-white safari suit—rather pompously, as he stood with folded hands at the door of my house, surrounded by a bevy of churches and churches, who suitably nodded their head in unison. "Vote for which re-election?" I muttered under my breath, irritated at the uncalled-for intrusion into my privacy on a rather lazy Sunday morning. "I am the President" he replied sheepishly, maybe taken aback at my nonchalant reply. "I had decided not to stand for this year's election due to increased professional and personal commitments—actually I had desired to give someone younger a chance to bear the responsibility, and take a backseat—but had to relent under the immense pressure from fellow residents, who want my leadership for a further period of three years" he continued, his voice a cocktail of benevolence and beneficence for his 'supporters', and the seasoned politician's chicanery.

"But isn't Mrs. Draupadi Murmu the President?" I retorted, further trying to pull his leg. "Malhotrajee, I am the Pres-



ident of our Resident Welfare Association (RWA) for the past several years," he said, flabbergasted, a tad angry and certainly deeply offended at my failure to recognize him, and worse, acknowledge his self-perceived exalted status. Although I had recognised him the moment he pressed the doorbell of my house, and I opened the front door to face him, my innate aversion to people who like to throw their weight around and flaunt uncalled-for appellations came forth with all its bitterness.

Nonetheless, realizing that the man

was getting increasingly exasperated at my manoeuvrings, I salvaged the situation by promising to cast my vote in his favour and profusely apologized to him for my failure to identify his 'Excellency', with the pretext that my better half is the face of our family for outside interactions, while I busy myself in mundane things, like reading and writing. Not too surprisingly, denizens of my beloved Dilli, sitting on the centre of power since the dawn of history, have a deeply ingrained fascination for posts and titles—which proliferate dime a dozen—and take

a macho and perverse pride in flaunting them, with the same exuberance with which a child displays his or her toy, albeit not with the same innocence.

This fact is borne out in the form of roadside boards and car number plates, which often bear vague titles—such as 'Secretary, Youth Media Cell, ABC party, B-block, Village XYZ'. A carryforward from the era of the Mughals and British imperialists, this is a desperate shot to seek the much-desired VVIP status, at least in the circle one operates in. Thus, it is not unknown to find members of RWAs who run virtual fiefdoms in their associations, maybe as recompense for the voluntary service rendered in serving the community. The perks could include a free car wash and laundry facility, use of funds near the residence where the self-styled Maharajas live, et al.

One can only speculate as to what would happen if this maniac lure of titles and appellations invaded the next, and perhaps the last bastion of community living, the home. Then, it would be no surprise to see name boards outside individual residences read like this: 1/103, Beverly Park: APS Malhotra, President; Sonia Malhotra Vice President; Dr. Mehak Malhotra, Secretary (in absentia). In families with matriarchal tendencies, the designations could be reversed.

Unlocking economic potential: Bridging the gender gap in public

Elizabeth A Vazquez

gender inclusivity.

How much of the goods and services purchased by government departments and public sector enterprises come from women-owned businesses? This crucial question is rarely asked, and it underscores the need for gender-responsive procurement policies in India and across South Asia. With government procurement "accounting for an average of 12 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP) in OECD countries, and up to 30 per cent of GDP in many developing countries," the untapped economic potential for women entrepreneurs to contribute as suppliers of solutions to governments is immense.

Yet, globally, women-owned enterprises still win only 1 per cent of this significant public procurement market. WEConnect International is actively working to bridge this gap. Our efforts are making headway, especially in countries such as India, where policy frameworks are beginning to reflect a greater emphasis on

The central government has increasingly prioritised women-centric policies, evident from the substantial rise in gender budget allocations, which is another way to support women and girls in addition to buying their products and services. For example, in 2013-14, Rs 97,134 crore was earmarked for women's welfare and empowerment. By 2024-25, this figure had reached Rs 3,27 lakh crore, marking a 19 per cent increase over the actual gender budget expenditure of 2023-24 and a 218.8 per cent increase since 2013-14. For 2024, the Gender Budget accounts for 6.5 per cent of the Union Budget, the highest since the Gender Budget Statement was introduced in 2005-06.

The Statement serves as a vital tool for ministries reviewing programmes from a gender perspective to ensure that more resources are being allocated to benefit women and girls. In the last year (2023-24), the actual expenditure on gender budgeting was 16 per cent higher (Rs 2.75 lakh crore) than the total budgeted amount (Rs

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2.38 lakh crore).

The Indian government's Public Procurement Policy for Micro and Small Enterprises (MSEs) Order, 2018, exemplifies this progress. The policy mandates that every central ministry, department, and PSU must procure at least 25 per cent of their needs from MSEs, with 3 per cent specifically reserved for women-owned micro and small enterprises. There has been progress since the mandated 3 per cent procurement target for women-owned MSEs was

introduced in 2018. Public procurement from these enterprises has risen from almost zero in 2017-18 to 1.8 per cent in 2023-24.

The number of women-owned (owned and controlled by women having the minimum financial interest of 51 per cent of the capital and with women constituting at least 51 per cent of generated employment) MSEs benefiting from public procurement grew from 1,410 (accounting for Rs 232.56 crore) to 21,128 (Rs 3056.4 crore) in six years.

While the evidence is encouraging, there are still gaps and challenges that, if addressed, could help India achieve a more gender-inclusive public procurement ecosystem. For example, there is currently no independent body to resolve complaints in the procurement system, leaving unhappy bidders with only two options: filing complaints directly with the purchasing entity or taking them to arbitration or court as outlined in the General Financial Rules (GFR) 2017. Generally, there is a pressing need for transparency, well-defined processes, and a robust mechanism for addressing grievances in tender and procurement procedures so that women-owned businesses receive constructive feedback if their bids are unsuccessful.

This would enable them to refine their future proposals and compete more effectively. Such measures would help mitigate biases in tendering and procurement processes that disproportionately disadvantage women-owned enterprises. The government could also pass procurement

legislation to standardise bidding processes using a central law that sets national standards and state laws that fit specific needs, with the central government providing comprehensive oversight.

Public authorities could also sensitize officials on the need to counteract gender biases that may influence the design of procurement processes. A strong starting point would be to appoint more women to oversee public procurement in government departments.

Public procurement from women-owned enterprises in India over the past six years has grown at an average annual growth rate of 70.5 per cent, while the number of beneficiary women entrepreneurs has increased at an average annual rate of 77 per cent because the baseline was close to zero. In 2023-24, total public procurement in India reached Rs 1.70 lakh crore, highlighting a growing opportunity for women to engage with the expanding public procurement market in the world's fastest-growing economy.