



**TELEGRAM CHANNEL:** <https://t.me/patrioticIAS>

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# PATRIOTIC IAS

## DAILY CURRENT AFFAIRS

## THE HINDU NEWSPAPER

## 24 NOVEMBER 2025

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PATRIOTIC

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|                     |  |                         |
|---------------------|--|-------------------------|
| <b>PCS Special:</b> |  | <b>24 November 2025</b> |
|                     | <b>UPPSC</b>   |                         |
| 1.                  | <b>Restoration of India's only French-medium girls high school nearing completion</b><br>भारत के एकमात्र French-medium गर्ल्स हाई स्कूल का पुनर्स्थापन कार्य पूरा होने की ओर |                         |
| 2.                  | <b>Bandh called by Maoists passes off peacefully in A.P.</b><br>आंध्र प्रदेश में माओवादियों द्वारा बुलाया गया बंद शांति से संपन्न  |                         |
| 3.                  | <b>India emerges champion in T20 Blind Women's WC</b><br>भारत T20 ब्लाइंड महिला विश्व कप में चैंपियन बनकर उभरता है   |                         |
| 4.                  | <b>Lakshya clinches Australian Open</b><br>लक्ष्य ने ऑस्ट्रेलियन ओपन जीता  |                         |
| <b>UPPSC</b>        |  | <b>24/11/2025</b>       |

**BIG SHOT**



A handout photo taken in 2023 shows a researcher standing in front of the world's largest spiderweb inside the 'Sulphur Cave' at the Greece-Albania border, which scientists reported last week. The web measures over 100 sq. m and hosts some 1.1 lakh spiders. AFP



A handout photo taken in 2023 shows a researcher standing in front of the world's largest spiderweb inside the 'Sulphur Cave' at the Greece-Albania border, which scientists reported last week. The web measures over 100 sq. m and hosts some 1.1 lakh spiders.

## Breaking the cycle



**Call for change:** People shout slogans and hold placards at a demonstration against sexual violence, femicide, and all gender-based violence ahead of the **International Day for Elimination of Violence Against Women on November 25**, in Istanbul on Sunday. AP

People shout slogans and hold placards at a demonstration against sexual violence, femicide, and all gender-based violence ahead of the **International Day for Elimination of Violence Against Women on November 25**, in Istanbul on Sunday.



# Restoration of India's only French-medium girls high school nearing completion

PCS

**S. Prasad**  
PUDUCHERRY

After facing much delay, the restoration and redevelopment of the decades-old Pensionnat De Jeunes Filles, India's only French-medium girls high school run by the Puducherry government, is nearing completion.

## Much delayed

The foundation for the reconstruction of the school, located on the Beach Road, was laid in February 2023. The work was to have been completed in March this year. But the project ran into delays. The Puducherry Smart City Development Limited (PSCDL) terminated the work order issued to the contractor. It issued a fresh work order to NBCC (India) Ltd., a Central government undertaking, for completing the work by August 2024.

The PSCDL has now planned to get the project completed by December this year. The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) is the architectural consultant for the PSCDL, while



**Revamping legacy:** The heritage building has a colonnaded portico, a teak staircase and a wooden-louvered shutter.

Puducherry Technological University is the structural consultant. The project cost is ₹7.5 crore.

An official said, "When the restoration began, the aim was to retain the building's heritage value. The structure was restored on the basis of the methods, techniques, and materials used in its original construction. The damaged portions of the Madras tile roofing was removed and relaid in the same pattern with lime mortar. About 85% of the work has been completed."

The two-storey French architecture building was provisionally shut, along with two other government schools that func-

tioned out of heritage buildings in 2014, after the 144-year-old Mairie (Town Hall) on the Beach Promenade collapsed.

## Threat in 1980s

After the building was closed, the students were shifted to another school on Mission Street. In the 1980s, the building faced a different threat: a proposal came up to demolish it to make way for a government building. Protests broke out, and parents and teachers petitioned the government for preserving the building. The then Lt. Governor, T.P. Tiwari, passed an order in 1984 to save the building from demolition.

## Restoration of India's only French-medium girls high school nearing completion

भारत के एकमात्र French-medium गर्ल्स हाई स्कूल का पुनर्स्थापन कार्य पूरा होने की ओर

- Point 1  
Restoration of India's only **French-medium girls high school** nearing completion  
भारत के एकमात्र **French-medium गर्ल्स हाई स्कूल** का पुनर्स्थापन कार्य पूरा होने की ओर है
- Point 2  
After facing much delay, the restoration and redevelopment of the decades-old **Pensionnat**



**De Jeunes Filles**, India's only French-medium girls high school run by the **Puducherry government**, is nearing completion.

काफी देरी का सामना करने के बाद, दशकों पुराने Pensionnat De Jeunes Filles, जो भारत का एकमात्र French-medium गर्ल्स हाई स्कूल है और **पुदुचेरी सरकार** द्वारा चलाया जाता है, उसका पुनर्स्थापन और पुनर्विकास कार्य पूरा होने के करीब है

- The foundation for the reconstruction of the school, located on the **Beach Road**, was laid in February 2023.

**Beach Road** पर स्थित इस स्कूल के पुनर्निर्माण की नींव फरवरी 2023 में रखी गई थी

- The work was to have been completed in March this year. कार्य इस वर्ष मार्च में पूरा होना था
- But the project ran into delays. लेकिन परियोजना में देरी हो गई
- The Puducherry Smart City Development Limited (**PSCDL**) terminated the work order issued to the contractor. Puducherry Smart City Development Limited (**PSCDL**) ने ठेकेदार को जारी कार्य आदेश रद्द कर दिया
- It issued a fresh work order to **NBCC (India) Ltd.**, a Central government undertaking, for completing the work by August 2024. इसने **NBCC (India) Ltd.**, जो एक केंद्रीय सरकारी उपक्रम है, को अगस्त 2024 तक कार्य पूर्ण करने के लिए नया कार्य आदेश जारी किया
- The **PSCDL** has now planned to get the project completed by December this year. **PSCDL** ने अब इस वर्ष दिसंबर तक परियोजना को पूरा करने की योजना बनाई है
- The **Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH)** is the architectural consultant for the PSCDL, while **Puducherry Technological University** is the structural consultant. **Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH)** PSCDL के लिए वास्तु परामर्शदाता है, जबकि **Puducherry Technological University** संरचनात्मक परामर्शदाता है
- The project cost is ₹7.5 crore. परियोजना लागत ₹7.5 करोड़ है
- An official said, "When the restoration began, the aim was to retain the building's **heritage value**. एक अधिकारी ने कहा, "जब पुनर्स्थापन शुरू हुआ, तो उद्देश्य इमारत के **heritage value** को बनाए रखना था"
- The structure was restored on the basis of the methods, techniques, and materials used in its original construction. संरचना को उसके मूल निर्माण में उपयोग की गई विधियों, तकनीकों और सामग्रियों के आधार पर पुनर्स्थापित किया गया
- The damaged portions of the **Madras tile roofing** was removed and relaid in the same pattern with **lime mortar**. **Madras टाइल छत** के क्षतिग्रस्त हिस्सों को हटाकर **चूने के गारे** से उसी पैटर्न में फिर से लगाया गया
- About **85%** of the work has been completed." लगभग **85%** कार्य पूरा हो चुका है।"
- The two-storey **French architecture** building was provisionally shut, along with two other government schools that functioned out of heritage buildings in 2014, after the 144-year-old **Mairie (Town Hall)** on the Beach Promenade collapsed. दो-मंजिला **French architecture** वाली यह इमारत 2014 में अस्थायी रूप से बंद कर दी गई थी, जब Beach Promenade पर स्थित 144 वर्षीय **Mairie (Town Hall)** ढह गया था, और इसके साथ अन्य दो सरकारी स्कूल जो हेरिटेज इमारतों में चल रहे थे, उन्हें भी बंद किया गया
- **Threat in 1980s**  
**1980 के दशक में खतरा**





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- After the building was closed, the students were shifted to another school on **Mission Street**.  
इमारत बंद होने के बाद छात्रों को **Mission Street** स्थित एक अन्य स्कूल में स्थानांतरित कर दिया गया
- In the 1980s, the building faced a different threat: a proposal came up to demolish it to make way for a government building.  
1980 के दशक में, इमारत को एक अलग खतरे का सामना करना पड़ा: इसे गिराकर एक सरकारी इमारत बनाने का प्रस्ताव आया
- Protests broke out, and parents and teachers petitioned the government for preserving the building.  
विरोध प्रदर्शन हुए, और अभिभावकों और शिक्षकों ने इमारत को संरक्षित करने के लिए सरकार से याचिका दायर की
- The then **Lt. Governor, T.P. Tiwari**, passed an order in 1984 to save the building from demolition.  
तत्कालीन **उपराज्यपाल टी.पी. तिवारी** ने 1984 में इमारत को ध्वस्तीकरण से बचाने के लिए आदेश पारित किया

PATRIOTIC IAS



# Bandh called by Maoists passes off peacefully in A.P.

PCS

**The Hindu Bureau**  
CHINTOOR

The one-day bandh called by the outlawed Communist Party of India (Maoist) against the Maredumilli encounters ended peacefully in Alluri Sitarama Raju district of Andhra Pradesh on Sunday.

However, 'Operation Sambhav', in which top Maoist leader Madvi Hidma was killed in the Maredumilli encounter on November 19, remains active in the Maredumilli Agency. At least 13 Maoists have been killed in the operation during the two en-

counters in Maredumilli Agency on November 18 and 19.

Rampachodavaram Deputy Superintendent of Police G. Sai Prasanth told *The Hindu* that there was no response from the public to the bandh call given by the Maoists in the Rampachodavaram division on Sunday.

## Bus services affected

Bus services from Odisha, Chhattisgarh, and Telangana were halted or diverted on the tri-State border at Chintoor in Alluri Sitarama Raju district on Sunday night.

**Bandh called by Maoists passes off peacefully in A.P.**

**आंध्र प्रदेश में माओवादियों द्वारा बुलाया गया बंद शांति से संपन्न**

• Bandh called by **Maoists** passes off peacefully in **A.P.**

आंध्र प्रदेश में **माओवादियों** द्वारा बुलाया गया बंद शांति से संपन्न हुआ।

• The one-day bandh called by the **outlawed Communist Party of India (Maoist)** against the **Maredumilli encounters** ended peacefully in **Alluri Sitarama Raju** district of Andhra Pradesh on Sunday.

**प्रतिबंधित भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (माओवादी)** द्वारा **मरेडुमल्ली मुठभेड़ों** के विरोध में बुलाया गया एक-दिवसीय बंद रविवार को आंध्र प्रदेश के **अल्लूरी सीताराम राजू जिले** में शांतिपूर्वक समाप्त हुआ।

• However, '**Operation Sambhav**', in which top Maoist leader **Madvi Hidma** was killed in the **Maredumilli encounter** on **November 19**, remains active in the **Maredumilli Agency**.

हालांकि, '**ऑपरेशन संबव**', जिसमें शीर्ष माओवादी नेता **मद्वी हिडमा 19 नवंबर** को

मरेडुमल्ली मुठभेड़ में मारे गए थे, **मरेडुमल्ली एजेंसी** में सक्रिय बना हुआ है।

• At least **13 Maoists** have been killed in the operation during the two encounters in Maredumilli Agency on **November 18 and 19**.

**18 और 19 नवंबर** को मरेडुमल्ली एजेंसी में हुई दो मुठभेड़ों में कम से कम **13 माओवादी** मारे गए हैं।

• **Rampachodavaram Deputy Superintendent of Police G. Sai Prasanth** told *The Hindu* that there was no response from the public to the bandh call given by the Maoists in the **Rampachodavaram division** on Sunday.

रामपचोडावरम के **डिप्टी सुपरिंटेंडेंट ऑफ पुलिस जी. साई प्रसांत** ने *द हिंदू* को बताया कि रविवार को **रामपचोडावरम डिवीजन** में माओवादियों द्वारा दिए गए बंद के आह्वान पर जनता की ओर से कोई प्रतिक्रिया नहीं मिली।

## Bus services affected

### बस सेवाएँ प्रभावित

• Bus services from **Odisha, Chhattisgarh, and Telangana** were halted or diverted on the **tri-State border at Chintoor** in **Alluri Sitarama Raju district** on Sunday night.

**ओडिशा, छत्तीसगढ़ और तेलंगाना** से आने-जाने वाली बस सेवाओं को रविवार रात **अल्लूरी सीताराम राजू जिले** के **चिंटूर** स्थित **त्रि-राज्य सीमा** पर रोका गया या मार्ग बदला गया।



# India emerges champion in T20 Blind Women's WC

PCS



Skipper Deepika... tears of joy.

**Press Trust of India**  
COLOMBO

India won the inaugural T20 Blind Women's World Cup on Sunday, defeating Nepal by seven wickets in the final at the P. Sara Oval.

India restricted Nepal to 114 for five after opting to bowl and then coasted to 117 for three in just 12 overs to claim the title.

Such was India's dominance that Nepal managed just one boundary in its innings. Phula Saren top-scored for India with an

unbeaten 44.

India had defeated Australia while Nepal put it across Pakistan in the semifinals on Saturday. Co-host Sri Lanka could win only one game – against USA – out of the five preliminary round games.

Pakistan's Mehreen Ali, a B3 or partially-sighted player, was the star batter in the six-team tournament, scoring over 600 runs, including a 78-ball 230 against Sri Lanka. She also cracked 133 against Australia.

## India emerges champion in T20 Blind Women's WC भारत T20 ब्लाइंड महिला विश्व कप में चैंपियन बनकर उभरता है

- India won the inaugural **T20 Blind Women's World Cup** on Sunday, defeating Nepal by seven wickets in the final at the P. Sara Oval.  
भारत ने रविवार को उद्घाटन T20 ब्लाइंड महिला विश्व कप जीत लिया, पी. सारा ओवल में हुए फाइनल में नेपाल को सात विकेट से हराकर।
- India restricted Nepal to 114 for five after opting to bowl and then coasted to 117 for three in just 12 overs to claim the title.  
भारत ने गेंदबाजी करने का विकल्प चुनने के बाद नेपाल को 114 पर पाँच विकेट तक सीमित कर दिया और फिर केवल 12 ओवर में 117 पर तीन विकेट बनाकर खिताब जीता।
- Such was India's dominance that Nepal managed just one boundary in its innings. Phula Saren top-scored for India with an unbeaten 44.  
भारत का दबदबा इतना था कि नेपाल अपनी पारी में केवल एक चौका ही लगा सका। फूला सारेन ने भारत के लिए सर्वाधिक 44 रन नाबाद बनाए।
- India had defeated Australia while Nepal put it across Pakistan in the semifinals on Saturday. Co-host Sri Lanka could win only one game — against USA — out of the preliminary round games.  
भारत ने ऑस्ट्रेलिया को हराया था जबकि नेपाल ने शनिवार को सेमीफाइनल में पाकिस्तान को हराया। सह-मेजबान श्रीलंका पाँच प्रारंभिक मैचों में से केवल एक—USA के खिलाफ—जीत सका।
- Pakistan's **Mehreen Ali**, a **B3 or partially-sighted player**, was the star batter in the six-team tournament, scoring over **600 runs**, including a **78-ball 230** against Sri Lanka. She also cracked **133** against Australia.  
पाकिस्तान की **मेहरीन अली**, जो **B3 या आंशिक दृष्टिबाधित खिलाड़ी** हैं, छह टीमों के इस टूर्नामेंट में स्टार बल्लेबाज़ रहीं, उन्होंने **600 से अधिक रन** बनाए, जिसमें श्रीलंका के खिलाफ **78 गेंदों में 230** रन शामिल थे। उन्होंने ऑस्ट्रेलिया के खिलाफ भी **133** रन बनाए।





# Lakshya clinches Australian Open

PCS

The 24-year-old, enduring a tough phase after finishing fourth at the Paris Olympics, caps a resurgent week with a win over Japan's Tanaka

## BADMINTON

**Press Trust of India**  
SYDNEY

**A**fluent Lakshya Sen ended a difficult stretch on the international circuit by clinching his first title of the 2025 season, defeating Japan's Yushi Tanaka in the Australian Open men's singles final, here Sunday.

The 24-year-old, enduring a tough phase after finishing fourth at the Paris Olympics, capped a resurgent week with a commanding 21-15, 21-11 win over 26-year-old Tanaka.

After a 38-minute final of the \$475,000 Super 500

event, the Indian celebrated the moment by putting his fingers in his ears.

"I have seen a lot of ups and downs this year, with a few injuries at the start of the season. But I kept my hard work going throughout the season and I am very happy to end the season on a good note," said Lakshya. "I'm very excited, looking forward to the next season now and I am really happy with the way I played today and this week."

Lakshya had last won a Super 300 title at the Syed Modi International in Lucknow in 2024. However, a top-tier crown had eluded him since his triumph at the Canada Open the same

year, though he came close at the Hong Kong Super 500 in September when he finished runner-up.

Facing World No. 26 Tanaka, winner of two Super 300 titles this year at the Orleans Masters and the US Open, Lakshya displayed control, sharp placement and clean execution, wrapping up the contest without dropping a game.

Lakshya said making a good beginning to the match was important.

With this victory, the reigning Commonwealth Games champion became the second Indian to win a BWF World Tour title this season, following Ayush Shetty's maiden Super 300 triumph at the US Open.

## Lakshya clinches Australian Open लक्ष्य ने ऑस्ट्रेलियन ओपन जीता

• The 24-year-old, enduring a tough phase after finishing fourth at the Paris Olympics, caps a resurgent week with a win over Japan's Tanaka

24 वर्षीय, जो पेरिस ओलंपिक में चौथे स्थान पर रहने के बाद एक कठिन दौर से गुजर रहे थे, जापान के तनाका पर जीत के साथ एक मजबूती से वापसी वाले सप्ताह का अंत करते हैं।

• A fluent **Lakshya Sen** ended a difficult stretch on the international circuit by clinching his first title of the 2025 season, defeating Japan's **Yushi Tanaka** in the Australian Open men's singles final, here Sunday.

प्रवाहपूर्ण **लक्ष्य सेन** ने अंतरराष्ट्रीय सर्किट पर कठिन दौर को समाप्त करते हुए **2025 सीज़न** का अपना पहला खिताब जीता, जापान के **यूशी तनाका** को ऑस्ट्रेलियन ओपन पुरुष एकल फ़ाइनल में

रविवार को हराया।

• The 24-year-old, enduring a tough phase after finishing fourth at the **Paris Olympics**, capped a resurgent week with a commanding **21-15, 21-11** win over 26-year-old Tanaka.

24 वर्षीय खिलाड़ी ने **पेरिस ओलंपिक** में चौथे स्थान पर रहने के बाद कठिन समय का सामना किया था, लेकिन 26 वर्षीय तनाका पर **21-15, 21-11** की प्रबल जीत के साथ एक बेहतर सप्ताह का अंत किया।

• After a 38-minute finale of the **\$475,000 Super 500 event**, the Indian celebrated the moment by putting his fingers in his ears.

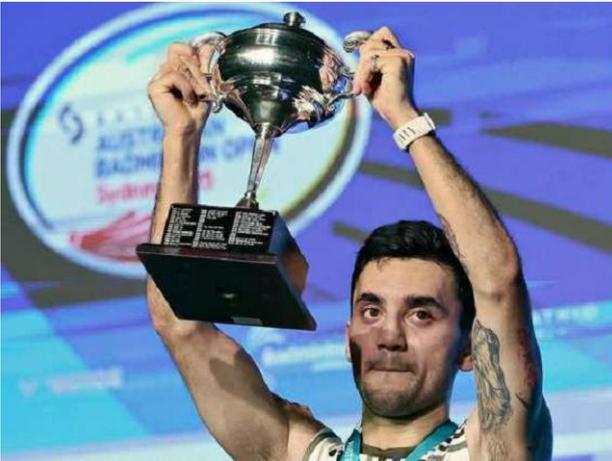
**\$475,000 सुपर 500 इवेंट** के 38 मिनट के फ़ाइनल के बाद, भारतीय खिलाड़ी ने अपने कानों में उंगलियाँ डालकर इस क्षण का

जश्र मनाया।

- "I have seen a lot of ups and downs this year, with a few injuries at the start of the season. But I kept my hard work going throughout the season and I am very happy to end the season on a good note," said **Lakshya**. "I'm very excited, looking forward to the next season now and I am really happy with the way I played today and this week."

"मैंने इस वर्ष कई उतार-चढ़ाव देखे हैं, सीज़न की शुरुआत में कुछ चोटों के बावजूद। लेकिन मैंने पूरे सीज़न कड़ी मेहनत जारी रखी और मैं सीज़न को अच्छे नोट पर खत्म करके बहुत खुश हूँ," **लक्ष्य** ने कहा। "मैं बहुत उत्साहित हूँ, अगले सीज़न का इंतजार है और आज तथा इस सप्ताह मैंने जैसा खेला उससे मैं वास्तव में खुश हूँ।"

- Lakshya had last won a **Super 300 title** at the Syed Modi International in Lucknow in **2024**. However, a top-tier crown had eluded him since his triumph at the **Canada Open** the same year, though he came close at the **Hong Kong Super 500** in September when he finished





runner-up.

लक्ष्य ने आखिरी बार **सुपर 300 खिताब 2024** में लखनऊ में सैयद मोदी इंटरनेशनल में जीता था। हालांकि, उसी वर्ष **कनाडा ओपन** में जीत के बाद से उन्हें शीर्ष श्रेणी का खिताब नहीं मिला था, जबकि वह सितंबर में **हांगकांग सुपर 500** में उपविजेता रहे थे।

- Facing **World No. 26 Tanaka**, winner of two **Super 300 titles** this year at the Orleans Masters and the US Open, Lakshya displayed control, sharp placement and clean execution, wrapping up the contest without dropping a game.  
इस वर्ष ऑरलियन्स मास्टर्स और यूएस ओपन में दो **सुपर 300 खिताब** जीतने वाले **विश्व नंबर 26 तनाका** का सामना करते हुए, लक्ष्य ने नियंत्रण, सटीक प्लेसमेंट और साफ-सुथरी रणनीति दिखाई, और बिना कोई गेम गंवाए मुकाबला जीत लिया।
- Lakshya said making a good beginning to the match was important.  
लक्ष्य ने कहा कि मैच की अच्छी शुरुआत करना महत्वपूर्ण था।
- With this victory, the reigning **Commonwealth Games champion** became the second Indian to win a **BWF World Tour title** this season, following **Ayush Shetty's** maiden Super 300 triumph at the US Open.  
इस जीत के साथ, मौजूदा **कॉमनवेल्थ गेम्स चैंपियन** इस सीज़न में **BWF वर्ल्ड टूर खिताब** जीतने वाले दूसरे भारतीय बने, **आयुष शेट्टी** की यूएस ओपन में पहली सुपर 300 जीत के बाद।

## GS Paper 1: History, Society and Geography

**TOPICS COVERED**

**24 November 2025**

### History

**Vinayagar idol from Bengal adorns a temple in Tamil Nadu**  
बंगाल से आया विनयगर विग्रह तमिलनाडु के एक मंदिर की शोभा बढ़ाता है

### Geography

**Bosnia's autonomous Serb region votes in snap Presidential election**  
बोस्निया का स्वायत्त सर्ब क्षेत्र त्वरित राष्ट्रपति चुनाव में मतदान करता है

**History**

**24/11/2025**

# Vinayagar idol from Bengal adorns a temple in Tamil Nadu

**GS I: History**

**B. Kolappan**

CHENNAI

On the left side of the entrance to the sanctum sanctorum of the Nageswaran Temple in Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu, stands an unusual statue of Pillaiyar (Lord Vinayagar), adorned with a serpent worn as a sacred thread. Worshipped as Gangaikonda Vinayagar, the idol was brought to the Nageswaran Temple – known as Kudanathi Keezhkottam – by Chola King Rajendra I after his conquest of Bengal.

“The deity, depicted in a standing posture, is a creation of the Pala dynasty, which ruled in Bihar and Bengal from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Century. It is one of the many war trophies brought to Tamil Nadu by Rajendra Chola,” Kudavayil Balasubramanian writes in his book *Rajendra Cholan-Victories, Capital, Temples*. Stone inscriptions and literary works record the artefacts and sculptures brought by Chola kings from various countries after their conquests.

The Vinayagar at the Nageswaran Temple, facing north, is shown with four hands: one holding a *modakam* (*kolukattai*, a rice-based delicacy), one a broken tusk, one a strand of *rudraksha* beads, and one a *parasu* (axe). He is depicted eating the *kolukattai* with his trunk, while a mouse sits at his feet.

Mr. Balasubramanian says the beauty of the idol impressed the sculptors of the Chola Kingdom, who were renowned for their



The copied idol of Bengal's Pala dynasty-style Vinayagar kept on display at the Thanjavur Art Gallery. R. VENGADESH

expertise in bronze casting. “A sculptor cast a copy of the Pala dynasty Vinayagar in bronze. It was found buried at Muthupet in Tiruvavur district, and is on display at the Thanjavur Art Gallery,” he writes.

Historians R. Kalaikovan and M. Nalini, who have studied the origins of Vinayagar worship in Tamil Nadu, say the earliest literary references to the deity are found in the *Thevaram* hymns of Thirugnanasambandar and Thirunavukkarasar.

“Even the Poolankurichi inscriptions, believed to belong to the period of *Silapathikaram* and referring to temples and worship, make no mention of Vinayagar. The Saivite minstrels, who praise Lord Muruga in forty-seven places, refer to the elephant-headed God only in a few,” they write.

They point out that the Pallavas, pioneers in the creation of rock-cut temples, did not feature Vinayagar in those structures.

**Vinayagar idol from Bengal adorns a temple in Tamil Nadu**

**बंगाल से आया विनयगर विग्रह तमिलनाडु के एक मंदिर की शोभा बढ़ाता है**

• Vinayagar idol from Bengal adorns a temple in Tamil Nadu

बंगाल से आया विनयगर विग्रह तमिलनाडु के एक मंदिर की शोभा बढ़ाता है

• On the left side of the entrance to the sanctum sanctorum of the Nageswaran Temple in Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu, stands an unusual statue of Pillaiyar (Lord Vinayagar), adorned with a serpent worn as a sacred thread.

कुंभकोणम, तमिलनाडु के नागेश्वरन मंदिर के गर्भगृह के प्रवेश द्वार के बाईं ओर पिल्लैयर (भगवान विनयगर) की एक असामान्य मूर्ति स्थित है, जो पवित्र धागे के रूप में धारण किए गए एक सर्प से अलंकृत है

• Worshipped as Gangaikonda Vinayagar, the idol was brought to the Nageswaran Temple — known as Kudanathi Keezhkottam — by Chola King Rajendra I after his conquest of Bengal.

गंगैकोडा विनयगर के रूप में पूजित यह विग्रह चोल राजा राजेन्द्र प्रथम द्वारा बंगाल विजयी होने के बाद नागेश्वरन मंदिर — जिसे कुदानाथी कीझकोट्टम कहा जाता है — में लाया गया था

• “The deity, depicted in a standing posture, is a creation of the Pala dynasty, which ruled in Bihar and Bengal from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Century.

“यह देवता, जिसे खड़े हुए रूप में प्रदर्शित किया गया है, पाल वंश की रचना है, जिसने 8<sup>वीं</sup> से 12<sup>वीं</sup> सदी तक बिहार और बंगाल पर शासन किया”

• It is one of the many war trophies brought to Tamil Nadu by Rajendra Chola,” Kudavayil Balasubramanian writes in his book *Rajendra Cholan-Victories, Capital, Temples*.

यह राजेन्द्र चोल द्वारा तमिलनाडु लाए गए कई युद्ध-द्रोणियों में से एक है,” कुदावयिल बालासुब्रमणियन अपनी पुस्तक *राजेन्द्र चोलन-विजय, राजधानी, मंदिर* में लिखते हैं

• Stone inscriptions and literary works record the artefacts and sculptures brought by Chola kings from various countries after their conquests.

शिलालेख और साहित्यिक कृतियाँ उन कलाकृतियों और मूर्तियों का उल्लेख करती हैं जिन्हें चोल राजाओं ने अपने विजयों के बाद विभिन्न देशों से लाया

• The Vinayagar at the Nageswaran Temple, facing north, is shown with four hands: one holding a modakam (*kolukattai*, a rice-based delicacy), one a

broken tusk, one a strand of *rudraksha* beads, and one a *parasu* (axe).

नागेश्वरन मंदिर में विनयगर की मूर्ति, जो उत्तर की ओर मुख किए है, चार हाथों के साथ प्रदर्शित है: एक में



मोदक (कोलुकटई, चावल से बना व्यंजन), एक में टूटी हुई दंत, एक में **रुद्राक्ष की माला**, और एक में **परसु (कुल्हाड़ी)**

- He is depicted eating the kolukattai with his trunk, while a **mouse** sits at his feet. उन्हें अपनी सूँड़ से कोलुकटई खाते हुए दर्शाया गया है, जबकि उनके चरणों में एक **चूहा** बैठा है
- Mr. Balasubramanian says the beauty of the idol impressed the sculptors of the **Chola Kingdom**, who were renowned for their **expertise in bronze casting**. श्री बालासुब्रमणियन कहते हैं कि विग्रह की सुंदरता ने **चोल साम्राज्य** के मूर्तिकारों को प्रभावित किया, जो **कांस्य ढलाई** में अपनी दक्षता के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे
- “A sculptor cast a copy of the Pala dynasty Vinayagar in bronze. It was found buried at **Muthupet** in Tiruvarur district, and is on display at the **Thanjavur Art Gallery**,” he writes. “एक मूर्तिकार ने पाल वंश के विनयगर की कांस्य में एक प्रतिकृति बनाई। यह तिरुवरूर जिले के **मुथुपेट** में दबा हुआ पाया गया और अब **तंजावुर कला दीर्घा** में प्रदर्शित है,” वे लिखते हैं
- Historians **R. Kalaikovan** and **M. Nalini**, who have studied the origins of Vinayagar worship in Tamil Nadu, say the earliest literary references to the deity are found in the **Thevaram hymns** of Thirugnanasambandar and Thirunavukkarasar. इतिहासकार **आर. कलैकौवन** और **एम. नलिनी**, जिन्होंने तमिलनाडु में विनयगर उपासना की उत्पत्ति का अध्ययन किया है, कहते हैं कि इस देवता का सबसे पहला साहित्यिक उल्लेख तिरुग्नानसंबंदर और तिरुनावुक्करसर के **देवारम् भजनों** में मिलता है
- “Even the **Poolankurichi inscriptions**, believed to belong to the period of **Silapathikaram** and referring to temples and worship, make no mention of Vinayagar. “यहाँ तक कि **पूलनकुरिची अभिलेख**, जो **शिल्पादिकारम** काल के माने जाते हैं और मंदिरों व उपासना का उल्लेख करते हैं, उनमें भी विनयगर का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है”
- The **Saivite minstrels, who praise Lord Muruga** in forty-seven places, refer to the elephant-headed God only in a few,” they write. सायव कवि-गायक, जो **भगवान मुरुगन** की सैंतालीस स्थानों पर स्तुति करते हैं, हाथी-मुख वाले देव का केवल कुछ स्थानों पर ही उल्लेख करते हैं,” वे लिखते हैं
- They point out that the **Pallavas, pioneers in the creation of rock-cut temples**, did not feature Vinayagar in those structures. वे बताते हैं कि **पल्लव**, जो रॉक-कट मंदिरों के निर्माण में अग्रणी थे, उन्होंने उन संरचनाओं में विनयगर को शामिल नहीं किया था



## Taking the divine route



**GS I: History**

Former Delhi CM and AAP chief Arvind Kejriwal with Punjab CM Bhagwant Mann during the Akhand Path Sahib commencement at Anandpur Sahib's Baba Budha Dal Chhauni, marking the start of Statewide events for Guru Teg Bahadur's 350th martyrdom anniversary, on Sunday. ANI

Former Delhi CM and AAP chief Arvind Kejriwal with Punjab CM Bhagwant Mann during the Akhand Path Sahib commencement at Anandpur Sahib's Baba Budha Dal Chhauni, marking the start of Statewide events for **Guru Teg Bahadur's 350th martyrdom anniversary**, on Sunday.

Guru Nanak Dev Ji 1469–1539  
Guru Angad Dev Ji 1539–1552  
Guru Amar Das Ji 1552–1574  
Guru Ram Das Ji 1574–1581  
**Guru Arjan Dev Ji 1581–1606**  
Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji 1606–1644  
Guru Har Rai Ji 1644–1661  
Guru Har Krishan Ji 1661–1664  
**Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji 1664–1675**  
Guru Gobind Singh Ji 1675–1708



Founded Anandpur Sahib (then Chakk Nanaki) in 1665  
Opposed forced conversions under the Mughal Empire  
Provided support to Kashmiri Pandits who sought protection against persecution

### Conflict with Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb's policies aimed at religious conformity  
Kashmiri Brahmins approached Guru Tegh Bahadur for help in 1675  
Guru offered himself as a sacrifice to defend religious freedom  
Arrested and taken to Delhi

### Martyrdom (Shaheedi)

Executed on 11 November 1675 at Chandni Chowk, Delhi  
Beheaded for refusing to convert to Islam  
Remembered as "Hind di Chadar" for protecting Hindu faith and human rights

## Geography

24/11/2025

### BANJA LUKA

## Bosnia's autonomous Serb region votes in snap Presidential election



REUTERS

### GS I: Geography: Mapping

Voters in **Bosnia's Serb Republic** voted in the snap election on Sunday, after the former President Milorad Dodik was stripped of office. The vote will determine whether the region moves away from Mr. Dodik's nationalist agenda or continues with separatist policies that jeopardise the internal cohesion of the **Balkan country**. REUTERS

## Bosnia's autonomous Serb region votes in snap Presidential election

**बोस्निया का स्वायत्त सर्ब क्षेत्र त्वरित राष्ट्रपति चुनाव में मतदान करता है**

• Voters in **Bosnia's Serb Republic** voted in the **snap election** on Sunday, after the former President **Milorad Dodik** was stripped of office.

रविवार को **बोस्निया के सर्ब गणराज्य** में मतदाताओं ने **त्वरित चुनाव** में मतदान किया, जब पूर्व राष्ट्रपति **मिलोरेड डोडिक** को पद से हटा दिया गया था।

• The vote will determine whether the region moves away from Mr. Dodik's **nationalist agenda** or continues with **separatist policies** that jeopardise the **internal cohesion** of the Balkan country.

यह मतदान तय करेगा कि क्षेत्र श्री डोडिक की **राष्ट्रवादी नीति** से दूर जाता है या **अलगाववादी नीतियों** को जारी रखता है, जो बाल्कन देश की **आंतरिक एकता** को खतरे में डालती हैं।



## GS Paper II: Polity, Governance, And International Relations

### TOPICS COVERED

21 November 2025

| <b>Polity</b>                  |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1.                             | <b>No plan to introduce Bill on Chandigarh, says Union govt.</b><br>चंडीगढ़ पर बिल पेश करने की कोई योजना नहीं, केंद्र सरकार ने कहा।  |
| 2.                             | <b>SC's Presidential Reference opinion does not overrule a judgment: ex-CJI</b><br>एससी का राष्ट्रपति संदर्भ मत किसी निर्णय को निरस्त नहीं करता: पूर्व सीजेआई                    |
| 3.                             | <b>Mind your 'administrative' language, says Supreme Court report</b><br>'प्रशासनिक' भाषा का ध्यान रखें, सुप्रीम कोर्ट की रिपोर्ट का सुझाव                                       |
| 4.                             | <b>The letter has won but the spirit has not lost</b><br>शब्द जीत गए हैं लेकिन भावना नहीं हारी है  |
| 5.                             | <b>Did the SIR process decide the Bihar result? Data says 'no'</b><br>क्या SIR प्रक्रिया ने बिहार का परिणाम तय किया? डेटा कहता है 'नहीं'   |
| 6.                             | <b>How can State PSCs be reformed?</b><br>राज्य लोक सेवा आयोगों (PSC) में सुधार कैसे किया जा सकता है?  |
| <b>Governance</b>              |  |
| 7.                             | <b>Safe processing matters more than zesty flavours</b><br>सुरक्षित प्रसंस्करण चटपटे स्वादों से अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है   |
| <b>International Relations</b> |  |
| 8.                             | <b>UNSC reforms no longer an option but a necessity: Modi at IBSA meet</b><br>यूएनएससी सुधार अब विकल्प नहीं बल्कि आवश्यकता: आईबीएसए बैठक में मोदी                                |
| 9.                             | <b>PM calls for global compact on AI to prevent misuse</b><br>प्रधानमंत्री ने एआई के दुरुपयोग को रोकने के लिए वैश्विक समझौते की मांग की  |
| 10.                            | <b>PM discusses trade, critical minerals with Ramaphosa</b><br>प्रधानमंत्री ने रामाफोसा के साथ व्यापार, महत्वपूर्ण खनिजों पर चर्चा की  |
| 11.                            | <b>Difficult choices</b><br>कठिन विकल्प  |
| 12.                            | <b>The future of health lies in harmony</b><br>स्वास्थ्य का भविष्य समरसता में निहित है   |
| 13.                            | <b>Israel says it killed senior Hezbollah official in targeted Beirut strike</b><br>इज़राइल का कहना है कि उसने लक्षित बेरूत हमले में हिज़बुल्लाह के वरिष्ठ अधिकारी को मार गिराया |



**Polity**

**24/11/2025**

# No plan to introduce Bill on Chandigarh, says Union govt.

Govt. had listed a Bill that would align Chandigarh with other Union Territories in being administered by the Ministry, but following outrage in Punjab, the Home Ministry now says proposal to 'simplify' law-making process is under 'consideration'

**GS II: Polity**  
**Vijaita Singh**

NEW DELHI

**T**he Union Home Ministry said on Sunday that the Centre has no intention of introducing a Constitution Amendment Bill to bring Chandigarh under Article 240 of the Constitution in the upcoming session of Parliament.

The clarification came following outrage in Punjab with parties, including the Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal and Aam Aadmi Party, opposing the move which would pave the way for the appointment of an independent administrator in Chandigarh, bringing the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana under the direct control of the Ministry, similar to other Union Territories.

The claim over Chandigarh has been a sensitive political issue ever since

## The Chandigarh question

The Centre hurried to issue a clarification on a Bill that aims to align Chandigarh with other Union Territories without legislatures

■ On November 21, the Lok Sabha Bulletin listed the Constitution (131st Amendment) Bill, 2025 among **10 Bills** for the Winter Session

■ Chandigarh has been a **sensitive issue** since the Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966. Currently, the Governor of Punjab serves as its Administrator



### With protests in Punjab, the Ministry issued a clarification

■ Proposal is still under consideration, **no final decision** yet

■ It does **not seek** to alter Chandigarh's governance or administrative structure

■ No Bill will be **introduced** in the upcoming Winter Session

the Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966.

The November 21 Lok Sabha Bulletin had listed the Constitution (131st Amendment) Bill 2025 among 10 Bills proposed to be passed during the Winter Session of Parliament from December 1.

The description said the Bill is proposed for discussion and passage to align

Chandigarh with other Union Territories without legislatures – such as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu, and Puducherry – when its Legislative Assembly is dissolved or suspended.

The Ministry said that the “proposal to simplify the Central Government’s

law-making process for the Union Territory of Chandigarh is still under consideration...”

### No decision on proposal

“No final decision has been made on this proposal. The proposal in no way seeks to alter Chandigarh’s governance or administrative structure, nor does it aim to change the traditional arrangements between Chandigarh and the States of Punjab or Haryana,” it said.

“A suitable decision will be made only after adequate consultations with all stakeholders, keeping in mind the interests of Chandigarh. There is no need for concern regarding this matter. The Central Government has no intention of introducing any Bill to this effect in the upcoming Winter Session of Parliament,” the Ministry further stated.

Currently, the Governor of Punjab is concurrently the Administrator of Chandigarh, and if the Bill is passed, the Union Territory will be governed by a Lieutenant-Governor.

Congress leader and Rajya Sabha member Jairam Ramesh said that the Parliament Bulletin had listed for “the introduction of a Constitution Amendment Bill to enable the appointment of a full-time L-G for Chandigarh”.

“This was immediately and aggressively opposed by the INC and other parties in Punjab whose Governor is also the Administrator of Chandigarh. The Union Home Ministry now says that it has no intention to introduce the Bill in the Winter Session. Yet another example of the Modi Govt’s FAST approach to governance – First Announce, Second Think,” Mr. Ramesh said.

## No plan to introduce Bill on Chandigarh, says Union govt.

**चंडीगढ़ पर बिल पेश करने की कोई योजना नहीं, केंद्र सरकार ने कहा।**

- Govt. had listed a Bill that would align Chandigarh with other Union Territories in being administered by the Ministry, but following outrage in Punjab, the Home Ministry now says proposal to 'simplify' law-making process is under 'consideration' पंजाब में नाराज़गी के बाद, मंत्रालय द्वारा प्रशासित अन्य केंद्र शासित प्रदेशों के अनुरूप चंडीगढ़ को लाने वाले बिल को सरकार ने सूचीबद्ध किया था, लेकिन अब गृह मंत्रालय कहता है कि कानून बनाने की प्रक्रिया को 'सरल' करने का प्रस्ताव 'विचाराधीन' है।\*\*



- The Union Home Ministry said on Sunday that the Centre has no intention of introducing a **Constitution Amendment Bill to bring Chandigarh under Article 240** of the Constitution in the upcoming session of Parliament.  
केंद्र को आने वाले संसद सत्र में चंडीगढ़ को संविधान के अनुच्छेद 240 के तहत लाने के लिए संविधान संशोधन विधेयक पेश करने का कोई इरादा नहीं है, गृह मंत्रालय ने रविवार को कहा।
- The clarification came following outrage in Punjab with parties, including the Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal and Aam Aadmi Party, opposing the move which **would pave the way for the appointment of an independent administrator in Chandigarh, bringing the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana under the direct control of the Ministry, similar to other Union Territories.**  
कांग्रेस, शिरोमणि अकाली दल और आम आदमी पार्टी सहित पंजाब में विरोध के बाद यह स्पष्टीकरण आया, जो इस कदम के खिलाफ थे, जिससे चंडीगढ़ में स्वतंत्र प्रशासक की नियुक्ति का रास्ता खुलता और पंजाब-हरियाणा की संयुक्त राजधानी मंत्रालय के सीधे नियंत्रण में आ जाती, जैसा अन्य केंद्र शासित प्रदेशों में है।
- The claim over Chandigarh has been a sensitive political issue ever since the **Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966.**  
चंडीगढ़ पर दावा 1966 के पंजाब पुनर्गठन अधिनियम के बाद से एक संवेदनशील राजनीतिक मुद्दा रहा है।
- The November 21 Lok Sabha Bulletin had listed the Constitution (131 Amendment) Bill 2025 among 10 Bills proposed to be passed during the Winter Session of Parliament from December 1.  
21 नवंबर लोकसभा बुलेटिन ने संविधान (131 संशोधन) विधेयक 2025 को 1 दिसंबर से शुरू होने वाले शीतकालीन सत्र में पारित होने वाले 10 विधेयकों में शामिल किया था।  
The description said the Bill is proposed for discussion and passage to align Chandigarh with other Union Territories without legislatures — such as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu, and Puducherry — when its Legislative Assembly is dissolved or suspended.  
विवरण में कहा गया कि यह विधेयक चर्चा और पारित होने के लिए प्रस्तावित है, जिससे चंडीगढ़ को अन्य बिना विधानसभा वाले केंद्र शासित प्रदेशों — अंडमान-निकोबार, लक्षद्वीप, दादरा-नगर हवेली और दमन-दीव, और पुदुच्चेरी — के अनुरूप लाया जा सके, जब उसकी विधानसभा भंग या निलंबित हो।
- The Ministry said that the “proposal to simplify the Central Government’s law-making process for the Union Territory of Chandigarh is still under consideration...”  
मंत्रालय ने कहा कि “चंडीगढ़ केंद्र शासित प्रदेश के लिए केंद्र सरकार की कानून बनाने की प्रक्रिया को सरल बनाने का प्रस्ताव अभी विचाराधीन है...”
- No decision on proposal  
प्रस्ताव पर कोई निर्णय नहीं
- “No final decision has been made on this proposal. The proposal in no way seeks to alter Chandigarh’s governance or administrative structure, nor does it aim to change the **traditional arrangements between Chandigarh and the States of Punjab or Haryana,**” it said.  
“इस प्रस्ताव पर कोई अंतिम निर्णय नहीं लिया गया है। प्रस्ताव किसी भी तरह चंडीगढ़ के शासन या प्रशासनिक संरचना को बदलने की कोशिश नहीं करता, न ही इसका उद्देश्य चंडीगढ़ और पंजाब या हरियाणा के राज्यों के बीच पारंपरिक व्यवस्थाओं को बदलना है,” उसने कहा।
- “A suitable decision will be made only after adequate consultations with all stakeholders, keeping in mind the interests of Chandigarh. There is no need for concern regarding this matter. The Central Government has no intention of introducing any Bill to this effect in the upcoming Winter Session of Parliament,” the Ministry further stated.  
“सभी हितधारकों से पर्याप्त परामर्श के बाद ही चंडीगढ़ के हितों को ध्यान में रखते हुए एक उपयुक्त निर्णय लिया जाएगा। इस मामले में चिंता की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। केंद्र सरकार का आने वाले शीतकालीन सत्र में इस प्रभाव वाला कोई विधेयक पेश करने का कोई इरादा नहीं है,” मंत्रालय ने आगे कहा।
- Currently, the Governor of Punjab is concurrently the Administrator of Chandigarh, and if the Bill is passed, the Union Territory will be governed by a Lieutenant-Governor.



TELEGRAM CHANNEL: <https://t.me/patrioticIAS>

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वर्तमान में पंजाब के राज्यपाल चंडीगढ़ के प्रशासक भी हैं, और यदि बिल पारित होता है, तो केंद्र शासित प्रदेश का शासन एक उपराज्यपाल द्वारा किया जाएगा।

- Congress leader and Rajya Sabha member Jairam Ramesh said that the Parliament Bulletin had listed for “the introduction of a Constitution Amendment Bill to enable the appointment of a full-time L-G for Chandigarh”.

कांग्रेस नेता और राज्यसभा सदस्य जयराम रमेश ने कहा कि संसद बुलेटिन ने “चंडीगढ़ के लिए पूर्णकालिक उपराज्यपाल की नियुक्ति को सक्षम करने हेतु संविधान संशोधन विधेयक की प्रस्तुति” को सूचीबद्ध किया था।

- “This was immediately and aggressively opposed by the INC and other parties in Punjab whose Governor is also the Administrator of Chandigarh. The Union Home Ministry now says that it has no intention to introduce the Bill in the Winter Session. Yet another example of the Modi Govt’s **FAST approach** to governance – **First Announce, Second Think**,” Mr. Ramesh said.

“इसका तुरंत और आक्रामक रूप से विरोध किया गया कांग्रेस और पंजाब की अन्य पार्टियों द्वारा जिनके राज्यपाल ही चंडीगढ़ के प्रशासक भी हैं। अब गृह मंत्रालय कहता है कि उसका शीतकालीन सत्र में बिल पेश करने का कोई इरादा नहीं है। मोदी सरकार के FAST approach का एक और उदाहरण – पहले घोषणा, बाद में सोच,” रमेश ने कहा।

PATRIOTIC



# SC's Presidential Reference opinion does not overrule a judgment: ex-CJI

GS II: Polity

Krishnadas Rajagopal  
NEW DELHI

Chief Justice of India B.R. Gavai, who retired from the post on Sunday, said the Presidential Reference opinion against tying Governors to timelines was not intended to shift the burden back on the States to run pillar-to-post to get their recalcitrant Governors to pass pending Bills on time.

"If the Constitution does not provide for a timeline, we [judiciary] cannot read something that is not there. It is for the Parliament to do that," he said.

He explained that an opinion given in a Presidential Reference did not overrule a judgment but only clarified the law.

"In a Presidential Reference, we cannot overrule a judgment, but we can lay down the law, and while laying down the law, we can observe that the law laid down in a particular manner [in a judgment] is not correct," he said.

## T.N. Governor case

The Presidential Reference was triggered by a judgment in the Tamil Nadu Governor case on April 8, which broke the silence in the Constitution and held that Bills must be cleared by the Governors and President in three months or they would be "deemed" to have got assent.

On November 20, a five-

judge Bench led by Chief Justice Gavai, in its advisory opinion, contradicted the April 8 judgment and concluded that Governors and the President cannot be forced to follow a timeline. They need to act only within a "reasonable period".

The Bench, however, did not specify the term "reasonable period" in its opinion.

## Limited judicial review

"We have only relaxed the timeline. At the same time, we have balanced it by saying the Governor cannot sit on a Bill endlessly. We have also provided for a limited judicial review based on the facts and circumstances of each case. You cannot have a straitjacket formula that in every Bill, if assent is not granted, it would be deemed to have been passed. In a routine Bill, one month is sufficient for a Governor to clear it. However, in Bills concerning internal or external emergency, a Governor may not be able to take a call in a month. He may take three or four months," he said.

To a question whether Justice B.V. Nagarathna's dissent to a Supreme Court proposal to elevate Justice Vipul Manubhai Pancholi had any merit, the former Chief Justice said that "if it had, the four other judges on the collegium would not have agreed to the proposal".

## SC's Presidential Reference opinion does not overrule a judgment: ex-CJI

एससी का राष्ट्रपति संदर्भ मत किसी निर्णय को निरस्त नहीं करता: पूर्व सीजेआई

• Chief Justice of India **B.R. Gavai**, who retired from the post on Sunday, said the **Presidential Reference opinion** against tying **Governors to timelines** was not intended to shift the burden back on the States to run pillar-to-post to get their recalcitrant Governors to pass pending Bills on time.

भारत के मुख्य न्यायाधीश **बी.आर. गवई**, जो रविवार को पद से सेवानिवृत्त हुए, ने कहा कि **राष्ट्रपति संदर्भ मत**, जिसमें **राज्यपालों को समयसीमा से बांधने** का विरोध किया गया था, राज्यों पर यह बोझ वापस डालने के लिए नहीं था कि वे अपने हठी राज्यपालों से लंबित विधेयकों को समय पर पारित करवाने के लिए जगह-जगह भागदौड़ करें।

• "If the Constitution does not provide for a **timeline**, we [judiciary] cannot read something that is not there. It is for the **Parliament** to do that," he said.

उन्होंने कहा, "यदि संविधान किसी **समयसीमा** का प्रावधान नहीं करता, तो हम [न्यायपालिका] उसमें ऐसी चीज़ नहीं पढ़ सकते जो मौजूद ही नहीं है। यह **संसद** का कार्य है।"

• He explained that an opinion given in a **Presidential Reference** did not overrule a judgment but only **clarified the law**.

उन्होंने स्पष्ट किया कि **राष्ट्रपति संदर्भ** में दिया गया मत किसी निर्णय को निरस्त नहीं करता, बल्कि केवल **कानून को स्पष्ट** करता है।

• "In a Presidential Reference, we cannot overrule a judgment, but we can **lay down the law**, and while laying down the law, we can observe that the law laid down in a particular manner [in a judgment] is not correct," he said.

उन्होंने कहा, "एक राष्ट्रपति संदर्भ में हम किसी निर्णय को निरस्त नहीं कर सकते, लेकिन हम **कानून स्थापित** कर सकते हैं, और ऐसा करते हुए यह टिप्पणी कर सकते हैं कि किसी विशेष तरीके से (निर्णय में) स्थापित कानून सही नहीं है।"

## T.N. Governor case

तमिलनाडु राज्यपाल मामला

• The Presidential Reference was triggered by a judgment in the **Tamil Nadu Governor case** on April 8, which broke the silence in the Constitution and held that **Bills must be cleared by the Governors and President in three months or they would be 'deemed' to have got assent**.

राष्ट्रपति संदर्भ 8 अप्रैल के **तमिलनाडु राज्यपाल मामले** के निर्णय के कारण उत्पन्न हुआ, जिसने संविधान की चुप्पी तोड़ते हुए कहा कि विधेयकों को राज्यपालों और राष्ट्रपति द्वारा **तीन महीने** में मंजूरी दी जानी चाहिए, अन्यथा उन्हें **'स्वीकृत माना जाएगा'**।

• On November 20, a **five-judge Bench** led by Chief Justice Gavai, in its **advisory opinion**, contradicted the April 8 judgment and concluded that Governors and the President cannot be forced to follow a **timeline**. They need to act only within a **"reasonable period"**.

20 नवंबर को मुख्य न्यायाधीश गवई की अध्यक्षता वाली **पांच-न्यायाधीशों की पीठ** ने अपने **परामर्शी मत** में 8 अप्रैल के निर्णय का खंडन किया और कहा कि राज्यपालों और राष्ट्रपति को किसी **समयसीमा** का पालन करने के लिए मजबूर नहीं किया जा सकता। उन्हें केवल **"उचित अवधि"** के भीतर ही कार्य करना चाहिए।



- The Bench, however, did not specify the term “**reasonable period**” in its opinion. हालांकि, पीठ ने अपने मत में “उचित अवधि” शब्द की कोई परिभाषा नहीं दी।

### Limited judicial review सीमित न्यायिक समीक्षा

- “We have only **relaxed the timeline**. At the same time, we have balanced it by saying the **Governor cannot sit on a Bill endlessly**. We have also provided for a **limited judicial review** based on the facts and circumstances of each case. उन्होंने कहा, “हमने केवल **समयसीमा को शिथिल** किया है। साथ ही, हमने यह संतुलन भी रखा है कि **राज्यपाल किसी विधेयक पर अंतहीन रूप से नहीं बैठे रह सकते**। हमने प्रत्येक मामले के तथ्यों और परिस्थितियों के आधार पर **सीमित न्यायिक समीक्षा** का प्रावधान भी किया है।”
- You cannot have a straitjacket formula that in every Bill, if assent is not granted, it would be deemed to have been passed. **In a routine Bill, one month is sufficient for a Governor to clear it. However, in Bills concerning internal or external emergencies, a Governor may not be able to take a call in a month. He may take three or four months,**” he said. उन्होंने कहा, “आप कोई कठोर नियम नहीं बना सकते कि हर विधेयक में यदि स्वीकृति नहीं दी गई तो वह स्वीकृत माना जाएगा। एक **साधारण विधेयक** में राज्यपाल के लिए **एक महीना** पर्याप्त है। लेकिन **आंतरिक या बाहरी आपातकाल** से संबंधित विधेयकों में राज्यपाल एक महीने में निर्णय न ले पाएँ। उन्हें **तीन या चार महीने** लग सकते हैं।”
- To a question whether Justice **B.V. Nagarathna’s dissent** to a Supreme Court proposal to elevate Justice **Vipul Manubhai Pancholi** had any merit, the former Chief Justice said that “if it had, the **four other judges** on the collegium would not have agreed to the proposal”. एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट के प्रस्ताव पर न्यायमूर्ति **बी.वी. नागरत्ना** का असहमति मत, जिसमें न्यायमूर्ति **विपुल मनुभाई पंचोली** को पदोन्नत करने की बात थी, में कोई आधार था या नहीं, पूर्व मुख्य न्यायाधीश ने कहा कि “यदि ऐसा होता तो कॉलेजियम के **अन्य चार न्यायाधीश** इस प्रस्ताव से सहमत नहीं होते।”



## Mind your 'administrative' language, says Supreme Court report

Report urges judiciary to stop using words that perpetuate a 'grammar of inequality', says archaic terminology was used as "powerful tool of dominance that causes 'thingification' of the individual".; former CJI says continued use of this terminology has "unintended effect of normalising outdated hierarchies and undermining the respectful work culture"

GS II: Polity

**Krishnadas Rajagopal**  
NEW DELHI

**H**alalkhor, cycle sawar, dhobi, coolie, scavenger, masalchi, malan, basta bardhar, chowkidar, and bundle lifter are among the job titles a Supreme Court report wants the judiciary to get rid of.

The report from the court's Centre for Research and Planning says these and several other terms used in the administrative language of the courts perpetuate a

"grammar of inequality". The report, titled "Reforming administrative nomenclature in the Indian judiciary embedding dignity and equity in service rules", explained that the "grammar of inequality" referred to "the set of unwritten, hierarchical rules inherited from feudal, colonial, and caste-based systems that structure the judiciary's administrative nomenclature".

Former Chief Justice of India B.R. Gavai, in his

foreword to the report, said the continued use of this outdated terminology had the "unintended effect of normalising outdated hierarchies and undermining the respectful work culture that the judiciary must uphold".

The Chief Justice, as one of his last acts in office before retiring on Sunday, has sent the report to all the State High



ILLUSTRATION: SOUMYADIP SINHA

Courts with a gentle nudge that updating the judiciary's administrative nomenclature would be a

small but significant step towards affirming the worth of every individual working within the judicial system, regardless of rank or role.

The Centre has found that the archaic terminology were once used as a "powerful tool of dominance that causes 'thingification' of the individual".

"Halalkhor" and "scavenger" violate the prohibitions of caste-based discrimination under the Constitution, the report

**'Halalkhor' and 'scavenger' violate the prohibitions of caste-based discrimination under the Constitution**

said. "Align the language of the administration with the language of the Constitution. Close the gap between what the judiciary pronounces and what it practises. Reaffirm that language itself is the judiciary's first act of justice – an act of

recognition, pedagogy, and symbolic justice," the Supreme Court's research centre recommends.

To start with, the report says courts must abandon halalkhor for sanitation assistant, dhobi for laundry operator, coolie for freight assistant, cycle sawar for logistics assistant, basta bardhar for document handler, bundle lifter for material coordinator, masalchi for kitchen assistant, malan for horticulture attendant, and scavenger for sanitation assistant.

## Mind your 'administrative' language, says Supreme Court report 'प्रशासनिक' भाषा का ध्यान रखें, सुप्रीम कोर्ट की रिपोर्ट का सुझाव

- Mind your 'administrative' language, says Supreme Court report 'प्रशासनिक' भाषा का ध्यान रखें, सुप्रीम कोर्ट रिपोर्ट कहती है
- Report urges judiciary to stop using words that perpetuate a 'grammar of inequality', says archaic terminology was used as "powerful tool of dominance that causes 'thingification' of the individual".; former CJI says continued use of this terminology has "unintended effect of normalising outdated hierarchies and undermining the respectful work culture"  
रिपोर्ट न्यायपालिका से उन शब्दों का उपयोग बंद करने का आग्रह करती है जो 'असमानता की व्याकरण' को बढ़ावा देते हैं, कहती है कि पुरानी शब्दावली का उपयोग "प्रभुत्व के शक्तिशाली उपकरण" के रूप में किया जाता था जो व्यक्ति की 'वस्तुकरण (thingification)' का कारण बनता है.; पूर्व CJI कहते हैं कि इस शब्दावली का निरंतर उपयोग "पुरानी पदानुक्रमों को सामान्य बनाने और सम्मानजनक कार्य संस्कृति को कमजोर करने का अनपेक्षित प्रभाव" डालता है
- Halalkhor, cycle sawar, dhobi, coolie, scavenger, masalchi, malan, basta bardhar, chowkidar, and bundle lifter are among the job titles a Supreme Court report wants the judiciary to get rid of.  
हलालखोर, साइकिल सवार, धोबी, कूली, स्कैवेजेर, मसालची, मालन, बस्ता बर्दार, चौकीदार और बंडल लिफ्टर उन नौकरी के शीर्षकों में शामिल हैं जिन्हें हटाने की सुप्रीम कोर्ट रिपोर्ट ने न्यायपालिका से कहा है।
- The report from the court's Centre for Research and Planning says these and several other terms used in the administrative language of the courts perpetuate a "grammar of inequality".  
अदालत के सेंटर फॉर रिसर्च एंड प्लानिंग की रिपोर्ट कहती है कि न्यायालयों की प्रशासनिक भाषा में उपयोग किए जाने वाले ये और कई अन्य शब्द "असमानता की व्याकरण" को कायम रखते हैं।
- The report, titled "Reforming administrative nomenclature in the Indian judiciary embedding dignity and equity in service rules", explained that the "grammar of inequality" referred to "the set of unwritten, hierarchical rules inherited from feudal, colonial, and caste-based systems that structure the judiciary's administrative nomenclature".  
"भारतीय न्यायपालिका में प्रशासनिक नामकरण में सुधार: सेवा नियमों में गरिमा और समानता को समाहित करना" शीर्षक वाली रिपोर्ट बताती है कि "असमानता की व्याकरण" का अर्थ "जागीरदारी, औपनिवेशिक और जाति-आधारित प्रणालियों से विरासत में मिले अलिखित, पदानुक्रमित नियमों के उस समूह से है जो न्यायपालिका के प्रशासनिक नामकरण को संरचित करते हैं"।



- Former Chief Justice of India **B.R. Gavai**, in his foreword to the report, said the continued use of this outdated terminology had the “unintended effect of normalising outdated hierarchies and undermining the respectful work culture that the judiciary must uphold”.

भारत के पूर्व मुख्य न्यायाधीश **बी.आर. गवाई** ने रिपोर्ट की भूमिका में कहा कि इस पुरानी शब्दावली का निरंतर उपयोग “पुरानी पदानुक्रमों को सामान्य बनाने और उस सम्मानजनक कार्य संस्कृति को कमजोर करने का अनपेक्षित प्रभाव डालता है जिसे न्यायपालिका को बनाए रखना चाहिए”।
- The Chief Justice, as one of his last acts in office before retiring on Sunday, has sent the report to all the State High Courts with a gentle nudge that updating the judiciary’s administrative nomenclature would be a recognition, pedagogy, and symbolic justice,” the Supreme Court’s research centre recommends.

मुख्य न्यायाधीश ने रविवार को सेवानिवृत्त होने से पहले अपने अंतिम कार्यों में से एक के रूप में यह रिपोर्ट सभी राज्य उच्च न्यायालयों को भेजी, यह संकेत देते हुए कि न्यायपालिका के प्रशासनिक नामकरण का अद्यतन “मान्यता, शिक्षाशास्त्र और प्रतीकात्मक न्याय” होगा, जैसा कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट के अनुसंधान केंद्र ने अनुशंसा की है।
- To start with, the report says courts must abandon **halalkhor** for *sanitation assistant*, **dhobi** for *laundry operator*, **coolie** for *freight assistant*, **cycle sawar** for *logistics assistant*, **basta bardar** for *document handler*, **bundle lifter** for *material coordinator*, **masalchi** for *kitchen assistant*, **malan** for *horticulture attendant*, and **scavenger** for *sanitation assistant*.

शुरुआत के लिए, रिपोर्ट कहती है कि अदालतों को **हलालखोर** की जगह *स्वच्छता सहायक*, **धोबी** की जगह *लॉन्ड्री ऑपरेटर*, **कूली** की जगह *फ्रेट असिस्टेंट*, **साइकिल सवार** की जगह *लॉजिस्टिक्स असिस्टेंट*, **बस्ता बर्दार** की जगह *डॉक्यूमेंट हैंडलर*, **बंडल लिफ्टर** की जगह *मटेरियल कोऑर्डिनेटर*, **मसालची** की जगह *किचन असिस्टेंट*, **मालन** की जगह *हॉर्टिकल्चर अटेंडेंट* और **स्केवेंजर** की जगह *स्वच्छता सहायक* अपनाने चाहिए।
- “Align the language of the administration with the language of the Constitution. Close the gap between what the judiciary pronounces and what it practises. Reaffirm that language itself is the judiciary’s first act of justice — an act of recognition, pedagogy, and symbolic justice,” the Supreme Court’s research centre recommends.

“प्रशासन की भाषा को संविधान की भाषा के साथ संरेखित करें। न्यायपालिका जो कहती है और जो करती है, उसके बीच की खाई को पाटें। यह पुनः स्थापित करें कि भाषा स्वयं न्यायपालिका का पहला न्यायिक कार्य है — एक ऐसा कार्य जो मान्यता, शिक्षाशास्त्र और प्रतीकात्मक न्याय का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है,” सुप्रीम कोर्ट के अनुसंधान केंद्र ने सिफारिश की।
- Mind your ‘administrative’ language, says Supreme Court report Krishnadas Rajagopal NEW DELHI

अपनी ‘प्रशासनिक’ भाषा का ध्यान रखें, सुप्रीम कोर्ट रिपोर्ट — कृष्णदास राजगोपाल, नई दिल्ली
- Report urges judiciary to stop using words that perpetuate a ‘grammar of inequality’, says archaic terminology was used as “powerful tool of dominance that causes ‘thingification’ of the individual”.; former CJI says continued use of this terminology has “unintended effect of normalising outdated hierarchies and undermining the respectful work culture”

रिपोर्ट न्यायपालिका से उन शब्दों का उपयोग बंद करने का आग्रह करती है जो ‘असमानता की व्याकरण’ को बढ़ावा देते हैं, और कहती है कि पुरानी शब्दावली का उपयोग “प्रभुत्व के शक्तिशाली उपकरण” के रूप में होता था जो व्यक्ति के ‘वस्तुकरण’ का कारण बनता है.; पूर्व CJI का कहना है कि इस शब्दावली का उपयोग जारी रहने से “पुरानी पदानुक्रमों को सामान्य बनाने और सम्मानजनक कार्य संस्कृति को कमजोर करने का अनपेक्षित प्रभाव” पड़ता है।

Courts with a gentle nudge that updating the judiciary’s administrative nomenclature would be a

अदालतों को एक नरम संदेश दिया गया कि न्यायपालिका के प्रशासनिक नामकरण का अद्यतन एक...

**small but significant step towards affirming the worth of every individual working within the judicial system**

न्यायिक प्रणाली में कार्यरत प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के मूल्य की पुष्टि करने की दिशा में छोटा लेकिन महत्वपूर्ण कदम



- small but significant step towards affirming the worth of every individual working within the judicial system, regardless of rank or role.  
न्यायिक प्रणाली में काम करने वाले प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के मूल्य की पुष्टि की दिशा में छोटा लेकिन महत्वपूर्ण कदम, चाहे उनका पद या भूमिका कुछ भी हो।
- The Centre has found that the archaic terminology was once used as a “powerful tool of dominance that causes ‘thinification’ of the individual”.  
केंद्र ने पाया है कि पुरानी शब्दावली का उपयोग कभी “प्रभुत्व के एक शक्तिशाली उपकरण” के रूप में किया जाता था जो व्यक्ति के ‘वस्तुकरण (thingification)’ का कारण बनता था।
- “Halalkhor” and “scavenger” violate the prohibitions of caste-based discrimination under the Constitution, the report said.  
रिपोर्ट ने कहा कि “हलालखोर” और “स्कैवेंजर” संविधान के तहत जाति-आधारित भेदभाव पर लगाए गए प्रतिबंधों का उल्लंघन करते हैं।
- “Align the language of the administration with the language of the Constitution. Close the gap between what the judiciary pronounces and what it practises. Reaffirm that language itself is the judiciary’s first act of justice — an act of recognition, pedagogy, and symbolic justice,” the Supreme Court’s research centre recommends.  
“प्रशासन की भाषा को संविधान की भाषा के अनुरूप बनाएं। न्यायपालिका जो कहती है और जो करती है, उसके बीच की खाई को कम करें। यह पुनः स्थापित करें कि भाषा स्वयं न्यायपालिका का पहला न्यायिक कार्य है — मान्यता, शिक्षाशास्त्र और प्रतीकात्मक न्याय का एक कार्य,” सुप्रीम कोर्ट के अनुसंधान केंद्र ने अनुशंसा की।
- To start with, the report says **courts must abandon halalkhor for sanitation assistant, dhobi for laundry operator, coolie for freight assistant, cycle sawar for logistics assistant, basta bardar for document handler, bundle lifter for material coordinator, masalchi for kitchen assistant, malan for horticulture attendant, and scavenger for sanitation assistant.**  
शुरुआत के लिए, रिपोर्ट कहती है कि अदालतों को हलालखोर की जगह स्वच्छता सहायक, धोबी की जगह लॉन्ड्री ऑपरेटर, कूली की जगह फ्रेट असिस्टेंट, साइकिल सवार की जगह लॉजिस्टिक्स असिस्टेंट, बस्ता बर्दार की जगह डॉक्यूमेंट हैंडलर, बंडल लिफ्टर की जगह मटेरियल कोऑर्डिनेटर, मसालची की जगह किचन असिस्टेंट, मालन की जगह हॉर्टिकल्चर अटेंडेंट और स्कैवेंजर की जगह स्वच्छता सहायक का उपयोग करना चाहिए।



## The letter has won but the spirit has not lost

CS II: Polity

MOB

**T**he Republic of India has had 15 Presidents over 16 presidencies, its inaugural President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad having served two terms. Of the number of Governors appointed since 1947, the figure is too large to be counted.

The holders of these two high offices can do great good, sometimes not a little harm and very or most often, prefer an almost Advaitic selflessness that leaves no mark whatever – a self-protecting mechanism. It is better to be not remembered at all than remembered negatively. I have often wondered why these high functionaries, when they are males as they invariably are, carry pens in the pockets of their coats. The pen is almost a piece of their essential 'getting ready'-ness. It makes them seem ever-ready to sign the paper put up to them, wherever they are.

The master cartoonist, Abu Abraham, immortalised the 1975 moment when the then President signed the proclamation of the national emergency by a searing cartoon that showed him signing the paper when it was brought to him (this time with the stylus) at a very odd moment. Signatures can be affixed all too easily, when what is required is saying, 'No, very sorry, but no.' The reason may be plain gratitude for being where the Excellency wants to be.

Equally, when a signature is declined not out of genuine reservations but out of bias, an Abu Abraham or an R.K. Laxman is needed to depict the scene. Assents when given in fear or refused out of bias are infractions of Constitutional responsibility.

### Reflections from the past

As one who knows that sometimes a signature (and more) can be affixed by a President on his own, without 'aid or advice' and without a care on whether what he was doing would 'go down well or not', I must recall here President R. Venkataraman (his years in office: 1987-92) and President K. R. Narayanan (years in office: 1997-2002). The pen was used by RV, confidently. It was used by KRN, independently. No cabinet as much as whispered disquiet. Morality was not coy with them, nor fairness halting.

The Prime Ministers RV's term coincided with – Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh and Chandra Shekhar – were all strong-willed men but they were first-time incumbents of their pivotal office while RV's experience of political and constitutional office was infinitely bigger. It was natural that they deferred to him when on Bills or other recommendations he had a view contrary to the cabinet's; he put it across to them in one-on-one confidential discussions, that being his way. The fourth Prime Minister who overlapped with RV, P.V. Narasimha Rao, thought-partnered him more than he did his own cabinet colleagues. There was no scope for friction.

In 1997, the Union Cabinet headed by Prime



**Gopalkrishna Gandhi**

was Secretary to the President, and a Governor of West Bengal and Bihar

In the 16th Presidential Reference, the top court has upheld the letter and the spirit of the Constitution

Minister I.K. Gujral recommended to KRN the dismissal of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government in Uttar Pradesh headed by Kalyan Singh. KRN's world view and that of the BJP did not match. But he was the President of India, not just a resident of Rashtrapati Bhavan, answerable to the values of the Constitution. He did not agree with the recommendation of dismissal and sent it back for reconsideration. The recommendation did not come back.

By 1998, the BJP was in power at the Centre and the newly appointed Governor of Bihar recommended that the government of Rabri Devi be dismissed and President's Rule imposed under Article 356 of the Constitution of India. The Governor had sent what was claimed to be a fool-proof case showing financial mismanagement and poor law and order markers. KRN demurred, and sent the recommendation back. Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee's cabinet did not repeat the recommendation. KRN's action in returning these recommendations had no politics to it. Zero. It had only fairness, Constitutional fairness. It had only morality, Constitutional morality. Fairness and morality are unmistakable. As are their opposites.

RV and KRN could be frank with the government when frankness was called for and they were not misunderstood for the government knew that the frankness came from a desire to caution and correct, not to criticise.

### 'Alert and alive'

Presidents and Governors are meant to be men and women with minds that are alert and alive to the letter of the Constitution and to its spirit in an evolving nation. They should see that recommendations made to them adhere to the letter, knowing that the letter can be used sometimes to subvert the spirit – an irony that the framers of the Constitution could not have anticipated. Would Babasaheb Ambedkar have thought that could have happened? The Constitution of India has been made by honest intentions for honest actuation.

No file was held by RV and KRN for more than a few days. They did not have to be detective-presidents. No delay was orchestrated during which confabulations could be held, and opinions sought in huddles, and given in whispers. No pocket was deepened for a pocket-veto to be exercised.

But their sense of Constitutional morality and fairness did not make them look out for flaws or faults or fallibilities as a full-time occupation, 24x7.

The President and Governors are neither robots, nor are they ring-masters. They are not inert rubber stamps that are pressed gently or not-so-gently onto any parchment that the government of the day places before them; they would make laughing stocks of themselves if they

were that. Nor are they pens that can choose any colour of ink or any vocabulary of their choice when expressing a Constitutional view.

### Conservative and realistic

The 'answers' of the five-judge Bench headed by the Chief Justice of India (CJI) B.R. Gava, and including CJI-designate Surya Kant, to President Droupadi Murmu's 16th Presidential Reference is imbued with this verity. The Bench has said that Governors cannot have a date-line fixed by the Supreme Court of India for their study of Bills – upholding the letter of the Constitution. The Bench has also said unambiguously that 'evasive inaction' is not 'on' either – upholding the spirit of the Constitution.

In saying the former, the Bench has been conservative. In saying the latter, it has been realistic. The Bench has made it clear that it knows that action and inaction by Governors may not be because they are studious and industrious but because they may be politically predisposed. The answers of the judges have said that no calendar can be hung on a Governor's wall that says 'This is your deadline'.

Their answers have also placed a clock on their desk that ticks loud and clear and has an informal alarm that can ring if the 'study' has prolonged beyond normal study hours, leaving it open for the delay to be raised in court.

The Constitution of India, especially in matters concerning Centre-State relations – or to put it differently, on matters affecting India's federal polity – takes two to work it, but just one, on either side, to wreck it. Ultimately, the working of a Constitutional arrangement depends on the two – legislature and the Governor/President – playing their roles with respect for the Constitution and for each other.

It is remarkable that the five judges unequivocally declined to school either side, or to assume the role of tutor. They have given neither side victory or defeat. The letter of the law has won, but the spirit of the law has not been defeated. In what is an opinion, not an order (for they were not handling an appeal), they have said what is exactly right: the Supreme Court should not, will not, say how a President or Governor should or should not act. That would amount to 'clutching at a jurisdiction' (a favourite phrase of RV's) which is not their's.

Has the Bench done an exercise in balancing? It has not. It has done an exercise for balance between the power to do right and the right way to do it.

The Indian polity needs to be run not by power games played by adroit players. It needs to be governed by men and women who, when in high office, rise above their limitations. Some incumbents make their offices great, some offices make their incumbents great. The tragedy, as the judges have seen, is that the opposite is equally true.

## The letter has won but the spirit has not lost

शब्द जीत गए हैं लेकिन भावना नहीं हारी है

### Reflections on Presidents, Governors and Constitutional Responsibility

राष्ट्रपतियों, राज्यपालों और संवैधानिक उत्तरदायित्व पर विचार

- The Republic of India has had **15 Presidents** over **16 presidencies**, its inaugural President **Dr. Rajendra Prasad** having served two terms.  
भारत गणराज्य में **16 कार्यकालों** में **15 राष्ट्रपति** हुए हैं, जिसमें प्रथम राष्ट्रपति डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने दो कार्यकाल पूरे किए थे।
- Of the number of Governors appointed since **1947**, the figure is too large to be counted. **1947** से नियुक्त हुए राज्यपालों की संख्या इतनी बड़ी है कि उसे आसानी से गिना नहीं जा सकता।
- The holders of these two high offices can do great good, sometimes not a little harm and very often prefer an almost **Advaitic selflessness** that leaves no mark — a self-protecting mechanism.



इन दो उच्च पदों के धारक बड़े हित कर सकते हैं, कभी-कभी कुछ हानि भी, और अक्सर एक प्रकार की अद्वैत-जैसी निःस्वार्थता अपनाते हैं जो कोई छाप नहीं छोड़ती — एक आत्म-सुरक्षात्मक तंत्र।

- It is better to be not remembered at all than remembered negatively.  
नकारात्मक रूप से याद किए जाने की बजाय बिल्कुल भी याद न किया जाना बेहतर होता है।
- I have often wondered why these high functionaries, when they are males as they invariably are, carry pens in the pockets of their coats.  
मैंने अक्सर सोचा है कि ये उच्च पदाधिकारी, जो प्रायः पुरुष होते हैं, अपनी कोट की जेब में पेन क्यों रखते हैं।
- The pen makes them seem ever-ready to sign the paper put up to them, wherever they are.  
पेन उन्हें ऐसा प्रतीत कराता है कि वे जहाँ भी हों, उनके सामने रखे किसी भी कागज़ पर हस्ताक्षर करने के लिए हमेशा तैयार हैं।
- The master cartoonist **Abu Abraham** immortalised the **1975 Emergency** moment by showing the then **President signing the proclamation at an odd moment**.  
महान कार्टूनिस्ट **अबु अब्राहम** ने **1975 की आपातकाल** की घोषणा पर तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति के हस्ताक्षर को एक विचित्र क्षण में दर्शाकर उसे अमर कर दिया।
- Signatures can be affixed all too easily, when what is required is saying “No, very sorry, but no.”  
हस्ताक्षर बहुत आसानी से किए जा सकते हैं, जबकि आवश्यकता होती है “नहीं, क्षमा करें, लेकिन नहीं” कहने की।
- The reason may be plain **gratitude** for being where the Excellency wants to be.  
कारण केवल उस **कृतज्ञता** का हो सकता है कि महामहिम उस पद पर हैं जहाँ वे होना चाहते थे।
- Equally, when a signature is declined not out of genuine reservations but out of **bias**, an **Abu Abraham** or **R.K. Laxman** is needed to depict the scene.  
इसी प्रकार, जब हस्ताक्षर वास्तविक चिंता के बजाय **पक्षपात** के कारण रोके जाते हैं, तब अबु अब्राहम या **आर.के. लक्ष्मण** जैसे कलाकार की आवश्यकता होती है इसे दिखाने के लिए।
- Assents given in **fear** or refused out of **bias** are infractions of Constitutional responsibility.  
**भय** में दी गई या **पक्षपात** में रोकी गई स्वीकृतियाँ संवैधानिक उत्तरदायित्व का उल्लंघन होती हैं।

### Reflections from the past अतीत से विचार

- As one who knows that sometimes a President can affix a signature **on his own**, without aid or advice, I recall Presidents **R. Venkataraman (1987–92)** and **K.R. Narayanan (1997–2002)**.  
एक ऐसे व्यक्ति के रूप में जिसने देखा है कि राष्ट्रपति कभी-कभी बिना सलाह के भी हस्ताक्षर कर सकते हैं, मुझे **आर. वेंकटरमण (1987–92)** और **के.आर. नारायणन (1997–2002)** याद आते हैं।
- The pen was used by **RV confidently; it was used by KRN independently**.  
आरवी ने पेन को आत्मविश्वास से उपयोग किया; केआरएन ने स्वतंत्र रूप से।
- **No cabinet whispered disquiet; morality and fairness were never hesitant**.  
किसी कैबिनेट ने असंतोष नहीं जताया; नैतिकता और निष्पक्षता कभी हिचकिचाई नहीं।
- The **Prime Ministers during RV's term — Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh, Chandra Shekhar** — were strong-willed first-timers, while RV's experience was immense.  
आरवी के कार्यकाल में प्रधानमंत्री — **राजीव गांधी, वी.पी. सिंह, चंद्रशेखर** — सभी दृढ़-इच्छाशक्ति वाले प्रथम-बार पदाधिकारी थे, जबकि आरवी का अनुभव अत्यंत विशाल था।
- They deferred to him when he differed on Bills or recommendations, conveyed privately.  
जब वे बिलों या सिफारिशों पर असहमत होते, प्रधानमंत्री उनकी बात मानते थे, जिसे वे निजी बातचीत में रखते थे।
- The **fourth PM overlapping RV, P.V. Narasimha Rao**, thought-partnered him more than his own colleagues.  
चौथे प्रधानमंत्री **पी.वी. नरसिंह राव** ने आरवी के साथ अपने मंत्रियों से अधिक विचार-साझेदारी की।
- There was no friction.  
कहीं कोई तनाव नहीं था।
- In **1997**, the Union Cabinet under PM **I.K. Gujral** recommended dismissal of the **Kalyan Singh BJP government in Uttar Pradesh**.  
**1997** में प्रधानमंत्री **आई.के. गुजराल** की कैबिनेट ने उत्तर प्रदेश की **कल्याण सिंह भाजपा सरकार** को बर्खास्त करने की सिफारिश की।



- KRN disagreed and sent it back; the recommendation did not return.  
केआरएन ने असहमति जताई और इसे वापस भेज दिया; सिफारिश दोबारा नहीं आई।
- In 1998, the newly appointed Governor of Bihar recommended dismissal of the **Rabri Devi government** under Article 356.  
1998 में बिहार के नए राज्यपाल ने धारा 356 के तहत **राबड़ी देवी सरकार** को बर्खास्त करने की सिफारिश की।
- He cited financial mismanagement and poor law and order; KRN sent it back.  
राज्यपाल ने वित्तीय कुप्रबंधन और कानून-व्यवस्था का हवाला दिया; केआरएन ने सिफारिश वापस भेज दी।
- **PM A.B. Vajpayee's cabinet did not repeat it.**  
प्रधानमंत्री **अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी** की कैबिनेट ने इसे दोहराया नहीं।
- **KRN's actions had zero politics — only Constitutional morality and fairness.**  
केआरएन की कार्यवाही में राजनीति शून्य थी — केवल **संवैधानिक नैतिकता** और निष्पक्षता।
- Fairness and morality are unmistakable — as are their opposites.  
निष्पक्षता और नैतिकता स्पष्ट होती हैं — जैसे कि उनके विपरीत गुण भी।
- RV and KRN could be frank with the government when needed, and they were not misunderstood.  
आरवी और केआरएन आवश्यकता पड़ने पर सरकार से स्पष्ट रूप से बात कर सकते थे और उन्हें गलत नहीं समझा जाता था।
- Their frankness aimed to **caution and correct**, not criticise.  
उनकी स्पष्टता का उद्देश्य **चेतावनी देना और सुधारना** था, आलोचना करना नहीं।

### ‘Alert and alive’ ‘सतर्क और जीवंत’

- **Presidents and Governors are meant to be men and women with minds that are alert and alive to the letter of the Constitution and to its spirit in an evolving nation.**  
राष्ट्रपति और राज्यपाल ऐसे पुरुष और महिलाएँ होने चाहिए जिनका मन **संविधान की भाषा** और उसके **आत्मा** के प्रति सतर्क और जीवंत हो, विशेषकर एक विकसित होते राष्ट्र में।
- They should see that recommendations made to them adhere to the letter, knowing that the letter can sometimes be used to **subvert the spirit**.  
उन्हें यह सुनिश्चित करना चाहिए कि उनके पास आने वाली सिफारिशें संविधान की भाषा के अनुरूप हों, यह जानते हुए भी कि भाषा का उपयोग कभी-कभी उसकी **आत्मा को कमजोर** करने के लिए किया जा सकता है।
- Would **Babasaheb Ambedkar** have thought this could happen?  
क्या **डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर** ने कभी सोचा होगा कि ऐसा हो सकता है?
- The Constitution of India has been made by **honest intentions** for **honest actuation**.  
भारतीय संविधान **ईमानदार उद्देश्यों** और **ईमानदार क्रियान्वयन** के लिए बनाया गया है।
- **No file was held by RV and KRN for more than a few days.**  
**आरवी** और **केआरएन** के पास कोई फाइल कुछ दिनों से अधिक लंबित नहीं रहती थी।
- **They did not have to be detective-Presidents; no delay was orchestrated for secret consultations or whispered opinions.**  
उन्हें **जासूस-राष्ट्रपति** बनने की आवश्यकता नहीं हुई; कोई देरी गुप्त विचार-विमर्श या फुसफुसाहट में सलाह लेने के लिए नहीं की जाती थी।
- No pocket was deepened for a **pocket veto** to be exercised.  
**पॉकेट वीटो** के लिए कोई जेब गहरी नहीं की गई थी।
- But their sense of **Constitutional morality and fairness** did not make them hunt for flaws 24×7.  
लेकिन उनकी **संवैधानिक नैतिकता** और निष्पक्षता का अर्थ यह नहीं था कि वे 24×7 खामियाँ ढूँढते रहें।
- The President and Governors are neither **robots**, nor **ring-masters**.  
राष्ट्रपति और राज्यपाल न तो **रोबोट** हैं और न ही **रिंग-मास्टर्स**।
- **They are not inert rubber stamps** to be pressed on any document the government puts before them.  
वे निष्क्रिय **रबर स्टाम्प** नहीं हैं जिन्हें सरकार के किसी भी दस्तावेज़ पर बस दबा दिया जाए।
- Nor are they pens that can choose any **colour of ink** or vocabulary while expressing a Constitutional view.  
वे ऐसे पेन भी नहीं हैं जो किसी भी **स्याही के रंग** या शब्दावली में संवैधानिक मत व्यक्त कर सकें।



## Conservative and realistic संरक्षणवादी और यथार्थवादी

- The 'answers' of the **five-judge Bench** headed by CJI **B.R. Gavai**, including CJI-designate **Surya Kant**, to **President Droupadi Murmu's 16th Presidential Reference** reflect this truth. सीजेआई **बी.आर. गवई** की अध्यक्षता वाली **पाँच-न्यायाधीशों की पीठ**, जिसमें भावी सीजेआई **सूर्यकांत** शामिल थे, ने राष्ट्रपति द्रौपदी मुर्मू के **16वें राष्ट्रपति संदर्भ** पर जो उत्तर दिए, वे इस सत्य को दर्शाते हैं।
- The Bench said Governors cannot have a **Supreme Court-imposed deadline** to study Bills — upholding the **letter** of the Constitution. पीठ ने कहा कि राज्यपालों के लिए बिलों के अध्ययन हेतु **सुप्रीम कोर्ट द्वारा तय की गई समयसीमा** नहीं हो सकती — संविधान की **भाषा** को कायम रखते हुए।
- The Bench also said that '**evasive inaction**' is unacceptable — upholding the **spirit** of the Constitution. पीठ ने यह भी स्पष्ट किया कि '**टालमटोल वाली निष्क्रियता**' स्वीकार्य नहीं — संविधान की **आत्मा** का समर्थन करते हुए।
- In saying the former, the Bench was **conservative**; in saying the latter, it was **realistic**. पहली बात में पीठ **संरक्षणवादी** थी; दूसरी में **यथार्थवादी**।
- The Bench recognises that some Governors may act or delay due to **political predisposition**. पीठ समझती है कि कुछ राज्यपाल कार्रवाई या देरी **राजनीतिक झुकाव** के कारण कर सकते हैं।
- The judges said no **calendar** can be hung on a Governor's wall saying "This is your deadline". न्यायाधीशों ने कहा कि राज्यपाल की दीवार पर कोई **कैलेंडर** नहीं टांगा जा सकता जिसमें लिखा हो: "यह आपकी समयसीमा है।"
- But the judges have placed an informal **clock** on the desk — if the 'study' extends beyond reasonable time, the delay can be taken to court. लेकिन न्यायाधीशों ने मेज पर एक अनौपचारिक **घड़ी** भी रख दी — यदि 'अध्ययन' उचित समय से अधिक चले, तो देरी अदालत में उठाई जा सकती है।
- The Constitution of India, especially in **Centre-State relations**, needs cooperation from both sides; but only **one side** can wreck it. भारतीय संविधान, खासकर **केंद्र-राज्य संबंधों** में, दोनों पक्षों के सहयोग से चलता है; लेकिन केवल **एक पक्ष** ही इसे बिगाड़ सकता है।
- Ultimately, the working of a Constitutional arrangement depends on **mutual respect** between the legislature and the Governor/President. अंततः संवैधानिक व्यवस्था का संचालन **विधायिका** और **राज्यपाल/राष्ट्रपति** के बीच परस्पर सम्मान पर निर्भर करता है।
- It is remarkable that the five judges did not school either side or act like tutors. यह उल्लेखनीय है कि पाँचों न्यायाधीशों ने किसी भी पक्ष को सिखाने या 'ट्यूटर' की भूमिका निभाने का प्रयास नहीं किया।
- They gave neither side victory or defeat. उन्होंने किसी पक्ष को जीत या हार नहीं दी।
- The **letter** of the law has won, but the **spirit** of the law has not been defeated. कानून की **भाषा** जीती है, परंतु उसकी **आत्मा** पराजित नहीं हुई।
- In what is an **opinion**, not an order, the judges rightly said the Supreme Court cannot tell a President or Governor **how to act**. जो एक **मत** है, आदेश नहीं, उसमें न्यायाधीशों ने सही कहा कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट यह नहीं बता सकता कि राष्ट्रपति या राज्यपाल **कैसे कार्य करें**।
- Otherwise, it would be "**clutching at a jurisdiction**" — a favourite phrase of RV. अन्यथा यह "**अधिकारक्षेत्र हथियाने**" जैसा होता — जो आरवी का प्रिय वाक्यांश था।
- Has the Bench done **balancing**? It has not. क्या पीठ ने **संतुलन साधा**? नहीं।
- It has done an exercise in finding balance between **the power to do right** and **the right way to do it**. इसने **सही कार्य करने की शक्ति** और **इसे सही तरह से करने के तरीके** के बीच संतुलन खोजने का कार्य किया है।



- The Indian polity must be run not by **power games**, but by men and women who rise above limitations when in high office.  
भारतीय राजनीति को **सत्ता-खेलों** से नहीं, बल्कि उन पुरुषों और महिलाओं द्वारा चलाया जाना चाहिए जो उच्च पदों पर रहते हुए अपनी सीमाओं से ऊपर उठ सकें।
- Some incumbents make their offices great; some offices make their incumbents great.  
कुछ पदाधिकारी अपने पद को महान बनाते हैं; कुछ पद अपने पदाधिकारियों को।
- The tragedy, as the judges noted, is that the **opposite is equally true**.  
दुर्भाग्य यह है, जैसा कि न्यायाधीशों ने कहा, कि **इसका उल्टा भी उतना ही सत्य है।**

## Did SIR process decide the Bihar result? Data says 'no'

The NDA's advantage over the MGB remained mostly intact, despite a decrease in electorate numbers following the Special Intensive Revision exercise

GS II: Polity, Elections

DATA POINT

Srinivasan Ramani

The Special Intensive Revision (SIR) of electoral rolls became one of the most contentious issues in the Bihar 2025 Assembly election. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and allies welcomed the process as necessary to remove "infiltrators" from voter lists, while the Congress and Rashtriya Janata Dal decried it as systematic disenfranchisement – part of what they termed as "vote chori" (vote theft), alleging collusion between the Election Commission of India and the ruling BJP to manipulate electoral rolls in the latter's favour. The controversy was not confined to campaign rhetoric. The SIR process required many interventions by the Supreme Court. The scale of the revision was unprecedented: approximately 68 lakh electors were deleted, while 24 lakh were added, resulting in a net deletion of around 44 lakh voters between January 2025 and October 2025.

A critical question emerges: did the SIR process actually influence the election outcome? A data-driven analysis comparing changes in vote share patterns with the extent of electoral roll deletions across Assembly constituencies suggests that it did not play a determining role in the NDA's victory.

The electoral outcome itself showed remarkable continuity with the 2024 general election. The NDA secured close to 46.6% of the vote share in the Assembly polls, a marginal drop of around 1.4 percentage points from the parliamentary elections held in May 2024. The Mahagatbandan's vote share declined more sharply, by approximately 2.2 percentage points from 39.2% to 37%. While these shifts favoured the NDA, the pattern suggests the alliance retained rather than expanded its existing advantage over the Opposition. To examine whether the SIR

process contributed to these patterns, we analysed two key variables across Bihar's Assembly constituencies: the change in the vote share difference between the NDA and MGB from the 2024 general election to the 2025 Assembly elections, and the decrease in electorate numbers following the SIR as a percentage of the original electoral roll.

Map 1 illustrates the changes in vote share difference between the two elections at the Assembly constituency level. The darker red shading indicates constituencies where the NDA increased its advantage over the MGB, while the darker blue shading shows the opposite. Map 2 depicts the decrease in the electorate across constituencies, with the darker red indicating larger percentage reductions in voter numbers following the SIR process. Chart 3 plots these two variables against each other for every Assembly constituency in Bihar. If the SIR process had systematically benefited the NDA by removing Opposition voters, we would expect to see a clear pattern: constituencies with higher deletions showing greater increases in the NDA's vote share advantage. The scatter plot, however, tells a different story.

The correlation coefficient between these variables is 0.192, indicating an extremely weak positive relationship. To understand what this means, consider that correlation coefficients range from -1 (representing a perfect negative correlation), to +1 (representing a perfect positive correlation), with 0 (indicating no relationship whatsoever). At 0.192, the data reveal virtually no meaningful connection between the extent of electoral roll deletions in a constituency and the change in the NDA's advantage over the MGB. This is further confirmed by the R<sup>2</sup> value of 0.037 visible in the chart's trendline, which indicates that only 3.7% of the variation in the NDA's electoral performance can be explained by changes in the electorate roll. In

practical terms, Assembly constituencies that experienced large-scale deletions were no more likely to see an increase in the NDA's vote share advantage than constituencies with minimal deletions. Similarly, constituencies with smaller reductions in the electorate showed no distinct pattern in voting behaviour compared to those with larger reductions.

The scatter plot itself is revealing. Points are dispersed widely across both axes with no clear upward or downward trend. The near-flat trendline and the clustering of points across the entire spectrum suggest that the SIR's impact, if any, was not a determining factor in electoral outcomes. Had the revision systematically disenfranchised Opposition voters to the NDA's benefit, the data would show constituencies with higher deletion rates trending toward greater NDA advantage – a pattern conspicuously absent from the analysis.

The conclusion is straightforward. There was no major increase in NDA vote shares relative to the decrease in the electorate across Bihar. The NDA's advantages from the 2024 general election remained largely intact, and the coalition's victory appears to have been based on the same factors that gave it an edge in the parliamentary polls rather than being a product of the SIR process.

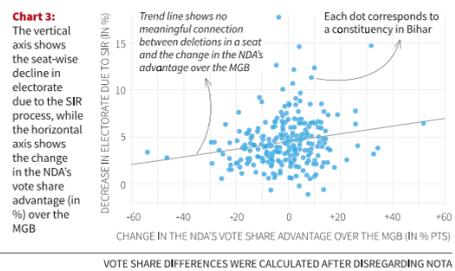
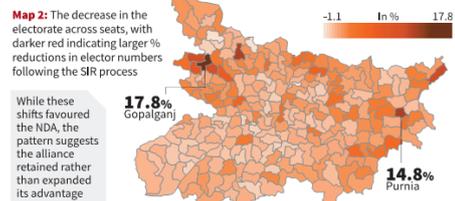
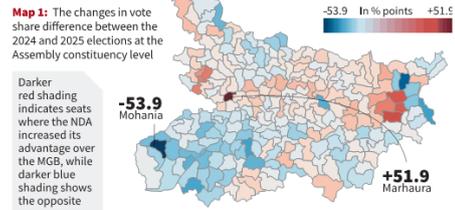
This is not to diminish the concerns about the SIR process. After all, data revealed that there was a disproportionate decrease in the number of women in the electorate following the SIR, leading to the gender ratio dropping from 907 in the January rolls to a meagre 892 in the final rolls released in September. And yet, women turned out in much larger numbers when compared to men (four lakh more despite being forty lakh fewer in the rolls). However, the data also suggest that the SIR, despite being a political flashpoint, did not alone determine the outcome of Bihar's election.



### Little correlation

The data were sourced from the Election Commission of India's Bihar 2025 Assembly election results and constituency-wise elector information

**In both phases:** Women voters were a force to reckon with in the Bihar Assembly election.



**Did the SIR process decide the Bihar result? Data says 'no'**  
**क्या SIR प्रक्रिया ने बिहार का परिणाम तय किया? डेटा कहता है 'नहीं'**

**Special Intensive Revision (SIR) controversy in Bihar**  
**बिहार में विशेष गहन पुनरीक्षण (SIR) विवाद**



- There was also politics.  
इसके पीछे राजनीति भी थी।
- The Special Intensive Revision (SIR) of electoral rolls became one of the most contentious issues in the Bihar 2025 Assembly election.  
मतदाता सूची के **स्पेशल इंटेंसिव रिवीजन (SIR)** ने **बिहार 2025 विधानसभा चुनाव** में सबसे विवादित मुद्दों में से एक का रूप ले लिया।
- The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and allies welcomed the process as necessary to remove “infiltrators” from voter lists, while the Congress and Rashtriya Janata Dal decried it as systematic disenfranchisement — part of what they termed as “vote chori” (vote theft), alleging collusion between the Election Commission of India and the ruling BJP to manipulate electoral rolls in the latter’s favour.  
**भाजपा और उसके सहयोगियों** ने इस प्रक्रिया को मतदाता सूची से “**घुसपैठियों**” को हटाने के लिए आवश्यक बताया, जबकि **कांग्रेस और राजद** ने इसे **व्यवस्थित मताधिकार हरण**, यानी “**वोट चोरी**” का हिस्सा बताया और आरोप लगाया कि **भारत निर्वाचन आयोग और सत्तारूढ़ भाजपा** के बीच मतदाता सूची में हेरफेर करने के लिए मिलीभगत हुई।
- The controversy was not confined to campaign rhetoric.  
यह विवाद केवल चुनावी बयानबाजी तक सीमित नहीं रहा।
- The SIR process required many interventions by the Supreme Court.  
SIR प्रक्रिया में **सुप्रीम कोर्ट के कई हस्तक्षेप** आवश्यक पड़े।
- The scale of the revision was unprecedented: **approximately 68 lakh electors were deleted, while 24 lakh were added, resulting in a net deletion of around 44 lakh voters between January 2025 and October 2025.**  
पुनरीक्षण का पैमाना अभूतपूर्व था: लगभग **68 लाख** मतदाताओं को हटाया गया, जबकि **24 लाख** नए जोड़े गए — यानी **जनवरी 2025 से अक्टूबर 2025** के बीच लगभग **44 लाख मतदाताओं की शुद्ध कटौती** हुई।
- A critical question emerges: did the SIR process actually influence the election outcome?  
एक महत्वपूर्ण सवाल उठता है: क्या SIR प्रक्रिया ने वास्तव में चुनाव परिणाम को प्रभावित किया?
- A data-driven analysis comparing changes in vote share patterns with the extent of electoral roll deletions across Assembly constituencies suggests that it did not play a determining role in the NDA’s victory.  
मतदान प्रतिशत में बदलावों की तुलना **मतदाता सूची में हुई कटौती** से करने वाली **डेटा-आधारित जांच** बताती है कि SIR प्रक्रिया ने **एनडीए की जीत में निर्णायक भूमिका नहीं** निभाई।
- The electoral outcome itself showed remarkable continuity with the 2024 general election.  
चुनावी परिणामों में **2024 के लोकसभा चुनाव** जैसी ही निरंतरता दिखाई दी।
- The NDA secured close to 46.6% of the vote share in the Assembly polls, a marginal drop of around 1.4 percentage points from the parliamentary elections held in May 2024.  
**एनडीए** ने विधानसभा चुनाव में लगभग **46.6% वोट शेयर** हासिल किया, जो **मई 2024 लोकसभा चुनाव** के वोट शेयर से लगभग **1.4 प्रतिशत अंक** कम था।
- The Mahagatbandan’s vote share declined more sharply, by approximately 2.2 percentage points from 39.2% to 37%.  
**महागठबंधन** का वोट शेयर अधिक गिरा — **39.2% से घटकर 37%**, यानी लगभग **2.2 प्रतिशत अंक** की गिरावट।
- While these shifts favoured the NDA, the pattern suggests the alliance retained rather than expanded its existing advantage over the Opposition.  
यह बदलाव भले ही NDA के पक्ष में रहे हों, लेकिन पैटर्न से संकेत मिलता है कि गठबंधन ने अपना **पहले से मौजूद लाभ बनाए रखा**, उसे बढ़ाया नहीं।
- To examine whether the SIR process contributed to these patterns, we analysed two key variables across Bihar’s Assembly constituencies: the change in the vote share difference between the NDA and MGB from the 2024 general election to the 2025 Assembly elections, and the decrease in electorate numbers following the SIR as a percentage of the original electoral roll.  
यह जांचने के लिए कि SIR प्रक्रिया ने वोट पैटर्न को प्रभावित किया या नहीं, दो प्रमुख कारकों का विश्लेषण किया गया:  
(1) 2024 लोकसभा चुनाव और 2025 विधानसभा चुनाव के बीच **NDA और MGB के वोट शेयर में अंतर**,  
(2) SIR के कारण **मतदाता संख्या में कमी**, जिसे मूल मतदाता सूची के प्रतिशत के रूप में देखा गया।



- Map 1 illustrates the changes in vote share difference between the two elections at the Assembly constituency level.  
मैप 1 विधानसभा क्षेत्र स्तर पर दोनों चुनावों के बीच वोट शेयर अंतर में हुए बदलाव दिखाता है।
- The darker red shading indicates constituencies where the NDA increased its advantage over the MGB, while the darker blue shading shows the opposite.  
गहरे लाल रंग वाले क्षेत्र वे हैं जहाँ NDA ने MGB पर अपना बढ़त बढ़ाया, जबकि गहरे नीले क्षेत्र इसके विपरीत संकेत करते हैं।
- Map 2 depicts the decrease in the electorate across constituencies, with the darker red indicating larger percentage reductions in voter numbers following the SIR process.  
मैप 2 विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में मतदाताओं की संख्या में कमी दिखाता है, जहाँ गहरा लाल रंग अधिक कटौती को दर्शाता है।
- Chart 3 plots these two variables against each other for every Assembly constituency in Bihar.  
चार्ट 3 इन दोनों कारकों को बिहार के हर विधानसभा क्षेत्र के लिए एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ प्लॉट करता है।
- If the SIR process had systematically benefited the NDA by removing Opposition voters, we would expect to see a clear pattern: constituencies with higher deletions showing greater increases in the NDA's vote share advantage.  
यदि SIR ने व्यवस्थित रूप से विपक्षी मतदाताओं को हटाकर NDA को लाभ पहुँचाया होता, तो एक साफ पैटर्न दिखता — जिन क्षेत्रों में सबसे अधिक कटौती, वहाँ NDA का सबसे अधिक वोट शेयर बढ़त।
- The scatter plot, however, tells a different story.  
लेकिन स्कैटर प्लॉट कुछ और ही कहानी बताता है।

### Correlation analysis of SIR impact

#### SIR प्रभाव का सहसंबंध विश्लेषण

- The correlation coefficient between these variables is 0.192, indicating an extremely weak positive relationship.  
इन चर के बीच सहसंबंध गुणांक 0.192 है, जो अत्यंत कमजोर सकारात्मक संबंध को इंगित करता है।
- To understand what this means, consider that correlation coefficients range from -1 (representing a perfect negative correlation), to +1 (representing a perfect positive correlation), with 0 (indicating no relationship whatsoever).  
यह समझने के लिए कि इसका क्या अर्थ है, ध्यान दें कि सहसंबंध गुणांक -1 से +1 तक होते हैं, जहाँ -1 पूर्ण नकारात्मक सहसंबंध, +1 पूर्ण सकारात्मक सहसंबंध, और 0 का अर्थ कोई संबंध नहीं होता है।
- At 0.192, the data reveal virtually no meaningful connection between the extent of electoral roll deletions in a constituency and the change in the NDA's advantage over the MGB.  
0.192 के स्तर पर, डेटा यह दर्शाता है कि किसी निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में मतदाता सूची विलोपन की मात्रा और एनडीए की बढ़त में परिवर्तन के बीच लगभग कोई सार्थक संबंध नहीं है।
- This is further confirmed by the R<sup>2</sup> value of 0.037 visible in the chart's trendline, which indicates that only 3.7% of the variation in the NDA's electoral performance can be explained by changes in the electoral roll.  
यह बात चार्ट की प्रवृत्ति रेखा में दिखाई देने वाले R<sup>2</sup> = 0.037 से और स्पष्ट होती है, जो बताता है कि एनडीए के चुनावी प्रदर्शन में सिर्फ 3.7% परिवर्तन को ही मतदाता सूची में बदलाव से समझाया जा सकता है।
- In practical terms, Assembly constituencies that experienced large-scale deletions were no more likely to see an increase in the NDA's vote share advantage than constituencies with minimal deletions.  
व्यावहारिक रूप से, जिन विधानसभा क्षेत्रों में बड़े पैमाने पर मतदाता विलोपन हुआ, वहाँ एनडीए की बढ़त बढ़ने की संभावना उतनी ही थी जितनी उन क्षेत्रों में जहाँ विलोपन बहुत कम था।
- Similarly, constituencies with smaller reductions in the electorate showed no distinct pattern in voting behaviour compared to those with larger reductions.  
इसी प्रकार, जिन क्षेत्रों में कम विलोपन हुआ, वहाँ मतदान व्यवहार में कोई अलग पैटर्न नहीं दिखा, उनकी तुलना में जहाँ अधिक विलोपन हुआ।
- The scatter plot itself is revealing.  
स्कैटर प्लॉट अपने आप में बहुत कुछ बता रहा है।



- Points are dispersed widely across both axes with no clear upward or downward trend.  
बिंदु दोनों अक्षों पर व्यापक रूप से फैले हुए हैं, और **ना ऊपर की ओर** और **ना नीचे की ओर** कोई स्पष्ट प्रवृत्ति दिखती है।
- The near-flat trendline and the clustering of points across the entire spectrum suggest that the SIR's impact, if any, was not a determining factor in electoral outcomes.  
लगभग **समतल ट्रेंडलाइन** और पूरे ग्राफ़ में बिंदुओं का फैलाव संकेत देते हैं कि **SIR का प्रभाव**, यदि कोई था भी, **निर्णायक कारक** नहीं था।
- Had the revision systematically disenfranchised Opposition voters to the NDA's benefit, the data would show constituencies with higher deletion rates trending toward greater NDA advantage — a pattern conspicuously absent from the analysis.  
यदि संशोधन ने व्यवस्थित रूप से **विपक्षी वोटर्स को हटाकर** एनडीए को लाभ पहुँचाया होता, तो डेटा में दिखाई देता कि **उच्च विलोपन वाले क्षेत्रों में** एनडीए की बढ़त अधिक होती — लेकिन ऐसा **कोई पैटर्न मौजूद नहीं** है।
- The conclusion is straightforward.  
निष्कर्ष सीधा है।
- There was no major increase in NDA vote shares relative to the decrease in the electorate across Bihar.  
बिहार में मतदाता संख्या घटने के बावजूद **एनडीए के वोट शेयर में कोई बड़ी वृद्धि** नहीं हुई।
- The NDA's advantages from the 2024 general election remained largely intact, and the coalition's victory appears to have been based on the same factors that gave it an edge in the parliamentary polls rather than being a product of the SIR process.  
**2024 लोकसभा चुनाव** में एनडीए की जो बढ़त थी, वह **लगभग जस की तस** रही, और गठबंधन की जीत उन्हीं कारकों पर आधारित दिखती है, न कि **SIR प्रक्रिया** के कारण।
- This is not to diminish the concerns about the SIR process.  
इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि **SIR प्रक्रिया को लेकर चिंताएँ** महत्वहीन हैं।
- After all, data revealed that there was a disproportionate decrease in the number of women in the electorate following the SIR, leading to the gender ratio dropping from 907 in the January rolls to a meagre 892 in the final rolls released in September.  
आखिरकार, डेटा ने दिखाया कि SIR के बाद **महिला मतदाताओं की संख्या में असंतुलित कमी** आई, जिससे **लिंगानुपात 907 (जनवरी)** से गिरकर **सिर्फ 892 (सितंबर)** रह गया।
- And yet, women turned out in much larger numbers when compared to men (four lakh more despite being forty lakh fewer in the rolls).  
फिर भी, महिलाओं ने पुरुषों की तुलना में **कहीं अधिक संख्या में मतदान किया** (सूची में **40 लाख कम** होने के बावजूद **4 लाख अधिक** महिलाएँ वोट डालने पहुँचीं)।
- However, the data also suggest that the SIR, despite being a political flashpoint, did not alone determine the outcome of Bihar's election.  
हालाँकि, डेटा यह भी दिखाता है कि **राजनीतिक विवाद** होने के बावजूद, **SIR ने अकेले** बिहार के चुनाव परिणाम को निर्धारित नहीं किया।



# How can State PSCs be reformed?

How did the Montagu Chelmsford report lead to the establishment of present-day Public Service Commissions? What is the role of the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions? Is a periodical review of the examination syllabi necessary?

SS II, Polity

EXPLAINER

Gopalakrishna, V

The story so far:

The 2025 national conference of chairpersons of the State Public Service Commissions (PSCs) is being hosted by the Telangana State Public Service Commission on December 19 and 20. Every year, whenever State PSCs conduct examinations for recruitment, they are mired in one controversy or the other. Aspirants often have to seek judicial recourse, due to which the entire process is derailed, leading to a 'trust deficit'. This is an outcome of systemic lapses, both structural and procedural, which exist in almost all State PSCs. This conference would be an apt occasion to discuss such issues and more.

What is the history of PSCs?

The PSCs in India are a product of India's struggle for Independence. The entry of Indians into the civil services on the sole criterion of merit was embedded in the demand for 'self-rule'. The Montagu Chelmsford report accepted the demand and proposed a permanent office free from political influence to regulate service matters. The first Public Service Commission for the Union was formed in 1926. Later the Government of India Act, 1935 provided for the establishment of one PSC for each province. These provisions were continued by the framers of the Constitution, and so today we have a Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) and PSCs in each State to primarily serve the needs of recruitment.

How are these commissions structured?

The UPSC functions in a relatively politically sterile environment. The members are appointed based on merit and rich prior experience in public affairs. Moreover, representation of members from all zones of the country is ensured. While the Constitution does not mention minimum age or qualifications, most of the appointed members are at least above the age of 55, and enjoy a reputation of being apolitical. On the other hand, State PSCs operate in a politically osmotic environment and the proverbial 'spoils system' is visible in the appointment process. The conventional requirements of minimum age, qualifications and public experience are given a short shrift.

The Union government has vast manpower needs. This is matched by financial resources to meet the retirement obligations of the superannuated and the remunerative needs of fresh entrants. It has also created a dedicated ministry, the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions in 1985, to formulate all policies in the field of personnel management. This ensures regular declaration of vacancies by the government enabling the UPSC to notify, conduct and declare the results of the examinations conducted by it with regularity and precision.

In contrast, the manpower needs of the States are limited and not planned. Often, they lack the financial resources to meet the retirement and recruitment obligations of their employees leading to extension of the superannuation age and postponement of recruitment. Most State governments do not have a dedicated Ministry of Personnel. And therefore, vacancies are not notified regularly by the government which effectively means that State PSCs are not required to conduct

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A raveapp: Applicants of Telangana State Public Service Commission Group 2 exam stage a protest to postpone the exam, in Hyderabad in 2023. NAGARAJ GOPAL

the examinations regularly.

How do they work?

The UPSC undertakes a periodical exercise of establishing committees comprising not only of academicians but also civil servants, social activists etc. to recommend changes in the syllabi and achieve a balance between academics and contemporary developments. They are able to tap the best talent from across the country to formulate question papers and also evaluate them. A time tested method of 'inter-se' moderation of scores is followed at different levels of the examination to minimise subjectivity. The UPSC ably balances conflicting interests of transparency and confidentiality by being quick to respond to any lapses and making systemic changes so that aspirants do not often have to seek judicial recourse for grievances.

On the other hand, State PSCs do not appoint committees regularly to redraft the syllabus; are constrained to tap academic resources from within the State; and are not able to achieve satisfactory 'inter-se' moderation in evaluation. They also have the daunting task of making complex calculations to accurately incorporate not only vertical reservations but also horizontal reservations. Meeting the demands of regional quotas in the form of zonal reservations adds to this complexity. All these lead to continuous litigation in one form or the other delaying the recruitment process.

These are some of the main reasons limiting the efficient functioning of State PSCs and their declining credibility. Often aggrieved students comment that they have lost faith in State Commissions and would like the UPSC to conduct the examinations. Time bound structural and procedural reforms are required to restore faith in State PSCs.

What can be done?

First, manpower planning should be systematised and a separate ministry should be created for personnel management. This Ministry should clearly layout a five-year road map for recruitment so that State PSCs are able to notify and conduct the examination process.

Along the lines of the 41st amendment of the Constitution (1976), which raised the maximum age limit of the members of State PSCs from 60 to 62 years in order to attract meritorious and experienced civil servants, there is a need for another amendment. The minimum age for appointment as a member should be fixed at 55 and the maximum age at 65. The stipulation of minimum age will enable appointment of experienced individuals while increasing the maximum age will enable State PSCs to benefit from the experience of senior civil servants who have retired at 60 for a longer period than under the existing provisions.

This amendment could also specify the necessary qualifications that members need in order to be appointed. For example, in order to be an 'official' member, experience as Secretary to a State government or a post equivalent to this rank should be stipulated while for 'non-official' members 10 years of practice in a recognised profession like law, medicine, or engineering should be stipulated. A mandatory pre-consultation with the leader of the Opposition before appointment may be considered for non-official members. Thus, a State wide panel of eminent people – those with high standing, integrity, merit and independence – should be constituted and periodically updated.

Secondly, the syllabus should be revised periodically, keeping in view the

changing academic scenario and the syllabi for examinations as stipulated by the UPSC. Every proposal for revision should be placed in the public domain and changes can be made after public consultation. Knowledge on State specific areas like regional history, regional economy and regional geography, in which the availability of faculty is limited, should be tested in the objective type format so that there would be no scope for complaint on the grounds of asymmetry of information and value laden correction. Thus, while the preliminary examination may continue in the objective format, the main examination should be a mixture of objective and subjective papers. The process of translation of the questions from English to the regional language should not only involve technology for secrecy but also the human element so that the right meaning is conveyed. Care should be taken to regularly change the pattern of questions so that the role of AI-chat bots, as a source of information for formulating answers, is effectively countered.

Finally, the Secretary of the State PSCs should be a senior officer with prior experience as either Commissioner of School Education or Secretary of the Board of Intermediate education to enable effective supervision of the examination branch of the Commission. Transparency and confidentiality should be balanced on the lines of the UPSC.

If these changes are effected, one would have vibrant Public Service Commissions at the State level on par with the Union Public Service Commission.

The writer is the Founder Director of Brain Tree IAS Hyderabad and has been engaged in teaching public administration for the last 35 years.

THE GIST

The entry of Indians into the civil services on the sole criterion of merit was embedded in the demand for 'self-rule'.

The manpower needs of the States are limited and not planned. Often, they lack the financial resources to meet the retirement and recruitment obligations of their employees leading to extension of the superannuation age and postponement of recruitment.

State PSCs do not appoint committees regularly to redraft the syllabus; are constrained to tap academic resources from within the State; and are not able to achieve satisfactory 'inter-se' moderation in evaluation.

## How can State PSCs be reformed? राज्य लोक सेवा आयोगों (PSC) में सुधार कैसे किया जा सकता है?

The 2025 national conference of chairpersons of the State Public Service Commissions (PSCs)

2025 राज्य लोक सेवा आयोगों (PSCs) के अध्यक्षों का राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन

- The 2025 national conference of chairpersons of the State Public Service Commissions (PSCs) is being hosted by the Telangana State Public Service Commission on December 19 and 20.



2025 राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन राज्य लोक सेवा आयोगों (PSCs) के अध्यक्षों का 19 और 20 दिसंबर को तेलंगाना लोक सेवा आयोग द्वारा आयोजित किया जा रहा है।

- Every year, whenever State PSCs conduct examinations for recruitment, they are mired in one controversy or the other.  
हर वर्ष, जब भी राज्य PSCs भर्ती के लिए परीक्षाएँ आयोजित करते हैं, वे किसी न किसी विवाद में फँस जाते हैं।
- Aspirants often have to seek judicial recourse, due to which the entire process is derailed, leading to a 'trust deficit'.  
अभ्यर्थियों को अक्सर न्यायिक उपायों का सहारा लेना पड़ता है, जिससे पूरी प्रक्रिया पटरी से उतर जाती है और 'विश्वास की कमी (trust deficit)' उत्पन्न होती है।
- This is an outcome of systemic lapses, both **structural and procedural**, which exist in almost all State PSCs.  
यह लगभग सभी राज्य PSCs में मौजूद संरचनात्मक और प्रक्रियागत खामियों का परिणाम है।
- This conference would be an apt occasion to discuss such issues and more.  
यह सम्मेलन ऐसे मुद्दों और अन्य पहलुओं पर चर्चा करने का उचित अवसर होगा।

### What is the history of PSCs?

#### PSCs का इतिहास क्या है?

- The PSCs in India are a product of India's struggle for Independence.  
भारत में PSCs, भारत के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का परिणाम हैं।
- The entry of Indians into the civil services on the sole criterion of **merit** was embedded in the demand for 'self-rule'.  
भारतीयों का केवल **योग्यता (merit)** के आधार पर सिविल सेवाओं में प्रवेश '**स्वशासन (self-rule)**' की मांग में निहित था।
- The **Montagu Chelmsford report accepted the demand and proposed a permanent office free from political influence** to regulate service matters.  
**मोन्टैग-चेम्सफोर्ड रिपोर्ट** ने इस मांग को स्वीकार किया और सेवा मामलों को विनियमित करने के लिए **राजनीतिक प्रभाव से मुक्त स्थायी कार्यालय** का प्रस्ताव दिया।
- The **first Public Service Commission for the Union was formed in 1926**.  
संघ के लिए पहला लोक सेवा आयोग **1926** में गठित किया गया था।
- Later the **Government of India Act, 1935 provided for the establishment of one PSC for each province**.  
बाद में **भारत सरकार अधिनियम, 1935** ने प्रत्येक प्रांत के लिए एक PSC की स्थापना का प्रावधान किया।
- These provisions were continued by the framers of the Constitution, and so today we have a **Union Public Service Commission (UPSC)** and PSCs in each State to primarily serve the needs of recruitment.  
संविधान निर्माताओं ने इन प्रावधानों को जारी रखा, और इसलिए आज हमारे पास **संघ लोक सेवा आयोग (UPSC)** और प्रत्येक राज्य में भर्ती की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए PSCs मौजूद हैं।

### How are these commissions structured?

#### इन आयोगों की संरचना कैसी है?

- The UPSC functions in a relatively **politically sterile environment**.  
UPSC अपेक्षाकृत **राजनीतिक रूप से निष्कलुष वातावरण** में कार्य करता है।
- The members are appointed based on **merit** and rich prior experience in public affairs.  
सदस्यों की नियुक्ति **योग्यता (merit)** और सार्वजनिक मामलों में समृद्ध अनुभव के आधार पर होती है।
- Moreover, representation of members from **all zones** of the country is ensured.  
इसके अलावा, देश के **सभी क्षेत्रों** से सदस्यों का प्रतिनिधित्व सुनिश्चित किया जाता है।
- While the Constitution does not mention minimum age or qualifications, most of the appointed members are at least above the age of **55**, and enjoy a reputation of being **apolitical**.  
संविधान न्यूनतम आयु या योग्यता का उल्लेख नहीं करता, फिर भी अधिकांश नियुक्त सदस्य **55 वर्ष** से अधिक आयु के होते हैं और **अराजनीतिक** छवि रखते हैं।
- On the other hand, State PSCs operate in a **politically osmotic environment** and the proverbial '**spoils system**' is visible in the appointment process.



दूसरी ओर, राज्य PSCs राजनीतिक रूप से प्रभावित वातावरण में काम करते हैं और नियुक्ति प्रक्रिया में कहावत के अनुसार 'स्पाइल्स सिस्टम' देखा जा सकता है।

- The conventional requirements of minimum age, qualifications and public experience are given a short shrift.  
न्यूनतम आयु, योग्यता और सार्वजनिक अनुभव जैसी पारंपरिक आवश्यकताओं की उपेक्षा की जाती है।
- The Union government has vast manpower needs.  
केंद्र सरकार की जनशक्ति की आवश्यकताएँ बहुत व्यापक हैं।
- This is matched by financial resources to meet the retirement obligations of the superannuated and the remunerative needs of fresh entrants.  
यह सेवानिवृत्त कर्मचारियों के **retirement obligations** और नए भर्ती कर्मचारियों की **वेतन संबंधी आवश्यकताओं** को पूरा करने हेतु पर्याप्त वित्तीय संसाधनों से समर्थित है।
- It has also created a dedicated ministry, the **Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions in 1985**, to formulate all policies in the field of personnel management.  
इसने एक समर्पित मंत्रालय, **कार्मिक, लोक शिकायत और पेंशन मंत्रालय (1985)** की स्थापना की, जो कार्मिक प्रबंधन के क्षेत्र में सभी नीतियाँ बनाता है।
- This ensures regular declaration of vacancies by the government enabling the UPSC to notify, conduct and declare the results of the examinations conducted by it with regularity and precision.  
इससे सरकार द्वारा रिक्तियों की नियमित घोषणा सुनिश्चित होती है, जिससे UPSC नियमितता और सटीकता के साथ अधिसूचना, परीक्षा संचालन और परिणाम घोषणा कर पाता है।
- In contrast, the manpower needs of the States are limited and not planned.  
इसके विपरीत, राज्यों की जनशक्ति आवश्यकताएँ सीमित और बिना योजना के होती हैं।
- Often, they lack the **financial resources** to meet the retirement and recruitment obligations of their employees leading to **extension of the superannuation age** and **postponement of recruitment**.  
अक्सर उनके पास **वित्तीय संसाधनों** की कमी होती है, जिससे **सेवानिवृत्ति आयु बढ़ाना** और **भर्ती को टालना** पड़ता है।
- Most State governments do not have a dedicated Ministry of Personnel.  
अधिकांश राज्य सरकारों के पास समर्पित कार्मिक मंत्रालय नहीं होता।
- And therefore, vacancies are not notified regularly by the government which effectively means that **State PSCs are not required to conduct the examinations regularly**.  
और इसलिए, रिक्तियाँ नियमित रूप से अधिसूचित नहीं की जाती, जिसका अर्थ है कि **राज्य PSCs को नियमित रूप से परीक्षाएँ आयोजित करने की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ती**।

### How do they work?

#### ये कैसे काम करते हैं?

- The UPSC undertakes a periodical exercise of establishing committees comprising not only academicians but also civil servants, social activists etc. to recommend changes in the syllabi and achieve a balance between academics and contemporary developments.  
UPSC समय-समय पर **समितियाँ** स्थापित करने का कार्य करता है, जिनमें न केवल शिक्षाविद् बल्कि सिविल सेवक, सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता आदि शामिल होते हैं, ताकि **syllabi** में बदलाव की सिफारिश की जा सके और अकादमिक तथा समकालीन विकास के बीच संतुलन स्थापित किया जा सके।
- They are able to tap the best talent from across the country to formulate question papers and also evaluate them.  
वे देश भर से **श्रेष्ठ प्रतिभा** को चुनने में सक्षम होते हैं ताकि प्रश्न पत्र तैयार किए जा सकें और उनका मूल्यांकन किया जा सके।
- A time tested method of '**inter-se**' moderation of scores is followed at different levels of the examination to minimise subjectivity.  
अलग-अलग स्तरों पर '**inter-se**' moderation की समय-परीक्षित विधि अपनाई जाती है ताकि व्यक्तिपरकता को न्यूनतम किया जा सके।
- The UPSC ably balances conflicting interests of transparency and confidentiality by being quick to respond to any lapses and making systemic changes so that aspirants do not often have to seek judicial recourse for grievances.



UPSC **transparency** और **confidentiality** के परस्पर विरोधी हितों को संतुलित करता है, त्रुटियों पर शीघ्र प्रतिक्रिया देकर और प्रणालीगत सुधार करके, ताकि अभ्यर्थियों को बार-बार न्यायालय का सहारा न लेना पड़े।

- On the other hand, State PSCs do not appoint committees regularly to redraft the syllabus; are constrained to tap academic resources from within the State; and are not able to achieve satisfactory '**inter-se**' **moderation** in evaluation.  
दूसरी ओर, राज्य PSCs नियमित रूप से **syllabus** को पुनः तैयार करने के लिए समितियाँ नियुक्त नहीं करते; वे राज्य के भीतर उपलब्ध शैक्षणिक संसाधनों तक सीमित होते हैं; और मूल्यांकन में संतोषजनक '**inter-se**' **moderation** प्राप्त नहीं कर पाते।
- They also have the daunting task of making complex calculations to accurately incorporate not only **vertical reservations** but also **horizontal reservations**.  
उन्हें **vertical reservations** और **horizontal reservations** को सही तरीके से सम्मिलित करने के लिए जटिल गणनाएँ करने का कठिन कार्य भी करना पड़ता है।
- Meeting the demands of regional quotas in the form of **zonal reservations** adds to this complexity.  
**zonal reservations** के रूप में क्षेत्रीय कोटा की मांगों को पूरा करना इस जटिलता को और बढ़ा देता है।
- All these lead to continuous litigation in one form or the other delaying the recruitment process.  
इन सबके कारण निरंतर **litigation** होता रहता है, जिससे भर्ती प्रक्रिया में देरी होती है।
- These are some of the main reasons limiting the efficient functioning of State PSCs and their declining credibility.  
ये कुछ प्रमुख कारण हैं जो राज्य PSCs के कुशल संचालन को सीमित करते हैं और उनकी **credibility** को घटाते हैं।
- Often aggrieved students comment that they have lost faith in State Commissions and would like the UPSC to conduct the examinations.  
अक्सर पीड़ित छात्र टिप्पणी करते हैं कि उन्होंने राज्य आयोगों पर भरोसा खो दिया है और वे चाहते हैं कि परीक्षाएँ **UPSC** द्वारा आयोजित की जाएँ।
- Time bound structural and procedural reforms are required to restore faith in State PSCs.  
राज्य PSCs में विश्वास बहाल करने के लिए समयबद्ध **structural** और **procedural reforms** आवश्यक हैं।

### What can be done?

#### क्या किया जा सकता है?

- First, manpower planning should be systematised and a separate ministry should be created for personnel management.  
पहला, **manpower planning** को सुव्यवस्थित किया जाना चाहिए और **personnel management** के लिए एक अलग मंत्रालय बनाया जाना चाहिए।
- This Ministry should clearly layout a **five-year road map** for recruitment so that State PSCs are able to notify and conduct the examination process.  
यह मंत्रालय भर्ती के लिए स्पष्ट **पाँच-वर्षीय रोडमैप** तैयार करे ताकि राज्य PSCs अधिसूचना जारी कर सकें और परीक्षा प्रक्रिया संचालित कर सकें।
- Along the lines of the **41st amendment of the Constitution (1976)**, which raised the maximum age limit of the members of State PSCs from 60 to **62 years** in order to attract meritorious and experienced civil servants, there is a need for another amendment.  
**संविधान के 41वें संशोधन (1976)** के अनुसार, जिसमें राज्य PSC सदस्यों की अधिकतम आयु सीमा **60 से 62 वर्ष** कर दी गई थी, उसी प्रकार अब एक और संशोधन की आवश्यकता है।
- The minimum age for appointment as a member should be fixed at **55** and the maximum age at **65**.  
सदस्य के रूप में नियुक्ति के लिए न्यूनतम आयु **55** और अधिकतम आयु **65** निर्धारित की जानी चाहिए।
- The stipulation of minimum age will enable appointment of experienced individuals while increasing the maximum age will enable State PSCs to benefit from the experience of senior civil servants who have retired at **60** for a longer period than under the existing provisions.  
न्यूनतम आयु का प्रावधान अनुभवी व्यक्तियों की नियुक्ति को संभव करेगा और अधिकतम आयु बढ़ाने से राज्य PSCs को **60** वर्ष पर सेवानिवृत्त वरिष्ठ सिविल सेवकों के अनुभव का अधिक समय तक लाभ मिलेगा।



- This amendment could also specify the necessary **qualifications** that members need in order to be appointed.  
यह संशोधन सदस्यों की नियुक्ति के लिए आवश्यक **qualifications** को भी निर्धारित कर सकता है।
- For example, in order to be an **'official' member**, experience as Secretary to a State government or a post equivalent to this rank should be stipulated while for **'non-official' members** 10 years of practice in a recognised profession like **law, medicine, or engineering** should be stipulated.  
उदाहरण के लिए, **'official' member** बनने के लिए राज्य सरकार में सचिव या समकक्ष पद पर अनुभव आवश्यक होना चाहिए, जबकि **'non-official' member** के लिए **कानून, चिकित्सा या इंजीनियरिंग** जैसे मान्यता प्राप्त पेशे में **10 वर्ष** का अनुभव अनिवार्य होना चाहिए।
- A mandatory pre-consultation with the **leader of the Opposition** before appointment may be considered for non-official members.  
**विपक्ष के नेता** से नियुक्ति से पूर्व अनिवार्य परामर्श **non-official members** के लिए विचार किया जा सकता है।
- Thus, a State wide panel of eminent people — those with high standing, integrity, merit and independence — should be constituted and periodically updated.  
इस प्रकार राज्य स्तर पर उच्च प्रतिष्ठा, **integrity, merit** और **independence** वाले प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्तियों की एक पैनल बनायी जानी चाहिए और समय-समय पर अपडेट की जानी चाहिए।
- Secondly, the syllabus should be revised periodically, keeping in view the changing academic scenario and the syllabi for examinations as stipulated by the **UPSC**.  
दूसरा, **syllabus** में परिवर्तनशील शैक्षणिक परिवेश और **UPSC** द्वारा निर्धारित पाठ्यक्रम को ध्यान में रखते हुए समय-समय पर संशोधन किया जाना चाहिए।
- Every proposal for revision should be placed in the **public domain** and changes can be made after **public consultation**.  
संशोधन के प्रत्येक प्रस्ताव को **public domain** में रखा जाना चाहिए और **public consultation** के बाद परिवर्तन किए जाने चाहिए।
- Knowledge on State specific areas like **regional history, regional economy and regional geography**, in which the availability of faculty is limited, should be tested in the **objective type format** so that there would be no scope for complaint on the grounds of asymmetry of information and value laden correction.  
राज्य-विशिष्ट क्षेत्रों जैसे **regional history, economy, geography** में सीमित संकाय उपलब्धता को देखते हुए इन्हें **objective type format** में परखा जाना चाहिए, ताकि जानकारी की असमानता और मूल्य-आधारित मूल्यांकन पर शिकायत की कोई गुंजाइश न रहे।
- Thus, while the preliminary examination may continue in the **objective format**, the **main examination** should be a mixture of **objective and subjective papers**.  
इस प्रकार प्रारंभिक परीक्षा **objective format** में जारी रह सकती है, जबकि **मुख्य परीक्षा objective और subjective papers** का मिश्रण होनी चाहिए।
- The process of **translation** of the questions from English to the regional language should not only involve technology for secrecy but also the human element so that the right meaning is conveyed.  
प्रश्नों के अंग्रेज़ी से क्षेत्रीय भाषा में **translation** की प्रक्रिया में गोपनीयता हेतु तकनीक के साथ मानव तत्व भी शामिल होना चाहिए, ताकि सही अर्थ संप्रेषित हो।
- Care should be taken to regularly change the **pattern of questions** so that the role of **AI-chat bots** as a source of information for formulating answers is effectively countered.  
यह सुनिश्चित किया जाना चाहिए कि **pattern of questions** नियमित रूप से बदले जाएँ ताकि उत्तर तैयार करने में **AI-chat bots** की भूमिका को प्रभावी रूप से रोका जा सके।
- Finally, the Secretary of the State PSCs should be a **senior officer** with prior experience as either **Commissioner of School Education** or **Secretary of the Board of Intermediate Education** to enable effective supervision of the examination branch of the Commission.  
अंत में, राज्य PSC के सचिव को **senior officer** होना चाहिए, जिनके पास **Commissioner of School Education** या **Secretary, Board of Intermediate Education** के रूप में अनुभव हो, ताकि परीक्षा शाखा की प्रभावी निगरानी हो सके।
- Transparency and confidentiality should be balanced on the lines of the **UPSC**.  
**UPSC** की तरह ही **transparency** और **confidentiality** में संतुलन बनाए रखना चाहिए।
- If these changes are effected, one would have vibrant Public Service Commissions at the State level on par with the **Union Public Service Commission**.



**TELEGRAM CHANNEL:** <https://t.me/patrioticIAS>

**YOUTUBE CHANNEL:** <https://www.youtube.com/@PatrioticIAS>

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यदि ये परिवर्तन लागू किए जाते हैं, तो राज्य स्तर पर **UPSC** के समान प्रभावी और सशक्त लोक सेवा आयोग होंगे।

Warren Hastings created District Collector system in 1772  
Cornwallis Code (1793) separated judiciary and revenue functions  
Civil Service roles gradually formalised to strengthen British control  
Establishment of covenanted and uncovenanted services

#### **Formation of the Indian Civil Service (ICS)**

Lord Wellesley established Fort William College (1800) to train civil servants  
Charter Act of 1833 made ICS an open service for all subjects of the British Empire (but practically restricted to British)

**Civil Services exam started in 1855 based on merit, conducted in London**

**Satyendranath Tagore became first Indian to qualify in 1863**

Indianisation slowly increased after 1919

#### **Post-1858 Developments**

- Government of India Act 1858 brought services under the Crown
- **Aitchison Commission (1886) classified services into Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate Services**
- **Islington Commission (1917)** recommended increasing Indian representation
- Government of India Act 1919 created All India and Central Services
- **Lee Commission (1924)** expanded Indian participation further

**Governance**

24/11/2025



## Safe processing matters more than zesty flavours

GS II: Governance

There is a shadow – of doubt – over India's food landscape. In recent years, a string of high-profile food adulteration cases has shaken consumer confidence. As a result, many are now more cautious about their everyday food choices. Street food, once a beloved symbol of India's rich culinary culture, is facing growing scrutiny that is related to safety and hygiene.

In July 2024, raids on 58 **pani puri** stalls in Chennai revealed alarming practices. Officials found vendors using contaminated water and dipping their hands into chutneys. These cases are not isolated instances but highlight a troubling gap in food safety across India's informal food sector. While street food brings tradition and community to life, its hygiene standards often remain unchecked.

Food safety and standards for both packaged and unpackaged foods fall under the purview of the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI). However, the vast number of unpackaged food vendors makes it more challenging for the regulator to enforce safety standards consistently. In contrast, packaged foods allow for stricter enforcement of traceability, transparency, and reliability standards, due to clearer labelling and standardised processing protocols.

### Packaged foods, safety and trust

India's packaged food industry is often associated with convenience. But it also reflects a structured system of food production shaped by science, regulation, and evolving consumer expectations. Compared to the informal food sector, the organised packaged food industry operates within a framework of clearer oversight. Regulatory guidelines set by the FSSAI span the entire production cycle – from sourcing raw materials to packaging the final product.

Modern processing techniques further reinforce this reliability and shelf-life amidst variable weather conditions. Methods such as pasteurisation, vacuum sealing and aseptic packaging are widely adopted across the industry. These techniques help reduce microbial risks



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is Professor, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations

There is a troubling gap when it boils down to ensuring uniform food safety across India's informal food sector

while aiming to retain flavour and nutritional value. They also support broader distribution and storage needs, particularly in urban and working populations.

Transparency is another area where packaged foods provide clarity. From listing allergens and ingredients to providing manufacturing and expiry dates, packaged foods offer consumers, especially parents, elderly individuals, and health-conscious individuals, the tools to make informed dietary decisions.

Importantly, the industry is responding to growing consumer priorities around processed foods. Driven by market demand and growing health awareness, companies are evolving their product portfolios by introducing a wider range of offerings that cater to health-conscious consumers, thereby expanding the choices available to them. Simultaneously, there is a surge in fortifying foods with vital micronutrients to combat widespread nutritional deficiencies. These shifts mark a responsible and forward-looking approach that aligns commercial interests with consumer well-being.

**A part of culinary landscape, but with risks**  
Street food remains a vibrant and integral part of India's culinary landscape. It reflects cultural heritage, supports millions of livelihoods, and continues to be a popular choice for both locals and tourists. However, beneath this rich and flavourful surface lies a series of systemic risks that cannot be ignored.

A recent analysis by the Observer Research Foundation paints a grim picture, estimating that India records a staggering 100 million cases of food-borne illnesses annually, leading to approximately 1,20,000 deaths. A significant portion of these illnesses is linked to contaminated food from informal sources, including street vendors, small eateries and roadside stalls. These are not just statistics. They represent a significant public health burden that disproportionately affects the most vulnerable sections of society.

The quality of street food often deteriorates

due to incorrect cooking practices. The reuse of cooking oil, for instance, is a common practice that not only diminishes the nutritional value of the food but can also lead to the formation of harmful trans fats and other toxic compounds. Similarly, the incentive to use cheaper, adulterated ingredients is high. These practices frequently trigger localised outbreaks of food poisoning and other gastrointestinal illnesses, which often go unreported, further masking the true scale of the problem.

The FSSAI has introduced initiatives to train, certify, and integrate these vendors into the regulatory framework. In collaboration with the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) it launched a food safety training programme for street food vendors in Mumbai. The training modules include personal hygiene, safe food handling, storage protocols to prevent contamination and proper waste disposal. At the same time, the unorganised nature and sheer scale of the sector make this a gradual and ongoing effort.

### Foster a commitment to safety

While packaged foods go beyond convenience and reflect a science-led, structured approach to addressing food safety concerns, it is important to ensure that street foods are safe and hygienic through training and rating of street vendors under national-level campaigns such as the Eat Right India movement or the Clean Street Food Hub (CSFH).

As India progresses on its path of modernisation and urbanisation, ensuring access to safe and hygienic food must become a top priority for all stakeholders involved. While the romance and tradition of street food remain integral to India's cultural fabric, the associated health risks cannot be overlooked especially when public health is a national priority. The future of food in India must be shaped not by sentiment, but by an unwavering commitment to safety.

The views expressed are personal

## Safe processing matters more than zesty flavours सुरक्षित प्रसंस्करण चटपटे स्वादों से अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है

### Food safety, street food and packaged foods in India भारत में खाद्य सुरक्षा, स्ट्रीट फूड और पैकेज्ड फूड

- There is a shadow — of doubt — over India's food landscape. In recent years, a string of high-profile **food adulteration** cases has shaken consumer confidence. As a result, many are now more cautious about their everyday food choices. **Street food**, once a beloved symbol of India's rich culinary culture, is facing growing scrutiny that is related to safety and hygiene. भारत के खाद्य परिदृश्य पर संदेह की छाया है। हाल के वर्षों में, कई हाई-प्रोफाइल **फूड अडाल्टरेशन** मामलों ने उपभोक्ता **विश्वास** को हिला दिया है। इसके परिणामस्वरूप, अब कई लोग अपनी रोजमर्रा की खाद्य पसंद को लेकर अधिक सतर्क हो गए हैं। कभी भारत की समृद्ध पाक-संस्कृति का प्रिय प्रतीक रहा **स्ट्रीट फूड** अब **सुरक्षा और स्वच्छता** से जुड़े बढ़ते परीक्षण का सामना कर रहा है।
- In **July 2024**, raids on **58 pani puri stalls** in **Chennai** revealed alarming practices. Officials found vendors using **contaminated water** and dipping their hands into chutneys. These cases are not isolated instances but highlight a troubling gap in food safety across India's **informal food sector**. While street food brings tradition and community to life, its hygiene standards often remain unchecked.

**जुलाई 2024** में चेन्नई में की गई **58 पानी पुरी स्टॉल्स** पर छापेमारी ने चिंताजनक प्रथाओं का खुलासा किया। अधिकारियों ने विक्रेताओं को **दूषित पानी** का उपयोग करते हुए और चटनी में अपने हाथ डुबोते हुए पाया। ये घटनाएँ अकेली नहीं हैं, बल्कि पूरे भारत के **अनौपचारिक खाद्य क्षेत्र** में खाद्य सुरक्षा की एक गंभीर कमी को



रेखांकित करती हैं। जबकि स्ट्रीट फूड परंपरा और समुदाय को जीवंत बनाता है, इसकी **स्वच्छता मानक** अक्सर बिना जाँचे रह जाते हैं।

- Food safety and standards for both **packaged and unpackaged foods** fall under the purview of the **Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI)**. However, the vast number of unpackaged food vendors makes it more challenging for the regulator to enforce safety standards consistently. In contrast, **packaged foods** allow for stricter enforcement of **traceability, transparency, and reliability** standards, due to clearer labelling and standardised processing protocols.

**पैकेज्ड और अनपैकेज्ड खाद्य पदार्थों** की सुरक्षा और मानक **भारतीय खाद्य सुरक्षा और मानक प्राधिकरण (FSSAI)** के अधिकार क्षेत्र में आते हैं। लेकिन अनपैकेज्ड फूड विक्रेताओं की विशाल संख्या नियामक के लिए सुरक्षा मानकों को लगातार लागू करना कठिन बना देती है। इसके विपरीत, **पैकेज्ड फूड** स्पष्ट लेबलिंग और मानकीकृत प्रोसेसिंग प्रोटोकॉल के कारण **ट्रेसबिलिटी, पारदर्शिता और विश्वसनीयता** मानकों को अधिक सख्ती से लागू करने की अनुमति देते हैं।

### Packaged foods, safety and trust पैकेज्ड फूड, सुरक्षा और भरोसा

- India's **packaged food industry** is often associated with convenience. But it also reflects a structured system of food production shaped by **science, regulation, and evolving consumer expectations**. Compared to the informal food sector, the organised packaged food industry operates within a framework of clearer oversight.  
भारत का **पैकेज्ड फूड उद्योग** अक्सर सुविधा से जोड़ा जाता है। लेकिन यह **विज्ञान, नियमन और बदलती उपभोक्ता अपेक्षाओं** से निर्मित एक संरचित खाद्य उत्पादन प्रणाली को भी दर्शाता है। अनौपचारिक खाद्य क्षेत्र की तुलना में संगठित पैकेज्ड फूड उद्योग अधिक स्पष्ट **निगरानी ढाँचे** के भीतर कार्य करता है।
- Regulatory guidelines set by the **FSSAI** span the entire production cycle — from **sourcing raw materials to packaging** the final product.  
**FSSAI** द्वारा निर्धारित नियामकीय दिशानिर्देश पूरे उत्पादन चक्र में फैले होते हैं — **कच्चे माल की सोर्सिंग** से लेकर अंतिम उत्पाद के **पैकेजिंग** तक।
- Modern processing techniques further reinforce this reliability and **shelf-life** amidst variable weather conditions. Methods such as **pasteurisation, vacuum sealing and aseptic packaging** are widely adopted across the industry. These techniques help reduce **microbial risks** while aiming to retain flavour and **nutritional value**. They also support broader **distribution and storage** needs, particularly in urban and working populations.  
आधुनिक प्रोसेसिंग तकनीकें बदलती मौसमीय परिस्थितियों के बीच इस विश्वसनीयता और **शेल्फ लाइफ** को और मजबूत करती हैं। **पाश्चुरीकरण, वैक्यूम सीलिंग और एसेप्टिक पैकेजिंग** जैसी विधियाँ पूरे उद्योग में व्यापक रूप से अपनाई गई हैं। ये तकनीकें **सूक्ष्मजीव संबंधी जोखिमों** को कम करने में मदद करती हैं, साथ ही स्वाद और **पोषण मूल्य** को बनाए रखने का लक्ष्य रखती हैं। ये विशेष रूप से शहरी और कामकाजी आबादी में व्यापक **वितरण और भंडारण** की जरूरतों को भी समर्थन देती हैं।
- **Transparency** is another area where packaged foods provide clarity. From listing **allergens and ingredients** to providing **manufacturing and expiry dates**, packaged foods offer consumers, especially parents, elderly individuals, and health-conscious individuals, the tools to make **informed dietary decisions**.  
**पारदर्शिता** एक और क्षेत्र है जहाँ पैकेज्ड फूड स्पष्टता प्रदान करते हैं। **एलर्जेन्स और इंग्रेडिएंट्स** की सूची देने से लेकर **निर्माण और समाप्ति तिथि** बताने तक, पैकेज्ड फूड उपभोक्ताओं — विशेषकर माता-पिता, बुजुर्गों और स्वास्थ्य-जागरूक व्यक्तियों — को **सोच-समझकर आहार संबंधी निर्णय** लेने के लिए आवश्यक जानकारी उपलब्ध कराते हैं।
- Importantly, the industry is responding to growing consumer priorities around **processed foods**. Driven by **market demand** and growing **health awareness**, companies are evolving their product portfolios by introducing a wider range of offerings that cater to **health-conscious consumers**, thereby expanding the choices available to them.  
महत्वपूर्ण रूप से, उद्योग **प्रोसेस्ड फूड** के बारे में बढ़ती उपभोक्ता प्राथमिकताओं का जवाब दे रहा है। **बाज़ार की मांग** और बढ़ती **स्वास्थ्य-जागरूकता** से प्रेरित होकर कंपनियाँ अपने उत्पाद पोर्टफोलियो को विकसित कर रही हैं और **स्वास्थ्य-सचेत उपभोक्ताओं** के लिए अधिक विविध विकल्प पेश कर रही हैं, जिससे उनके लिए उपलब्ध विकल्पों का दायरा बढ़ रहा है।



- Simultaneously, there is a surge in **fortifying foods** with vital **micronutrients** to combat widespread **nutritional deficiencies**.  
इसी समय, व्यापक **पोषण की कमी** से निपटने के लिए आवश्यक **माइक्रोन्यूट्रिएंट्स** से खाद्य पदार्थों को **फोर्टिफाई** (सुदृढ़) करने में तेज़ी आई है।
- These shifts mark a **responsible and forward-looking approach** that aligns **commercial interests** with **consumer well-being**.  
ये परिवर्तन एक **जिम्मेदार और दूरदर्शी दृष्टिकोण** को दर्शाते हैं, जो **व्यावसायिक हितों** को **उपभोक्ता कल्याण** के साथ संतुलित करता है।

### A part of culinary landscape, but with risks खाद्य परिदृश्य का हिस्सा, लेकिन जोखिमों के साथ

- Street food remains a vibrant and integral part of India's culinary landscape. It reflects cultural heritage, supports millions of livelihoods, and continues to be a popular choice for both locals and tourists. However, beneath this rich and flavourful surface lies a series of systemic risks that cannot be ignored.  
स्ट्रीट फूड भारत के खाद्य परिदृश्य का एक जीवंत और अभिन्न हिस्सा बना हुआ है। यह सांस्कृतिक विरासत को दर्शाता है, लाखों लोगों की आजीविका को समर्थन देता है, और स्थानीय लोगों व पर्यटकों दोनों के लिए लोकप्रिय विकल्प बना रहता है। हालांकि, इस समृद्ध और स्वादिष्ट सतह के नीचे ऐसे कई **प्रणालीगत जोखिम** छिपे हैं जिन्हें नज़रअंदाज़ नहीं किया जा सकता।
- A recent analysis by the **Observer Research Foundation** paints a grim picture, estimating that India records **100 million food-borne illness cases annually**, leading to approximately **1,20,000 deaths**.  
**ऑब्ज़र्वर रिसर्च फाउंडेशन** के एक हालिया विश्लेषण ने चिंताजनक चित्र प्रस्तुत किया है, जिसके अनुसार भारत में हर साल **100 मिलियन खाद्य जनित बीमारियों के मामले** दर्ज होते हैं, जो लगभग **1,20,000 मौतों** का कारण बनते हैं।
- A significant portion of these illnesses is linked to **contaminated food** from informal sources, including street vendors, small eateries and roadside stalls.  
इन बीमारियों का एक बड़ा हिस्सा **दूषित भोजन** से जुड़ा है, जो अनौपचारिक स्रोतों—जैसे स्ट्रीट वेंडर, छोटी खानपान दुकानों और सड़क किनारे स्टॉलों—से आता है।
- These are not just statistics; they represent a major **public health burden**, disproportionately affecting vulnerable sections of society.  
ये केवल आंकड़े नहीं हैं; ये एक बड़े **सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य बोझ** का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, जो समाज के सबसे कमजोर वर्गों को असमान रूप से प्रभावित करता है।
- The quality of street food often deteriorates due to incorrect cooking practices.  
गलत पकाने की प्रथाओं के कारण स्ट्रीट फूड की गुणवत्ता अक्सर खराब हो जाती है।
- The **reuse of cooking oil** is a common practice that reduces nutritional value and leads to the formation of harmful **trans fats** and toxic compounds.  
**कुकिंग ऑयल का बार-बार उपयोग** एक आम प्रथा है, जो खाद्य पदार्थों के पोषण मूल्य को कम करती है और हानिकारक **ट्रांस फैट्स** व विषैले यौगिकों का निर्माण करती है।
- The incentive to use cheaper, adulterated ingredients is also high, frequently causing localised **food poisoning** and gastrointestinal illnesses that often go unreported.  
सस्ते, मिलावटी पदार्थों के उपयोग का प्रलोभन भी अधिक होता है, जिससे स्थानीय स्तर पर **फूड पॉयजनिंग** और पेट से संबंधित बीमारियाँ होती हैं, जो अक्सर दर्ज नहीं होतीं।
- The **FSSAI** has introduced initiatives to train, certify, and integrate these vendors into the regulatory framework.  
**FSSAI** ने इन विक्रेताओं को प्रशिक्षित करने, प्रमाणित करने और नियामक ढांचे में शामिल करने के लिए कई पहलें शुरू की हैं।
- In collaboration with the **BMC**, it launched a food safety training programme for street food vendors in Mumbai, covering hygiene, safe handling, storage protocols, and proper waste disposal.  
**बीएमसी** के साथ मिलकर, उसने मुंबई में स्ट्रीट फूड विक्रेताओं के लिए एक खाद्य सुरक्षा प्रशिक्षण कार्यक्रम शुरू किया, जिसमें स्वच्छता, सुरक्षित खाद्य हैंडलिंग, भंडारण प्रोटोकॉल और उचित अपशिष्ट निपटान शामिल हैं।



- However, the **unorganised nature** and sheer **scale** of the sector make this a gradual and ongoing effort.  
हालांकि, इस क्षेत्र की **अव्यवस्थित प्रकृति** और विशाल **पैमाना** इसे एक धीमी और निरंतर प्रक्रिया बनाता है।

### Foster a commitment to safety

### सुरक्षा के प्रति प्रतिबद्धता को बढ़ावा देना

- While packaged foods reflect a science-led, structured approach to food safety, it is important to ensure that street foods are safe and hygienic through training and rating under national campaigns such as **Eat Right India** and **Clean Street Food Hub (CSFH)**.  
जहाँ पैकेज्ड फूड विज्ञान-आधारित, संरचित सुरक्षा दृष्टिकोण को दर्शाते हैं, वहीं यह सुनिश्चित करना भी महत्वपूर्ण है कि स्ट्रीट फूड सुरक्षित और स्वच्छ हों, जिसके लिए **ईट राइट इंडिया** और **क्लीन स्ट्रीट फूड हब (CSFH)** जैसी राष्ट्रीय पहलों के तहत प्रशिक्षण और रेटिंग की जानी चाहिए।
- As India progresses in **modernisation and urbanisation**, ensuring access to safe and hygienic food must become a top priority for all stakeholders.  
भारत जैसे-जैसे **आधुनिकीकरण और शहरीकरण** की ओर बढ़ रहा है, सुरक्षित और स्वच्छ भोजन तक पहुंच सुनिश्चित करना सभी हितधारकों की शीर्ष प्राथमिकता होना चाहिए।
- While the tradition and charm of street food remain integral to India's cultural identity, the associated **health risks** cannot be ignored—especially when **public health** is a national priority.  
स्ट्रीट फूड का आकर्षण और परंपरा भारत की सांस्कृतिक पहचान का अभिन्न हिस्सा बने रहते हैं, लेकिन इससे जुड़े **स्वास्थ्य जोखिमों** को नज़रअंदाज़ नहीं किया जा सकता—विशेषकर जब **सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य** राष्ट्रीय प्राथमिकता है।
- The future of food in India must be shaped not by sentiment, but by an unwavering **commitment to safety**.  
भारत में भोजन का भविष्य भावनाओं से नहीं, बल्कि अटूट **सुरक्षा प्रतिबद्धता** से तय होना चाहिए।

**International Relations**

**24/11/2025**



## UNSC reforms no longer an option but a necessity: Modi at IBSA meet

Press Trust of India  
JOHANNESBURG

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday said reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) was no longer an option but a necessity, and asserted that the India-Brazil-South Africa troika should send a clear message for changes to institutions of global governance.

Addressing the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) leaders summit here, Mr. Modi said that at a time when the world appeared fragmented and divided, the IBSA could provide a message of unity, cooperation, and humanity.

He proposed institutionalising the IBSA NSA-level meeting to strengthen security cooperation among the three countries.

"In the fight against terrorism, we must move forward in close coordination. There is no place for any double standards on such a serious issue," Mr. Modi said at the meeting attended by South African President Cyril Ramaphosa and Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva.

The Prime Minister said the IBSA was not just a group of three countries but an important platform connecting three continents, three major democratic nations, and three major economies.

Highlighting technology's crucial role in ensuring human-centric development, the Prime Minister proposed establishing an IBSA Digital Innovation Alliance to facilitate the sharing of digital public infrastructure such as unified payments interface (UPI), health plat-

forms such as CoWIN, cybersecurity frameworks and women-led tech initiatives among the three countries.



Prime Minister Narendra Modi with South African President Cyril Ramaphosa (left) and Brazil President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva. ANI

forms such as CoWIN, cybersecurity frameworks and women-led tech initiatives among the three countries.

"Timely meet"

Appreciating the IBSA Fund's work in supporting projects across 40 coun-

tries in sectors such as education, health, women empowerment and solar energy, Mr. Modi proposed the IBSA Fund for Climate Resilient Agriculture to further advance South-South cooperation.

He said the IBSA meeting was timely as it coincided with the first G20 Summit on African soil and marked the culmination of four consecutive G20 presidential summits, out of which the last three were by the IBSA members.

This has resulted in several important initiatives focused on human-centric development, multilateral reform and sustainable growth, he said.

Mr. Modi also invited IBSA leaders to the AI Impact Summit to be held in India next year, even as he emphasised the grouping's potential to contribute to the development of safe, trustworthy and human-centric AI norms.

The Prime Minister said the IBSA can complement each other's development and become an example for sustainable growth.

He highlighted cooperation opportunities in areas such as millets, natural farming, disaster resilience, green energy, traditional medicine and health security.

"No ordinary grouping" Later, in a post on social media, Mr. Modi said the IBSA reflects "our enduring commitment to strengthening the voice and aspirations of the Global South. IBSA is no ordinary grouping."

"Ours is a bond that is heartfelt, carrying with it diversity, shared values and shared aspirations. All three IBSA nations have held the G20 Presidency in the last three years and have used this opportunity to further the human-centric agenda," he said.

The IBSA grouping focuses on promoting South-South cooperation, pushing for reforms in global governance systems and enhancing collaboration among developing nations.

In September, External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar, Brazilian Foreign Minister Mauro Vieira, and the Minister in the Presidency for Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities of South Africa Sindisiwe Chikunga had met on the sidelines of the annual United Nations General Assembly session in New York.

The Ministers had called for an ambitious, comprehensive and profound reform of the United Nations, particularly the UN Security Council, to adapt it to contemporary geopolitical realities and address new global challenges.

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## UNSC reforms no longer an option but a necessity: Modi at IBSA meet यूएनएससी सुधार अब विकल्प नहीं बल्कि आवश्यकता: आईबीएसए बैठक में मोदी

- **UNSC reforms no longer an option but a necessity: Modi at IBSA meet यूएनएससी सुधार अब विकल्प नहीं बल्कि आवश्यकता: आईबीएसए बैठक में मोदी**
- Prime Minister **Narendra Modi** on Sunday said reform of the **United Nations Security Council (UNSC)** was no longer an option but a **necessity**, and asserted that the **India-Brazil-South Africa troika** should send a clear message for changes to institutions of **global governance**.  
प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने रविवार को कहा कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र सुरक्षा परिषद (यूएनएससी) में सुधार अब विकल्प नहीं बल्कि एक आवश्यकता है, और यह भी कहा कि भारत-ब्राज़ील-दक्षिण अफ्रीका त्रयी को वैश्विक शासन संस्थानों में बदलाव के लिए स्पष्ट संदेश भेजना चाहिए।
- Addressing the **India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA)** leaders summit here, Mr. Modi said that at a time when the world appeared **fragmented and divided**, the IBSA could provide a message of **unity, cooperation, and humanity**.  
यहाँ भारत-ब्राज़ील-दक्षिण अफ्रीका (आईबीएसए) नेताओं के सम्मेलन को संबोधित करते हुए, श्री मोदी ने कहा कि जब दुनिया खंडित और विभाजित दिखाई देती है, तब आईबीएसए एकता, सहयोग और मानवता का संदेश दे सकता है।
- He proposed **institutionalising the IBSA NSA-level meeting to strengthen security cooperation** among the three countries.  
उन्होंने तीनों देशों के बीच सुरक्षा सहयोग को मजबूत करने के लिए आईबीएसए एनएसए-स्तरीय बैठक को संस्थागत बनाने का प्रस्ताव दिया।
- "In the fight against **terrorism**, we must move forward in close coordination. There is no place for any **double standards** on such a serious issue," Mr. Modi said at the meeting attended by **South African President Cyril Ramaphosa** and **Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva**.  
श्री मोदी ने कहा, "आतंकवाद के खिलाफ लड़ाई में हमें घनिष्ठ समन्वय में आगे बढ़ना होगा। ऐसे गंभीर मुद्दे पर किसी भी दोहरी नीति की कोई जगह नहीं है।" यह बैठक दक्षिण अफ्रीका के राष्ट्रपति सिरिल रामाफोसा और ब्राज़ील के राष्ट्रपति लुइज़ इनासियो लूला दा सिल्वा द्वारा भी अटेंड की गई।
- The Prime Minister said the IBSA was not just a group of three countries but an important platform connecting **three continents, three major democratic nations, and three major economies**.  
प्रधानमंत्री ने कहा कि आईबीएसए केवल तीन देशों का समूह नहीं बल्कि तीन महाद्वीपों, तीन प्रमुख लोकतांत्रिक राष्ट्रों और तीन प्रमुख अर्थव्यवस्थाओं को जोड़ने वाला एक महत्वपूर्ण मंच है।



- Highlighting **technology's crucial role** in ensuring human-centric development, the Prime Minister proposed establishing an **IBSA Digital Innovation Alliance** to facilitate the sharing of **digital public infrastructure** such as **unified payments interface (UPI)**, health platforms such as **CoWIN**, **cybersecurity frameworks** and **women-led tech initiatives** among the three countries.  
मानव-केंद्रित विकास सुनिश्चित करने में **प्रौद्योगिकी की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका** को रेखांकित करते हुए, प्रधानमंत्री ने **आईबीएसए डिजिटल इनोवेशन एलायंस** स्थापित करने का प्रस्ताव दिया ताकि **डिजिटल पब्लिक इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर** जैसे **यूपीआई, CoWIN, साइबर सुरक्षा ढाँचे**, और **महिलाओं द्वारा संचालित तकनीकी पहल** तीनों देशों के बीच साझा की जा सकें।

### 'Timely meet' 'समय पर हुई बैठक'

- Appreciating the **IBSA Fund's** work in supporting projects across **40 countries** in sectors such as **education, health, women empowerment and solar energy**, Mr. Modi proposed the **IBSA Fund for Climate Resilient Agriculture** to further advance **South-South cooperation**.  
**शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, महिला सशक्तिकरण और सौर ऊर्जा** जैसे क्षेत्रों में **40 देशों** में परियोजनाओं का समर्थन करने में **आईबीएसए फंड** के कार्य की सराहना करते हुए, श्री मोदी ने **आईबीएसए क्लाइमेट रेज़िलिएंट एग्रीकल्चर फंड** का प्रस्ताव दिया ताकि **दक्षिण-दक्षिण सहयोग** को और आगे बढ़ाया जा सके।
- He said the IBSA meeting was timely as it coincided with the **first G20 Summit on African soil and marked the culmination of four consecutive G20 presidencies by Global South countries**, out of which the last three were by the IBSA members.  
उन्होंने कहा कि आईबीएसए बैठक समय पर हुई है क्योंकि यह **अफ्रीका की धरती पर पहली जी20 शिखर बैठक** के साथ आयोजित हुई और **ग्लोबल साउथ देशों** द्वारा लगातार **चार जी20 अध्यक्षताओं** के समापन के साथ मेल खाती है, जिनमें से अंतिम तीन आईबीएसए सदस्यों द्वारा थीं।
- This has resulted in several important initiatives focused on **human-centric development, multilateral reform and sustainable growth**, he said.  
उन्होंने कहा कि इससे **मानव-केंद्रित विकास, बहुपक्षीय सुधार और सतत विकास** पर केंद्रित कई महत्वपूर्ण पहलों का परिणाम हुआ है।
- Mr. Modi also invited IBSA leaders to the **AI Impact Summit to be held in India next year**, even as he emphasised the grouping's potential to contribute to the development of **safe, trustworthy and human-centric AI norms**.  
श्री मोदी ने आईबीएसए नेताओं को अगले वर्ष भारत में होने वाले **एआई इम्पैक्ट समिट** में आमंत्रित किया और समूह की क्षमता पर जोर दिया कि वह **सुरक्षित, विश्वसनीय और मानव-केंद्रित एआई मानदंडों** के विकास में योगदान कर सकता है।
- The Prime Minister said the IBSA can complement each other's development and become an example for **sustainable growth**.  
प्रधानमंत्री ने कहा कि आईबीएसए एक-दूसरे के विकास को पूरक बना सकता है और **सतत विकास** का उदाहरण बन सकता है।
- He highlighted cooperation opportunities in areas such as **millets, natural farming, disaster resilience, green energy, traditional medicine and health security**.  
उन्होंने **मिलेट्स, प्राकृतिक खेती, आपदा लचीलापन, हरित ऊर्जा, पारंपरिक चिकित्सा और स्वास्थ्य सुरक्षा** जैसे क्षेत्रों में सहयोग के अवसरों को रेखांकित किया।

### 'No ordinary grouping' 'यह कोई सामान्य समूह नहीं'

- Later, in a post on social media, Mr. Modi said the IBSA reflects "our enduring commitment to strengthening the voice and aspirations of the **Global South**. IBSA is no ordinary grouping."  
बाद में, सोशल मीडिया पर एक पोस्ट में, श्री मोदी ने कहा कि आईबीएसए **ग्लोबल साउथ** की आवाज़ और आकांक्षाओं को मजबूत करने के प्रति "हमारी स्थायी प्रतिबद्धता" को दर्शाता है। आईबीएसए कोई साधारण समूह नहीं है।



- “Ours is a bond that is heartfelt, carrying with it **diversity, shared values and shared aspirations**. All three IBSA nations have held the **G20 Presidency** in the last three years and have used this opportunity to further the **human-centric agenda**,” he said. उन्होंने कहा, “हमारा यह बंधन दिल से है, जिसमें **विविधता, साझा मूल्य और साझा आकांक्षाएँ** शामिल हैं। आईबीएसए के सभी तीन देशों ने पिछले तीन वर्षों में **जी20 अध्यक्षता** संभाली है और इस अवसर का उपयोग **मानव-केंद्रित एजेंडा** को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए किया है।”
- The IBSA grouping focuses on promoting **South-South cooperation**, pushing for reforms in **global governance systems** and enhancing collaboration among **developing nations**.  
आईबीएसए समूह **दक्षिण-दक्षिण सहयोग** को बढ़ावा देने, **वैश्विक शासन प्रणालियों** में सुधार को आगे बढ़ाने और **विकासशील देशों** के बीच सहयोग बढ़ाने पर केंद्रित है।
- In September, **External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar**, Brazilian Foreign Minister **Mauro Vieira**, and the Minister in the Presidency for Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities of South Africa **Sindisiwe Chikunga** had met on the sidelines of the annual **United Nations General Assembly** session in New York.  
सितंबर में, **विदेश मंत्री एस. जयशंकर**, ब्राजील के विदेश मंत्री **मौरो विएरा**, और दक्षिण अफ्रीका की महिला, युवा और विकलांग मामलों की मंत्री **सिंडिसिवे चिकुंगा** ने न्यूयॉर्क में वार्षिक **संयुक्त राष्ट्र महासभा** सत्र के दौरान मुलाकात की थी।  
The Ministers had called for an ambitious, comprehensive and profound **reform of the United Nations**, particularly the **UN Security Council**, to adapt it to **contemporary geopolitical realities** and address new **global challenges**.  
मंत्रियों ने **संयुक्त राष्ट्र**, विशेषकर **यूएन सुरक्षा परिषद** में महत्वाकांक्षी, व्यापक और गहन सुधार की मांग की थी, ताकि वह **समकालीन भू-राजनीतिक वास्तविकताओं** के अनुरूप हो सके और नए **वैश्विक चुनौतियों** का सामना कर सके।

PATRIOTIC



# PM calls for global compact on AI to prevent misuse

The pact must be based on certain core principles like effective human oversight, safety-by-design, transparency, and restrictions on AI use in deepfakes, crime, terror activities, says Modi at G-20

GS II: IR

MOB

Press Trust of India  
JOHANNESBURG

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday called for a global compact to prevent misuse of artificial intelligence (AI), and made a strong pitch for critical technologies to be “human-centric”, instead of “finance-centric”.

Addressing the third session of the G-20 Summit on the topic “A fair and a just future for all – critical minerals; decent work; artificial intelligence”, Mr. Modi said technology applications should be “global” rather than “national” and based on “open source” rather than “exclusive models”. Mr. Modi said that this vision had been integrated into India’s technology ecosystem, and it had resulted in significant benefits, be it in space applications, AI or digital payments, where it is a world leader.

“We must all ensure that AI is used for global good and its misuse is prevented. To do this, we must create a global compact on AI, based on certain core



**Laying out a road map:** Prime Minister Narendra Modi and other world leaders during a session at the G-20 Summit held in Johannesburg on Sunday. PTI

principles, including effective human oversight, safety-by-design, transparency, and strict restrictions on the use of AI in deepfakes, crime, and terror activities,” Mr. Modi said.

The Prime Minister said AI systems that impact human life, security, or public trust must be “responsible and auditable”. “And most importantly, AI should enhance human capabilities, but the ultimate responsibility for decision-making always remains with humans,” he

added. He said that in this age of AI, the approach must rapidly shift from “jobs of today” to “capabilities of tomorrow”. “Unlocking talent mobility is essential for rapid innovation. We made progress on this topic at the Delhi G20. We hope that in the next few years, the G-20 will develop a global framework for talent mobility,” he said.

Mr. Modi said that under the India-AI Mission, accessible high-performance computing capacity was

being built with the aim of ensuring that AI benefits reached everyone.

The Prime Minister said India would be hosting the AI Impact Summit in February 2026 with the theme “Sarvajanam Hitaya, Sarvajanam Sukhaya” [welfare for all, happiness for all]. He articulated India’s message for global well-being, asserting that it stood for development that is sustainable, trade that is trusted, finance that is fair, and progress in which everyone prospers.

## PM calls for global compact on AI to prevent misuse

प्रधानमंत्री ने एआई के दुरुपयोग को रोकने के लिए वैश्विक समझौते की मांग की

- The pact must be based on certain core principles like **effective human oversight, safety-by-design, transparency, and restrictions on AI use in deepfakes, crime, terror activities**, says Modi at G-20

यह समझौता कुछ मुख्य सिद्धांतों पर आधारित होना चाहिए जैसे **प्रभावी मानवीय निगरानी, सुरक्षा-आधारित डिजाइन, पारदर्शिता**, और डीपफेक्स, अपराध, आतंक गतिविधियों में एआई उपयोग पर **प्रतिबंध**, मोदी ने G-20 में कहा

- Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday called for **a global compact to prevent misuse of artificial intelligence (AI)**, and made a strong pitch for critical technologies to be **human-**



**centric**, instead of **finance-centric**.

प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने रविवार को आर्टिफिशियल इंटेलिजेंस (AI) के दुरुपयोग को रोकने के लिए एक वैश्विक समझौते की मांग की, और महत्वपूर्ण तकनीकों को **मानव-केंद्रित** बनाने पर जोर दिया, न कि **वित्त-केंद्रित**।

- **Addressing the third session of the G-20 Summit on the topic “A fair and a just future for all — critical minerals; decent work; artificial intelligence”**, Mr. Modi said technology applications should be “global” rather than “national” and based on **open source** rather than “exclusive models”.



G-20 शिखर सम्मेलन के तीसरे सत्र को संबोधित करते हुए, जिसका विषय था “सभी के लिए एक न्यायसंगत और उचित भविष्य — महत्वपूर्ण खनिज; सम्मानजनक कार्य; आर्टिफिशियल इंटेलिजेंस”, श्री मोदी ने कहा कि तकनीकी अनुप्रयोग “राष्ट्रीय” के बजाय “वैश्विक” होने चाहिए और “विशिष्ट मॉडलों” के बजाय **ओपन सोर्स** पर आधारित होने चाहिए।

- Mr. Modi said that this vision had been integrated into India’s technology ecosystem, and it had resulted in significant benefits, be it in **space applications, AI or digital payments**, where it is a world leader.

श्री मोदी ने कहा कि यह दृष्टिकोण भारत की तकनीकी पारिस्थितिकी में शामिल किया गया है, और इससे महत्वपूर्ण लाभ हुए हैं, चाहे वह **अंतरिक्ष अनुप्रयोग, AI या डिजिटल भुगतान** हों, जिनमें भारत विश्व नेता है।

- “We must all ensure that AI is used for **global good** and its misuse is prevented. To do this, we must create a global compact on AI, based on certain core principles, including effective human oversight, safety-by-design, transparency, and strict restrictions on the use of AI in **deepfakes, crime, and terror activities**,” Mr. Modi said.

“हम सभी को यह सुनिश्चित करना चाहिए कि एआई का उपयोग **वैश्विक कल्याण** के लिए हो और इसका दुरुपयोग रोका जाए। इसके लिए, हमें एआई पर एक वैश्विक समझौता बनाना होगा, जो प्रभावी मानवीय निगरानी, सुरक्षा-आधारित डिजाइन, पारदर्शिता, और **डीपफेक्स, अपराध और आतंकी गतिविधियों** में एआई उपयोग पर सख्त प्रतिबंध जैसे मुख्य सिद्धांतों पर आधारित हो,” श्री मोदी ने कहा।

- The Prime Minister said AI systems that impact **human life, security, or public trust** must be “responsible and auditable”.

प्रधानमंत्री ने कहा कि **मानव जीवन, सुरक्षा या सार्वजनिक विश्वास** को प्रभावित करने वाली एआई प्रणालियाँ “जिम्मेदार और ऑडिट योग्य” होनी चाहिए।

- “And most importantly, AI should enhance **human capabilities**, but the ultimate responsibility for decision-making always remains with humans,” he added.

“और सबसे महत्वपूर्ण यह कि एआई को **मानव क्षमताओं** को बढ़ाना चाहिए, लेकिन निर्णय लेने की अंतिम जिम्मेदारी हमेशा मनुष्यों के पास रहनी चाहिए,” उन्होंने कहा।

- He said that in this age of AI, the approach must rapidly shift from “jobs of today” to “**capabilities of tomorrow**”.

उन्होंने कहा कि एआई के इस युग में दृष्टिकोण को “आज की नौकरियों” से बदलकर “**कल की क्षमताओं**” पर केंद्रित करना होगा।

- “Unlocking **talent mobility** is essential for rapid innovation. We made progress on this topic at the Delhi G20. We hope that in the next few years, the G-20 will develop a global framework for talent mobility,” he said.

“तेजी से नवाचार के लिए **टैलेंट मोबिलिटी** को बढ़ावा देना आवश्यक है। हमने दिल्ली G20 में इस विषय पर प्रगति की है। हमें आशा है कि अगले कुछ वर्षों में G-20 टैलेंट मोबिलिटी के लिए एक वैश्विक ढांचा तैयार करेगा,” उन्होंने कहा।

- Mr. Modi said that under the **India-AI Mission**, accessible high-performance computing capacity was being built with the aim of ensuring that AI benefits reached everyone.

श्री मोदी ने कहा कि **इंडिया-AI मिशन** के तहत सुलभ उच्च-प्रदर्शन कंप्यूटिंग क्षमता का निर्माण किया जा रहा है ताकि एआई के लाभ सभी तक पहुंच सकें।

- The Prime Minister said India would be hosting **the AI Impact Summit in February 2026 with the theme “Sarvajanam Hitaya, Sarvajanam Sukhaya”** [welfare for all, happiness for all].

प्रधानमंत्री ने कहा कि भारत फरवरी 2026 में **AI Impact Summit** की मेजबानी करेगा, जिसका विषय होगा “**सर्वजन हिताय, सर्वजन सुखाय**” [सभी के कल्याण के लिए, सभी की खुशी के लिए]।



- He articulated India's message for global well-being, asserting that it stood for development that is **sustainable**, trade that is **trusted**, finance that is **fair**, and progress in which **everyone prospers**.  
उन्होंने वैश्विक कल्याण के लिए भारत का संदेश प्रस्तुत किया, यह कहते हुए कि भारत ऐसे विकास का समर्थन करता है जो **सतत** हो, ऐसा व्यापार जो **विश्वसनीय** हो, ऐसी वित्त प्रणाली जो **निष्पक्ष** हो, और ऐसी प्रगति जिसमें **सभी समृद्ध** हों।

## PM discusses trade, critical minerals with Ramaphosa

**GS II: IR**

**Press Trust of India**  
JOHANNESBURG

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday met South African President Cyril Ramaphosa on the sidelines of the G-20 Summit here.

The two leaders discussed cooperation in various areas, including trade, investment, mining, critical minerals, AI, and food security.

"Had an excellent meeting with President Cyril Ramaphosa during the G-20 Summit in Johannesburg," Mr. Modi posted on social media after his meeting.

"We reviewed the full range of the India-South Africa partnership, especially in boosting linkages of commerce, culture, investment and diversifying cooperation in technology, skilling, AI, critical minerals and more," he added.

Mr. Modi congratulated the South African leader on the successful presidency of the G-20 summit this year.

He appreciated South African efforts to take forward and build on the decisions arrived during the New Delhi G-20 Summit.

South Africa is hosting the first G-20 Summit being held in Africa.

**The two leaders agreed to work jointly to amplify the voice of the Global South**

Earlier, External Affairs Ministry spokesperson Randhir Jaiswal, in a post, said, "The leaders discussed initiating exchange of youth delegations for enhancing technology and people-to-people ties."

Recalling the historical ties that underpin India-South Africa relations, both leaders reviewed bilateral ties and expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in various fields of cooperation, including trade and investment, food security, skill development, mining, youth exchange and people-to-people ties, the Ministry said in a statement.

They discussed ways to enhance cooperation in the fields of AI, Digital Public Infrastructure and critical minerals, it added.

The leaders agreed to work jointly to amplify the voice of the Global South.

Mr. Modi appreciated the initiative taken by South Africa to hold the IB-SA leaders meeting.

**PM discusses trade, critical minerals with Ramaphosa**

**प्रधानमंत्री ने रामाफोसा के साथ व्यापार, महत्वपूर्ण खनिजों पर चर्चा की**

• Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday met South African President Cyril Ramaphosa on the sidelines of the **G-20 Summit** here.

प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने रविवार को यहां **G-20 शिखर सम्मेलन** के दौरान दक्षिण अफ्रीकी राष्ट्रपति सिरिल रामाफोसा से मुलाकात की।

• The two leaders discussed cooperation in various areas, including **trade, investment, mining, critical minerals, AI, and food security**.

दोनों नेताओं ने **व्यापार, निवेश, खनन, महत्वपूर्ण खनिज, एआई और खाद्य सुरक्षा** सहित कई क्षेत्रों में सहयोग पर चर्चा की।

• "Had an excellent meeting with President Cyril Ramaphosa during the G-20 Summit in Johannesburg," Mr. Modi posted on social media after his meeting.

"जोहान्सबर्ग में G-20 शिखर सम्मेलन के दौरान राष्ट्रपति सिरिल रामाफोसा के साथ शानदार बैठक हुई," श्री मोदी ने अपनी मुलाकात के बाद सोशल मीडिया पर पोस्ट किया।

• "We reviewed the full range of the India-South Africa partnership, especially in boosting linkages of **commerce, culture, investment** and diversifying cooperation in **technology, skilling, AI, critical minerals** and more," he added.

"हमने भारत-दक्षिण अफ्रीका साझेदारी की पूरी श्रृंखला की समीक्षा की, विशेष रूप से **वाणिज्य, संस्कृति, निवेश** के संबंधों को मजबूत करने और **तकनीक, कौशल, एआई, महत्वपूर्ण खनिजों** आदि में सहयोग को विविध बनाने पर," उन्होंने कहा।

• Mr. Modi congratulated the South African leader on the successful **presidency of the G-20 summit** this year.

श्री मोदी ने दक्षिण अफ्रीकी नेता को इस वर्ष **G-20 शिखर सम्मेलन की सफल अध्यक्षता** पर बधाई दी।

• He appreciated South African efforts to take forward and build on the decisions arrived during the **New Delhi G-20 Summit**.

उन्होंने **नई दिल्ली G-20 शिखर सम्मेलन** के दौरान लिए गए निर्णयों को आगे बढ़ाने और उन पर निर्माण करने के लिए दक्षिण अफ्रीका के प्रयासों की सराहना की।

- South Africa is hosting the first **G-20 Summit being held in Africa**.  
दक्षिण अफ्रीका अफ्रीका में आयोजित होने वाले पहले **G-20 शिखर सम्मेलन** की मेजबानी कर रहा है।



- Earlier, External Affairs Ministry spokesperson Randhir Jaiswal, in a post, said, “The leaders discussed initiating exchange of **youth delegations** for enhancing technology and **people-to-people ties**.”  
इससे पहले, विदेश मंत्रालय के प्रवक्ता रंधीर जैसवाल ने एक पोस्ट में कहा, “नेताओं ने तकनीक और **जन-से-जन संबंधों** को बढ़ाने के लिए **युवा प्रतिनिधिमंडल** के आदान-प्रदान की शुरुआत पर चर्चा की।”
- Recalling the **historical ties** that underpin India-South Africa relations, both leaders reviewed bilateral ties and expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in various fields of cooperation, including **trade and investment, food security, skill development, mining, youth exchange and people-to-people ties**, the Ministry said in a statement.  
भारत-दक्षिण अफ्रीका संबंधों की **ऐतिहासिक कड़ियों** को याद करते हुए, दोनों नेताओं ने द्विपक्षीय संबंधों की समीक्षा की और **व्यापार और निवेश, खाद्य सुरक्षा, कौशल विकास, खनन, युवा आदान-प्रदान और जन-से-जन संबंधों** सहित कई क्षेत्रों में हुई प्रगति पर संतोष व्यक्त किया, मंत्रालय ने एक बयान में कहा।
- They discussed ways to enhance cooperation in the fields of **AI, Digital Public Infrastructure and critical minerals**, it added.  
उन्होंने **एआई, डिजिटल पब्लिक इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर और महत्वपूर्ण खनिजों** के क्षेत्रों में सहयोग बढ़ाने के तरीकों पर भी चर्चा की, बयान में कहा गया।
- The leaders agreed to work jointly to amplify the voice of the **Global South**.  
नेताओं ने **ग्लोबल साउथ** की आवाज़ को मजबूत करने के लिए संयुक्त रूप से काम करने पर सहमति व्यक्त की।
- Mr. Modi appreciated the initiative taken by South Africa to hold the **IBSA leaders meeting**.  
श्री मोदी ने **IBSA नेताओं की बैठक** आयोजित करने की दक्षिण अफ्रीका की पहल की सराहना की।



## Difficult choices

Ukraine and its allies must seek to build

on Trump's proposals

**T**he Trump administration's draft peace proposal for Ukraine has triggered predictable unease in Kyiv. President Volodymyr Zelenskyy has warned that Ukraine now faces a "very difficult choice", risking the loss of its dignity or a key partner. U.S. President Donald Trump has urged him to accept the proposal by Thanksgiving (November 27). Ukraine's apprehensions are understandable. According to the leaked draft of Mr. Trump's 28-point plan, Kyiv would be required to cede territory in Donetsk and recognise Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk as de facto Russian. In the other two oblasts annexed by Russia (Kherson and Zaporizhzhia), the conflict would be frozen along the line of contact, effectively allowing Moscow to retain the areas it has seized. Russia would withdraw from the territories it has captured outside the five oblasts and pledge not to attack neighbouring countries again. The plan also demands Ukraine cap its armed forces at 6,00,000 personnel and formally renounce its bid to join NATO. The bloc's eastward expansion would be halted, sanctions on Russia lifted, while Ukraine would receive "reliable security guarantees". The plan does not elaborate on these guarantees, but U.S. media said that the Trump administration has circulated a separate three-point plan, promising NATO-style security assurances to Kyiv. Russian President Vladimir Putin has positively responded to the proposal, but Ukraine and its European partners are scrambling to craft an alternative proposal to achieve what they call "peace with dignity".

Several elements of the Trump plan mirror Russia's long-standing demands, including the halt of NATO's eastward expansion. On the other hand, the proposal that Ukraine cede territory is not going to be easy for any Ukrainian leader to implement. This makes it enormously difficult for any mediator to craft a peace blueprint that provides genuine common ground for the warring parties. Any meaningful push for peace must take into account at least three dimensions. First, the reality on the battlefield; second, Ukraine's need for credible and lasting security assurances; and third, the creation of a new security framework in Europe. The military balance currently favours Russia, which now controls over 20% of pre-2014 Ukraine. Mr. Zelenskyy's regime, on the other hand, is grappling with corruption scandals. The tragedy of Ukraine is that it is trapped in the great power rivalry between the West and Russia. Trust has evaporated, and the post-Cold War European security order lies in tatters. A peace deal must address this lack of trust and seek to build a new security equilibrium in the region, addressing Europe's fears and Russia's concerns. None of these goals can be achieved through an open-ended war. Mr. Trump's plan, though imperfect, at least offers a structured framework for dialogue, involving the U.S., Europe, NATO, Ukraine and Russia.

## Difficult choices

### कठिन विकल्प

## Trump administration's draft peace proposal for Ukraine

### यूक्रेन के लिए ट्रम्प प्रशासन का मसौदा शांति प्रस्ताव

- The Trump administration's draft peace proposal for Ukraine has triggered predictable unease in **Kyiv**. यूक्रेन के लिए ट्रम्प प्रशासन के मसौदा शांति प्रस्ताव ने **कीव** में अनुमानित बेचैनी पैदा की है।
- President **Volodymyr Zelenskyy** has warned that Ukraine now faces a "very difficult choice", **risking the loss of its dignity or a key partner**. राष्ट्रपति **वोलोदिमिर ज़ेलेन्स्की** ने चेतावनी दी है कि यूक्रेन अब "बहुत कठिन विकल्प" का सामना कर रहा है, जिसमें उसकी **गरिमा** या एक प्रमुख **सहयोगी** खोने का जोखिम है।
- U.S. President **Donald Trump** has urged him to accept the proposal by **Thanksgiving (November 27)**. अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति **डोनाल्ड ट्रम्प** ने उनसे **थैंक्सगिविंग (27 नवंबर)** तक प्रस्ताव स्वीकार करने का आग्रह किया है।
- Ukraine's apprehensions are understandable. यूक्रेन की आशंकाएँ समझ में आने योग्य हैं।
- According to the leaked draft of Mr. Trump's **28-point plan**, **Kyiv would be required to cede territory in Donetsk and recognise Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk as de facto Russian**. ट्रम्प की लीक हुई **28-बिंदु योजना** के अनुसार, कीव को **डोनेट्स्क** में क्षेत्र त्यागना होगा और **क्रीमिया, डोनेट्स्क और लुहान्स्क** को वास्तविक रूप से **रूसी** मान्यता देनी होगी।
- In the other **two oblasts annexed by Russia (Kherson and Zaporizhzhia)**, the conflict would be **frozen along the line of contact, allowing Moscow to retain seized areas**. रूस द्वारा कब्जाए गए अन्य दो ओब्लास्ट (**खेरसॉन और ज़ापोरिज़िया**) में संघर्ष को संपर्क रेखा के **along फ्रीज** कर दिया जाएगा, जिससे मास्को को कब्जाए क्षेत्रों को रखने की अनुमति मिलेगी।
- **Russia would withdraw from territories it captured outside the five oblasts and pledge not to attack neighbouring countries again**. रूस पाँच ओब्लास्ट के बाहर कब्जाए क्षेत्रों से हट जाएगा और पड़ोसी देशों पर दोबारा हमला न करने का वादा करेगा।
- **The plan also demands Ukraine cap its armed forces at 6,00,000 personnel and formally renounce its bid to join NATO**.

योजना में यह भी मांग है कि यूक्रेन अपनी सशस्त्र सेनाओं की सीमा **6,00,000 कर्मियों** तक रखे और औपचारिक रूप से **नाटो** में शामिल होने की कोशिश को छोड़ दे।

- **NATO's eastward expansion would be halted, sanctions on Russia lifted**, while Ukraine would receive "**reliable security guarantees**". नाटो का पूर्व की ओर विस्तार **रोक दिया** जाएगा, रूस पर लगे प्रतिबंध **हटा दिए** जाएँगे, जबकि यूक्रेन को "**विश्वसनीय सुरक्षा गारंटी**" मिलेगी।
- The plan does not elaborate on these guarantees, but U.S. media said **a separate three-point plan promises NATO-style assurances to Kyiv**. योजना में इन गारंटियों का विवरण नहीं है, लेकिन अमेरिकी मीडिया के अनुसार एक अलग **तीन-बिंदु योजना** कीव को **नाटो जैसी सुरक्षा आश्वासन** देने का वादा करती है।
- Russian President **Vladimir Putin** has positively responded to the proposal, but Ukraine and its European partners are scrambling to craft an alternative proposal for "**peace with dignity**". रूसी राष्ट्रपति **व्लादिमिर पुतिन** ने प्रस्ताव पर सकारात्मक प्रतिक्रिया दी है, लेकिन यूक्रेन और उसके यूरोपीय सहयोगी "**गरिमा के साथ शांति**" के लिए एक वैकल्पिक प्रस्ताव तैयार करने में लगे हैं।
- Several elements of the Trump plan mirror Russia's **long-standing demands**, including the halt of NATO's eastward expansion. ट्रम्प योजना के कई तत्व रूस की **दीर्घकालिक मांगों** से मेल खाते हैं, विशेषकर नाटो के पूर्व की ओर विस्तार को रोकना।



- The proposal that Ukraine **cede territory** will not be easy for any Ukrainian leader to implement.  
यूक्रेन द्वारा **क्षेत्र त्यागने** का प्रस्ताव किसी भी यूक्रेनी नेता के लिए लागू करना आसान नहीं होगा।
- This makes it extremely difficult for any mediator to craft a peace blueprint with genuine **common ground**.  
यह किसी भी मध्यस्थ के लिए वास्तविक **साझा आधार** वाला शांति समाधान तैयार करना बेहद कठिन बना देता है।
- Any meaningful push for peace must consider three dimensions: the **battlefield reality**, Ukraine's need for **credible security assurances**, and a new **European security framework**.  
किसी भी सार्थक शांति प्रयास को तीन पहलुओं पर विचार करना होगा: **युद्धक्षेत्र की वास्तविकता**, यूक्रेन की **विश्वसनीय सुरक्षा आवश्यकताएँ**, और नया **यूरोपीय सुरक्षा ढाँचा**।
- The **military balance currently favours Russia, which controls over 20% of pre-2014 Ukraine**.  
वर्तमान में सैन्य संतुलन **रूस के पक्ष में है**, जो **2014 से पहले के यूक्रेन के 20% से अधिक क्षेत्र** पर नियंत्रण रखता है।
- Mr. Zelenskyy's regime is grappling with **corruption scandals**.  
श्री ज़ेलेन्स्की का शासन **भ्रष्टाचार घोटालों** से जूझ रहा है।
- Ukraine is trapped in the **great power rivalry** between the West and Russia.  
यूक्रेन पश्चिम और रूस के बीच **महाशक्तियों की प्रतिद्वंद्विता** में फँसा हुआ है।
- Trust has evaporated, and the **post-Cold War European security order is in tatters**.  
विश्वास खत्म हो चुका है और **शीत युद्ध-उपरांत यूरोपीय सुरक्षा व्यवस्था** बिखर चुकी है।
- A peace deal must address this **lack of trust** and build a new **security equilibrium** in the region.  
एक शांति समझौते को इस **विश्वास की कमी** को संबोधित करना चाहिए और क्षेत्र में नया **सुरक्षा संतुलन** स्थापित करना चाहिए।
- None of these goals can be achieved through an **open-ended war**.  
इनमें से कोई भी लक्ष्य **अनिश्चित युद्ध** के माध्यम से प्राप्त नहीं किया जा सकता।
- Mr. Trump's plan, though imperfect, at least offers a **structured framework for dialogue**, involving the U.S., Europe, NATO, Ukraine and Russia.  
ट्रम्प की योजना, भले ही पूर्ण न हो, कम से कम बातचीत के लिए एक **संगठित ढाँचा** प्रस्तुत करती है, जिसमें अमेरिका, यूरोप, नाटो, यूक्रेन और रूस शामिल हैं।

# The future of health lies in harmony

**GS II: IR: International Institutes**

**A**s the world grapples with rising lifestyle diseases, environmental degradation, and social fragmentation, there is a growing realisation that restoring the balance between people and the planet, progress and sustainability, innovation and intuition is a necessity.

Health, in its truest sense, has always been a reflection of harmony – within the human body and between humanity and nature. This is the principle that is at the heart of traditional medicine systems worldwide, which view health not merely as the absence of illness but as the presence of equilibrium. The science of well-being, therefore, is not new. It is the rediscovery of a traditional understanding, now being reaffirmed through evidence-based research.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) reports that around 90% of WHO member-states have reported on the use of traditional medicine. For billions of people, it remains the first line of care, particularly in low- and middle-income nations where accessibility and affordability are paramount.

Its value, however, extends well beyond health care. Traditional medicine supports biodiversity, nutrition, food security and livelihoods, embodying the holistic concept of integrative health. Market analysts estimate India's AYUSH sector at \$43.4 billion – a figure that tells a larger story. This surge is driven not only by consumer preference but also by a paradigm shift: health-care systems are evolving from reactive treatment models to proactive, preventive, and personalised ones. This global shift represents a shared realisation – that well-being cannot be achieved through fragmented approaches. It demands an ecosystem of balance – between mind and body, human and environment, science and spirit. It is a fact that India has emerged as a hub of innovative research and development initiatives,



**Prataprao Jadhav**

Union Minister of State (Independent Charge) for AYUSH and Minister of State for Health and Family Welfare, Government of India

The Second WHO Global Summit on Traditional Medicine will strengthen recognition of traditional medicine as a scientific and social asset

transforming the global traditional medicine sector.

To support this transformation, WHO's Global Traditional Medicine Centre (GTMC) serves as a knowledge hub for evidence-based collaboration and innovation. With its strategic focus on evidence and learning, data and analytics, sustainability and equity, the GTMC aims to optimise the contribution of traditional medicine to global health and sustainable development. It also upholds a guiding principle often overlooked in the age of globalisation – a respect for local heritages, resources, and rights.

Established in Jamnagar, Gujarat, with the foundational support of the Government of India, the GTMC is an expression of shared global leadership. It reflects WHO's vision that harnessing the potential of traditional medicine, when grounded in evidence, innovation, and sustainability, can be a game-changer for health.

India's commitment to this vision stems from the belief that knowledge must serve humanity collectively. The establishment of the Centre in India is a testament to this spirit.

Under the Prime Minister's emphasis on evidence-based research in the field, there have been initiatives such as a dedicated AYUSH department at the Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS), development of global standards in AYUSH Systems through ISO/TC 249/SC 2 subcommittee, paving the way for wider global acceptance of India's traditional medicine.

The growing recognition of traditional medicine as a scientific and social asset took a decisive step in August 2023, when the first WHO Global Summit on Traditional Medicine was held in Gandhinagar, Gujarat, alongside the G-20 Health Ministerial Meeting. The gathering of Ministers, scientists, practitioners and communities from around the world mobilised political commitment, fostered data-driven action, and laid the groundwork

for evidence-based integration of traditional medicine into national health systems. The Gujarat Declaration, adopted at the Summit called for the protection of biodiversity, fair benefit-sharing, digital innovation, and equitable access to traditional health knowledge.

The global community is now ready to take the next step – to deepen scientific understanding, encourage innovation, and align traditional medicine's potential with modern global health priorities. Thus, WHO and the Government of India have signed a Memorandum of Understanding to co-host the Second WHO Global Summit on Traditional Medicine (New Delhi, December 17-19, 2025), marking a new chapter in global collaboration for health and sustainability. With its theme, "Restoring balance: The science and practice of health and well-being", it will mobilise multi-stakeholder action in support of WHO's new 10-year Global Traditional Medicine Strategy (2025-34), adopted at the 78th World Health Assembly earlier this year.

These initiatives are designed not only to celebrate traditional medicine's heritage but also to propel it into the future – where it stands validated by science, empowered by technology, and guided by ethics. As the birthplace of Ayurveda, Yoga, Unani, Siddha and Sowa-Rigpa, India's contribution lies in demonstrating how traditional knowledge can coexist with modern science.

Its approach is rooted in integration – uniting tradition with technology, research with community participation, and well-being with sustainability. As the world gathers once again under a shared commitment to restore balance, India's message is simple yet profound: health must heal, not harm; progress must sustain, not consume; and science must serve, not separate.

The summit is more than an event – it is a global convergence to reaffirm that the future of health lies in harmony.

**The future of health lies in harmony**  
**स्वास्थ्य का भविष्य समरसता में निहित है**

**Restoring balance through traditional medicine**  
**पारंपरिक चिकित्सा के माध्यम से संतुलन की पुनर्स्थापना**

- As the world grapples with rising **lifestyle diseases, environmental degradation, and social fragmentation**, there is a growing realisation that restoring the balance between people and the planet, progress and sustainability, innovation and intuition is a necessity. जब दुनिया बढ़ती जीवनशैली संबंधी बीमारियों, पर्यावरणीय क्षरण और सामाजिक विखंडन से जूझ रही है, तब



लोगों और पृथ्वी, प्रगति और स्थिरता, नवाचार और अंतर्ज्ञान के बीच संतुलन पुनर्स्थापित करने की आवश्यकता को लेकर जागरूकता बढ़ रही है।

- Health, in its truest sense, has always been a reflection of harmony — within the human body and between humanity and nature.  
स्वास्थ्य अपने वास्तविक अर्थ में हमेशा सद्भाव का प्रतिबिंब रहा है — मानव शरीर के भीतर और मानवता व प्रकृति के बीच।
- This is the principle that is at the heart of traditional medicine systems worldwide, which view **health not merely as the absence of illness but as the presence of equilibrium**.  
यही सिद्धांत वैश्विक पारंपरिक चिकित्सा प्रणालियों के केंद्र में है, जो स्वास्थ्य को केवल बीमारी की अनुपस्थिति नहीं बल्कि संतुलन की उपस्थिति मानती हैं।
- The science of well-being is not new; it is the rediscovery of a traditional understanding, now being reaffirmed through **evidence-based research**.  
कल्याण का विज्ञान नया नहीं है; यह पारंपरिक समझ की पुनर्खोज है, जिसे अब **साक्ष्य-आधारित शोध** के माध्यम से पुनः पुष्टि मिल रही है।
- The **World Health Organisation (WHO)** reports that around **90% of its member-states have reported the use of traditional medicine**.  
**विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन (WHO)** के अनुसार इसके लगभग **90% सदस्य देशों** ने पारंपरिक चिकित्सा के उपयोग की रिपोर्ट की है।
- For billions of people, it remains the first line of care, particularly in **low- and middle-income nations** where accessibility and affordability are paramount.  
अरबों लोगों के लिए यह अब भी प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य सेवा है, विशेषकर **निम्न और मध्यम आय वाले देशों** में जहाँ उपलब्धता और वहनीयता अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण हैं।
- Its value extends beyond health care — **traditional medicine supports biodiversity, nutrition, food security and livelihoods, embodying the holistic concept of integrative health**.  
इसका मूल्य स्वास्थ्य सेवा से आगे बढ़कर **जैवविविधता, पोषण, खाद्य सुरक्षा और आजीविका** को भी समर्थन देता है, जो समग्र स्वास्थ्य की अवधारणा को दर्शाता है।
- Market analysts estimate **India's AYUSH sector at \$43.4 billion**, a figure that reflects a major transformation.  
बाज़ार विश्लेषकों के अनुसार भारत का **आयुष क्षेत्र \$43.4 बिलियन** का है, जो एक बड़े परिवर्तन का संकेत है।
- This surge is driven not only by consumer preference but also by a paradigm shift from reactive treatment to **proactive, preventive and personalised** health care.  
यह वृद्धि केवल उपभोक्ता पसंद से नहीं, बल्कि स्वास्थ्य देखभाल में प्रतिक्रियात्मक मॉडल से **सक्रिय, निवारक और व्यक्तिगत** मॉडलों की ओर परिवर्तन से प्रेरित है।
- This global shift reflects a shared understanding that well-being cannot be achieved through fragmented approaches.  
यह वैश्विक परिवर्तन इस साझा समझ को दर्शाता है कि कल्याण खंडित तरीकों से हासिल नहीं किया जा सकता।
- It demands an ecosystem of balance — between mind and body, human and environment, science and spirit.  
इसके लिए मन और शरीर, मानव और पर्यावरण, विज्ञान और आध्यात्मिकता के बीच संतुलन वाले पारिस्थितिकी तंत्र की आवश्यकता है।
- India has emerged as a hub of **innovative research and development** initiatives, transforming the global traditional medicine sector.  
भारत **नवोन्मेषी अनुसंधान और विकास** की पहलों का केंद्र बनकर वैश्विक पारंपरिक चिकित्सा क्षेत्र को बदल रहा है।
- To support this transformation, WHO's **Global Traditional Medicine Centre (GTMC)** serves as a knowledge hub for evidence-based collaboration and innovation.  
इस परिवर्तन को समर्थन देने के लिए WHO का **ग्लोबल ट्रेडिशनल मेडिसिन सेंटर (GTMC)** साक्ष्य-आधारित सहयोग और नवाचार के लिए ज्ञान केंद्र के रूप में कार्य करता है।
- With strategic focus on **evidence, learning, data, analytics, sustainability and equity**, the GTMC aims to optimise the contribution of traditional medicine to global health and sustainable development.  
**साक्ष्य, अधिगम, डेटा, विश्लेषण, स्थिरता और समानता** पर रणनीतिक ध्यान के साथ, GTMC पारंपरिक चिकित्सा के वैश्विक स्वास्थ्य और सतत विकास में योगदान को अधिकतम करने का लक्ष्य रखता है।
- It also upholds a guiding principle often overlooked in globalisation — respect for **local heritage, resources and rights**.



यह वैश्वीकरण के दौर में अक्सर उपेक्षित सिद्धांत — स्थानीय विरासत, संसाधन और अधिकारों के सम्मान — को भी बनाए रखता है।

- Established in **Jamnagar, Gujarat**, with support from the **Government of India**, the GTMC reflects shared global leadership.  
जामनगर, गुजरात में भारत सरकार के समर्थन से स्थापित GTMC साझा वैश्विक नेतृत्व को दर्शाता है।
- It reflects WHO's vision that traditional medicine, when grounded in **evidence, innovation and sustainability**, can become a game-changer for global health.  
यह WHO की उस दृष्टि को प्रतिबिंबित करता है कि पारंपरिक चिकित्सा जब साक्ष्य, नवाचार और स्थिरता पर आधारित होती है, तो वैश्विक स्वास्थ्य के लिए एक गेम-चेंजर बन सकती है।
- India's commitment to this vision stems from the belief that knowledge must serve humanity collectively.  
भारत की इस दृष्टि के प्रति प्रतिबद्धता इस विश्वास से आती है कि ज्ञान को संपूर्ण मानवता की सेवा करनी चाहिए।
- The establishment of the Centre in India is a testament to this spirit.  
भारत में इस केंद्र की स्थापना इसी भावना का प्रमाण है।

## Advancing Traditional Medicine Through Global Collaboration वैश्विक सहयोग के माध्यम से पारंपरिक चिकित्सा को आगे बढ़ाना

- Under the Prime Minister's emphasis on **evidence-based research**, there have been initiatives such as a dedicated **AYUSH department at the Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS)** and the development of **global standards** in AYUSH systems through **ISO/TC 249/SC 2**, paving the way for wider international acceptance of India's traditional medicine.  
प्रधानमंत्री के साक्ष्य-आधारित शोध पर बल देने के तहत भारतीय मानक ब्यूरो (BIS) में एक समर्पित आयुष विभाग जैसी पहलों की गई हैं, साथ ही ISO/TC 249/SC 2 के माध्यम से आयुष प्रणालियों के वैश्विक मानक विकसित किए गए हैं, जिससे भारत की पारंपरिक चिकित्सा की वैश्विक स्वीकृति का मार्ग प्रशस्त हुआ है।
- The growing recognition of traditional medicine as a scientific and social asset took a decisive step in **August 2023**, when the **first WHO Global Summit on Traditional Medicine** was held in **Gandhinagar, Gujarat**, alongside the **G-20 Health Ministerial Meeting**.  
पारंपरिक चिकित्सा को वैज्ञानिक और सामाजिक संपत्ति के रूप में बढ़ती मान्यता को अगस्त 2023 में निर्णायक बढ़ावा मिला, जब पहला WHO वैश्विक पारंपरिक चिकित्सा शिखर सम्मेलन गांधीनगर, गुजरात में G-20 स्वास्थ्य मंत्रिस्तरीय बैठक के साथ आयोजित हुआ।
- Ministers, scientists, practitioners and communities from around the world mobilised political commitment, fostered **data-driven action**, and laid the foundation for **evidence-based integration** of traditional medicine into national health systems.  
दुनिया भर के मंत्री, वैज्ञानिक, चिकित्सक और समुदायों ने मिलकर राजनीतिक प्रतिबद्धता को सशक्त किया, डेटा-आधारित कार्रवाई को बढ़ावा दिया और पारंपरिक चिकित्सा को राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य प्रणालियों में साक्ष्य-आधारित एकीकरण का आधार तैयार किया।
- The **Gujarat Declaration**, adopted at the Summit, called for protecting **biodiversity**, ensuring **fair benefit-sharing**, promoting **digital innovation**, and enabling **equitable access** to traditional health knowledge.  
शिखर सम्मेलन में स्वीकृत गुजरात घोषणा ने जैव विविधता की सुरक्षा, न्यायप्रिय लाभ-साझेदारी, डिजिटल नवाचार और पारंपरिक स्वास्थ्य ज्ञान तक समान पहुंच को सुनिश्चित करने की मांग की।
- The global community is now ready to take the next step — deepening scientific understanding, encouraging innovation, and aligning traditional medicine's potential with **modern global health priorities**.  
वैश्विक समुदाय अब अगला कदम उठाने के लिए तैयार है — वैज्ञानिक समझ को गहरा करना, नवाचार को प्रोत्साहित करना और पारंपरिक चिकित्सा की संभावनाओं को आधुनिक वैश्विक स्वास्थ्य प्राथमिकताओं के साथ संरेखित करना।
- WHO and the Government of India have signed an **MoU to co-host the Second WHO Global Summit on Traditional Medicine in New Delhi (December 17–19, 2025)** — marking a new chapter in global collaboration for health and sustainability.  
WHO और भारत सरकार ने द्वितीय WHO वैश्विक पारंपरिक चिकित्सा शिखर सम्मेलन के संयुक्त आयोजन हेतु एक एमओयू पर हस्ताक्षर किए हैं, जो नई दिल्ली (17–19 दिसंबर 2025) में आयोजित होगा — यह स्वास्थ्य और सततता के लिए वैश्विक सहयोग का नया अध्याय है।



- With its theme, “**Restoring balance: The science and practice of health and well-being**”, the Summit will mobilise multi-stakeholder action in support of WHO’s new **10-year Global Traditional Medicine Strategy (2025–34)**, adopted at the **78th World Health Assembly**.  
“संतुलन की पुनर्स्थापना: स्वास्थ्य और कल्याण का विज्ञान और व्यवहार” विषय के साथ यह शिखर सम्मेलन WHO की नई **10-वर्षीय वैश्विक पारंपरिक चिकित्सा रणनीति (2025–34)** के समर्थन में बहु-पक्षीय कार्रवाई को प्रेरित करेगा, जिसे **78वीं विश्व स्वास्थ्य सभा** में अपनाया गया था।
- These initiatives are designed not only to celebrate traditional medicine’s heritage but also to propel it into a future where it stands **validated by science, empowered by technology, and guided by ethics**.  
इन पहलों का उद्देश्य केवल पारंपरिक चिकित्सा की विरासत का उत्सव मनाना नहीं, बल्कि इसे ऐसे भविष्य की ओर अग्रसर करना है जहाँ यह **विज्ञान द्वारा प्रमाणित, प्रौद्योगिकी द्वारा सक्षम, और नैतिकता द्वारा निर्देशित** हो।
- As the birthplace of **Ayurveda, Yoga, Unani, Siddha and Sowa-Rigpa**, India demonstrates how traditional knowledge can coexist with modern science.  
**आयुर्वेद, योग, यूनानी, सिद्ध और सोवा-रिग्पा** की जन्मभूमि के रूप में भारत यह दर्शाता है कि पारंपरिक ज्ञान आधुनिक विज्ञान के साथ कैसे सह-अस्तित्व में रह सकता है।
- India’s approach is rooted in integration — uniting **tradition with technology, research with community participation, and well-being with sustainability**.  
भारत का दृष्टिकोण एकीकरण पर आधारित है — **परंपरा को प्रौद्योगिकी से, अनुसंधान को सामुदायिक भागीदारी से, और कल्याण को सततता से जोड़ना**।
- As the world gathers once again under a shared commitment to restore balance, India’s message is simple yet profound: **health must heal, not harm; progress must sustain, not consume; and science must serve, not separate**.  
जब दुनिया संतुलन बहाल करने की साझा प्रतिबद्धता के तहत फिर एकत्रित हो रही है, भारत का संदेश सरल लेकिन गहरा है: **स्वास्थ्य को उपचार करना चाहिए, नुकसान नहीं; प्रगति को स्थिर करना चाहिए, निगलना नहीं; और विज्ञान को सेवा करनी चाहिए, अलगाव नहीं**।
- The Summit is more than an event — it is a global convergence reaffirming that **the future of health lies in harmony**.  
यह शिखर सम्मेलन एक आयोजन से बढ़कर है — यह इस बात की वैश्विक पुनर्पुष्टि है कि **स्वास्थ्य का भविष्य सामंजस्य में निहित है**।



# Why did Wikipedia lock the page titled 'Gaza Genocide'?

Wikipedia's co-founder criticised the use of the word 'genocide' to refer to Israel's actions in Gaza, further igniting a debate about political neutrality on Wikipedia. Protections on the locked-down page was enhanced by editors on July 2024 and May 2025, to prevent un-vetted edits

**OS IN IR**

Sahana Venugopal

## The story so far:

Earlier in November, the page titled 'Gaza Genocide', hosted on Wikipedia, was locked. A small lock icon at the top right corner of the page restricted users from making edits to the page's contents. The locked-down page made waves when Wikipedia co-founder Jimmy Wales posted a statement disagreeing on how the term 'genocide' was applied to Gaza. He claimed, in his personal capacity, that the page failed to meet Wikipedia's high standards and needed immediate attention. While the page exists on the platform in its locked-down form, debates continue across the world on how to classify the conflict.

## Why was Wikipedia's Gaza genocide page locked?

The 'Gaza Genocide' page begins by stating: "The Gaza genocide is the ongoing, intentional, and systematic destruction of the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip carried out by Israel during the Gaza war. It encompasses mass killings, deliberate starvation, infliction of serious bodily and mental harm, and preventing births."

While multiple organisations and academics have described Israel's actions in Gaza as a genocide targeting civilians, pro-Israel supporters have pushed back against the use of the word as they claim that the militant organisation Hamas is

using Palestinian civilians as human shields and that Israel has the right to self-defence following the gruesome October 7 killings.

Protections on the locked-down page was enhanced by editors (both humans and bots) on July 2024 and May 2025, to prevent un-vetted edits. More recently, it was locked on October 28 and November 4, so only verified editors with accounts older than 30 days and over 500 edits can access the page to make updates.

This is not the first time that Wikipedia has locked a page on a contentious topic. Thousands of such articles covering significant world events, key definitions, or celebrity figures have been temporarily locked in the past to prevent partisan edits by un-vetted editors as well as acts of Wikipedia "vandalism" that range from funny to hateful.

Not surprisingly, there have been hundreds of edits made to the 'Gaza Genocide' page on Wikipedia in recent days and weeks. Many of these are simple formatting and punctuation edits while more controversial changes deal with how to include and interpret sources, or even revise other contributors' edits.

## What did Wikipedia's co-founder say?

Mr. Wales posted a personal statement in a talk page that discussed the nature of edits made to the 'Gaza Genocide' page as well as the reasoning behind the use of the term 'genocide.' There, he criticised how Israel's actions were being classified as a "genocide" and instead urged a

correction to present this as a contested allegation.

Citing neutrality as the basis for his opinion, Mr. Wales said the article "fails to meet our high standards and needs immediate attention."

Furthermore, Mr. Wales said he was leading a group that was looking into issues of neutrality in Wikipedia across articles and topic areas, including "Zionism." He also claimed that much more work was needed, though he clarified that he was only speaking in a personal capacity.

"I assume good faith of everyone who has worked on this Gaza 'genocide' article. At present, the lede and the overall presentation state, in Wikipedia's voice, that Israel is committing genocide, although that claim is highly contested," Mr. Wales stated, later noting, "A neutral approach would begin with a formulation such as: 'Multiple governments, NGOs, and legal bodies have described or rejected the characterisation of Israel's actions in Gaza as genocide.'"

Though Mr. Wales' opinion is not a definitive decision or judgment, it has ignited debate across the Wikipedia editors community as they re-examine how they are collectively working to document Israel's violence against Palestinians.

## Has a genocide in Gaza been confirmed?

A UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry reported on

September 16 that Israel committed genocide against Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. The investigation covers events since October 7, 2023, when Hamas attacked Israeli civilians, and Israel's military actions since then.

The Commission reported that Israel carried out four of the five genocidal acts as defined by the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, including "killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the destruction of the Palestinians in whole or in part, and imposing measures intended to prevent births."

The International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) also published a resolution in August 2025 stating that Israel carried out war crimes and genocide, noting that its actions "have not only been directed against the Hamas group responsible for these, but have also targeted the entire Gazan population".

The Human Rights Watch stated in December 2024 that "Israeli authorities are responsible for the crime against humanity of extermination and for acts of genocide" by throttling Palestinian civilians' access to water.

According to the Palestinian Ministry of Health, 67,173 people have been killed as of October 7 this year, two years after Israel's offensive on Hamas began. This figure includes 20,179 children, who account for about 30% of the total, reported Reuters.

## Why did Wikipedia lock the page titled 'Gaza Genocide'?

### विकिपीडिया ने 'गाज़ा जनसंहार' शीर्षक वाले पृष्ठ को क्यों लॉक किया?

- Earlier in November, the page titled 'Gaza Genocide', hosted on Wikipedia, was locked. नवंबर की शुरुआत में, विकिपीडिया पर मौजूद 'Gaza Genocide' शीर्षक वाला पेज लॉक कर दिया गया।
- A small lock icon at the top right corner of the page restricted users from making edits to the page's contents. पेज के दाहिने शीर्ष कोने में लगा एक छोटा lock icon उपयोगकर्ताओं को पेज की सामग्री में बदलाव करने से रोक रहा था।
- The locked-down page made waves when **Wikipedia co-founder Jimmy Wales** posted a statement disagreeing on how the term 'genocide' was applied to Gaza. जब **Wikipedia के सह-संस्थापक Jimmy Wales** ने यह कहते हुए बयान दिया कि 'genocide' शब्द का गाज़ा पर उपयोग सही नहीं है, तब इस लॉक किए गए पेज ने काफी चर्चा बटोरी।
- He claimed, in his personal capacity, that the page failed to meet Wikipedia's high standards and needed immediate attention. उन्होंने व्यक्तिगत क्षमता में दावा किया कि यह पेज विकिपीडिया के उच्च मानकों को पूरा नहीं करता और इसे तत्काल ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।





- While the page exists on the platform in its locked-down form, debates continue across the world on how to classify the conflict.  
हालाँकि यह पेज लॉक रूप में प्लेटफॉर्म पर मौजूद है, लेकिन दुनिया भर में इस संघर्ष को कैसे वर्गीकृत किया जाए, इस पर बहस जारी है।

## Why was Wikipedia's Gaza genocide page locked? विकिपीडिया का Gaza genocide पेज क्यों लॉक किया गया?

- The '**Gaza Genocide**' page begins by stating: "The Gaza genocide is the ongoing, intentional, and systematic destruction of the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip carried out by Israel during the Gaza war. It encompasses mass killings, deliberate starvation, infliction of serious bodily and mental harm, and preventing births."  
'Gaza Genocide' पेज की शुरुआत इस कथन से होती है: "Gaza genocide गाज़ा युद्ध के दौरान इस्राइल द्वारा गाज़ा पट्टी में फ़िलिस्तीनी लोगों के चल रहे, जानबूझकर और व्यवस्थित विनाश को दर्शाता है। इसमें **mass killings, deliberate starvation**, गंभीर शारीरिक और मानसिक नुकसान पहुँचाना, और जन्मों को रोकना शामिल है।"
- While multiple organisations and academics have described Israel's actions in Gaza as a **genocide** targeting civilians, pro-Israel supporters have pushed back against the use of the word as they claim that the militant organisation **Hamas** is using Palestinian civilians as human shields and that Israel has the right to **self-defence** following the gruesome **October 7 killings**.  
जहाँ कई संगठनों और शिक्षाविदों ने इस्राइल की कार्रवाइयों को **genocide** बताया है, वहीं pro-Israel समर्थक इस शब्द के उपयोग का विरोध करते हैं, यह दावा करते हुए कि **Hamas** फ़िलिस्तीनियों को **human shields** की तरह इस्तेमाल कर रहा है और **7 अक्टूबर** की भयावह घटनाओं के बाद इस्राइल को **self-defence** का अधिकार है।
- Protections on the locked-down page was enhanced by editors (both humans and bots) on **July 2024** and **May 2025**, to prevent un-vetted edits.  
पेज पर सुरक्षा को **जुलाई 2024** और **मई 2025** में संपादकों (मानव और बॉट दोनों) द्वारा बढ़ाया गया ताकि **un-vetted edits** को रोका जा सके।
- More recently, it was locked on **October 28** and **November 4**, so only verified editors with accounts older than **30 days** and over **500 edits** can access the page to make updates.  
हाल ही में यह पेज **28 अक्टूबर** और **4 नवंबर** को लॉक किया गया, जिससे केवल **30 दिन** पुराने अकाउंट और **500 से अधिक edits** वाले verified editors ही पेज को अपडेट कर सकते हैं।
- This is not the first time that Wikipedia has locked a page on a contentious topic.  
यह पहली बार नहीं है जब विकिपीडिया ने किसी विवादास्पद विषय पर पेज लॉक किया हो।
- Thousands of such articles covering significant world events, key definitions, or celebrity figures have been temporarily locked in the past to prevent partisan edits by un-vetted editors as well as acts of Wikipedia "**vandalism**" that range from funny to hateful.  
महत्वपूर्ण विश्व घटनाओं, प्रमुख परिभाषाओं या प्रसिद्ध हस्तियों पर बने हजारों लेख पहले भी लॉक किए गए हैं ताकि un-vetted editors के पक्षपाती बदलाव और विकिपीडिया के "**vandalism**" (मज़ाक से लेकर नफरत तक की हरकतों) को रोका जा सके।
- Not surprisingly, there have been hundreds of edits made to the '**Gaza Genocide**' page on Wikipedia in recent days and weeks.  
यह आश्चर्यजनक नहीं है कि हाल के दिनों और हफ्तों में '**Gaza Genocide**' पेज पर सैकड़ों edits किए गए हैं।
- Many of these are simple formatting and punctuation edits while more controversial changes deal with how to include and interpret sources, or even revise other contributors' edits.  
इनमें से कई बदलाव केवल formatting और punctuation से जुड़े होते हैं, जबकि विवादास्पद बदलाव इस बात से जुड़े होते हैं कि स्रोतों को कैसे शामिल किया जाए, कैसे व्याख्या किया जाए, या अन्य योगदानकर्ताओं के edits को कैसे संशोधित किया जाए।

## What did Wikipedia's co-founder say? विकिपीडिया के सह-संस्थापक ने क्या कहा?



- Mr. Wales posted a personal statement in a talk page that discussed the nature of edits made to the 'Gaza Genocide' page as well as the reasoning behind the use of the term 'genocide.'  
Mr. Wales ने एक टॉक पेज पर व्यक्तिगत बयान पोस्ट किया, जिसमें 'Gaza Genocide' पेज पर किए गए edits की प्रकृति और 'genocide' शब्द के उपयोग के पीछे के कारणों पर चर्चा की गई थी।
- There, he criticised how Israel's actions were being classified as a "genocide" and instead urged a correction to present this as a contested allegation.  
वहाँ उन्होंने आलोचना की कि इस्राइल की कार्रवाइयों को "genocide" के रूप में कैसे वर्गीकृत किया जा रहा है और इसके बजाय उन्होंने इसे विवादित आरोप के रूप में प्रस्तुत करने के लिए सुधार की अपील की।
- Citing **neutrality** as the basis for his opinion, Mr. Wales said the article "fails to meet our **high standards** and needs immediate attention."  
**neutrality** को अपने मत का आधार बताते हुए Mr. Wales ने कहा कि यह लेख हमारे **high standards** को पूरा नहीं करता और तत्काल ध्यान की आवश्यकता है।
- Furthermore, Mr. Wales said he was leading a group that was looking into issues of **neutrality** in Wikipedia across articles and topic areas, including "Zionism."  
इसके अलावा, Mr. Wales ने कहा कि वे विकिपीडिया में **neutrality** से जुड़े मुद्दों की जाँच करने वाले एक समूह का नेतृत्व कर रहे हैं, जिसमें "Zionism" जैसे विषय भी शामिल हैं।
- He also claimed that much more work was needed, though he clarified that he was only speaking in a **personal capacity**.  
उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि और भी बहुत काम करने की आवश्यकता है, हालांकि उन्होंने स्पष्ट किया कि वे केवल **personal capacity** में बोल रहे थे।
- "I assume good faith of everyone who has worked on this Gaza "genocide" article. At present, the lede and the overall presentation state, in Wikipedia's voice, that Israel is committing genocide, although that claim is highly contested," Mr. Wales stated.  
उन्होंने कहा, "मैं इस Gaza 'genocide' लेख पर काम करने वाले सभी लोगों की **good faith** मानता हूँ। वर्तमान में लेख की शीर्ष पंक्ति और संपूर्ण प्रस्तुति विकिपीडिया की आवाज़ में कहती है कि इस्राइल genocide कर रहा है, जबकि यह दावा अत्यधिक विवादित है।"
- Later noting, "A neutral approach would begin with a formulation such as: '**Multiple governments, NGOs, and legal bodies have described or rejected the characterisation of Israel's actions in Gaza as genocide.**'"  
उन्होंने आगे कहा, "एक **neutral approach** इस वाक्य से शुरू होगा: 'कई सरकारों, NGOs और कानूनी संस्थाओं ने इस्राइल की गाज़ा में की गई कार्रवाइयों को genocide के रूप में वर्णित किया है या खारिज किया है।'"
- Though Mr. Wales' opinion is not a definitive decision or judgment, it has ignited debate across the Wikipedia editors community as they re-examine how they are collectively working to document Israel's violence against Palestinians.  
हालाँकि Mr. Wales की राय कोई अंतिम निर्णय या आदेश नहीं है, लेकिन इसने विकिपीडिया संपादक समुदाय में बहस छेड़ दी है, क्योंकि वे पुनः जाँच कर रहे हैं कि वे सामूहिक रूप से इस्राइल की फ़िलिस्तीनियों के खिलाफ हिंसा को कैसे दस्तावेज़ित कर रहे हैं।

## Has a genocide in Gaza been confirmed?

### क्या गाज़ा में genocide की पुष्टि हुई है?

- A **UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry** reported on **September 16** that Israel committed genocide against Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.  
**UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry** ने **16 सितंबर** को रिपोर्ट किया कि इस्राइल ने गाज़ा पट्टी में फ़िलिस्तीनियों के खिलाफ genocide किया है।
- The investigation covers events since **October 7, 2023**, when Hamas attacked Israeli civilians, and Israel's military actions since then.  
जाँच में **7 अक्टूबर 2023** से शुरू हुई घटनाएँ शामिल हैं, जब Hamas ने इस्राइली नागरिकों पर हमला किया था, और उसके बाद से इस्राइल की सैन्य कार्रवाइयाँ भी शामिल हैं।
- The Commission reported that Israel carried out **four of the five genocidal acts** as defined by the **1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide**, including "killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the destruction of the Palestinians in whole or in part, and imposing measures intended to prevent births."



आयोग ने रिपोर्ट किया कि इस्राइल ने **1948 Genocide Convention** में परिभाषित **पाँच में से चार genocidal acts** किए, जिनमें “हत्या करना, गंभीर शारीरिक या मानसिक क्षति पहुँचाना, जीवन की ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ उत्पन्न करना जिनसे फ़िलिस्तीनियों का संपूर्ण या आंशिक विनाश हो सके, और जन्मों को रोकने वाले उपाय लागू करना” शामिल है।

- The **International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS)** also published a resolution in **August 2025** stating that Israel carried out **war crimes and genocide**, noting that its actions “have not only been directed against the Hamas group... but have also targeted the entire Gazan population.”

**International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS)** ने **अगस्त 2025** में एक प्रस्ताव जारी किया जिसमें कहा गया कि इस्राइल ने **war crimes और genocide** किए हैं, और इसकी कार्रवाइयाँ “सिर्फ Hamas समूह के खिलाफ नहीं, बल्कि पूरे Gaza population के खिलाफ की गई हैं।”

- The **Human Rights Watch** stated in **December 2024** that “Israeli authorities are responsible for the **crime against humanity of extermination** and for acts of **genocide**” by throttling Palestinian civilians’ access to water.

**Human Rights Watch** ने **दिसंबर 2024** में कहा कि “इस्राइली अधिकारी **crime against humanity of extermination और genocide** के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं,” क्योंकि उन्होंने फ़िलिस्तीनियों की **पानी तक पहुँच** को बाधित किया।

- According to the **Palestinian Ministry of Health**, **67,173 people** have been killed as of **October 7 this year**, two years after Israel’s offensive on Hamas began.

**Palestinian Ministry of Health** के अनुसार, **7 अक्टूबर तक कुल 67,173 लोग मारे गए हैं**, जो कि इस्राइल द्वारा Hamas पर आक्रमण शुरू करने के दो वर्ष बाद की स्थिति है।

- This figure includes **20,179 children**, who account for about **30%** of the total, reported Reuters.

इस आँकड़े में **20,179 बच्चे** शामिल हैं, जो कुल का लगभग **30%** हैं, जैसा कि Reuters ने रिपोर्ट किया।

## Israel says it killed senior Hezbollah official in targeted Beirut strike

**GS II: IR: West Asia**

**Agence France-Presse**  
BEIRUT

Israel said it killed Hezbollah’s Chief of Staff in an air strike on Lebanon’s capital on Sunday, hitting an apartment building in an operation the militant group said crossed a red line.

Lebanon’s Health Ministry said the attack in Beirut, which came after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu vowed Israel would “do everything necessary” to prevent the pro-Iran movement from regrouping, killed five people and wounded 28 more.

The Ministry did not give the identities of those killed in the strike, which took place in the Haret Hreik area in Beirut’s southern suburbs, a densely populated area where



People gather as they look at the debris following an Israeli strike targeting a residential building in Beirut on Sunday. AFP

Hezbollah holds sway. In a statement shortly after the strike, the Israeli military said it had “eliminated the Haytham Ali Tabatabai, Hezbollah’s chief of general staff”.

It was the fifth Israeli strike on Beirut’s southern suburbs since a ceasefire agreed in November 2024

after a year of conflict, and comes a week before Pope Leo XIV is scheduled to visit Lebanon.

Hezbollah said a senior commander was targeted in the strike, without confirming if they were killed.

“The targeting was clearly aimed at a key... figure in the resistance, and

the results are unknown,” Hezbollah official Mahmud Qomati told reporters in front of the strike location, saying the attack “crosses a new red line”. He was speaking before Israel said it had succeeded.

An AFP correspondent at the scene said the strike hit the third and fourth floors of a nine-storey building, where ambulance and fire crews scrambled to find survivors and Lebanese soldiers deployed to secure the site.

Lebanon’s official *National News Agency* said three missiles were fired at the building.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s office said he had ordered the attack. Sunday’s strike was the first on Beirut’s southern suburbs since June 5.



## Israel says it killed senior Hezbollah official in targeted Beirut strike इज़राइल का कहना है कि उसने लक्षित बेरूत हमले में हिज़्बुल्लाह के वरिष्ठ अधिकारी को मार गिराया

- Voters in Israel said it killed Hezbollah's Chief of Staff in an air strike on Lebanon's capital on Sunday, hitting an apartment building in an operation the militant group said crossed a red line.  
इज़राइल ने कहा कि उसने रविवार को लेबनान की राजधानी में एक हवाई हमले में हिज़्बुल्लाह के चीफ ऑफ़ स्टाफ़ को मार दिया, एक अपार्टमेंट बिल्डिंग को निशाना बनाते हुए, जिसे उग्रवादी समूह ने लाल रेखा पार करना बताया।
- Lebanon's Health Ministry said the attack in Beirut, which came after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu vowed Israel would "do everything necessary" to prevent the pro-Iran movement from regrouping, killed five people and wounded 28 more.  
लेबनान के स्वास्थ्य मंत्रालय ने कहा कि बेरूत में हुआ हमला, जो प्रधानमंत्री बेंजामिन नेतन्याहू द्वारा ईरान समर्थक आंदोलन को दोबारा संगठित होने से रोकने के लिए "जो भी आवश्यक होगा, करेंगे" की प्रतिज्ञा के बाद हुआ, इसमें पाँच लोग मारे गए और 28 घायल हुए।
- The Ministry did not give the identities of those killed in the strike, which took place in the Haret Hreik area in Beirut's southern suburbs, a densely populated area where Hezbollah holds sway.  
मंत्रालय ने हमले में मारे गए लोगों की पहचान नहीं बताई, जो हारेत हरैक क्षेत्र में हुआ, जो बेरूत के दक्षिणी इलाकों में एक घनी आबादी वाला क्षेत्र है, जहाँ हिज़्बुल्लाह का प्रभाव है।
- In a statement shortly after the strike, the Israeli military said it had "eliminated the Haytham Ali Tabatabai, Hezbollah's chief of general staff".  
हमले के तुरंत बाद एक बयान में इज़राइली सेना ने कहा कि उसने "हैथम अली तबाताबाई को समाप्त कर दिया है, जो हिज़्बुल्लाह के चीफ ऑफ़ जनरल स्टाफ़ थे।"
- It was the fifth Israeli strike on Beirut's southern suburbs since a ceasefire agreed in November 2024 after a year of conflict, and comes a week before Pope Leo XIV is scheduled to visit Lebanon.  
यह नवंबर 2024 में संघर्ष के एक वर्ष बाद हुए युद्धविराम के बाद से बेरूत के दक्षिणी उपनगरों पर पाँचवाँ इज़राइली हमला था, और यह पोप लियो 14वें की लेबनान यात्रा से एक हफ्ते पहले हुआ।
- Hezbollah said a senior commander was targeted in the strike, without confirming if they were killed.  
हिज़्बुल्लाह ने कहा कि एक वरिष्ठ कमांडर को हमले में निशाना बनाया गया, लेकिन यह पुष्टि नहीं की कि उनकी मौत हुई या नहीं।
- "The targeting was clearly aimed at a key... figure in the resistance, and the results are unknown," Hezbollah official Mahmud Qomati told reporters in front of the strike location, saying the attack "crosses a new red line". He was speaking before Israel said it had succeeded.  
"हमला स्पष्ट रूप से प्रतिरोध के एक मुख्य... व्यक्ति को निशाना बनाकर किया गया था, और परिणाम अज्ञात है," हिज़्बुल्लाह अधिकारी महमूद कोमाती ने हमले की जगह पर पत्रकारों से कहा, और इस हमले को "एक नई लाल रेखा पार करना" बताया। वह इज़राइल द्वारा सफलता का दावा करने से पहले बोल रहे थे।
- An AFP correspondent at the scene said the strike hit the third and fourth floors of a nine-storey building, where ambulance and fire crews scrambled to find survivors and Lebanese soldiers deployed to secure the site.  
घटना स्थल पर मौजूद एक एएफपी संवाददाता ने कहा कि हमले ने नौ मंज़िला इमारत की तीसरी और चौथी मंज़िल को निशाना बनाया, जहाँ एम्बुलेंस और दमकल कर्मी बचे लोगों की तलाश में लगे थे और लेबनानी सैनिकों को क्षेत्र की सुरक्षा के लिए तैनात किया गया था।
- Lebanon's official National News Agency said three missiles were fired at the building.  
लेबनान की आधिकारिक नेशनल न्यूज़ एजेंसी ने कहा कि इमारत पर तीन मिसाइलें दागी गई थीं।
- Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's office said he had ordered the attack.  
Sunday's strike was the first in Beirut's southern suburbs since June 5.  
इज़राइली प्रधानमंत्री बेंजामिन नेतन्याहू के कार्यालय ने कहा कि उन्होंने इस हमले का आदेश दिया था। रविवार का हमला 5 जून के बाद से बेरूत के दक्षिणी उपनगरों पर पहला हमला था।



## GS Paper III: Economy, S&T, Environment, DM, &IS

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सामाजिक सुरक्षा संहिता पर तमिलनाडु खुद को कठिन स्थिति में पाता है

2. **Why have forecasts gone awry?**  
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3. **Experts warn against premature conclusion about Tejas fighter crash**  
विशेषज्ञों ने तेजस लड़ाकू विमान दुर्घटना पर समय से पहले निष्कर्ष निकालने के खिलाफ चेतावनी दी

4. **The rational ape: study says chimpanzees reason through their beliefs**  
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5. **What is a 'random forest'?**  
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6. **COP30 stresses 'adaptation' as path to fossil fuel-free world**  
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7. **State Forest Departments across India have no record of African grey parrot trade, reveal RTI responses**  
RTI जवाबों से पता चला: भारत के विभिन्न राज्यों के वन विभागों के पास अफ्रीकन ग्रे तोते के व्यापार का कोई रिकॉर्ड नहीं

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8. **'Consensus on most recommendations of Assam Accord panel'**  
'असम समझौता पैनल की अधिकांश सिफ़ारिशों पर सहमति'



9.

**ULFA(I) suffers setback as a top leader surrenders**  
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**Economy**

24/11/2025

# T.N. finds itself in a tight spot over Code on Social Security

The State govt. is yet to frame draft rules for the Labour Code unlike with the other 3 Codes. It is worried that it may disrupt the current framework of welfare schemes for unorganised workers

**GS III: Economy**

**T. Ramakrishnan**  
CHENNAI

**W**ith the Union government notifying the enforcement of the four Labour Codes all over the country, the Tamil Nadu government has found itself in a tight corner with regard to the Code on Social Security, as it has been entertaining reservations on the issue.

Ever since the Centre enacted the four Codes five years ago in place of 29 laws, it had held discussions with the State government over the implementation of the Code on Social Security (CSS), 2020. But, no consensus was arrived at, according to a policymaker.

### The four Codes

Of the four Codes, the State government, in April 2022, published draft rules for three – the Code on Wages, 2019, the Industrial Relations Code, 2020, and the Occupational Safety, Health, and Working Conditions Code, 2020. As consultations with stakeholders have been held, the government can notify the final rules anytime now.



**Wide coverage:** Currently, 18 unorganised workers' welfare boards in Tamil Nadu are implementing schemes pertaining to education, marriage, accident disability, and pension, among others. FILE PHOTO

Only in respect of the CSS, no draft rules have been framed so far.

Fundamentally, the CSS does not give liberty to the State government to retain its existing law – the Tamil Nadu Manual Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Work) Act, 1982. But, the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act, 2008, one of the nine laws subsumed by the latest Code, had allowed States to have any corresponding law, providing welfare schemes more beneficial to the unorganised workers than those provided for them under it.

The main reason behind

the State government's reservation is that Tamil Nadu, being a "pioneer" in labour welfare measures for the unorganised sector, has 18 unorganised workers' welfare boards, covering those engaged in 70 (manual) and 54 (construction) categories of works specified in the 1982 law. These boards implement a number of schemes pertaining to education, marriage, maternity, natural and accidental death, accident disability, and monthly and family pension.

The concern expressed by activists and trade unionists, apart from the State government, is that the present framework of

schemes may get disturbed after the implementation of the CSS.

For example, in the Code, it is for the Union government to frame welfare schemes for unorganised workers in respect of life and disability cover, health and maternity benefits, old age protection, and education, while it is for the State governments to come up with schemes for provident fund, employment injury benefit, housing, educational schemes for children, upgrading skills of workers, funeral assistance, and old age homes.

This has raised questions over how to continue with the existing schemes of the State government and welfare boards in areas designated for the Union government.

### Overlapping functions

Besides, the possibility exists in respect of overlapping of certain functions, as stipulated by the Code.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of challenges inherent in the implementation of the CSS, the Tamil Nadu government is particular that the interests of workers are safeguarded and strengthened, explains a senior official.



## T.N. finds itself in a tight spot over Code on Social Security सामाजिक सुरक्षा संहिता पर तमिलनाडु खुद को कठिन स्थिति में पाता है

- The State govt. is yet to frame draft rules for the **Labour Code** unlike with the other **3 Codes**. It is worried that it may disrupt the current framework of **welfare schemes for unorganised workers**.  
राज्य सरकार को अभी **श्रम संहिता** के लिए मसौदा नियम तैयार करने हैं, जबकि अन्य **3 संहिताओं** के लिए ऐसा किया जा चुका है। उसे चिंता है कि इससे **असंगठित श्रमिकों की कल्याणकारी योजनाओं** की वर्तमान व्यवस्था प्रभावित हो सकती है।
- With the **Union government** notifying the enforcement of the four Labour Codes all over the country, the **Tamil Nadu government** has found itself in a tight corner with regard to the **Code on Social Security (CSS)**, as it has been entertaining reservations on the issue.  
जब **केंद्र सरकार** ने पूरे देश में चारों श्रम संहिताओं के लागू होने की अधिसूचना जारी की है, **तमिलनाडु सरकार** खुद को **सामाजिक सुरक्षा संहिता (CSS)** को लेकर कठिन स्थिति में पाती है, क्योंकि इस मुद्दे पर उसकी कुछ आरक्षण हैं।
- Ever since the Centre enacted the four Codes five years ago in place of **29 laws**, it had held discussions with the State government over the implementation of the **Code on Social Security (CSS), 2020**. But, no consensus was reached, according to a policymaker.  
पांच वर्ष पहले केंद्र द्वारा **29 कानूनों** के स्थान पर चार संहिताएँ अधिनियमित किए जाने के बाद से, उसने **सामाजिक सुरक्षा संहिता (CSS), 2020** के कार्यान्वयन को लेकर राज्य सरकार के साथ चर्चा की थी। लेकिन, एक नीति-निर्माता के अनुसार, कोई सहमति नहीं बन सकी।

### The four Codes चार संहिताएँ

- Of the four Codes, the State government, in April 2022, published draft rules for three — the **Code on Wages, 2019**, the **Industrial Relations Code, 2020**, and the **Occupational Safety, Health, and Working Conditions Code, 2020**. As consultations with stakeholders have been held, the government can notify the final rules anytime now.  
चार संहिताओं में से, राज्य सरकार ने अप्रैल 2022 में तीन— **वेतन संहिता, 2019**, **औद्योगिक संबंध संहिता, 2020**, और **व्यावसायिक सुरक्षा, स्वास्थ्य और कार्य परिस्थितियाँ संहिता, 2020** — के लिए मसौदा नियम प्रकाशित किए थे। हितधारकों के साथ विचार-विमर्श हो चुका है, इसलिए सरकार अब किसी भी समय अंतिम नियम अधिसूचित कर सकती है।
- Only in respect of the **CSS**, no draft rules have been framed so far.  
केवल **CSS** के संबंध में अब तक कोई मसौदा नियम तैयार नहीं किए गए हैं।
- Fundamentally, the **CSS** does not give liberty to the State government to retain its existing law — the **Tamil Nadu Manual Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Work) Act, 1982**. But, the **Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act, 2008**, one of the nine laws subsumed by the latest Code, had allowed States to have any corresponding law providing **welfare schemes** more beneficial to the unorganised workers.  
मूल रूप से, **CSS** राज्य सरकार को अपने मौजूदा कानून — **तमिलनाडु मैनुअल वर्कर्स (रोजगार विनियमन और कार्य की शर्तों) अधिनियम, 1982** — को बनाए रखने की स्वतंत्रता नहीं देता। लेकिन **असंगठित श्रमिक सामाजिक सुरक्षा अधिनियम, 2008**, जो नवीनतम संहिता में विलय किए गए नौ कानूनों में से एक है, राज्यों को अधिक लाभकारी **कल्याणकारी योजनाओं** वाले किसी भी समानांतर कानून की अनुमति देता था।
- The main reason behind the State government's reservation is that Tamil Nadu, being a "**pioneer**" in labour welfare measures for the unorganised sector, has **18 unorganised workers' welfare boards**, covering workers in **70 (manual)** and **54 (construction)** categories specified in the 1982 law.  
राज्य सरकार के आरक्षण के पीछे मुख्य कारण यह है कि तमिलनाडु **असंगठित क्षेत्र** के लिए श्रमिक कल्याण उपायों में एक "**अग्रणी**" रहा है, और उसके पास **18 असंगठित श्रमिक कल्याण बोर्ड** हैं, जो 1982 कानून में निर्दिष्ट **70 (मैनुअल)** और **54 (निर्माण)** श्रेणियों के श्रमिकों को कवर करते हैं।



- These boards implement a number of schemes pertaining to **education, marriage, maternity, natural and accidental death, accident disability, and monthly and family pension.**  
ये बोर्ड शिक्षा, विवाह, मातृत्व, प्राकृतिक और आकस्मिक मृत्यु, दुर्घटना विकलांगता, तथा मासिक और पारिवारिक पेंशन संबंधी कई योजनाएँ लागू करते हैं।
- The concern expressed by activists and trade unionists, apart from the State government, is that the present framework of schemes may get **disturbed** after the implementation of the **CSS.**  
राज्य सरकार के अलावा, कार्यकर्ताओं और ट्रेड यूनियन नेताओं द्वारा भी यह चिंता व्यक्त की गई है कि **CSS** लागू होने के बाद मौजूदा योजनाओं की संरचना **प्रभावित** हो सकती है।
- For example, in the Code, it is for the **Union government** to frame welfare schemes for unorganised workers in respect of **life and disability cover, health and maternity benefits, old age protection, and education**, while it is for the **State governments** to come up with schemes for **provident fund, employment injury benefit, housing, educational schemes for children, skill upgrading, funeral assistance, and old age homes.**  
उदाहरण के लिए, संहिता में **जीवन और विकलांगता कवर, स्वास्थ्य और मातृत्व लाभ, वृद्धावस्था संरक्षण, और शिक्षा** के लिए असंगठित श्रमिकों हेतु कल्याणकारी योजनाएँ बनाना **केंद्र सरकार** का दायित्व है, जबकि **भविष्य निधि, रोजगार चोट लाभ, आवास, बच्चों के लिए शैक्षिक योजनाएँ, कौशल उन्नयन, अंतिम संस्कार सहायता, और वृद्धाश्रम** जैसी योजनाएँ बनाना **राज्य सरकारों** का कार्य है।
- This has raised questions over how to continue with the existing schemes of the State government and welfare boards in areas designated for the Union government.  
इससे यह प्रश्न उठा है कि केंद्र सरकार के लिए निर्दिष्ट क्षेत्रों में राज्य सरकार और कल्याण बोर्ड अपनी मौजूदा योजनाएँ कैसे जारी रखेंगे।

### Overlapping functions

#### अतिव्यापी कार्यक्षेत्र

- Besides, the possibility exists in respect of **overlapping of certain functions**, as stipulated by the Code.  
इसके अलावा, संहिता में निर्धारित **कुछ कार्यों के अतिव्यापन** की भी संभावना है।
- Notwithstanding the prevalence of challenges inherent in the implementation of the **CSS**, the **Tamil Nadu government** is particular that the **interests of workers** are safeguarded and strengthened, explains a senior official.  
**CSS** को लागू करने में अंतर्निहित चुनौतियों के बावजूद, एक वरिष्ठ अधिकारी के अनुसार, **तमिलनाडु सरकार** इस बात को लेकर विशेष रूप से सावधान है कि **श्रमिकों के हित** सुरक्षित और मजबूत बने रहें।



## Why have forecasts gone awry?



**Eye for detail:** RBI has been prudent looking at current inflation and keeping an eye on future numbers. REUTERS

### OPINION

**GS III: Economy**

Madan Sabnavis

MOJ

Financial year 2025-26 has been one of extreme volatility, caused by rather erratic policies on tariffs. This continuously changed perceptions on economic performance, making forecasting a challenge. Does this mean we need to look at forecasts with an element of circumspection?

The GDP and inflation forecasts for FY26 in the RBI's survey of professional forecasters shows interesting movements.

The survey for the April forecasts would have been carried out a month earlier, which means it was before the tariff news from the U.S. The background would have been more to do with the budget's impact on spending and tax reliefs as well as the rate cuts invoked by the Reserve Bank of India. Subsequently, the GDP forecast fell to 6.3% and remained virtually flat in August (before the additional tariff was imposed), then increased to 6.7% (even though there was no deal in sight with the U.S.). The forecast for December is likely to be near 7% or even higher. As all these numbers are median forecasts, intuitively there are several numbers which are both higher and lower than this mark.

### Inflation trajectory

The inflation trajectory has been quite unambiguous, declining over time from 4.2% to 2.6%. The December number may likely be even lower, with some forecasts staying below 2%.

Does this mean that forecasting is quite meaningless if there are such swings in the numbers? This is important because such forecasts form the basis of business strategy for any company. All demand forecasting is based on the GDP growth number, while pricing and cost formulation rely on the inflation forecasts. Monetary policy is discussed based on this number, which can lead to changing rationales for action. Here the RBI has been prudent by looking through the current inflation numbers and keeping an eye on future numbers as policy needs to be forward-looking. But what if those forecasts, too, are going to change?

Why have inflation forecasts gone terribly wrong? All models would have assumed a normal monsoon for the year and a good crop. Also, forecasters are aware that the price indices in 2024 (the base) were high and would lead to low inflation in 2025. The only intervention came in the form of GST rationalisation, which would affect manufactured products more than food. Moreover, the impact would be felt from October-November. But, surprisingly, forecasts for core inflation, which exclude food, beverage and fuel, have been more steadfast at around 4%.

The problem is all models use past data as the foundation for assumptions on how the variable factors move. Hence the most volatile element has been food prices, where the past relationship between output and price movements has not held, leading to overestimation of inflation. The problem gets exacerbated by base effects.

(The writer is chief economist, Bank of Baroda. Views are personal)

## Why have forecasts gone awry? पूर्वानुमान गलत क्यों हो गए हैं?

- Why have forecasts gone awry?  
पूर्वानुमान गलत क्यों हो गए हैं?
- Financial year 2025-26 has been one of extreme volatility, caused by rather erratic policies on tariffs.  
वित्त वर्ष 2025-26 अत्यधिक अस्थिरता वाला रहा है, जिसका कारण टैरिफ़ पर काफ़ी अनियमित नीतियाँ रही हैं।
- This continuously changed perceptions on economic performance, making forecasting a challenge.  
इससे आर्थिक प्रदर्शन के प्रति धारणा लगातार बदलती रही, जिससे पूर्वानुमान लगाना चुनौतीपूर्ण हो गया।
- Does this mean we need to look at forecasts with an element of circumspection?  
क्या इसका अर्थ है कि हमें पूर्वानुमानों को सावधानीपूर्वक देखने की आवश्यकता है?
- The GDP and inflation forecasts for FY26 in the **RBI's survey of professional forecasters** shows interesting movements.  
**RBI के प्रोफेशनल फोरकास्टर सर्वे** में FY26 के GDP और मुद्रास्फीति के पूर्वानुमान दिलचस्प उतार-चढ़ाव दिखाते हैं।
- The survey for the April forecasts would have been carried out a month earlier, which means it was before the tariff news from the U.S.  
अप्रैल पूर्वानुमानों के लिए सर्वे एक माह पहले किया गया होगा, यानी यह अमेरिका से आए टैरिफ़ समाचार से पहले था।
- The background would have been more to do with the budget's impact on spending and tax reliefs as well as the rate cuts invoked by the Reserve Bank of India.  
पृष्ठभूमि में बजट का खर्च और कर राहतों पर प्रभाव तथा RBI द्वारा की गई दर कटौतियाँ प्रमुख कारक रहे होंगे।
- Subsequently, the GDP forecast fell to 6.3% and remained virtually flat in August (before the additional tariff was imposed), then increased to 6.7% (even though there was no deal in sight with the U.S.).  
बाद में GDP पूर्वानुमान 6.3% तक गिर गया और अगस्त में लगभग स्थिर रहा (अतिरिक्त टैरिफ़ लगाए जाने से पहले), फिर 6.7% तक बढ़ गया (हालाँकि अमेरिका के साथ किसी सौदे का संकेत नहीं था)।
- The forecast for December is likely to be near 7% or even higher.  
दिसंबर का पूर्वानुमान संभवतः 7% के करीब या उससे अधिक होगा।

- As all these numbers are median forecasts, intuitively there are several numbers which are both higher and lower than this mark.  
चूँकि ये सभी संख्या मध्य पूर्वानुमान हैं, सहज रूप से इनसे अधिक और कम दोनों प्रकार की संख्याएँ मौजूद होंगी।

## Inflation trajectory मुद्रास्फीति की दिशा

- The inflation trajectory has been quite unambiguous, declining over time from 4.2% to 2.6%.  
मुद्रास्फीति की दिशा काफ़ी स्पष्ट रही है, जो समय के साथ 4.2% से घटकर 2.6% तक आ गई है।
- The December number may likely be even lower, with some forecasts staying below 2%.  
दिसंबर का आंकड़ा संभवतः और भी कम होगा, कुछ पूर्वानुमान 2% से नीचे जा रहे हैं।

दिसंबर का आंकड़ा संभवतः और भी कम होगा, कुछ पूर्वानुमान 2% से नीचे जा रहे हैं।



- Does this mean that forecasting is quite meaningless if there are such swings in the numbers?  
क्या इसका अर्थ है कि यदि संख्याओं में ऐसे उतार-चढ़ाव हों तो पूर्वानुमान निरर्थक हो जाते हैं?
- This is important because such forecasts form the basis of business strategy for any company.  
यह महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि ऐसे पूर्वानुमान किसी भी कंपनी की व्यापारिक रणनीति का आधार बनते हैं।
- All demand forecasting is based on the GDP growth number, while pricing and cost formulation rely on the inflation forecasts.  
सभी मांग पूर्वानुमान GDP वृद्धि दर पर आधारित होते हैं, जबकि मूल्य निर्धारण और लागत निर्माण मुद्रास्फीति पूर्वानुमानों पर निर्भर करता है।
- Monetary policy is discussed based on this number, which can lead to changing rationales for action.  
मौद्रिक नीति पर चर्चा इसी संख्या के आधार पर होती है, जो कार्रवाई के तर्कों में बदलाव ला सकती है।
- Here the RBI has been prudent by looking through the current inflation numbers and keeping an eye on future numbers as policy needs to be forward-looking.  
यहाँ RBI ने दूरदर्शिता दिखाई है—वर्तमान मुद्रास्फीति संख्या को देखते हुए और भविष्य की संख्या पर ध्यान रखते हुए, क्योंकि नीति को अग्रदर्शी होना चाहिए।
- But what if those forecasts, too, are going to change?  
लेकिन यदि वे पूर्वानुमान भी बदल जाएँ तो?
- Why have inflation forecasts gone terribly wrong?  
मुद्रास्फीति पूर्वानुमान इतने गलत क्यों हो गए?
- All models would have assumed a normal monsoon for the year and a good crop.  
सभी मॉडलों ने वर्ष के लिए सामान्य मानसून और अच्छी फसल की धारणा बनाई होगी।
- Also, forecasters are aware that the price indices in 2024 (the base) were high and would lead to low inflation in 2025.  
साथ ही, पूर्वानुमानकर्ताओं को पता था कि 2024 के मूल्य सूचकांक (आधार वर्ष) उच्च थे, जिससे 2025 में कम मुद्रास्फीति होनी चाहिए थी।
- The only intervention came in the form of GST rationalisation, which would affect manufactured products more than food.  
एकमात्र हस्तक्षेप GST युक्तिकरण के रूप में आया, जिसका प्रभाव खाद्य पदार्थों की तुलना में विनिर्मित उत्पादों पर अधिक होना था।
- Moreover, the impact would be felt from October-November.  
इसके अलावा, इसका प्रभाव अक्टूबर-नवंबर से महसूस होना था।
- But, surprisingly, forecasts for **core inflation** (excluding food, beverages, and fuel) have been more steadfast at around 4%.  
लेकिन आश्चर्यजनक रूप से, **कोर मुद्रास्फीति** (खाद्य, पेय और ईंधन को छोड़कर) के पूर्वानुमान लगभग 4% पर अधिक स्थिर रहे हैं।
- The problem is all models use past data as the foundation for assumptions on how the variable factors move.  
समस्या यह है कि सभी मॉडल यह मानने के लिए पिछले डेटा का उपयोग करते हैं कि परिवर्तनीय कारक कैसे चलते हैं।
- Hence the most volatile element has been food prices, where the past relationship between output and price movements has not held, leading to overestimation of inflation.  
इसलिए सबसे अधिक अस्थिर तत्व खाद्य कीमतें रही हैं, जहाँ उत्पादन और मूल्य चालों के बीच पूर्व संबंध लागू नहीं हुआ, जिसके कारण मुद्रास्फीति का अधिक अनुमान लगाया गया।
- The problem gets exacerbated by base effects.  
यह समस्या बेस इफेक्ट्स से और भी बढ़ जाती है।



**S&T**

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# Experts warn against premature conclusion about Tejas fighter crash

**GS III: S&T**

**Saurabh Trivedi**  
NEW DELHI

The recent crash of an Indian Air Force (IAF) Tejas fighter aircraft at the Dubai air show has triggered a wave of speculation on social media, with many users terming the accident a setback for India's flagship defence export platform.

On Sunday, an IAF team reached Dubai to conduct a joint investigation with the UAE authorities. While no evidence of foul play has emerged so far, online discussions have intensified, demanding a thorough probe into the circumstances surrounding the incident.

Several hashtags gained traction, amplifying theories about sabotage and external interference. A fabricated social media post also claimed that an oil leak had been detected on the Tejas before the flight. However, a PIB Fact Check clarified that the allegation was false, stating that the fluid seen in the video was part of a routine draining process, not a technical malfunction.

A senior official moni-



Wing Commander Afshan breaks down ahead of the last rites of her husband, Wing Commander Namansh Syal, in Kangra on Sunday. He lost his life in the Tejas crash at the Dubai air show. ANI

toring misinformation campaigns said numerous accounts – operating from neighbouring countries – were found circulating misleading narratives about the crash.

The heightened military cooperation between China and Pakistan, especially in defence technology, has also been frequently referenced in online discussions around the incident.

Aviation experts, however, cautioned against premature conclusions until the joint investigation report is released.

"IAF has full confidence in the aircraft; that's why

they are flying it. The only issue is HAL's inability to meet delivery timelines. If we cannot meet our own timelines, how can we export?" said Air Vice-Marshal Anil Golani (retd.), Director-General of the Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS).

Air Vice-Marshal Golani added that incidents during development or early induction phases were not unusual. "Tejas has had an impeccable record. It was inducted in 2016, and till 2024 not a single incident occurred. Its safety record is excellent."

On the export potential

of Tejas, he said India must first prioritise domestic requirements. "IAF has already placed orders for 220 Tejas aircraft. There are many powers in the world trying to pull India down."

According to the Ministry of Defence, India's indigenous defence production reached a record ₹1,27,434 crore in FY 2023-24, a 174% jump from 2014-15. India now exports military equipment to over 100 countries, including the United States, France, and Armenia. Defence PSUs accounted for 77% of total output, while the private sector contributed 23%.

With the retirement of its last MiG-21 squadrons, the IAF's strength has dipped to 29 fighter squadrons, its lowest since the 1960s, against a sanctioned 42. To bridge the gap, the force is relying heavily on the phased induction of the Tejas. The upgraded Tejas Mk-1A, featuring advanced radar, enhanced electronic warfare systems, and improved maintainability, is expected to significantly boost IAF capability.

**Experts warn against premature conclusion about Tejas fighter crash**  
विशेषज्ञों ने तेजस लड़ाकू विमान दुर्घटना पर समय से पहले निष्कर्ष निकालने के खिलाफ चेतावनी दी

**Tejas fighter crash investigation**  
तेजस फाइटर क्राश जांच

- The recent crash of an Indian Air Force (IAF) Tejas fighter aircraft at the Dubai air show has triggered a wave of speculation on social media, with many users terming the accident a setback for India's flagship defence export platform.  
दुबई एयर शो में भारतीय वायुसेना (IAF) के तेजस फाइटर विमान की हालिया दुर्घटना ने सोशल मीडिया पर अटकलों की लहर पैदा कर दी है, जिसमें कई उपयोगकर्ताओं ने इस दुर्घटना को भारत के प्लैगशिप डिफेंस एक्सपोर्ट प्लेटफॉर्म के लिए एक झटका बताया है।



- On Sunday, an IAF team reached Dubai to conduct a joint investigation with the UAE authorities.  
रविवार को, एक **IAF टीम** संयुक्त जांच करने के लिए यूएई अधिकारियों के साथ दुबई पहुंची।
- While no evidence of foul play has emerged so far, online discussions have intensified, demanding a thorough probe into the circumstances surrounding the incident.  
अब तक किसी **फाउल प्ले** के सबूत नहीं मिले हैं, लेकिन ऑनलाइन चर्चाएं तेज हो गई हैं, जो इस घटना से जुड़े हालातों की विस्तृत जांच की मांग कर रही हैं।  
Several hashtags gained traction, amplifying theories about sabotage and external interference.  
कई **हैशटैग** ट्रेंड में आए, जिन्होंने **सबोटाज और बाहरी हस्तक्षेप** से संबंधित थ्योरीज़ को बढ़ावा दिया।
- A fabricated social media post also claimed that an oil leak had been detected on the Tejas before the flight.  
एक **फर्जी सोशल मीडिया पोस्ट** ने यह भी दावा किया कि उड़ान से पहले तेजस में **ऑयल लीक** पाया गया था।
- However, a PIB Fact Check clarified that the allegation was false, stating that the fluid seen in the video was part of a routine draining process, not a technical malfunction.  
हालांकि, **PIB फैक्ट चेक** ने स्पष्ट किया कि यह आरोप गलत था और वीडियो में दिखाया गया द्रव एक **रूटीन ड्रेनिंग प्रोसेस** का हिस्सा था, न कि कोई तकनीकी खराबी।
- A senior official monitoring misinformation campaigns said numerous accounts — operating from neighbouring countries — were found circulating misleading narratives about the crash.  
**मिसइन्फॉर्मेशन कैम्पेन** की निगरानी करने वाले एक वरिष्ठ अधिकारी ने कहा कि कई अकाउंट — जो पड़ोसी देशों से संचालित हो रहे थे — दुर्घटना के बारे में भ्रमक कथाएँ फैला रहे थे।
- The heightened military cooperation between China and Pakistan, especially in defence technology, has also been frequently referenced in online discussions around the incident.  
**चीन और पाकिस्तान** के बीच बढ़ते सैन्य सहयोग, विशेषकर **डिफेंस टेक्नोलॉजी** में, को भी इस घटना से संबंधित ऑनलाइन चर्चाओं में बार-बार संदर्भित किया गया है।
- Aviation experts, however, cautioned against premature conclusions until the joint investigation report is released.  
हालांकि, **एविएशन विशेषज्ञों** ने संयुक्त जांच रिपोर्ट आने तक किसी भी जल्दबाज़ी में निष्कर्ष निकालने से सावधान किया है।
- “IAF has full confidence in the aircraft; that’s why they are flying it. The only issue is HAL’s inability to meet delivery timelines. If we cannot meet our own timelines, how can we export?” said Air Vice-Marshal Anil Golani (retd.), Director-General of the Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS).  
“**IAF** को इस विमान पर पूरा भरोसा है; इसलिए वे इसे उड़ा रहे हैं। एकमात्र समस्या **HAL की डिलीवरी टाइमलाइन** पूरी न कर पाने की है। यदि हम अपनी समयसीमा पूरी नहीं कर सकते, तो हम निर्यात कैसे कर सकते हैं?” — **एयर वाइस-मार्शल अनिल गोलानी (से.नि.), DG CAPS**।
- Air Vice-Marshal Golani added that incidents during development or early induction phases were not unusual.  
एयर वाइस-मार्शल गोलानी ने कहा कि विकास या **अर्ली इंडक्शन फेज़** में इस तरह की घटनाएँ असामान्य नहीं हैं।
- “Tejas has had an impeccable record. It was inducted in 2016, and till 2024 not a single incident occurred. Its safety record is excellent.”  
“**तेजस का रिकॉर्ड बेदाग** रहा है। इसे 2016 में शामिल किया गया था और 2024 तक एक भी घटना नहीं हुई। इसका **सेफ्टी रिकॉर्ड उत्कृष्ट** है।”
- On the export potential of Tejas, he said India must first prioritise domestic requirements.  
तेजस की **एक्सपोर्ट क्षमता** पर उन्होंने कहा कि भारत को पहले घरेलू आवश्यकताओं को प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए।
- “IAF has already placed orders for 220 Tejas aircraft. There are many powers in the world trying to pull India down.”



“IAF पहले ही **220 तेजस विमानों** का ऑर्डर दे चुकी है। दुनिया में कई शक्तियाँ भारत को नीचे खींचने की कोशिश कर रही हैं।”

- According to the Ministry of Defence, India's indigenous defence production reached a record ₹1,27,434 crore in FY 2023–24, a 174% jump from 2014-15.  
**रक्षा मंत्रालय** के अनुसार, भारत का **स्वदेशी रक्षा उत्पादन** FY 2023–24 में ₹1,27,434 करोड़ के रिकॉर्ड स्तर पर पहुंच गया, जो 2014–15 की तुलना में **174% वृद्धि** है।
- India now exports military equipment to over 100 countries, including the United States, France, and Armenia.  
भारत अब **100 से अधिक देशों** को सैन्य उपकरण निर्यात करता है, जिनमें संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका, फ्रांस और आर्मेनिया शामिल हैं।
- Defence PSUs accounted for 77% of total output, while the private sector contributed 23%.  
**डिफेंस PSUs** कुल उत्पादन का **77%** योगदान देते हैं, जबकि **प्राइवेट सेक्टर** 23% योगदान देता है।
- With the retirement of its last MiG-21 squadrons, the IAF's strength has dipped to 29 fighter squadrons, its lowest since the 1960s, against a sanctioned 42.  
अपनी आखिरी **MiG-21 स्क्वाड्रन** के सेवानिवृत्त होने के साथ, IAF की संख्या घटकर **29 फाइटर स्क्वाड्रन** रह गई है, जो 1960 के दशक के बाद सबसे कम है, जबकि स्वीकृत संख्या 42 है।
- To bridge the gap, the force is relying heavily on the phased induction of the Tejas. इस कमी को पूरा करने के लिए, वायुसेना **तेजस के चरणबद्ध इंडक्शन** पर भारी निर्भर है।
- The upgraded Tejas Mk-1A, featuring advanced radar, enhanced electronic warfare systems, and improved maintainability, is expected to significantly boost IAF capability.  
उन्नत **Tejas Mk-1A**, जिसमें **एडवांस्ड रडार**, **इलेक्ट्रॉनिक वॉरफेयर सिस्टम**, और **बेहतर मटेनबिलिटी** शामिल है, IAF की क्षमता को उल्लेखनीय रूप से बढ़ाने की उम्मीद है।

PATRIOTIC



# The rational ape: study says chimpanzees reason through their beliefs

A series of five tests showed the chimpanzees didn't simply respond to the latest or loudest clues; instead, they evaluated how relevant and reliable each piece of information was, kept multiple possibilities open, and updated their choices in ways that resembled rational, evidence-based reasoning in humans; this raises fundamental questions

**SS III S&T**  
Ipsita Herlekar

**W**hen, in 1960, the British primatologist Jane Goodall first observed chimpanzees at Gombe National Park in Tanzania using twigs to fish termites out of anthills, she was making scientific history. Researchers had until then believed only humans could use tools. Goodall's discovery erased that line as well as raised important questions about what it means to be human. Now, a study published in *Science* on October 30 has suggested that another supposedly uniquely human trait – the ability to weigh evidence, revise beliefs, and change one's mind – may not be ours alone. (This is, of course, setting aside machines.)

A team of experts from the Netherlands, Uganda, the UK, and the US observed 15-23 chimpanzees at the Ngamba Island Chimpanzee Sanctuary in Uganda through a series of carefully designed behavioural tests. The question they were trying to answer was simple: when faced with conflicting clues about where food is hidden, do chimpanzees follow the most recent signal or do they combine information, remember it, and update their beliefs, much like humans do when they think rationally?

**Five tests**  
The researchers used five simple tests to examine how chimpanzees revised their beliefs.

"To run this study, we really had to break it down and ask: what is rationality at its roots?" Utrecht University assistant professor and the study's lead author Hanna Schleihauf said. "What are its most fundamental components? And how do you test this in a non-verbal way?"

The team used a Bayesian model to generate predictions about the great apes' decisions and compared them with their actual behaviour. A Bayesian model is a statistical way to understand or predict something by continuously updating one's beliefs with new evidence.

The first test checked how chimpanzees responded to strong and weak clues. A strong clue could be in the form of seeing food dropped into a container; a weak clue could be hearing food rattling inside the container. The researchers also switched the order in which these clues appeared.

This way, the team observed that when the strong clue came second, the chimpanzees were more likely to change their original choice, suggesting they weren't simply reacting to the most recent signal but were weighing how reliable each clue could be.

The second test examined whether this pattern held when the team swapped the



A group of chimpanzees in Uganda. USAID AFRICA BUREAU

clues. This time, the strong clue was auditory while the weak clue involved vague movements or traces of food. As before, the chimpanzees consistently favoured the stronger, more reliable clues regardless of when it appeared.

The third test explored how well the chimpanzees remembered the clues. The scientists introduced three containers, one with a strong clue, one with a weak clue, and a third with no clues.

After the chimpanzees picked the container with the strongest clue, the researchers removed it and presented them with the remaining two (somewhat like the Monty Hall problem for humans). The chimpanzees more often than not picked the container with the weak clue rather than the one with no information, suggesting they kept multiple possibilities in mind rather than focus solely on the strongest clue.

Next, the scientists checked whether the chimpanzees could differentiate between information they already had and something new.

The great apes were made to hear either the same sounds of food rattling in a can twice or a new sound the second time. The chimpanzees changed their choice only when the second signal added something new, indicating they could tell old information from genuinely new evidence.

The final test explored how the chimpanzees responded when their initial belief was undermined. When the



This shows that they are aware of the reasons for their choices, a skill that has been believed to be uniquely human

**HANNA SCHLEIHAUF**  
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

scientists presented a "defeater" clue that directly contradicted a prior strong clue, for instance by revealing that a rattling sound had come from a pebble rather than food, the chimpanzees revised their choices. However, they ignored the same "defeater" when it wasn't linked to previous positive evidence.

**Not uniquely human**

Taken together, the tests show the chimpanzees didn't simply respond to the last or loudest clues.

Instead they evaluated how relevant and reliable each piece of information was, kept multiple possibilities open, and updated their choices in ways that resemble rational, evidence-based reasoning in humans.

"This shows [the study] that they are aware of the reasons for their choices, a skill that has been believed to be uniquely human," Prof. Schleihauf said.

How would this sort of rational thinking turn up in the everyday lives of

wild chimpanzees? Since this study was carried out in semi-captive conditions and with rescued chimpanzees, the researchers could offer only hypothetical examples.

As Prof. Schleihauf said: "Imagine a chimpanzee sees a red fruit on the ground and walks towards a tree because it assumes the fruit must have fallen from there. But when it reaches the spot, it realises the 'fruit' was only a cluster of red leaves. In that moment, the chimpanzee should revise its belief: it should no longer think that this tree is full of ripe fruit."

**'Bigger questions'**

According to Tetsuro Matsuzawa, a primatologist and former director of Kyoto University Primate Research Institute (and who wasn't involved in the study), it would be extremely difficult to observe such traits in wild chimpanzees in their daily lives because researchers simply wouldn't be able to make enough repeat observations to show reliably that chimpanzees can revise their beliefs in ways demonstrated in the study.

Nonetheless, he added, "This study also raises bigger questions about the evolutionary roots of human rationality. It shows that rational thinking is not limited to humans, and prompts us to ask how much of this ability is shared with chimpanzees and other great apes, a question now brought to the forefront." (Ipsita Herlekar is an independent science writer. [ipsitaherlekar@gmail.com](mailto:ipsitaherlekar@gmail.com))

**THE GIST**

The study suggests that another supposedly uniquely human trait – the ability to weigh evidence, revise beliefs, and change one's mind – may not be ours alone

Researchers, however, are unable to clarify what this rational thought process would look like among wild chimpanzees, since the study was carried out in semi-captive conditions and with rescued chimpanzees

Researchers say the study raises questions about the evolutionary roots of human rationality and prompts us to ask how much of this ability is shared with the great apes

## The rational ape: study says chimpanzees reason through their beliefs तर्कसंगत वानर: अध्ययन कहता है कि चिपैज़ी अपनी मान्यताओं के आधार पर विचार करते हैं

### Chimpanzee Rational Reasoning Study चिपैज़ियों में तर्कसंगत विचार अध्ययन

- When, in 1960, the British primatologist **Jane Goodall** first observed chimpanzees at **Gombe National Park in Tanzania** using **twigs to fish termites out of anthills**, she was making scientific history.  
जब 1960 में ब्रिटिश प्राइमेटोलॉजिस्ट **जेन गुडॉल** ने पहली बार तंज़ानिया के गॉम्बे नेशनल पार्क में चिपैज़ियों को दीमक के ढेरों से दीमक निकालने के लिए टहनियों का उपयोग करते देखा, तब वे वैज्ञानिक इतिहास रच रही थीं।
- Researchers had until then believed only humans could use tools.  
तब तक शोधकर्ताओं का मानना था कि केवल मनुष्य ही उपकरणों का उपयोग कर सकते हैं।



- Goodall's discovery erased that line as well as raised important questions about what it means to be human.

गुडॉल की खोज ने इस विभाजन को मिटा दिया और यह महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न उठाए कि मनुष्य होने का अर्थ वास्तव में क्या है।

- Now, a study published in **Science on October 30** has suggested that another supposedly uniquely human trait — the ability to weigh evidence, revise beliefs, and change one's mind — may not be ours alone.

अब, 30 अक्टूबर को *Science* में प्रकाशित एक अध्ययन ने सुझाव दिया है कि एक और कथित रूप से मानव-विशिष्ट क्षमता — प्रमाण तौलने, विश्वास संशोधित करने और निर्णय बदलने की क्षमता — शायद केवल मनुष्यों की ही नहीं है।



- (This is, of course, setting aside machines.)  
(यह बात, निश्चित रूप से, मशीनों को अलग रखते हुए कही गई है।)
- A team of experts from the **Netherlands, Uganda, the UK, and the US** observed **15–23 chimpanzees** at the Ngamba Island Chimpanzee Sanctuary in Uganda through a series of carefully designed behavioural tests.  
नीदरलैंड, युगांडा, यूके और यूएस के विशेषज्ञों की एक टीम ने उगांडा के न्गाम्बा आइलैंड चिंपैंज़ी सेंक्युरी में 15–23 चिंपैंज़ियों का सावधानीपूर्वक डिज़ाइन किए गए व्यवहार परीक्षणों की एक श्रृंखला के माध्यम से अवलोकन किया।
- The question they were trying to answer was simple: **when faced with conflicting clues** about where food is hidden, do chimpanzees follow the most recent signal or do **they combine information, remember it, and update their beliefs**, much like humans do when they think rationally?  
वे जिस प्रश्न का उत्तर खोज रहे थे, वह सरल था: जब भोजन कहाँ छिपा है इस बारे में विरोधाभासी संकेत मिलते हैं, तो क्या चिंपैंज़ी केवल नवीनतम संकेत का पालन करते हैं, या वे जानकारी को जोड़ते, याद रखते और अपनी मान्यताओं को अद्यतन करते हैं — बिल्कुल वैसे जैसे मनुष्य तर्कसंगत रूप से सोचते समय करते हैं?

### Five tests पाँच परीक्षण

- The researchers used **five simple tests** to examine how chimpanzees revised their beliefs. शोधकर्ताओं ने यह जांचने के लिए पाँच सरल परीक्षणों का उपयोग किया कि चिंपैंज़ी अपनी मान्यताओं को कैसे संशोधित करते हैं।
- "To run this study, we really had to break it down and ask: what is **rationality** at its roots?" Utrecht University assistant professor and the study's lead author **Hanna Schleihau** said. "इस अध्ययन को चलाने के लिए, हमें वास्तव में इसे विभाजित करना पड़ा और पूछना पड़ा: जड़ में तर्कसंगतता क्या है?" यह बात उट्रेक्ट यूनिवर्सिटी की सहायक प्रोफेसर और अध्ययन की मुख्य लेखिका हाना श्लाइहॉफ ने कही।
- "What are its most fundamental components? And how do you test this in a **non-verbal way**?"  
"इसके सबसे मूलभूत घटक क्या हैं? और आप इसे गैर-मौखिक तरीके से कैसे जांचते हैं?"
- The team used a **Bayesian model** to generate predictions about the great apes' decisions and compared them with their actual behaviour. टीम ने महान एप्स के निर्णयों के बारे में अनुमान उत्पन्न करने के लिए बेयज़ियन मॉडल का उपयोग किया और उन्हें उनके वास्तविक व्यवहार से तुलना की।
- A Bayesian model is a statistical way to understand or predict something by continuously updating one's beliefs with **new evidence**. बेयज़ियन मॉडल एक सांख्यिकीय तरीका है जिसमें व्यक्ति अपनी मान्यताओं को नए प्रमाणों के आधार पर लगातार अद्यतन करके किसी चीज़ को समझता या पूर्वानुमान लगाता है।
- The first test checked how chimpanzees responded to **strong and weak clues**. पहले परीक्षण ने यह जांचा कि चिंपैंज़ी मज़बूत और कमजोर सुरागों पर कैसे प्रतिक्रिया देते हैं।



- A strong clue could be seeing food dropped into a container; a weak clue could be hearing food **rattling** inside the container.  
एक मज़बूत सुराग वह हो सकता है जिसमें भोजन को कंटेनर में गिरते हुए देखा जाए; एक कमजोर सुराग वह हो सकता है जिसमें कंटेनर के अंदर भोजन की **खड़खड़ाहट** सुनी जाए।
- The researchers also switched the **order** in which these clues appeared.  
शोधकर्ताओं ने इन सुरागों के आने के **क्रम** को भी बदला।
- This way, the team observed that when the strong clue came second, the chimpanzees were more likely to **change their original choice**, suggesting they weren't simply reacting to the most recent signal but were weighing how **reliable** each clue could be.  
इस तरह, टीम ने देखा कि जब मज़बूत सुराग दूसरे नंबर पर आया, तो चिंपैंज़ी अपनी **मूल पसंद बदलने** की अधिक संभावना रखते थे, जिससे पता चलता है कि वे सिर्फ हाल के संकेत पर प्रतिक्रिया नहीं कर रहे थे बल्कि यह तौल रहे थे कि कौन सा सुराग कितना **विश्वसनीय** है।
- The second test examined whether this pattern held when the team **swapped the clues**.  
दूसरे परीक्षण ने यह जांचा कि जब टीम ने **सुरागों को बदल दिया**, तो क्या यह पैटर्न बना रहा।
- This time, the strong clue was **auditory** while the weak clue involved vague movements or traces of food.  
इस बार, मज़बूत सुराग **श्रव्य** था जबकि कमजोर सुराग भोजन की हल्की गतिविधियों या निशानों से संबंधित था।
- As before, the chimpanzees consistently favoured the **stronger, more reliable clues** regardless of when it appeared.  
पहले की तरह, चिंपैंज़ियों ने **मज़बूत और अधिक विश्वसनीय सुरागों** को ही चुना, चाहे वे किसी भी क्रम में आए हों।
- The third test explored how well the chimpanzees **remembered the clues**.  
तीसरे परीक्षण ने यह जांचा कि चिंपैंज़ी **सुरागों को कितना याद** रखते हैं।
- The scientists introduced **three containers** — one with a strong clue, one with a weak clue, and a third with **no clues**.  
वैज्ञानिकों ने **तीन कंटेनर** पेश किए — एक मज़बूत सुराग वाला, एक कमजोर सुराग वाला, और एक जिसमें **कोई सुराग नहीं** था।
- After the chimpanzees picked the container with the strongest clue, the researchers removed it and presented them with the remaining two (somewhat like the **Monty Hall problem** for humans).  
जब चिंपैंज़ियों ने मज़बूत सुराग वाले कंटेनर को चुना, तो शोधकर्ताओं ने उसे हटा दिया और बचे हुए दो कंटेनर सामने रखे (यह मनुष्यों के **Monty Hall problem** जैसा था)।
- The chimpanzees more often than not picked the container with the **weak clue** rather than the one with no information, suggesting they kept **multiple possibilities** in mind rather than focus solely on the strongest clue.  
चिंपैंज़ियों ने बिना जानकारी वाले कंटेनर की बजाय **कमजोर सुराग** वाले कंटेनर को अधिक बार चुना, जिससे पता चलता है कि वे केवल मज़बूत सुराग पर निर्भर नहीं थे बल्कि **कई संभावनाओं** को ध्यान में रखते थे।
- Next, the scientists checked whether the chimpanzees could differentiate between **information they already had** and **something new**.  
इसके बाद वैज्ञानिकों ने यह जांचा कि चिंपैंज़ी **पहले से मौजूद जानकारी** और **नई जानकारी** में अंतर कर सकते हैं या नहीं।
- The great apes were made to hear either the same sounds of food rattling in a can twice or a **new sound** the second time.  
महान एप्स को या तो कैन में भोजन की एक जैसी **खड़खड़ाहट** दो बार सुनने दी गई या दूसरी बार **नई आवाज़** सुनाई गई।
- The chimpanzees changed their choice only when the second signal added **something new**, indicating they could tell **old information** from **new evidence**.  
चिंपैंज़ियों ने अपना चुनाव केवल तब बदला जब दूसरे संकेत में **कुछ नया** था, जिससे पता चलता है कि वे **पुरानी जानकारी** और **नए प्रमाण** में फर्क कर सकते थे।
- The final test explored how the chimpanzees responded when their **initial belief was undermined**.  
अंतिम परीक्षण ने यह जांचा कि जब चिंपैंज़ियों के **प्रारंभिक विश्वास को कमजोर** किया गया, तो उन्होंने कैसे प्रतिक्रिया दी।
- When the scientists presented a “**defeater**” clue that directly contradicted a prior strong clue — for instance, showing that a rattling sound came from a **pebble** rather than food — the



chimpanzees revised their choices.

जब वैज्ञानिकों ने एक “defeater” सुराग दिया जो पिछले मज़बूत सुराग के विपरीत था — जैसे दिखाना कि खड़खड़ाहट भोजन की बजाय कंकड़ से आई थी — तो चिंपैंज़ियों ने अपनी पसंद बदल ली।

- However, they ignored the same defeater when it wasn't linked to previous positive evidence.

हालाँकि, उन्होंने उसी ‘defeater’ को नज़रअंदाज़ कर दिया जब वह पिछले सकारात्मक प्रमाण से जुड़ा नहीं था।

## Not uniquely human

### केवल मनुष्यों तक सीमित नहीं

- Taken together, the tests show the chimpanzees didn't simply respond to the last or loudest clues.  
सभी परीक्षणों को मिलाकर देखें तो पता चलता है कि चिंपैंज़ी केवल अंतिम या सबसे तेज़ सुरागों पर प्रतिक्रिया नहीं करते थे।
- Instead they evaluated how relevant and reliable each piece of information was, kept multiple possibilities open, and updated their choices in ways that resemble rational, evidence-based reasoning in humans.  
इसके बजाय वे यह मूल्यांकन करते थे कि प्रत्येक जानकारी कितनी प्रासंगिक और भरोसेमंद है, कई संभावनाएँ खुली रखते थे और अपने विकल्पों को उसी तरह अद्यतन करते थे जैसे मनुष्य तर्कसंगत, प्रमाण-आधारित सोच में करते हैं।
- “This shows [the study] that they are aware of the reasons for their choices, a skill that has been believed to be uniquely human,” Prof. Schleihauf said.  
प्रो. श्लाइहॉफ ने कहा, “यह [अध्ययन] दिखाता है कि वे अपने विकल्पों के कारणों से अवगत हैं, एक ऐसी क्षमता जिसे अब तक विशेष रूप से मानव माना जाता था।”
- How would this sort of rational thinking turn up in the everyday lives of wild chimpanzees?  
जंगली चिंपैंज़ियों के दैनिक जीवन में इस तरह की तर्कसंगत सोच कैसे दिखाई दे सकती है?
- Since this study was carried out in semi-captive conditions and with rescued chimpanzees, the researchers could offer only hypothetical examples.  
चूँकि यह अध्ययन अर्ध-बंद वातावरण और राहत पाए चिंपैंज़ियों पर किया गया था, इसलिए शोधकर्ता केवल काल्पनिक उदाहरण ही दे सकते थे।
- As Prof. Schleihauf said: “Imagine a chimpanzee sees a red fruit on the ground and walks towards a tree because it assumes the fruit must have fallen from there.  
जैसा कि प्रो. श्लाइहॉफ ने बताया: “कल्पना करें कि एक चिंपैंज़ी ज़मीन पर एक लाल फल देखता है और पेड़ की ओर चलता है क्योंकि वह मानता है कि फल वहीं से गिरा होगा।
- But when it reaches the spot, it realises the ‘fruit’ was only a cluster of red leaves.  
पर जब वह वहाँ पहुँचता है, तो उसे एहसास होता है कि वह ‘फल’ वास्तव में लाल पत्तों का गुच्छा था।
- In that moment, the chimpanzee should revise its belief: it should no longer think that this tree is full of ripe fruit.”  
उस क्षण चिंपैंज़ी को अपना विश्वास बदल लेना चाहिए: उसे अब यह नहीं मानना चाहिए कि यह पेड़ पके हुए फलों से भरा है।”

## ‘Bigger questions’

### ‘बड़े प्रश्न’

- According to Tetsuro Matsuzawa, a primatologist and former director of Kyoto University Primate Research Institute, it would be extremely difficult to observe such traits in wild chimpanzees in their daily lives because researchers can't make enough repeat observations.  
प्राइमेटोलॉजिस्ट और क्योटो विश्वविद्यालय प्राइमेट रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट के पूर्व निदेशक तेत्सुरो मात्सुज़ावा के अनुसार, जंगली चिंपैंज़ियों के दैनिक जीवन में ऐसे गुणों का अवलोकन करना अत्यंत कठिन होगा क्योंकि शोधकर्ता पर्याप्त दोहराए गए अवलोकन नहीं कर पाएँगे।
- They wouldn't be able to show reliably that chimpanzees can revise their beliefs in the way demonstrated in the study.



वे यह विश्वसनीय रूप से नहीं दिखा पाएँगे कि चिंपैंज़ी अध्ययन में दिखाए गए तरीके से अपनी मान्यताओं को बदल सकते हैं।

- Nonetheless, he added, “This study also raises **bigger questions** about the **evolutionary roots** of human rationality.

फिर भी, उन्होंने कहा, “यह अध्ययन मानव तर्कसंगतता की **विकासात्मक जड़ों** के बारे में **बड़े प्रश्न** उठाता है।

- It shows that rational thinking is **not limited to humans**, and prompts us to ask how much of this ability is shared with chimpanzees and other **great apes**, a question now brought to the forefront.”

यह दिखाता है कि तर्कसंगत सोच **केवल मनुष्यों तक सीमित नहीं** है, और यह सवाल उठाता है कि इस क्षमता का कितना हिस्सा चिंपैंज़ियों और अन्य **महान एप्स** के साथ साझा है — एक प्रश्न जो अब प्रमुखता से सामने आया है।

## Random forest: branching possibilities

GS III: S&T

Vasudevan Mukunth



**Q: What is a ‘random forest’?**

**A:** A random forest is a machine-learning method that makes predictions by combining the

decisions of many simpler models called decision trees. A decision tree works like a tree from bottom-up. At each node, it asks a question about the data, e.g. “is a person’s age greater than 30?”. Then, depending on the answer, it moves left or right until it reaches a final decision at a ‘leaf.’ While single trees are easier to understand, they can also overfit the data, i.e. they may learn small quirks of the training data that don’t generalise well.

A random forest minimises this issue by building a large number of trees, each trained on a slightly different random sample of the data.

When asked to make a prediction, every tree gives an answer. For classification problems, the random forest picks the most common answer. For regression problems, it averages the numerical outputs. Because random errors and quirks tend to cancel out when the verdicts of many trees are combined, a random forest is often more accurate than any single tree while still being relatively straightforward to use.

In a study published on November



A decision tree works like a tree from the trunk to the leaves. N UXIAB/UNSPLASH

17 in the journal *PNAS*, for instance, scientists trained random forest models to learn the “chemical fingerprints” of fossils, then based on that made them predict whether some organic molecules present on rocks could have come from lifeforms or natural processes. Thus they reported evidence of photosynthetic microbes from 2.5 billion years ago.



**For feedback and suggestions**

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## What is a 'random forest'?

### 'रैंडम फॉरेस्ट' क्या है?

- A random forest is a **machine-learning method** that makes predictions by combining the decisions of many simpler models called **decision trees**.  
रैंडम फॉरेस्ट एक **मशीन-लर्निंग विधि** है जो कई सरल मॉडलों, जिन्हें **डिसीजन ट्री** कहा जाता है, के निर्णयों को मिलाकर भविष्यवाणियाँ करता है।
- A decision tree works like a **tree from bottom-up**. At each node, it asks a question about the data, e.g., "is a person's age greater than **30**?"  
एक डिसीजन ट्री नीचे से ऊपर की ओर एक पेड़ की तरह काम करता है। हर नोड पर यह डेटा के बारे में प्रश्न पूछता है, जैसे "क्या किसी व्यक्ति की उम्र **30** से अधिक है?"
- Then, depending on the answer, it moves left or right until it reaches a final decision at a **leaf**. फिर उत्तर के आधार पर यह बाएँ या दाएँ बढ़ता है जब तक कि यह एक **लीफ (अंतिम निर्णय)** तक न पहुँच जाए।
- While single trees are easier to understand, they can also **overfit** the data, i.e., they may learn small quirks of the training data that don't generalise well.  
हालाँकि एकल ट्री समझने में आसान होते हैं, वे डेटा को **ओवरफिट** भी कर सकते हैं, यानी प्रशिक्षण डेटा की छोटी-छोटी विशेषताओं को सीख लेते हैं जो आगे अच्छे से काम नहीं करतीं।
- A random forest minimises this issue by building a large number of trees, each trained on a slightly different **random sample** of the data.  
रैंडम फॉरेस्ट इस समस्या को कम करता है क्योंकि यह डेटा के अलग-अलग **रैंडम सैंपल** पर आधारित कई ट्री बनाता है।
- When asked to make a prediction, every tree gives an answer. For **classification problems**, the random forest picks the **most common** answer.  
जब भविष्यवाणी करने को कहा जाता है, तो हर ट्री एक उत्तर देता है। **क्लासिफिकेशन समस्याओं** में रैंडम फॉरेस्ट **सबसे सामान्य** उत्तर चुनता है।
- For **regression problems**, it **averages** the numerical outputs.  
**रिग्रेशन समस्याओं** में यह संख्यात्मक आउटपुट का **औसत** लेता है।
- Because random errors and quirks tend to cancel out when the verdicts of many trees are combined, a random forest is often **more accurate** than any single tree while still being relatively straightforward to use.  
क्योंकि कई ट्री के निर्णयों को मिलाने पर यादृच्छिक त्रुटियाँ और छोटी खामियाँ आपस में संतुलित हो जाती हैं, इसलिए रैंडम फॉरेस्ट एकल ट्री की तुलना में अक्सर **ज्यादा सटीक** होता है और उपयोग में भी सरल रहता है।
- In a study published on **November 17** in the journal **PNAS**, scientists trained random forest models to learn the **chemical fingerprints** of fossils.  
**17 नवंबर** को जर्नल **PNAS** में प्रकाशित एक अध्ययन में वैज्ञानिकों ने रैंडम फॉरेस्ट मॉडल को जीवाश्मों के **रासायनिक फिंगरप्रिंट** सीखने के लिए प्रशिक्षित किया।
- Then based on that made them predict whether some organic molecules present on rocks could have come from **lifeforms** or **natural processes**.  
फिर इसके आधार पर मॉडलों से यह अनुमान लगाने को कहा गया कि चट्टानों पर मौजूद कुछ कार्बनिक अणु **जीवन-रूपों** से आए हैं या **प्राकृतिक प्रक्रियाओं** से।
- Thus they reported evidence of **photosynthetic microbes** from **2.5 billion years ago**.  
इस प्रकार उन्होंने **2.5 अरब वर्ष पुराने प्रकाश संश्लेषी सूक्ष्मजीवों** के प्रमाण रिपोर्ट किए।



# COP30 stresses 'adaptation' as path to fossil fuel-free world

Countries have called to 'at least triple' adaptation finance by 2035 and to hold a systematic dialogue, with existing UN trade forums on ensuring that measures to combat climate change do not impede trade or growth in developing countries

GS III: Environment

NEWS ANALYSIS

**Jacob Koshy**  
NEW DELHI

**T**he deliberations at COP30, which concluded in Brazil on Saturday, underlined that while countries agreed upon transitioning away from fossil fuel, more emphasis ought to be laid on adapting to climate change rather than defining road maps to end use of fossil fuels.

As the text of the consensus, called the Mutirão (coming together) agreement, says, countries have agreed to establish a two-year "work programme" on climate finance; called for efforts to "at least triple" adaptation finance by 2035. They have agreed to a systematic dialogue with participation from United Nations' trade forums – for example, International Trade Centre, the UN Conference on Trade and Development and the World Trade Organization – on how measures to combat climate change should not impede trade and growth of developing countries.

Climate finance refers to money that must be dis-



André Corrêa do Lago, COP30 President, sits as Simon Stiell, UN climate chief, left, speaks with other UN officials during a plenary session in Belem, Brazil, on Saturday. AP

bursed by developed countries to developing ones. The aim of COPs (Conference of Parties) has been on delivering climate finance evenly for mitigation (avoiding fossil fuel projects and funding renewable energy) and adaptation (building infrastructure to better shield against climate change, investing in resilient agriculture, and so on). However, mitigation projects are generally more business-friendly and have garnered more attention.

"While the adaptation finance decision wasn't what developing countries

wanted, it helps ensure that funding for adaptation will continue to grow... Even though the deadline is a decade away, developed countries can't be complacent and must immediately get to work, scaling up adaptation support. Having this goal within the framework of the NCQG means that developed countries take the lead, with other countries encouraged to contribute voluntarily," Joe Thwaites, International Climate Finance Director, Natural Resources Defense Council, a global think tank, said in a statement. New Collec-

tive Quantified Goal on Climate Finance (NCQG) refers to an agreement in COP29, Baku, by developed countries to mobilise \$300 billion annually by 2035 and work towards expanding it to \$1.3 trillion annually from all sources.

#### Ideological divide

The deliberations at the COP through the years have often been framed as a contest between two ideological blocs – those that want hard targets and road maps on phasing out of fossil fuels and those that resist them.

India, for instance, in

the final leg of deliberations on Saturday, expressed "satisfaction with major outcomes" of COP30 such as a Just Transition Mechanism (JTM) and for "delivering the space" to discuss Unilateral Trade-restrictive Climate Measures. "These issues cannot continue to be brushed under the carpet. The Parties have made a beginning here to reverse this trend," a statement by a group of largely developing countries noted. The JTM refers to a process whereby labour systems can be made to adapt to a future away from fossil fuel in a way that promotes justice and equity.

The COP30 Mutirão agreement has no mention of 'fossil fuels' or a road map to end their use – meaning they are not part of the consensus agreement. COP President André Lago's commitment to creating two road maps – one on halting and reversing deforestation and another on transitioning away from fossil fuels in a just, orderly, and equitable manner, is viewed as a placatory measure towards the European Union and countries demanding an end to use of fossil fuels.

## COP30 stresses 'adaptation' as path to fossil fuel-free world फॉसिल ईंधन-मुक्त विश्व की दिशा में 'अनुकूलन' पर COP 30 का जोर

- COP30 stresses 'adaptation' as path to fossil fuel-free world  
फॉसिल ईंधन-मुक्त विश्व की दिशा में 'अनुकूलन' को मार्ग बताते हुए COP30 का जोर
- Countries have called to 'at least triple' adaptation finance by 2035 and to hold a systematic dialogue, with existing UN trade forums on ensuring that measures to combat climate change do not impede trade or growth in developing countries  
देशों ने 2035 तक अनुकूलन वित्त को 'कम से कम तीन गुना' करने और मौजूदा UN व्यापार मंचों के साथ व्यवस्थित संवाद करने का आह्वान किया है ताकि जलवायु परिवर्तन से निपटने के उपाय विकासशील देशों के व्यापार या विकास में बाधा न डालें।
- The deliberations at COP30, which concluded in Brazil on Saturday, underlined that while countries agreed upon transitioning away from fossil fuel, more emphasis ought to be laid on adapting to climate change rather than defining road maps to end use of fossil fuels.  
ब्राज़ील में शनिवार को समाप्त हुए COP30 के विचार-विमर्श ने रेखांकित किया कि देशों ने फॉसिल



ईंधन से दूर जाने पर सहमति जताई है, लेकिन फॉसिल ईंधन के उपयोग को समाप्त करने के रोड मैप बनाने की तुलना में जलवायु परिवर्तन के अनुकूलन पर अधिक जोर दिया जाना चाहिए।

- As the text of the consensus, called the **Mutirão (coming together) agreement**, says, countries have agreed to establish a two-year “work programme” on climate finance; called for efforts to “at least triple” adaptation finance by 2035.  
सर्वसम्मति के पाठ, जिसे **मुटिराओ (एकजुट होने)** समझौता कहा जाता है, के अनुसार देशों ने जलवायु वित्त पर दो वर्ष का “कार्यक्रम” स्थापित करने पर सहमति जताई है; और 2035 तक अनुकूलन वित्त को “कम से कम तीन गुना” बढ़ाने का आह्वान किया है।
- They have agreed to a systematic dialogue with participation from United Nations’ trade forums — for example, **International Trade Centre**, **UNCTAD**, and the **WTO** — on how measures to combat climate change should not impede trade and growth of developing countries.  
उन्होंने यह भी सहमति जताई है कि जलवायु परिवर्तन से निपटने के उपाय विकासशील देशों के व्यापार और विकास में बाधा न डालें, इस पर **इंटरनेशनल ट्रेड सेंटर**, **UNCTAD** और **WTO** सहित UN व्यापार मंचों के साथ व्यवस्थित संवाद किया जाएगा।
- Climate finance refers to money that must be disbursed by developed countries to developing ones.  
जलवायु वित्त वह धन है जिसे विकसित देशों को विकासशील देशों को प्रदान करना आवश्यक है।
- The aim of COPs (Conference of Parties) has been on delivering climate finance evenly for **mitigation** (avoiding fossil fuel projects and funding renewable energy) and **adaptation** (building infrastructure to shield against climate change, resilient agriculture, etc.).  
COPs (कांफ्रेंस ऑफ पार्टिज़) का उद्देश्य जलवायु वित्त को **शमन (mitigation)** और **अनुकूलन (adaptation)** दोनों में समान रूप से वितरित करना रहा है।
- However, mitigation projects are generally more business-friendly and have garnered more attention.  
हालांकि, शमन परियोजनाएँ आमतौर पर अधिक व्यवसाय-अनुकूल होती हैं और अधिक ध्यान आकर्षित करती हैं।
- “While the adaptation finance decision wasn’t what developing countries wanted, it helps ensure that funding for adaptation will continue to grow...” Joe Thwaites, International Climate Finance Director, NRDC, said.  
“हालांकि अनुकूलन वित्त का निर्णय विकासशील देशों की अपेक्षा के अनुरूप नहीं था, फिर भी यह सुनिश्चित करता है कि अनुकूलन के लिए वित्तपोषण बढ़ता रहेगा...” — जो थ्वेट्स, इंटरनेशनल क्लाइमेट फाइनेंस डायरेक्टर, NRDC।
- New Collective Quantified Goal on Climate Finance (**NCQG**) refers to an agreement in COP29, Baku, by developed countries to mobilise **\$300 billion annually by 2035** and expand it to **\$1.3 trillion annually**.  
जलवायु वित्त पर नया सामूहिक मात्रात्मक लक्ष्य (**NCQG**) COP29 बाज़ार में विकसित देशों द्वारा **2035 तक प्रतिवर्ष \$300 बिलियन** और आगे चलकर **\$1.3 ट्रिलियन प्रतिवर्ष** जुटाने के समझौते को संदर्भित करता है।

### Ideological divide वैचारिक विभाजन

- The deliberations at the COP through the years have often been framed as a contest between two ideological blocs — those that want hard targets and road maps on phasing out fossil fuels and those that resist them.  
वर्षों से COP के विचार-विमर्श को दो वैचारिक समूहों के बीच टकराव के रूप में देखा गया है — एक जो फॉसिल ईंधन को चरणबद्ध समाप्त करने के लिए कड़े लक्ष्य और रोड मैप चाहते हैं और दूसरे जो इसका विरोध करते हैं।
- India, for instance, in the final leg of deliberations on Saturday, expressed “satisfaction with major outcomes” of COP30 such as a **Just Transition Mechanism (JTM)** and for space to discuss **Unilateral Trade-restrictive Climate Measures**.  
उदाहरण के लिए भारत ने शनिवार को अंतिम चरण के विचार-विमर्श में COP30 के प्रमुख परिणामों



जैसे जस्ट ट्रांज़िशन मैकेनिज़्म (JTM) और एकतरफा व्यापार-प्रतिबंधक जलवायु उपायों पर चर्चा के लिए स्थान उपलब्ध होने पर “संतोष” व्यक्त किया।

- “These issues cannot continue to be brushed under the carpet. The Parties have made a beginning here to reverse this trend,” noted a statement by developing countries.  
“इन मुद्दों को अब और कालीन के नीचे नहीं दबाया जा सकता। पार्टियों ने इस प्रवृत्ति को उलटने के लिए यहां शुरुआत की है,” विकासशील देशों के एक समूह के बयान में कहा गया।
- The JTM refers to a process whereby labour systems can adapt to a future away from fossil fuel in a manner that promotes justice and equity.  
JTM उस प्रक्रिया को दर्शाता है जिसके तहत श्रम प्रणाली फॉसिल ईंधन से दूर भविष्य के अनुकूल इस प्रकार परिवर्तित हो सके जिससे न्याय और समानता को बढ़ावा मिले।
- The COP30 Mutirão agreement has no mention of ‘fossil fuels’ or a road map to end their use — meaning they are not part of the consensus agreement.  
COP30 मुटिराओ समझौते में ‘फॉसिल ईंधन’ या उनके उपयोग को समाप्त करने के रोड मैप का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है — यानी ये सर्वसम्मति का हिस्सा नहीं हैं।
- COP President **André Lago’s** commitment to creating two road maps — one on halting and reversing **deforestation** and another on transitioning away from fossil fuels in a **just, orderly, and equitable manner**, is viewed as a placatory measure towards the European Union and other countries demanding an end to fossil fuel use.  
COP अध्यक्ष **आंद्रे लागो** का दो रोड मैप बनाने का वादा — एक **वनीकरण रुकने और उलटने** पर और दूसरा **न्यायपूर्ण, सुव्यवस्थित और समानता-आधारित** तरीके से फॉसिल ईंधन से दूर संक्रमण पर — यूरोपीय संघ और उन देशों को शांत करने के प्रयास के रूप में देखा जा रहा है जो फॉसिल ईंधन उपयोग समाप्त करने की मांग कर रहे हैं।

## State Forest Departments across India have no record of African grey parrot trade, reveal RTI responses

GS III: Environment

**Rohan Premkumar**  
UDHAGAMANDALAM

There are no registered breeders or authorised pet shops to sell African grey parrots (*Psittacus erithacus*) - one of the most easily procurable animals in the country. While the bird is extensively available in pet markets, the Forest Departments in different States said no breeder had registered with them. The departments had responded to applications filed by *The Hindu* under the Right to Information (RTI) Act, to understand the trade in the exotic species.

The parrot, listed under Appendix I of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES), requires special permits, including individual CITES registration

and import certificates, for their trade in the domestic and international markets.

Extensive capture for the international pet trade has decimated the bird’s populations in their home ranges encompassing parts of Central Africa. The species is also listed as ‘Endangered’ by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

### RTI findings

Out of 19 States and Union Territories to which applications were sent asking about the trade in the species, only Kerala’s Forest Department reported receiving 17 applications for the registration of breeders’ licences for the species. The State also said registration of pet stores was delegated to the State Animal Welfare Board. Meanwhile, most other States



African grey parrot is listed as ‘Endangered’ by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature. SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

gave generic responses stating they did not have access to the data requested, while some forest divisions also responded individually, stating that the species was not found in their divisions.

Despite Tamil Nadu claiming that as per their records, there were no registered breeders, traders, or pet stores dealing in the commercial trade of Afri-

can grey parrots, the Forest Department said it was compiling inspection reports and audits of breeding facilities, pet shops, and sellers of the species.

### Breeding licence

To breed CITES Appendix I species like the African grey parrot, a valid breeding licence is required. To obtain this, an application must be submitted to the

Chief Wildlife Warden under the Breeders of Species Licence Rules, 2023. The applicant must also have the CITES import permit, a Directorate-General of Foreign Trade import licence number, and a no-objection certificate from the respective Chief Wildlife Warden for the import before applying for the breeding licence, a researcher familiar with the trade in exotic wildlife said.

Shekhar Kumar Niraj, the South Asia head of the Wildlife Justice Commission, said it was mandatory for each State’s Forest Department to maintain records of exotic species. “Even prior to importing, buyers have to receive approval from their respective State’s Chief Wildlife Wardens, aside from import certificates and CITES

approvals,” he said. “The trade in exotic species is on the rise, and maintaining registries of these species is extremely important as they pose a biohazard with the potential for spreading zoonotic diseases and also for becoming invasive species,” he added.

### Trade hubs

Chief Executive Officer at Wildlife Trust of India Jose Louies said Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka have become hubs for the import and trade in exotic species.

However, he does not lay the blame on the Forest Department. “You cannot expect the Forest Department to go house to house and search for these animals,” he said. People buy animals without paperwork, and also breed them illegally.

**State Forest Departments across India have no record of African grey parrot trade, reveal RTI responses**



## RTI जवाबों से पता चला: भारत के विभिन्न राज्यों के वन विभागों के पास अफ्रीकन ग्रे तोते के व्यापार का कोई रिकॉर्ड नहीं

- State Forest Departments across India have no record of African grey parrot trade, reveal RTI responses  
RTI जवाबों से पता चला कि भारत भर के राज्य वन विभागों के पास अफ्रीकन ग्रे तोते के व्यापार का कोई रिकॉर्ड नहीं है।
- There are no registered breeders or authorised pet shops to sell African grey parrots (*Psittacus erithacus*) – one of the most easily procurable animals in the country.  
अफ्रीकन ग्रे तोते (*Psittacus erithacus*) को बेचने के लिए कोई पंजीकृत ब्रीडर या अधिकृत पालतू दुकानें नहीं हैं — जबकि यह देश में सबसे आसानी से उपलब्ध होने वाले जानवरों में से एक है।
- While the bird is extensively available in pet markets, the Forest Departments in different States said no breeder had registered with them.  
जहाँ यह पक्षी पालतू जानवरों के बाजारों में बड़ी मात्रा में उपलब्ध है, वहीं विभिन्न राज्यों के वन विभागों ने कहा है कि किसी भी ब्रीडर ने उनके साथ पंजीकरण नहीं कराया है।
- The departments had responded to applications filed by The Hindu under the Right to Information (RTI) Act, to understand the trade in the exotic species.  
इन विभागों ने द हिंदू द्वारा दायर RTI आवेदनों का जवाब दिया था, जिनका उद्देश्य इस विदेशी प्रजाति के व्यापार को समझना था।
- The parrot, listed under **Appendix I of CITES**, requires special permits including individual CITES registration and import certificates for domestic and international trade.  
यह तोता **CITES के Appendix I** में सूचीबद्ध है, और इसके घरेलू व अंतरराष्ट्रीय व्यापार के लिए विशेष परमिट, जैसे व्यक्तिगत CITES पंजीकरण और आयात प्रमाणपत्र आवश्यक हैं।
- Extensive capture for the international pet trade has decimated the bird's populations in their home ranges in Central Africa.  
अंतरराष्ट्रीय पालतू व्यापार के लिए अत्यधिक पकड़ने से मध्य अफ्रीका के इसके प्राकृतिक क्षेत्रों में इसकी आबादी बुरी तरह घट गई है।
- The species is also listed as 'Endangered' by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.  
यह प्रजाति अंतरराष्ट्रीय प्रकृति संरक्षण संघ (IUCN) द्वारा 'लुप्तप्राय' के रूप में भी सूचीबद्ध है।

### RTI findings

#### RTI निष्कर्ष

- Out of 19 States and Union Territories approached, only **Kerala's Forest Department** reported receiving 17 applications for registration of breeders' licences.  
जिन 19 राज्यों और केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों से जानकारी मांगी गई, उनमें केवल **केरल वन विभाग** ने ब्रीडरों के लाइसेंस के पंजीकरण के लिए 17 आवेदन प्राप्त होने की जानकारी दी।
- The State also said registration of pet stores was delegated to the State Animal Welfare Board.  
राज्य ने यह भी कहा कि पालतू दुकानों के पंजीकरण का काम राज्य पशु कल्याण बोर्ड को सौंपा गया है।
- Most other States gave generic responses stating they did not have access to the data requested.  
अधिकांश अन्य राज्यों ने सामान्य उत्तर दिए कि उनके पास मांगे गए डेटा तक पहुंच नहीं है।
- Some forest divisions responded individually, stating that the species was not found in their divisions.  
कुछ वन प्रभागों ने अलग से जवाब दिए कि यह प्रजाति उनके प्रभागों में पाई ही नहीं जाती।
- Despite Tamil Nadu claiming that there were no registered breeders or pet stores trading the species, the Forest Department said it was compiling inspection reports and audits of breeding facilities, pet shops, and sellers.  
तमिलनाडु ने हालांकि कहा कि कोई पंजीकृत ब्रीडर या पालतू दुकानें इस प्रजाति का व्यापार नहीं करतीं, लेकिन वन विभाग ने बताया कि वह ब्रीडिंग सुविधाओं, पालतू दुकानों और विक्रेताओं की निरीक्षण रिपोर्ट और ऑडिट संकलित कर रहा है।



## Breeding licence ब्रीडिंग लाइसेंस

- To breed CITES Appendix I species like the African grey parrot, a valid breeding licence is required.  
अफ्रीकन ग्रे तोते जैसी CITES Appendix I प्रजातियों के प्रजनन के लिए वैध ब्रीडिंग लाइसेंस आवश्यक है।
- To obtain this, an application must be submitted to the **Chief Wildlife Warden** under the Breeders of Species Licence Rules, 2023.  
इसे प्राप्त करने के लिए **मुख्य वन्यजीव वार्डन** को ब्रीडर्स ऑफ स्पीशीज़ लाइसेंस नियम, 2023 के तहत आवेदन देना होता है।
- The applicant must also have the CITES import permit, DGFT import licence number, and a no-objection certificate from the respective Chief Wildlife Warden for the import.  
आवेदक के पास CITES आयात परमिट, DGFT आयात लाइसेंस नंबर और आयात के लिए संबंधित मुख्य वन्यजीव वार्डन से नो-ऑब्जेक्शन सर्टिफिकेट भी होना चाहिए।
- Shekhar Kumar Niraj, South Asia head of the **Wildlife Justice Commission**, said it was mandatory for each State's Forest Department to maintain records of exotic species.  
**वाइल्डलाइफ जस्टिस कमिशन** के दक्षिण एशिया प्रमुख शेखर कुमार निरज ने कहा कि प्रत्येक राज्य के वन विभाग के लिए विदेशी प्रजातियों का रिकॉर्ड रखना अनिवार्य है।
- "Even prior to importing, buyers must receive approval from their respective State's Chief Wildlife Wardens aside from import certificates and CITES approvals," he said.  
उन्होंने कहा, "आयात से पहले भी खरीदारों को आयात प्रमाणपत्र और CITES अनुमति के अलावा अपने राज्य के मुख्य वन्यजीव वार्डन से मंजूरी लेनी होती है।"
- "The trade in exotic species is on the rise, and maintaining registries is extremely important as they pose biohazard risks, can spread zoonotic diseases, and become invasive."  
"विदेशी प्रजातियों का व्यापार बढ़ रहा है, और रिकॉर्ड बनाए रखना अत्यंत आवश्यक है क्योंकि ये प्रजातियां जैविक खतरा पैदा कर सकती हैं, जूनोटिक रोग फैला सकती हैं और आक्रामक प्रजातियों का रूप ले सकती हैं।"

## Trade hubs व्यापार केंद्र

- Jose Louies, CEO of **Wildlife Trust of India**, said Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka have become hubs for import and trade in exotic species.  
**वाइल्डलाइफ ट्रस्ट ऑफ इंडिया** के CEO जोस लुईज़ ने कहा कि केरल, तमिलनाडु और कर्नाटक विदेशी प्रजातियों के आयात और व्यापार के केंद्र बन गए हैं।
- However, he does not blame the Forest Department. "You cannot expect the Forest Department to go house to house and search for these animals," he said.  
हालांकि, उन्होंने वन विभाग को जिम्मेदार नहीं ठहराया। उन्होंने कहा, "आप वन विभाग से यह उम्मीद नहीं कर सकते कि वह घर-घर जाकर इन जानवरों की तलाश करें।"
- People buy animals without paperwork, and also breed them illegally.  
लोग बिना किसी कागज़ी प्रक्रिया के इन जानवरों को खरीदते हैं और अवैध रूप से उनका प्रजनन भी करते हैं।



IS

24/11/2025

# 'Consensus on most recommendations of Assam Accord panel'

The Hindu Bureau  
GS III: Internal Security

The Assam government and the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) have reached a consensus on "most recommendations" of a panel to implement Clause 6 of the Assam Accord of 1985, the Chief Minister's Office (CMO) said.

Clause 6 of the peace deal, which ended the violent six-year, anti-foreigner Assam Agitation, promised appropriate constitutional, legislative, and administrative safeguards to protect, preserve, and promote the cultural, social, and linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people.

Representatives of the government and the AASU held the third round of discussions on Clause 6 on Saturday. Chief Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma chaired the meeting.

"...Both the Assam government and the AASU reached consensus on most State-level recommendations of the high-level committee, with a new review committee to be



Himanta Biswa Sarma

formed for timely implementation," a statement from the CMO read.

The Union Home Ministry appointed the high-level panel in February 2020. Headed by retired Gauhati High Court judge Biplab Kumar Sarma, it was tasked with suggesting ways to implement the provisions of the touchy Clause 6.

"The AASU sought the formation of a committee to monitor the implementation of the recommendations," Assam Accord Implementation Minister Atul Bora, who also heads the eight-member sub-committee, said.

The sub-committee submitted its report during Saturday's meeting.

## 'Consensus on most recommendations of Assam Accord panel'

### 'असम समझौता पैनल की अधिकांश सिफ़ारिशों पर सहमति'

The Assam government and the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) have reached a consensus on "most recommendations" of a panel to implement Clause 6 of the Assam Accord of 1985, the Chief Minister's Office (CMO) said.

असम सरकार और ऑल असम स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन (AASU) ने 1985 के असम समझौते के क्लॉज़ 6 को लागू करने के लिए बनी पैनल की "अधिकांश सिफ़ारिशों" पर सहमति बना ली है, यह जानकारी मुख्यमंत्री कार्यालय (CMO) ने दी।

Clause 6 of the peace deal, which ended the violent six-year, anti-foreigner Assam Agitation, promised appropriate constitutional, legislative, and administrative safeguards to protect, preserve, and promote the cultural, social, and linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people.

इस शांति समझौते के क्लॉज़ 6, जिसने छह साल लंबे हिंसक असम आंदोलन को समाप्त किया, ने असमिया लोगों की सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक और भाषाई पहचान व विरासत की रक्षा, संरक्षण और संवर्धन के लिए उपयुक्त संवैधानिक, विधायी और प्रशासनिक सुरक्षा देने का वादा किया था।

Representatives of the government and the AASU held the third round of discussions on Clause 6 on Saturday.

सरकार और AASU के प्रतिनिधियों ने शनिवार को क्लॉज़ 6 पर तीसरे दौर की चर्चा की।

Chief Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma chaired the meeting.

बैठक की अध्यक्षता मुख्यमंत्री हिमंत बिस्वा सरमा ने की।

"...Both the Assam government and the AASU reached consensus on most State-level recommendations of the high-level committee, with a new review committee to be formed for timely implementation," a statement from the CMO read.

"...असम सरकार और AASU ने हाई-लेवल कमेटी की अधिकांश राज्य-स्तरीय सिफ़ारिशों पर सहमति बनाई है, और समय पर क्रियान्वयन के लिए एक नई रिव्यू कमेटी बनाई

जाएगी," यह CMO के बयान में कहा गया।

- The Union Home Ministry appointed the high-level panel in February 2020. केंद्रीय गृह मंत्रालय ने फरवरी 2020 में इस हाई-लेवल पैनल की नियुक्ति की थी।
- Headed by retired Gauhati High Court judge Biplab Kumar Sarma, it was tasked with suggesting ways to implement the provisions of the touchy Clause 6.



## ULFA(I) suffers setback as a top leader surrenders

**CS III: Internal Security**  
**The Hindu Bureau**  
GUWAHATI

The Paresh Baruah faction of the banned United Liberation Front of Asom, or ULFA (Independent), suffered a setback when one of its top leaders surrendered before troops of the paramilitary Assam Rifles on the Myanmar border on Sunday.

The self-styled 'major-general' Arunodoi Dohutia, alias Bijit Gogoi, one of the last extremists from the northeastern region to have been trained in Afghanistan and Pakistan by the Afghan Mujahideen and Inter Services Intelligence almost five decades ago, has been a close aide of ULFA(I) chief Paresh Baruah. Officials said he and his PSO, Francis Axom, surrendered at Pangsau Pass in Arunachal Pradesh. The two are likely to be brought to Guwahati.

Chief Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma dismissed the speculation that the extremist leader would be taken to New Delhi for the ongoing peace process.

"What I know is that they are not going to Delhi. They will stay in Tinsukia and may come to Guwahati to meet the Director General of Police. The Assam government has no plans to take them to Delhi," the Chief Minister told journalists.

### Futile conversation

He said any discussion with the ULFA would be held with Baruah, stating that there was no point in talking to others. He noted that Baruah was not keen on engaging in talks on the Indian government's terms.

Dohutia, reportedly involved in several subversive activities, including attacks on Army camps in eastern Assam in 2023 and 2024, was a high-value target for the Assam police and Central security agencies. Apart from strategising operations, he was handling the outfit's communications.

- सेवानिवृत्त गुवाहाटी उच्च न्यायालय के न्यायाधीश **बिप्लब कुमार शर्मा** की अध्यक्षता वाली इस समिति को संवेदनशील **क्लॉज 6** के प्रावधानों को लागू करने के तरीकों का सुझाव देने का कार्य सौंपा गया था।
- "The AASU sought the formation of a committee to monitor the implementation of the recommendations," Assam Accord Implementation Minister **Atul Bora**, who also heads the **eight-member subcommittee**, said.  
"AASU ने सिफ़ारिशों के क्रियान्वयन की निगरानी के लिए एक समिति बनाने की मांग की," असम समझौता क्रियान्वयन मंत्री **अतुल बोरा** ने कहा, जो **आठ सदस्यीय उप-समिति** के प्रमुख भी हैं।
  - The sub-committee submitted its report during Saturday's meeting.  
उप-समिति ने शनिवार की बैठक के दौरान अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की।

## ULFA(I) suffers setback as a top leader surrenders ULFA(I) को झटका, शीर्ष नेता ने किया आत्मसमर्पण

- The Paresh Baruah faction of the banned **United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA)**, or ULFA (Independent), suffered a setback when one of its top leaders surrendered before troops of the paramilitary **Assam Rifles** on the Myanmar border on Sunday.  
प्रतिबंधित **यूनाइटेड लिबरेशन फ्रंट ऑफ असम (ULFA)** या ULFA (इंडिपेंडेंट) के **परमेश बरूआ गुट** को तब झटका लगा जब इसके शीर्ष नेताओं में से एक ने रविवार को म्यांमार सीमा पर **असम राइफल्स** के जवानों के समक्ष आत्मसमर्पण कर दिया।
- The self-styled 'major-general' **Arunodoi Dohutia**, alias Bijit Gogoi, one of the last extremists from the northeastern region to have been trained in **Afghanistan and Pakistan** by the **Afghan Mujahideen** and **Inter Services Intelligence** almost five decades ago, has been a close aide of ULFA(I) chief Paresh Baruah.  
स्वयंभू 'मेजर-जनरल' **अरुणोदोई दोहुतिया**, उर्फ बिजित गोगोई, जो लगभग पाँच दशक पहले **अफगान मुजाहिदीन** और **ISI** द्वारा **अफगानिस्तान और पाकिस्तान** में प्रशिक्षित उत्तर-पूर्व के अंतिम उग्रवादियों में से एक हैं, ULFA(I) प्रमुख परमेश बरूआ के करीबी रहे हैं।
- Officials said he and his PSO, **Francis Axom**, surrendered at **Pangsau Pass** in Arunachal Pradesh.  
अधिकारियों ने कहा कि उन्होंने और उनके PSO **फ्रांसिस अक्षोम** ने अरुणाचल प्रदेश के **पांगसाउ पास** में आत्मसमर्पण किया।
- The two are likely to be brought to **Guwahati**.  
दोनों को **गुवाहाटी** लाए जाने की संभावना है।
- Chief Minister **Himanta Biswa Sarma** dismissed the speculation that the extremist leader would be taken to **New Delhi** for the ongoing peace process.  
मुख्यमंत्री **हिमंत बिस्वा सरमा** ने इस अटकल को खारिज कर दिया कि उग्रवादी नेता को चल रही शांति प्रक्रिया के लिए **नई दिल्ली** ले जाया जाएगा।
- "What I know is that they are not going to Delhi. They will stay in **Tinsukia** and may come to **Guwahati** to meet the Director General of Police. The Assam government has no plans to take them to Delhi," the Chief Minister told journalists.  
"मेरी जानकारी में वे दिल्ली नहीं जा रहे हैं। वे **तिनसुकिया** में रहेंगे और पुलिस महानिदेशक से मिलने **गुवाहाटी** आ सकते हैं। असम सरकार का उन्हें दिल्ली ले जाने का कोई प्लान नहीं है," मुख्यमंत्री ने पत्रकारों से कहा।

### Futile conversation व्यर्थ बातचीत

- He said any discussion with the ULFA would be held with **Baruah**, stating that there was no point in talking to others.  
उन्होंने कहा कि ULFA के साथ किसी भी बातचीत का दायरा केवल **बरूआ** तक होगा और दूसरों से बात करने का कोई मतलब नहीं है।
- He noted that Baruah was not keen on engaging in talks on the **Indian government's terms**.  
उन्होंने कहा कि बरूआ **भारतीय सरकार की शर्तों** पर बातचीत के इच्छुक नहीं हैं।



**TELEGRAM CHANNEL:** <https://t.me/patrioticIAS>

**YOUTUBE CHANNEL:** <https://www.youtube.com/@PatrioticIAS>

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- Dohutia, reportedly involved in several **subversive activities**, including attacks on Army camps in eastern Assam in **2023 and 2024**, was a high-value target for the Assam police and Central security agencies.  
दोहुतिया, जो कथित रूप से कई **विघटनकारी गतिविधियों** में शामिल थे, जिनमें **2023 और 2024** में पूर्वी असम में सेना शिविरों पर हमले शामिल हैं, असम पुलिस और केंद्रीय सुरक्षा एजेंसियों के लिए एक हाई-वैल्यू टारगेट थे।
- Apart from strategising operations, he was handling the outfit's **communications**.  
अभियानों की रणनीति बनाने के अलावा, वह संगठन के **कम्युनिकेशन** भी संभाल रहे थे।

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