

# News Broadcasting & Digital Standards Authority

Order No. 181(2024)
Complainant: Mr. Utkarsh Mishra
Programme: Black & White
Channel: Aaj Tak
Date of Broadcast: 26.06.2023

Since the complainant was not satisfied with the response of the broadcaster, the complaint was escalated on 2.8.2023 to second level of redressal i.e. NBDSA.

# Complaint dated 3.7.2023

The complaint was filed against the impugned broadcast for violating the principles of neutrality and objectivity while reporting and analyzing statements made by Barack Obama on the disenfranchisement of minorities in India.

In response to a question asked in an interview about how Biden should engage with leaders such as Chinese President Xi Jinping and PM Modi, who are considered to be "autocratic...illiberal democrat", Barack Obama said that part of his argument would be that if you do not protect the rights of ethnic minorities in India, there is a strong possibility that India, at some point, starts pulling apart. "And we have seen what happens when you start getting into large internal conflicts... That would be contrary to the interests not only of Muslim India, but also Hindu India. I think it's important to be able to talk about these things honestly," he said.

The anchor, in his opening statement, without quoting the complete statement, compared Barack Obama's statement with the ideology of Khalistan supporters, pro-Pakistan people in India, separatists and other extremists. But what Obama actually said was a very generic statement. The anchor was trying to attribute extremist and separatist intent to Obama's statement and to the belief that ethnic minorities are being disenfranchised.

The anchor mentioned that people like Obama are unable to understand that India is a democratic country, and that Modi had been selected for the post of Prime Minister by the people of this country and is very popular among people. 140 Crore people have selected their favourite leader, Modi, by giving votes.

The fact mentioned by the anchor that 140 crore people have voted for PM Modi is factually incorrect. Election Commission data which is available on its website shows that in the 2019 general election, 22.90 crore people voted for BJP. Also in 2019, 90.90 crores voters in India were eligible to vote, out of which 67 percent voted.

Further, the anchor stated that "भारत में धर्म निरपेक्ष, मानव अधिकार, सहनशीलता और धार्मिक आजादी का विचार और इसका सिद्धांत पश्चिमी देशों से इंपोर्ट किए गए थे। ये वो सिद्धांत है जिन्हें



अंग्रेज भारत लेकर आए और बाद में महात्मा गांधी और पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जैसे जो नेता थे, वो पश्चिम के इन सिद्धांतों से बहुत प्रभावित थे और उन्होंने जब भारत आजाद हुआ तो इन्हीं सिद्धांतों को भारत के समाज में, भारत की व्यवस्था में इंजेक्ट कर दिया। लेकिन सच्चाई ये है कि इन तमाम सिद्धांतों में भारतीयता थी ही नहीं।"

The anchor also mentioned that secularism is an elitist concept and that the ideas of secularism, human rights, tolerance and religious freedom are western principles and have been imported to India by Britishers.

He also said that leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were too inspired by these principles and injected them into Indian society after independence. It is incorrect to say that the principles of secularism, human rights, tolerance and religious freedom are imported western ideas. These are the progressive ideas that Indian society adopted at the time of independence after a long discussion in the Constituent Assembly. Other democratic and progressive countries also adopted this.

Furthermore, they have been adopted in the Basic Structure of the Indian Constitution. The preamble of the Indian Constitution came after the discussion in the Constituent Assembly on 17.10.1949. The debate is available on the Lok Sabha website, and after a long discussion in the Constituent Assembly, the Preamble was passed. Interestingly, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were not present and part of that debate. Mahatma Gandhi was not even a member of the Constituent Assembly. The anchor must apologize for his biased, generalized statements.

# Reply dated 18.7.2023 from the broadcaster:

- 1. The broadcaster acknowledged the receipt of the complaint dated 3.7.2023, bearing the subject "NBDSA violation complaint" (sic) ("Complaint") concerning the show "Black and White" dated 26.6.2023 (erroneously mentioned as 26.12.2022 in the complaint) and broadcast by Aaj Tak ("Impugned Broadcast"), alleging that it "violated the principles of neutrality and objectivity".
- 2. The broadcaster submitted that news channels play an integral role in informing the citizens about civic issues both national and international. It is well settled, as reiterated by the Hon'ble Supreme Court in *LIC v. Manubhai Shah*, (1992) 3 SCC 637, that the Constitution guarantees that the media has the freedom to "inform, distil, and convey information, and any attempt to deny the same should be frowned upon".

The Hon'ble Supreme Court has also held in *Indian Express Newspapers (Bombay)* Pvt. Ltd. v. Union of India (1985) 1 SCC 641 that the right to freedom of speech and expression is a constitutionally protected right enjoyed by the media and must be safeguarded. Incontrovertibly, the right of broadcasters extends to discussion of social issues.



- 3. Therefore, Aaj Tak is at liberty, and even obligated, to report on matters of public importance, including matters pertaining to national security and foreign relations, such as statements of foreign leaders and ex-Presidents on India's domestic politics. These issues form an integral part of news coverage.
- 4. The broadcaster submitted that it wished to raise a preliminary objection. In the complaint, it is alleged that the impugned broadcast violated "the principles of neutrality and objectivity". However, the complainant has failed to specify any provisions allegedly violated by Aaj Tak, preventing the broadcaster from replying comprehensively. In the absence of any specific averments in the complaint, it cannot deal with any specific provision of the Code of Ethics. The contents of its reply may be treated without prejudice to this submission.

# A. Background to the impugned broadcast

- 5. Broadcaster submitted that the Hon'ble Prime Minister Narendra Modi had travelled to the United States of America (USA) for an official state visit the highest-ranked visit according to diplomatic protocols from 21.06.2023 to 24.06.2023. Prime Minister Modi was hosted by President Biden at the White House as part of his first state visit to the U.SA. during his nine-year-long reign as the Prime Minister.
- 6. During this visit, former President Barack Obama gave an interview to CNN (a multinational news channel based in the USA), which was aired on 23.06.2023. In the interview, President Obama flagged the possibility that India may start "pulling apart" if it fails to "protect the rights of ethnic minorities".

'I think it is true that if the President meets with Prime Minister Modi, then the protection of the Muslim minority in a majority Hindu India, that's something worth mentioning because -- and by the way, if I had a conversation with Prime Minister Modi, who I know well, part of my argument would be that if you do not protect the rights of ethnic minorities in India, then there is a strong possibility India at some point starts pulling apart and we've seen what happens when you start getting those kinds of large internal conflicts. So that would be contrary to the interests, not just a Muslim India, but also Hindu India. So I think it's important to be able to talk about these things honestly."

(emphasis supplied)

# B. Reply on merits

# Allegation #1: The Anchor attributed "extremist and separatist intent" to Mr. Barack Obama's statement.

7. In the complaint it has been alleged that "The anchor in his opening without quoting this full statement has compared Barack Obama's statement with the ideology of Khalistan supporters, Pro-Pakistan people in India". In the broadcasters' opinion, this was a distorted perception of the impugned broadcast.



- 8. First, the approximately 50-minute-long show was concerned with various important issues the situation in Manipur, rains in the country, the developments in Russia (concerning the Wagner mercenary chief Yevgeny Prigozhin), and President Obama's comments. Thus, there was no question of broadcasting the entire interview or quoting President Obama's full statement. In fact, despite these time constraints, the broadcast spent around 12-13 minutes analysing the socio-political implications of President Obama's interview and comparing the situation in India with that of the U.SA.
- 9. *Second* and more importantly, the anchor accurately presented Mr. Barack Obama's statement and provided adequate context while reporting. The relevant portion has been reproduced below for an instant reference:

## 37:05-37:28

"Aur unhone kaha ki bharat mein jo alpsankhyak hain, unki suraksha Pradhan mantri modi ko karni chahiye. Unhone yeh bhi kaha ki agar Pradhan mantri modi ne alpsankhyakho ki suraksha nahi kari toh ho sakta hain aage aage aane wale samay mein bharat kamzor ho jaye aur bharat batt jaye. Bharat khandit ho jaye."

- 10. Third, the anchor correctly pointed out that it was rare for a former head of state to criticise leaders of other countries on matters concerning their domestic politics or to publicly state that the actions/omissions of the Prime Minister of a country may result in it being "pulled apart". The anchor explained that statements of a country being "pulled apart" are usually made by separatist organisations, propagating *khalistani* ideology, or terrorist organisations and feeds an anti-India narrative. Thus, the anchor concluded that statements such as the one made by President Obama should not be made in passing.
- 11. Finally, the anchor presented his assessment of why western political commentary is often widely off the mark because they either do not understand the DNA of India's culture, the importance of Hindu nationalism, the consideration and importance given to minority communities, such as the Muslim community in India, by Prime Minister Modi, or the development of an indigenous idea of "secularism".

# Allegation #2: The Anchor incorrectly stated that 140 crore citizens voted for Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi

12. Further, it has been alleged that the anchor stated that "140 crores people have voted for PM Modi [which] is factually incorrect." However, this is a deliberate misconstruction of the anchor's statement. The anchor was noticeably conveying that the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, was elected as the leader of the world's largest democratic country, comprising 140 crore persons. This is clearly made out from the Anchor's statement when viewed in its entirety:



# [39:43-40:23]

"Aur Pradhan mantri modi ek bahut lokpriya neta hain ...... Chunaav jeet kar who Pradhan mantri banne hain. Aur bharat ke logo ne unhe vote dekar loktantric vyavashta ke tehet Pradhan mantri banaya. .... <u>duniya ke sabse badhe loktantra mein, duniya ke iss loktantra mein, 140 crore logo ne vote dekar, chun kar apne lok Priya neta ko uss gaddi par baithaya hain."</u>

- 13. Thus, it is important to consider the context of the broadcast which was not in the nature of election coverage or presenting voting statistics. The anchor did not state that 140 crore persons voted for Prime Minister Modi. Rather, he explained that after votes (of 140 crore persons) were counted, Prime Minister Modi emerged as the leader. Surely, even according to the complainant, Shri Narendra Modi is the Prime Minister of the entire country, and not only for those who voted for him.
- 14. Finally, the anchor's comments have to be viewed keeping in mind the difference in the way the U.S. Presidential elections are conducted (combining the popular vote with the electoral college) and the First Past the Post System in India.

# Allegation #3: The anchor incorrectly stated that secularism is a "western" and "elitist" concept. Further, that Hon'ble Ex Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi were prominent proponents of these ideals.

- 15. The complainant has mischievously attempted to portray the broadcast as if it were expressing a disagreement with constitutional values. It is reiterated that Aaj Tak, and India Today Group, are conscientious corporate institutions and fully committed to upholding the Constitution of India and the values enshrined therein.
- 16. The anchor's comments in the broadcast broadly and generally discussed the phenomenon (and problems) of transposing western value systems and concepts as they stand without moulding them in accordance with Indian society. However, it has been falsely claimed in the complaint that the anchor incorrectly mentioned that "the principles of secularism, human rights, tolerance and religious freedom are imported western ideas".
- 17. There is abundant material which details the ethnocentric origin and evolution of the concept of "human rights". Further, with respect to secularism, even the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India, in a nine-judge bench decision in *S.R. Bommai v. Union of India*, (1994) 3 SCC 1 has acknowledged the foreign birth roots of the concept of "Secularism":
  - "176.... Charles Broadlaugh in seventeenth century for the first time used secularism as antagonistic to religious dogma as ethical and moral binding force. This Western thought, in course of time gained humanistic acceptance."



- 18. It is also implied in the complaint that the anchor was wrong to suggest that the Ex-Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi were inspired by these principles and played a role in propagating them in Indian society.
- 19. Before addressing this, it is pertinent to reproduce the relevant portion of the Impugned Broadcast:

# [41:45-42:16]

"Manav adhikar, sehensheelta aur dharmik azaadi ka vichaar aur iska sidhant, paschimi desho se import kiye gye the. Aur ye vo sidhant h jinhe angrez bharat lekar aaye, aur baad mai mahatma Gandhi aur pandit Jawaharlal nehru jaise jo neta the, Vo Paschim ki in sidhanto se bahut prabhavit the, aur unhone jab bharat azaad hua toh inhi sidhanto ko bharat ke samaj mai, bharat ki vyavastha mai inject kardiya lekin sacchai ye hain"

- 20. The anchor's contention was that Prime Minister Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi popularised these notions in Indian society at large. To contradict the anchor's contention, baseless reliance has been placed on the Constituent Assembly debates. It is unclear how the absence of formal expression of their views in the Constituent Assembly debates detracts from the contention that they popularised these notions in Indian society.
- 21. Additionally, substantiating the anchor's point that Western notions of "secularism" got transplanted into the Indian Society, there is ample data to suggest that Western notions of "secularism" are a colonial legacy in India. Specifically with respect to Nehru, even the Indian National Congress the political party to which he was affiliated also acknowledged his Western influences and credited him for popularizing "secularism" in the Indian Society.
- 22. Broadcaster submitted that the broadcast was televised with journalistic objectivity in a fair and impartial manner, and in good faith for the public good. It seems that the complainant has taken issue with the assessment provided by the anchor because it is in disagreement with his personal viewpoint. In doing so, the complainant has assessed the contents of the impugned broadcast from the perspective of a hyper-sensitive and hyper-technical individual, which is impermissible.
- 23. Considering the absence of any substantial basis to continue the proceedings for any violation of the relevant guidelines the complaint merits no further action.

# Decision of NBDSA at its meeting on 6.11.2023

After considering the complainant's application dated 11.08.2023 seeking condonation of delay and the broadcaster's response dated 07.09.2023, NBDSA decided to condone the delay of seven days in escalating the complaint to the second level of redressal under Regulation 8.2, under Proviso 1 to Regulation 8.2 and decided to consider the complaint on merits. After considering the complaint



response of the broadcaster and after viewing the footage of the broadcast, NBDSA decided to call the parties for a hearing.

On being served with Notices, the following persons were present at the hearing on 02.02.2024:

Mr. Vishal Pant, being an editor member representing TV Today Network Ltd. in NBDSA recused himself from the proceedings.

# Complainant

Mr. Utkarsh Mishra

## **Broadcaster**

- 1. Ms. Vrinda Bhandari, Advocate
- 2. Ms. Dipali Rai, Legal Counsel
- 3. Mr. Manish Kumar, Managing Editor

# Submissions of the Complainant

The complaint concerned a news report on a statement made by Mr. Barack Obama during an interview with CNN. In the broadcast, the anchor promoted the statement made by Obama regarding the disenfranchisement of minority communities in the country in the most binary manner. The anchor was clearly promoting a political agenda that minority rights in India are under no threat under Prime Minister Modi's regime and anyone making such claims was part of anti-Indian, extremist forces who do not understand India's nationalism.

The complainant submitted that Mr. Obama had in the interview with CNN essentially spoken about the disenfranchisement of minorities and stated that we need to be careful about polarizing and discriminating against minorities; otherwise, this may lead to divisions in the country, have a detrimental impact on communal unity and equality and may tear the country apart. In the impugned broadcast, the anchor grossly mischaracterized the statement made by Obama and attributed it to the "Tukde Tukde Gang", "separatist and terrorist movements like Khalistan" and prejudiced the viewers understanding of the issue, which is prima facie violative of the principles of neutrality and objectivity under the Specific Guidelines covering Reportage, Guidelines G, H and K under the Specific Guidelines for Anchors conducting Programmes including Debates, which require the anchors to "refrain from using religion-linked adjectives in a pejorative manner and refrain from any character assassination/attacks whatsoever on the basis of religion, political affiliations, prejudices etc. in any programme/s including debates" and "Emphasize the need for a free and fair debate and discussion, where all opinions are expressed, in a sober and respectful manner, thereby ensuring that controversial subjects are fairly presented and there is representation of panelists with diverse opinion in the programme including debates, in order to ensure that the programme does not lose objectivity" and the Guidelines for Prevention of Hate Speech which require the broadcasters to



refrain from "disseminating conspiracy theories in news programmes to justify and reinforce extreme prejudices".

By creating the impression that anybody who expresses an opinion that BJP or Prime Minister Modi is discriminating against minorities was associated with the "Tukde Tukde Gang" and extremist ideologies/outfit, the anchor was disseminating conspiracy theories and had lost his objectivity while reporting a very controversial issue.

The complainant invited the attention of the NBDSA to the statement made by Obama during his interview with CNN and how the same was reported by the anchor in the impugned broadcast. He submitted that in the broadcast, the anchor discredited any claims regarding the disenfranchisement of Muslims by stating that the utterance of such claims is only evidence of the failure of western thought processes and Islamist extremists in understanding the ethos of Hindu Rashtra and the new definitions of human rights under the same.

The phrase "pulling apart" used by Obama was characterized solely as partition called for by the separatists. Any criticism concerning the disenfranchisement of Muslims was reported in the most binary, extremist and reductionist context possible. He reiterated that this belief was mischaracterized and attributed to "Tukde Tukde Gang", separatists and foreign intelligence agency organizations, which the anchor tried to juxtapose with the belief that Modi is promoting minority rights and cultural ties with the Middle Eastern countries as evidenced by improving trade relations.

The complainant reiterated that in the broadcast, a very controversial issue was discussed in a manner where all diverse points of view were erased, and most binary context was provided in violation of principles of neutrality and objectivity.

The complainant submitted that Barack Obama in his statement was not referring to a physical partition of the country, rather he was referring to the division between neighbours and the increasing calls for social and economic boycotts of Muslims in the country, which are equally harmful and have a detrimental impact on the unity and integrity of the country. Therefore, the complainant submitted that this issue could not be merely reported in the manner sought in the impugned broadcast, as if such beliefs were expressed only by people belonging to the "Tukde Tukde Gang" or separatist groups.

The complainant submitted that under the Specific Guidelines for Anchors conducting programmes, including debates, the anchor is prohibited from using religion-linked adjectives in a pejorative manner and from any character assassination based on religion or political affiliation in news programmes. However, in the impugned broadcast, beliefs such as Obama's were primarily accredited to extremist Muslims.



By painting Modi's commitment to plurality as a fact, the anchor further promoted the opinions being expressed by Obama as western and Islamist propaganda built to prejudice the territorial integrity of the nation, which can potentially be covered under anti-terror law. Since such laws can be prosecuted by the State and allow for an abuse of due process, the complainant submitted that news anchors cannot be allowed to label opinions being expressed by a large number of Indians as motivated by anti-national or extremist Islamist intent.

## Submissions of the Broadcaster

The broadcaster submitted that merely because the complainant disagreed with the views expressed in the programme, the same hardly qualified as grounds for challenge.

It submitted that a statement made by a former head of the State claiming that India can be pulled apart cannot be equated with a statement made by an ordinary citizen. In fact, Obama's statement has become the subject of huge controversy, with several Indian politicians, including the Finance Minister, weighing in on the statement as being hypocritical. It was clear that the anchor was not comparing Obama with "Tukde Tukde Gang" rather, he was merely stating that the language, such as India being pulled apart, was usually used by separatist organizations, Khalistanis and terrorists who believe in the idea of separation and secession. It submitted that while it was unfortunate that terms such as "Tukde Tukde Gang" and "Urban Naxals" had become part of the lexicon, including for the media, there was no blanket prohibition regarding the usage of such terms. Therefore, such language cannot be grounds for raising objections against the impugned broadcast.

The anchor's second point was regarding how western language and values were being imposed on India. The subject of the impugned broadcast was how a western former Head of State was criticising and saying that Modi's politics may result in India being pulled apart. In this context, the show strongly critiqued Obama's statement.

In rejoinder, the complainant submitted that the present complaint was not merely a result of his disagreement with the views being expressed in the broadcast. Rather, he submitted that there is an increase in polarization and discrimination against the Muslim community and the minorities in the country, which could be attributed to BJP and that this was the issue that the anchor was dealing with in the impugned broadcast.

NBDSA questioned the basis on which the complainant came to this conclusion. In response, the complainant submitted that in the broadcast, the phrase "pulling apart" was mischaracterized as partition. That his grievance was with how the anchor had, in the impugned broadcast, connected the statement made by Obama with separatist groups such as Khalistan. The broadcaster, in its defence, has justified the impugned broadcast by stating that it merely intended to flag the misuse of narrative by foreign



agents, however, the complainant submitted that the broadcast by no means was limited only to this aspect as it extensively commented upon which kind of people including Indian citizens as evidenced by usage of the term "Tukde Tukde Gang" were making a claim regarding discrimination of minorities in India. The anchor further goes on to discredit any such claims of disenfranchisement of Muslims by saying that the only reason why people make such claims is due to failure of thought process and because of extremist Muslim ideology.

The complainant reiterated that during the broadcast that anchor at several instances praised Modi and his commitment to pluralism and minority rights. Therefore, the complainant submitted that this was a binary manner of framing the issue.

In rejoinder, the broadcaster submitted that the context of the broadcast was Prime Minister Narendra Modi's official state visit to the United States of America, which according to diplomatic protocols, is the highest-ranked visit. This visit was being seen with a high level of diplomatic fervour on both sides and there was an expectation that President Biden may raise the issue of minority protection with Prime Minister Modi. That the impugned broadcast must be considered in this context and in view of the reportage surrounding this event.

The complainant submitted that the anchor in the broadcast further claimed that the reason why Obama was making the statement was because he did not understand the new, less tolerant nationalism, which is the new reality of the Hindu Rashtra. In response, the broadcaster submitted that it is a political reality of today that there is a much stronger version of nationalism which exists in the world today compared to the past, which many people may not be happy about. Furthermore, the broadcast has to be seen in its entirety and contextually. By raising the point that several Middle Eastern countries were praising the Prime Minister, the anchor only stated that the issue cannot be considered in a binary manner.

The complainant submitted that the statement made by Obama has been used by the broadcaster to propagate a certain point of view which is evident from the tone and tenor of the programme.

#### Decision

NBDSA went through the complaint, response of the broadcaster and gave due consideration to the arguments of the complainant and the broadcaster and reviewed the footage of the broadcast.

NBDSA noted that the subject of the impugned broadcast was the statement made by the former President of the United States, Mr. Barack Obama, who had observed that there was a possibility of India "pulling apart" if it fails to "protect the rights of ethnic minorities".



NBDSA stated there would have been no issue with the impugned broadcast had the anchor confined its analysis only to reporting the statement made by Mr. Obama or criticising it. However, in the impugned broadcast, while doing so the anchor went totally stringent and overboard by bringing in a totally unconnected narrative.

NBDSA observed that the anchor connected the said statement, out of the blue, with separatist organizations and extremist groups like 'Khalistan', which was a gross misrepresentation. Doing so amounted to violation of the principles of Objectivity and Neutrality.

In the impugned broadcast, by using words "Tukde Tukde Gang", 'Khalistani in Punjab" and "Pakistani supporters", instead of confining its discussion to Mr. Obama's statement, the broadcaster had failed to present a controversial issue with sensitivity and objectivity.

In view of the above, apart from finding a violation of the principles of Objectivity and Neutrality as enshrined in the Code of Ethics & Broadcasting Standards NBDSA also found that the impugned broadcast had violated the Specific Guidelines for Anchors conducting Programmes including Debates, which stated that "all programmes whether debates or otherwise must be presented in an impartial, objective and neutral manner and news should not be selected or designed to promote any particular belief, opinion or interests."

Bearing in mind the violations in the impugned broadcast, NBDSA decided to impose a fine of Rs. 75,000/- on the broadcaster and advised the broadcaster to ensure that in future broadcasts, controversial subjects are fairly presented with strict adherence to the principles of Neutrality, Impartiality and Objectivity in the broadcast.

NBDSA further also directed the broadcaster to edit the video of the said broadcast by expunging the objectionable parts or, if that is not possible, to remove the video, if still available on the website of the channel, or YouTube, and remove all hyperlinks including access which should be confirmed to NBDSA in writing within 7 days of the Order.

NBDSA decided to close the complaint with the aforesaid observations and inform the complainant the broadcaster accordingly.

### NBDSA directs NBDA to send:

- (a) A copy of this Order to the complainant and the broadcaster.
- (b) Circulate this Order to all Members, Editors & Legal Heads of NBDA.
- (c) Host this Order on its website and include it in its next Annual Report and
- (d) Release the Order to the media.



It is clarified that any statement made by the parties in the proceedings before NBDSA while responding to the complaint and putting forth their view points, and any finding or observation by NBDSA in regard to the broadcasts, in its proceedings or in this Order, are only in the context of an examination as to whether there are any violations of any broadcasting standards and guidelines. They are not intended to be 'admissions' by the broadcaster, nor intended to be 'findings' by NBDSA in regard to any civil/criminal liability.

Sd/-Justice A.K Sikri (Retd.) Chairperson

Place: New Delhi Date: 28.02.2024