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**CONTACT:** 9971932488



# **PATRIOTIC IAS**

## **DAILY CURRENT AFFAIRS**

### **THE HINDU NEWSPAPER**

#### **17 DECEMBER 2025**

**YouTube link:** <https://www.youtube.com/@PatrioticIAS>

**Telegram Channel:** <https://t.me/patrioticIAS>

<b>PCS Special:</b>	<b>17 December 2025</b>
1.	<b>PM honoured with Ethiopia's highest award</b> प्रधानमंत्री को इथियोपिया के सर्वोच्च सम्मान से नवाज़ा गया
2.	<b>India-Maldives joint military exercise EKUVERIN concludes</b> भारत-मालदीव संयुक्त सैन्य अभ्यास एकुवेरिन संपन्न

**Address :** 3rd Floor, KV Tower, Padleyganj Road, Gorakhpur  
**Email Id :** [info@patrioticias.in](mailto:info@patrioticias.in)  
**Contact Number :** 9971932488  
**Website :** [patrioticias.in](http://patrioticias.in)



3. **Rashtrapati Bhavan displays portraits of all 21 Param Vir Chakra awardees** राष्ट्रपति भवन में सभी 21 परमवीर चक्र विजेताओं के चित्र प्रदर्शित
4. **Pakistani court awards 35-year jail term to top leader of banned TLP** पाकिस्तानी अदालत ने प्रतिबंधित TLP के शीर्ष नेता को 35 साल की जेल की सजा सुनाई

## PM honoured with Ethiopia's highest award

**PCS**  
Press Trust of India  
ADDIS ABABA

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Tuesday was conferred with Ethiopia's highest award 'The Great Honour Nishan of Ethiopia' by his Ethiopian counter-

## PM honoured with Ethiopia's highest award

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Tuesday was conferred with Ethiopia's highest award 'The Great Honour Nishan of Ethiopia' by his Ethiopian counterpart Abiy Ahmed Ali.

- The award was to honour Mr. Modi's role in strengthening India-Ethiopia ties.
- India and Ethiopia also elevated their ties to a strategic partnership.

## India-Maldives joint military exercise EKUVERIN concludes

भारत-मालदीव संयुक्त सैन्य अभ्यास एकुवेरिन संपन्न

- The bilateral military exercise EKUVERIN between the Indian Army and the Maldives National Defence Forces (MNDF) concluded with a joint validation exercise in Thiruvananthapuram on Tuesday, marking the culmination of two weeks of intensive training.

भारतीय सेना और मालदीव राष्ट्रीय रक्षा बल (MNDF) के बीच द्विपक्षीय सैन्य अभ्यास एकुवेरिन

का समापन मंगलवार को तिरुवनंतपुरम में संयुक्त वैधता अभ्यास के साथ हुआ, जो दो सप्ताह के गहन प्रशिक्षण के समापन का प्रतीक था।

- The validation phase was witnessed by Major-General R.D. Sharma of the Indian Army and Brigadier General Abdulla Ibrahim from the Maldivian side, along with observer delegations from both countries.

वैधता चरण को भारतीय सेना के मेजर-जनरल आर.डी. शर्मा और मालदीव पक्ष से ब्रिगेडियर जनरल अब्दुल्ला इब्राहिम, साथ ही दोनों देशों के पर्यवेक्षक प्रतिनिधिमंडलों ने देखा।

- The Indian Army said that the exercise focused on Counter Insurgency and Counter Terrorist operations in contemporary operational environments, with the aim of enhancing interoperability and operational synergy.

भारतीय सेना ने कहा कि यह अभ्यास समकालीन परिचालन परिवेश में उग्रवाद विरोधी और आतंकवाद विरोधी अभियानों पर केंद्रित था, जिसका उद्देश्य अंतर-संचालन क्षमता और परिचालन समन्वय को बढ़ाना था।



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The bilateral military exercise EKUVERIN between the Indian Army and the Maldives National Defence Forces (MNDF) concluded with a joint validation exercise in Thiruvananthapuram on Tuesday, marking the culmination of two weeks of intensive training. The validation phase was witnessed by Major-General R.D. Sharma of the Indian Army and Brigadier General Abdulla Ibrahim from the Maldivian side, along with observer delegations from both countries. The Indian Army said that the exercise focused on Counter Insurgency and Counter Terrorist operations in contemporary operational environments, with the aim of enhancing interoperability, operational synergy.

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# Rashtrapati Bhavan displays portraits of all 21 Param Vir Chakra awardees

**PCS**  
**Bindu Shajan Perappadan**  
NEW DELHI

Portraits of all 21 Param Vir Chakra awardees are now on display at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, replacing the previously displayed portraits of 96 British *Aide-de-Camps* (ADCs).

The Param Vir Chakra is India's highest military honour, awarded for displaying the most exceptional acts of valour, courage, and self-sacrifice during war.

The initiative aims to honour the memory of soldiers who had laid down their lives in the service of the nation. President Droupadi Murmu inaugurated the 'Param Vir Dirgha' at the Rashtrapati Bhavan on Tuesday, on the occasion of Vijay Divas.

"The move will assist in educating visitors about our national heroes who displayed dauntless resolve and unconquerable spirit



President Droupadi Murmu felicitates a veteran official during the inauguration of the 'Param Vir Dirgha' gallery in New Delhi. PTI

in defending our nation. The initiative to display portraits of Indian national heroes marks a step toward shedding the colonial mindset and embracing, with pride, the richness of India's culture, heritage, and timeless traditions," a release issued by the Rashtrapati Bhavan said.

The government had been working to restore pride in India's "sanatan values", with prominent

changes including the re-naming of the Rajpath to Kartavya Path, a senior Central government official said.

Similarly, the Indian Navy's ensign has shed the Saint George's Cross, adopting instead a design featuring the National Flag and a Navy blue-gold octagon dedicated to Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. The 2022 Republic Day Beating Retreat ceremony, part of

the 'Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav', embraced Indian instruments, including the sitar, santoor, and tabla.

## Decolonial renaming

Across India, including on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, colonial nomenclature has been replaced, the official said.

In 2018, Ross Island was renamed Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Dweep, Neil Island became Shaheed Dweep, and Havelock Island was renamed Swaraj Dweep.

In 2024, the capital of the Union Territory, Port Blair, was renamed Sri Vijaya Puram, and 21 islands were named after Param Vir Chakra awardees. The Rashtrapati Bhavan's Mughal Garden was renamed Amrit Udyan.

"Through various initiatives, the Centre is dismantling colonial legacies," the official said.

## Rashtrapati Bhavan displays portraits of all 21 Param Vir Chakra awardees राष्ट्रपति भवन में सभी 21 परमवीर चक्र विजेताओं के चित्र प्रदर्शित

- Portraits of all 21 Param Vir Chakra awardees are now on display at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, replacing the previously displayed portraits of 96 British Aide-de-Camps (ADCs). अब राष्ट्रपति भवन में सभी 21 परमवीर चक्र विजेताओं के चित्र प्रदर्शित किए गए हैं, जो पहले प्रदर्शित 96 ब्रिटिश एड-डी-कैम्प (एडीसी) के चित्रों की जगह लिए गए हैं।
- The Param Vir Chakra is India's highest military honour, awarded for displaying the most exceptional acts of valour, courage, and self-sacrifice during war. परमवीर चक्र भारत का सर्वोच्च सैन्य सम्मान है, जो युद्ध के दौरान असाधारण वीरता, साहस और आत्म-बलिदान के प्रदर्शन के लिए दिया जाता है।
- The initiative aims to honour the memory of soldiers who had laid down their lives in the service of the nation. इस पहल का उद्देश्य उन सैनिकों की स्मृति का सम्मान करना है जिन्होंने राष्ट्र की सेवा में अपने प्राण न्योछावर किए।
- President Droupadi Murmu inaugurated the 'Param Vir Dirgha' at the Rashtrapati Bhavan on Tuesday, on the occasion of Vijay Divas. राष्ट्रपति द्रौपदी मुर्मू ने विजय दिवस के अवसर पर मंगलवार को राष्ट्रपति भवन में 'परमवीर दीर्घा' का उद्घाटन किया।
- "The move will assist in educating visitors about our national heroes who displayed dauntless resolve and unconquerable spirit in defending our nation. "यह कदम आगंतुकों को हमारे राष्ट्रीय नायकों के बारे में शिक्षित करने में मदद करेगा, जिन्होंने राष्ट्र की रक्षा में अडिग संकल्प और अजेय आत्मा का प्रदर्शन किया।
- The initiative to display portraits of Indian national heroes marks a step toward shedding the colonial mindset and embracing, with pride, the richness of India's culture, heritage, and timeless traditions," a release issued by the Rashtrapati Bhavan said.



भारतीय राष्ट्रीय नायकों के चित्र प्रदर्शित करने की यह पहल औपनिवेशिक मानसिकता को त्यागने और भारत की संस्कृति, विरासत और शाश्वत परंपराओं की समृद्धि को गर्व के साथ अपनाने की दिशा में एक कदम है," राष्ट्रपति भवन द्वारा जारी एक विज्ञप्ति में कहा गया।

- The government had been working to restore pride in India's "sanatan values", with prominent changes including the renaming of the Rajpath to Kartavya Path, a senior Central government official said.

एक वरिष्ठ केंद्रीय सरकारी अधिकारी ने कहा कि सरकार भारत के "सनातन मूल्यों" में गौरव बहाल करने के लिए काम कर रही है, जिसमें राजपथ का नाम बदलकर कर्तव्य पथ करना जैसे प्रमुख बदलाव शामिल हैं।

- Similarly, the Indian Navy's ensign has shed the Saint George's Cross, adopting instead a design featuring the National Flag and a Navy blue-gold octagon dedicated to Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj.

इसी तरह, भारतीय नौसेना के ध्वज ने सेंट जॉर्ज क्रॉस को हटाकर राष्ट्रीय ध्वज और छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज को समर्पित नेवी नीला-सुनहरा अष्टकोण वाला डिज़ाइन अपनाया है।

- The 2022 Republic Day Beating Retreat ceremony, part of the 'Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav', embraced Indian instruments, including the sitar, santoor, and tabla.

'आजादी का अमृत महोत्सव' के अंतर्गत 2022 गणतंत्र दिवस बीटिंग रिट्रीट समारोह में सितार, संतूर और तबला सहित भारतीय वाद्ययंत्रों को अपनाया गया।

## Decolonial renaming

### औपनिवेशिक नामों का उन्मूलन

- Across India, including on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, colonial nomenclature has been replaced, the official said.  
अधिकारी ने कहा कि अंडमान और निकोबार द्वीपसमूह सहित पूरे भारत में औपनिवेशिक नामकरण को बदला गया है।
- In 2018, Ross Island was renamed Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Dweep, Neil Island became Shaheed Dweep, and Havelock Island was renamed Swaraj Dweep.  
2018 में रॉस द्वीप का नाम नेताजी सुभाष चंद्र बोस द्वीप, नील द्वीप का नाम शहीद द्वीप, और हैवलॉक द्वीप का नाम स्वराज द्वीप रखा गया।
- In 2024, the capital of the Union Territory, Port Blair, was renamed Sri Vijaya Puram, and 21 islands were named after Param Vir Chakra awardees.  
2024 में केंद्र शासित प्रदेश की राजधानी पोर्ट ब्लेयर का नाम श्री विजय पुरम रखा गया, और 21 द्वीपों के नाम परमवीर चक्र विजेताओं के नाम पर रखे गए।
- The Rashtrapati Bhavan's Mughal Garden was renamed Amrit Udyan.  
राष्ट्रपति भवन के मुगल गार्डन का नाम बदलकर अमृत उद्यान रखा गया।
- "Through various initiatives, the Centre is dismantling colonial legacies," the official said.  
अधिकारी ने कहा, "विभिन्न पहलों के माध्यम से केंद्र सरकार औपनिवेशिक विरासत को समाप्त कर रही है।"



**LAHORE**

**Pakistani court awards 35-year jail term to top leader of banned TLP**



PCS

Zaheerul Hassan Shah, Tehreek-i-Labbaik Pakistan's deputy chief, has been sentenced to 35 years in jail by an anti-terrorist court for inciting people to "behead" Pakistan's then-Chief Justice Qazi Faiz Isa, in July 2024. Qazi Faiz Isa had been criticised by extremists after he granted bail to an Ahmadi suspect accused of blasphemy. PTI

**Pakistani court awards 35-year jail term to top leader of banned TLP**  
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• **Zaheerul Hassan Shah, Tehreek-i-Labbaik Pakistan's deputy chief**, has been sentenced to 35 years in jail by an anti-terrorist court for inciting people to "behead" Pakistan's then-Chief Justice Qazi Faiz Isa, in July 2024.

ज़हीरुल हसन शाह, तहरीक-ए-लब्बैक पाकिस्तान के उप प्रमुख, को आतंकवाद-रोधी अदालत द्वारा 35 साल की जेल की सजा सुनाई गई है, क्योंकि उन्होंने जुलाई 2024 में पाकिस्तान के तत्कालीन मुख्य न्यायाधीश क़ाज़ी फ़ैज़ ईसा का "सिर काटने" के लिए लोगों को उकसाया था।

• **Qazi Faiz Isa had been criticised by extremists after he granted bail to an Ahmadi suspect accused of blasphemy.**

क़ाज़ी फ़ैज़ ईसा की चरमपंथियों ने आलोचना की थी,

जब उन्होंने ईशनिंदा के आरोप में एक अहमदिया संदिग्ध को ज़मानत दी थी।

**GS Paper 1: History,**

**17 December 2025**

**TOPICS COVERED**

1. QUIZ



## QUIZ

Questions and Answers to the previous day's daily quiz: 1. This British law was the immediate cause of the Boston Tea Party. Ans: **The Tea Act of 1773**

2. The Tea Act was seen as a threat because of this. Ans: **It implicitly affirmed the British Parliament's right to tax the colonies without their consent**

3. This organisation carried out the Boston Tea Party. Ans: **The Sons of Liberty**

4. The estimated monetary value of the destroyed tea in 1773. Ans: **£9,659 sterling**

5. These were the ships from which the tea was dumped during the Boston Tea Party. Ans: **The Dartmouth, the Eleanor, and the Beaver**

Visual: Identify this pioneering American filmmaker. Ans: **Edwin S. Porter**

Early Birds: K.N. Viswanathan| Erfanally Oosmany| Tito Shiladitya| Mohan Lal Pate Ambarin Aslam

## Tea Act of 1773 — Immediate Cause of the Boston Tea Party

- The Tea Act of 1773

- After the **Seven Years' War (1756–1763)**, Britain faced a **severe financial crisis** due to war debts and the cost of maintaining troops in the American colonies.

- To raise revenue, the British Parliament imposed several taxes on the American colonies, including the **Stamp Act (1765)** and the **Townshend Acts (1767)**.

- Strong colonial resistance led to the repeal of most taxes, but **the tax on tea was deliberately retained** to assert Parliament's authority.

- By the early 1770s, the **British East India Company**, a powerful trading corporation, was on the brink of bankruptcy due to massive unsold tea stocks.

## What Was the Tea Act of 1773

- The **Tea Act of 1773** was a law passed by the **British Parliament** to rescue the **British East India Company** and reinforce Britain's right to tax the colonies.

- It allowed the East India Company to **export tea directly to the American colonies** without paying certain British export duties.

- This made the Company's tea **cheaper than even smuggled tea**, despite the continuation of the **colonial tea tax**.

- The Act did **not introduce a new tax**, but retained the existing one to uphold Parliament's authority.

## Why the Tea Act Angered the Colonists

- Colonists viewed the Act as a **political trap** rather than an economic benefit.

- **Buying the tea meant accepting "taxation without representation"**, since colonies had no representatives in the British Parliament.

- Local colonial merchants were bypassed, threatening their livelihoods and creating resentment.

- The Act was seen as a symbol of **British imperial overreach and control**.

## Immediate Events Leading to the Boston Tea Party

- In late **1773**, ships carrying East India Company tea arrived at major colonial ports, including **Boston**.

- Colonists demanded that the tea be sent back without unloading.

- The royal governor of Massachusetts refused to allow the ships to leave without unloading and paying the tax.

- On the night of **16 December 1773**, a group of colonists, some disguised as **Mohawk Native Americans**, boarded the ships.

- They dumped **342 chests of tea** into **Boston Harbor**, deliberately destroying the cargo.

## Boston Tea Party (1773)

- The **Boston Tea Party** was a **direct protest against the Tea Act of 1773**.

- It represented resistance not just to taxation, but to **British political authority** over the colonies.

- The event was **non-violent** toward people but involved **massive destruction of property**.



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### British Response and Consequences

- Britain responded with a series of harsh laws known as the **Coercive Acts (1774)**, called the **Intolerable Acts** by colonists.
- These included closing Boston Harbor and reducing self-governance in Massachusetts.
- The Acts unified the colonies against Britain and led to the **First Continental Congress (1774)**.
- The chain of events ultimately culminated in the **American War of Independence (1775–1783)**.

### Why the Tea Act Is Historically Significant

- It transformed economic protest into **open political defiance**.
- It exposed the growing ideological divide between Britain and the colonies.
- It directly triggered revolutionary unity among the colonies.
- It is considered one of the **most important precursors to the American Revolution**.

## “This organisation carried out the Boston Tea Party: The Sons of Liberty”

- The **Sons of Liberty** emerged in **1765** in the American colonies.
- They were formed in response to British taxation measures, especially the **Stamp Act (1765)**.
- The organisation functioned as a **loose network, not a formal party, operating across colonies such as Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia**.

### Core Objective

- To **oppose British taxation and laws imposed without colonial consent**.
- To defend the principle of **“No taxation without representation.”**
- To protect colonial political rights and local self-government.
- The Boston chapter of the Sons of Liberty was led by **Samuel Adams**, one of the most influential revolutionary leaders.
- Other prominent supporters included **John Hancock** and local colonial activists.
- Members came from diverse backgrounds such as merchants, artisans, dockworkers, and intellectuals.

### Monetary Value of Tea Destroyed in the Boston Tea Party (1773)

- The **estimated monetary value** of the tea destroyed during the **Boston Tea Party (16 December 1773)** was **£9,659 sterling**.

### Ships Involved in the Boston Tea Party (1773)

- The tea during the **Boston Tea Party (16 December 1773)** was dumped from **three British ships**:
  - **The Dartmouth**
  - **The Eleanor**
  - **The Beaver**

**GS Paper II: Polity,**

**TOPICS COVERED**

**17 December**



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1.

**SC issues notice after Justice Varma challenges inquiry panel formed by Speaker**

न्यायमूर्ति वर्मा द्वारा स्पीकर द्वारा गठित जांच समिति को चुनौती देने के बाद सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने नोटिस जारी किया

PATRIOTIC IAS



# SC issues notice after Justice Varma challenges inquiry panel formed by Speaker

**GS II: Polity**

**Krishnadas Rajagopal**  
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court on Tuesday decided to examine a petition filed by the Allahabad High Court judge Justice Yashwant Varma assailing the action of Lok Sabha Speaker Om Birla in “unilaterally” constituting a committee under the Judges (Inquiry) Act to investigate him.

A Bench headed by Justice Dipankar Datta issued notice to Mr. Birla through the Lok Sabha Secretariat, Lok Sabha Secretary-General, and Secretary-General of the Council of States. The petition was filed under the acronym ‘X’ to maintain anonymity. The case is likely to be taken up on January 7, 2026.



Justice Yashwant Varma

In March, sacks of half-burnt currency notes were allegedly videotaped in a storeroom of Justice Varma’s official residence in Delhi after a fire on the premises. Justice Varma was a sitting judge of the Delhi High Court at the time of the incident. He was later transferred to the Allahabad High Court.

An in-house inquiry pro-

cedure started by then Chief Justice of India Sanjiv Khanna recommended the removal of Justice Varma from office. The recommendation was forwarded to Parliament, after which Speaker Om Birla constituted a three-member committee.

Justice Varma, represented by senior advocate Mukul Rohatgi, said the constitution of the committee violated both his right to be treated and protected equally by the law. He argued that though notices of motion for removal were given in both Houses of Parliament on the same day, the Speaker constituted the committee unilaterally. The Act mandated joint consultation with the Rajya Sabha Chairman.

## SC issues notice after Justice Varma challenges inquiry panel formed by Speaker

न्यायमूर्ति वर्मा द्वारा स्पीकर द्वारा गठित जांच समिति को चुनौती देने के बाद सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने नोटिस जारी किया

- The **Supreme Court** on Tuesday decided to examine a petition filed by the **Allahabad High Court judge Justice Yashwant Varma** assailing the action of **Lok Sabha Speaker Om Birla** in “unilaterally” constituting a committee under the **Judges (Inquiry) Act** to investigate him. सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने मंगलवार को इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट के न्यायाधीश न्यायमूर्ति यशवंत वर्मा द्वारा दायर याचिका की जांच करने का फैसला किया, जिसमें लोकसभा अध्यक्ष ओम बिरला द्वारा **Judges (Inquiry) Act** के तहत उनके खिलाफ जांच के लिए “एकतरफा” रूप से समिति गठित करने की कार्रवाई को चुनौती दी गई है।
- A Bench headed by **Justice Dipankar Datta** issued notice to **Mr. Birla** through the **Lok Sabha Secretariat, Lok Sabha Secretary-General, and Secretary-General of the Council of States**. न्यायमूर्ति दीपांकर दत्ता की अध्यक्षता वाली पीठ ने लोकसभा सचिवालय, लोकसभा महासचिव और राज्य परिषद के महासचिव के माध्यम से श्री बिरला को नोटिस जारी किया।
- The petition was filed under the acronym ‘X’ to maintain **anonymity**. The case is likely to be taken up on **January 7, 2026**. याचिका गोपनीयता बनाए रखने के लिए ‘X’ नाम से दायर की गई थी। इस मामले के 7 जनवरी 2026 को सूचीबद्ध होने की संभावना है।



- An in-house inquiry procedure started by then Chief Justice of India Sanjiv Khanna recommended the removal of Justice Varma from office.
- Justice Varma, represented by senior advocate Mukul Rohatgi, said the constitution of the committee violated both his right to be treated and protected equally by the law.  
वरिष्ठ अधिवक्ता मुकुल रोहतगी द्वारा प्रतिनिधित्व किए गए न्यायमूर्ति वर्मा ने कहा कि समिति का गठन उनके कानून के तहत समान व्यवहार और संरक्षण के अधिकार का उल्लंघन करता है।
- He argued that though notices of motion for removal were given in both Houses of Parliament on the same day, the Speaker constituted the committee unilaterally.  
उन्होंने तर्क दिया कि हालांकि संसद के दोनों सदनों में पद से हटाने के प्रस्ताव की सूचना एक ही दिन दी गई थी, फिर भी स्पीकर ने समिति एकतरफा रूप से गठित की।
- The Act mandated joint consultation with the Rajya Sabha Chairman.  
अधिनियम के अनुसार राज्यसभा के सभापति के साथ संयुक्त परामर्श अनिवार्य था।

## GS Paper II: International Relations

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17 December

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ट्रंप की एनएसएस, यूरोप का अस्तित्वगत संकट
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## The Trump NSS, Europe's existential crisis

GS II: IR

MOE

**H**ope is not a strategy. For most of this year, European leaders have hoped that the Trump Administration has not actually meant its President's oscillating support for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), its Vice-President's berating his European hosts in Munich over their liberal values and immigration policies, President Donald Trump's tirade against migration at the United Nations, and of course his mercurial support for Ukraine. The hope was that, all things considered, America would ultimately stand with Europe.

The Trump Administration's National Security Strategy – a 33 page document that spends much time congratulating the President for saving America from apparently terminal decline as it charts an unapologetically MAGA-esque America-first mercantilist position – appears not to notice Africa, Australia and New Zealand. It sweeps by Asia as it focuses strongly on perceived trade imbalances with China and lands squarely on a defence of the 'Western Hemisphere' according to American interests while lamenting the decline of Europe. Europe is a problem, not an ally.

### The stand on Europe

In 'Promoting European Greatness', the NSS warns of Europe's 'civilizational erasure', precipitated by the European Union (EU)'s policies on migration and freedom of speech, 'the suppression of political opposition', and the 'loss of national identities and self-confidence'. In case there was any doubt about which migrants were unwelcome, the NSS declares that if Europe continues on its present trajectory, 'within a few decades ... certain NATO members will become majority non-European'. The U.S. will help Europe regain its 'former greatness' by choosing 'patriotic European parties' to promote what this administration views as 'genuine democracy' and 'unapologetic celebrations of European nations' individual character and history'. To most Europeans, at best this reads as a meddling in the internal politics of sovereign nations, and at worst as regime change.

Europe, the NSS states, needs to stand on its own feet, assume 'primary responsibility for its own defense' and re-establish 'strategic stability with Russia'. NATO 'cannot be a perpetually expanding alliance', a warning of course to Ukraine, but also an interesting glossing over of Sweden and Finland's accession to the alliance after Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022. In this document, the threat is not Russia and its



**Priyanshi Malik**

writes on nuclear politics and security

With the Trump Administration's National Security Strategy making it clear that American support to Europe is now faint, it remains to be seen how Europe responds

invasion of a sovereign nation, but Europe's cultural decay. The tramp of the jackboots of 1930s Europe echos with every mention of civilisational decline.

Of course, an administration's national security strategy is not policy, but a guide to its thinking. They can and have been over-ridden by events, most notably George H.W. Bush's 1990 NSS, which was overtaken by the fall of the Berlin Wall, German reunification and the first Gulf War. Observers could chart the evolution of the administration's thinking in the two subsequent iterations of 1991 and 1993.

As a high-level document, the NSS often provides the lens through which to interpret an administration's foreign policy goals and is assumed to set the tone for the administration's national defence strategy, its Quadrennial Defense Review and national military strategy. Mr. Trump's famously mercurial nature might caution against viewing it as declared policy. However, given that this is a Congress-mandated document, it is more than just a rhetorical exercise: while it should not be taken literally, it should be taken seriously.

### What Europe's response could be

As the dust settles, Europe now faces three options in responding: it can ignore the NSS and hope that it will go away; its leaders can dial up their flattery of Mr. Trump in the hope that he will change his mind on Europe; or Europe can face up to the prospect that Mr. Trump's America is not a reliable ally and that they will need to fend for themselves.

Europe tried a mixture of the first two strategies after J.D. Vance's outburst at the Munich Security Conference. After some tepid talk of needing to pull together to see off Russian President Vladimir Putin's 'imperialist' ambitions in trying to 'rewrite history' or the need for Europe to wean itself off U.S. dependence, Europe doubled down on doing whatever it would take to keep America in NATO and Europe. Britain flattered Mr. Trump with an invitation for an unprecedented second state visit. Germany's Friedrich Merz forgot about his observations of February this year as Chancellor-in-waiting that his 'absolute priority will be to strengthen Europe ... so that ... we can really achieve independence from the USA'.

Germany has since abandoned half-explored plans of developing European capabilities and ordered more American military kit, which is

dependent on American intelligence to work. NATO's Hague Summit of June this year will be remembered as much for European states agreeing to raise their military spending to 5% of GDP as for Secretary-General Mark Rutte's calling Mr. Trump 'Daddy'.

The third option will not be easy. Europe has never defended itself as an entity and there is no concept of integrated European defence. Even limited projects of joint development of military kit tend not to get very far, as the stalled Franco-German project on sixth generation fighter jets demonstrates. If the U.S. pulls American troops out of Europe – as this administration has periodically hinted it might do – then Europe will have a serious manpower problem that experiments in 'voluntary' conscription will not even begin to address. Then there is the question of nuclear deterrence and Britain's uneasy post-Brexit relationship with the EU and Europe.

### The state of the world order

How Europe responds will have implications beyond the continent. Mr. Trump's NSS, with its attack on transnational institutions (that he insists 'undermine political liberty and sovereignty'), its dismantling of the post-war trading order in favour of a mercantilist America-first policy; and the signalling of a U.S. retreat into its own 'Hemisphere' (however that might be defined, and



with the implication that China and Russia are free to carve up the rest of the world as long as they do not impinge on America's trading footprint) have profound implications for the rest of the world. The post-war world order that America helped shape and uphold is imperfect and crumbling. The power imbalances at the United Nations and the Bretton Woods Institutions that help anchor expectations of peace, security, development and trade reflect an outdated world order. But, however imperfect this rules-based system might be, it is still a bulwark against a descent into a Hobbesian free-for-all, where might makes right.

The debate about this National Security Strategy is, therefore, not about a document that might shed light on an administration's thinking. It is about whether Europe chooses to defend a rules-based liberal order or defers to a President whose transactional and racist view of the world will have consequences that stretch far beyond his borders.

## The Trump NSS, Europe's existential crisis

### ट्रंप की एनएसएस, यूरोप का अस्तित्वगत संकट

- The **Trump Administration's National Security Strategy** — a **33 page** document that spends much time congratulating the President for saving America from apparently **terminal decline** as it charts an unapologetically **MAGA-esque America-first mercantilist position** — appears not to notice **Africa, Australia and New Zealand**.

**ट्रंप प्रशासन की राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा रणनीति** — एक **33 पृष्ठों का दस्तावेज़** जो अमेरिका को कथित अंतिम

पतन से बचाने के लिए राष्ट्रपति की प्रशंसा में काफ़ी समय लगाता है और खुले तौर पर **MAGA-प्रेरित**

**America-first व्यापारीवादी रुख** प्रस्तुत करता है — **अफ्रीका, ऑस्ट्रेलिया और न्यूज़ीलैंड** को मानो देखता ही नहीं।

- It sweeps by **Asia** as it focuses strongly on perceived **trade imbalances with China** and lands squarely on a defence of the '**Western Hemisphere**' according to **American interests** while lamenting the **decline of Europe**.

The **U.S.** will help Europe regain its '**former greatness**' by choosing '**patriotic European parties**' to promote what this administration views as '**genuine democracy**' and '**unapologetic celebrations of European nations' individual character and history**'.

**अमेरिका** यूरोप को उसकी '**पूर्व महानता**' वापस दिलाने में मदद करेगा, '**देशभक्त यूरोपीय दलों**' को चुनकर, ताकि इस प्रशासन की दृष्टि में '**सच्चे लोकतंत्र**' और '**यूरोपीय राष्ट्रों के विशिष्ट चरित्र और इतिहास का निःसंकोच उत्सव**' को बढ़ावा दिया जा सके।

- To most Europeans, at best this reads as a **meddling in the internal politics of sovereign nations**, and at worst as **regime change**.



अधिकांश यूरोपीय लोगों के लिए यह अधिकतम संप्रभु राष्ट्रों की आंतरिक राजनीति में हस्तक्षेप और न्यूनतम सत्ता परिवर्तन जैसा प्रतीत होता है।

- **Europe, the NSS states, needs to stand on its own feet, assume 'primary responsibility for its own defense' and re-establish 'strategic stability with Russia'.**

NSS के अनुसार, यूरोप को अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होना चाहिए, 'अपनी रक्षा की प्राथमिक जिम्मेदारी' लेनी चाहिए और 'रूस के साथ रणनीतिक स्थिरता' पुनः स्थापित करनी चाहिए।

- **NATO 'cannot be a perpetually expanding alliance', a warning of course to Ukraine, but also an interesting glossing over of Sweden and Finland's accession to the alliance after Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022.**

NATO 'लगातार विस्तार करने वाला गठबंधन नहीं हो सकता', यह निश्चित रूप से यूक्रेन के लिए चेतावनी है, लेकिन 2022 में रूस द्वारा यूक्रेन पर आक्रमण के बाद स्वीडन और फ़िनलैंड की गठबंधन में शामिल होने की घटना को भी रोचक ढंग से नज़रअंदाज़ करता है।

- **In this document, the threat is not Russia and its invasion of a sovereign nation, but Europe's cultural decay.**

इस दस्तावेज़ में खतरा रूस और किसी संप्रभु राष्ट्र पर उसके आक्रमण से नहीं, बल्कि यूरोप के सांस्कृतिक पतन से बताया गया है।

- **As the dust settles, Europe now faces three options in responding: it can ignore the NSS and hope that it will go away; its leaders can dial up their flattery of Mr. Trump in the hope that he will change his mind on Europe; or Europe can face up to the prospect that Mr. Trump's America is not a reliable ally and that they will need to fend for themselves.**

- **Germany has since abandoned half-explored plans of developing European capabilities and ordered more American military kit, which is dependent on American intelligence to work.**

इसके बाद जर्मनी ने यूरोपीय क्षमताओं के विकास की आधी-अधूरी योजनाएँ छोड़ दीं और अधिक अमेरिकी सैन्य उपकरण मंगाए, जो काम करने के लिए अमेरिकी खुफिया जानकारी पर निर्भर हैं।

- **NATO's Hague Summit of June this year will be remembered as much for European states agreeing to raise their military spending to 5% of GDP as for Secretary-General Mark Rutte's calling Mr. Trump 'Daddy'.**

- **If the U.S. pulls American troops out of Europe — as this administration has periodically hinted it might do — then Europe will have a serious manpower problem that experiments in 'voluntary conscription' will not even begin to address.**

The power imbalances at the United Nations and the Bretton Woods Institutions that help anchor expectations of peace, security, development and trade reflect an outdated world order.

संयुक्त राष्ट्र और ब्रेटन वुड्स संस्थानों में मौजूद शक्ति असंतुलन, जो शांति, सुरक्षा, विकास और व्यापार की अपेक्षाओं को आधार देते हैं, एक पुरानी विश्व व्यवस्था को दर्शाते हैं।



## The three revolutions reshaping American power

CS II, IR

MOB

When United States Secretary of State Marco Rubio proposed restructuring the G-20 into an elite "inner caucus" of powerful states, it should have dominated the week's geopolitical news. It signalled a major reordering of global economic governance, shifting rule-making to a narrower group and weakening emerging economies. Yet, the proposal barely registered. It was immediately eclipsed by the release of the 2025 U.S. National Security Strategy (NSS), that embodied the same underlying ideological shift. Days later, the Heritage Foundation, the intellectual core of U.S. President Donald Trump's MAGA project, issued its own blueprint, Restoring America's Promise: 2025-26.

The alignment between the G-20 restructuring, the NSS, and Heritage 2026 reveals three simultaneous revolutions in American statecraft: a transformation of political morality, a recasting of foreign policy, and a restructuring of global economic governance. The common thread is the institutionalisation of exclusion and the acceptance of unequal burdens as policy design rather than error. In this sense, cruelty functions as an analytical term, capturing a system in which harm is anticipated, normalised, and strategically deployed.

### Shrinking of civic space

The first revolution is internal. Mr. Trump's political project dismantled the traditional moral architecture of American public life. Norms of restraint, institutional deference and civic responsibility gave way to an ethos where transgression signalled authenticity and the erosion of shame became a political asset. The NSS integrates this shift into formal doctrine by treating internal cultural cohesion, ideological alignment and demographic stability as national security requirements.

The Heritage document demands bureaucratic remaking, ideological vetting, and mass personnel turnover. The NSS echoes this through sovereign autonomy, institutional suspicion and domestic culture as security treating independent institutions not as correctives but as obstacles to political will.

Cruelty here takes the form of permissive



Anil Raman

is Research Fellow,  
Takhshila  
Institution and a  
retired brigadier

The central thread around the internal, external and economic policies is an 'architecture of cruelty', where harm is anticipated, normalised, and strategically deployed

indifference: hardship from administrative purges, narrowing civic space, or punitive regulatory change is not acknowledged as collateral damage but folded seamlessly into the architecture of governance.

### Foreign policy around conditionality

The second revolution is external. The U.S. traditionally relied on predictable commitments and institutional stability. Even Mr. Trump's first-term disruptions occurred within recognisable boundaries. The 2025 NSS departs sharply from this tradition.

Alliances are reframed as conditional transactional contracts with obligations justified continuously. The Western Hemisphere displaces Europe and the Indo-Pacific as the primary theatre, reviving the Monroe Doctrine. Migration, a domestic concern, is elevated into the central security threat, while institutions once amplifying American power are described as constraints on sovereignty.

The Heritage document provides the ideological framework. It frames multilateral bodies as infringements of sovereignty, border control as geopolitics, and allied compliance as contingent on ideological alignment, not shared interest.

The result is neither isolationism nor traditional realism. It is selective dominance: assertion where leverage is high, retreat where obligations are costly, and judging partnerships by conformity not capability. The structural effect is fragile alliances, revisionist adversaries and a fragmentation of global order.

The third revolution is economic. Mr. Rubio's G-20 proposal is not an administrative adjustment but the formalisation of a tiered global economy, an architecture of privileged rule-makers and peripheral rule-takers. Decision-making on debt relief, trade standards and climate finance will consolidate within a narrower circle of states with the capacity to shape outcomes.

The NSS fits precisely within this trajectory. Its emphasis on reshoring, tariff leverage and industrial sovereignty promoted toward a hemispheric economic model centred on North

America. Heritage 2026 expands on the logic: globalisation is treated as a strategic vulnerability and multilateral economic systems as threats to national autonomy.

The consequences will be felt disproportionately by countries with limited negotiation power. Debt restructuring will become more conditional, supply chain diversification more politically selective, and access to global capital more closely tied to geopolitical alignment. The predictable hardship that follows, from inflationary pressures to disrupted export markets, will fall on global and domestic workers.

Cruelty here is systemic: unequal distribution of economic pain is treated as a mechanism for stabilising a more hierarchical global order

### A return of imperial logic

Across these three revolutions runs a common thread: the restoration of a colonial-imperial mindset. Not territorial colonialism but a structural world-view built on hierarchy, entitlement, and the presumption that the strong may impose costs while the weak absorb them.

The NSS provides bureaucratic vocabulary; the Heritage supplies the ideological foundations.

The analytical utility of cruelty lies in naming this organising logic. It captures a system where the suffering generated by policy is neither incidental nor unfortunate but integrated into the functioning of the political and economic order.

The G-20 restructuring and the 2025 NSS are manifestations of the same deeper shift. The world is entering an era where the U.S. seeks to protect its sovereignty through contraction, assert influence through hierarchy, and reshape global governance through exclusion.

The final irony is that the victims of this reordering are not confined to distant shores. They live in Maputo and Dhaka, yes, but also in Harlan, Kentucky. The architecture of cruelty is global, but its consequences are intimate. It reaches the world, but it also circles back home.



- But, however imperfect this rules-based system might be, it is still a bulwark against a descent into a Hobbesian free-for-all, where might makes right.

## The three revolutions reshaping American power

### अमेरिकी शक्ति को पुनः आकार देने वाली तीन क्रांतियाँ

- When United States Secretary of State Marco Rubio proposed restructuring the G-20 into an elite "inner caucus" of powerful states, it should have dominated the week's geopolitical news.

जब संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका के विदेश मंत्री मार्को रुबियो ने G-20 को शक्तिशाली देशों के एक विशिष्ट "आंतरिक समूह" में पुनर्गठित करने का प्रस्ताव रखा, तो इसे सप्ताह की भूराजनीतिक खबरों में प्रमुख स्थान मिलना चाहिए था।

- It signalled a major reordering of global economic governance, shifting rule-making to a narrower group and weakening emerging economies.

इसने वैश्विक आर्थिक शासन के एक बड़े पुनर्संयोजन का संकेत दिया, जिसमें नियम-निर्माण एक सीमित समूह तक सिमट गया और उभरती अर्थव्यवस्थाएँ कमजोर हुईं।

- Yet, the proposal barely registered.

फिर भी, यह प्रस्ताव लगभग अनदेखा रह गया।



- The alignment between the **G-20 restructuring**, the **NSS**, and **Heritage 2026** reveals **three simultaneous revolutions in American statecraft**: a transformation of **political morality**, a recasting of **foreign policy**, and a restructuring of **global economic governance**.  
G-20 पुनर्गठन, NSS, और Heritage 2026 के बीच का तालमेल अमेरिकी राज्यcraft में तीन समानांतर क्रांतियों को उजागर करता है: राजनीतिक नैतिकता का रूपांतरण, विदेश नीति का पुनर्गठन, और वैश्विक आर्थिक शासन की पुनर्रचना।
- The common thread is the **institutionalisation of exclusion** and the acceptance of **unequal burdens as policy design** rather than error.  
इन सबका साझा सूत्र बहिष्करण का संस्थानीकरण और असमान बोझ को गलती के बजाय नीति-डिज़ाइन के रूप में स्वीकार करना है।
- In this sense, **cruelty** functions as an **analytical term**, capturing a system in which **harm** is anticipated, **normalised**, and **strategically deployed**.  
इस अर्थ में, क्रूरता एक विश्लेषणात्मक शब्द के रूप में कार्य करती है, जो ऐसे तंत्र को दर्शाती है जहाँ हानि की पहले से कल्पना की जाती है, उसे सामान्यीकृत किया जाता है और रणनीतिक रूप से उपयोग किया जाता है।

### Shrinking of civic space नागरिक क्षेत्र का संकुचन

- The **first revolution** is **internal**.  
पहली क्रांति आंतरिक है।
- **Mr. Trump's political project** dismantled the traditional **moral architecture** of **American public life**.  
श्री ट्रम्प की राजनीतिक परियोजना ने अमेरिकी सार्वजनिक जीवन की पारंपरिक नैतिक संरचना को तोड़ दिया।
- **Norms of restraint, institutional deference** and **civic responsibility** gave way to an ethos where **transgression** signalled **authenticity** and the erosion of **shame** became a **political asset**.  
संयम, संस्थागत सम्मान, और नागरिक ज़िम्मेदारी के मानदंडों की जगह एक ऐसा वातावरण आया जहाँ सीमालंघन को प्रामाणिकता माना गया और लज्जा का क्षरण एक राजनीतिक संपत्ति बन गया।
- The **NSS** integrates this shift into **formal doctrine** by treating **internal cultural cohesion, ideological alignment** and **demographic stability** as **national security requirements**.  
NSS इस बदलाव को औपचारिक सिद्धांत में शामिल करता है, जहाँ आंतरिक सांस्कृतिक एकता, वैचारिक संरक्षण, और जनसांख्यिकीय स्थिरता को राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा की आवश्यकताएँ माना गया है।
- The **Heritage document** demands **bureaucratic remaking, ideological vetting, and mass personnel turnover**.  
हेरिटेज दस्तावेज़ नौकरशाही के पुनर्गठन, वैचारिक छँटनी, और व्यापक कार्मिक परिवर्तन की मांग करता है।
- The **NSS** echoes this through **sovereign autonomy, institutional suspicion** and **domestic culture as security**, treating **independent institutions** not as **correctives** but as **obstacles to political will**.
- The **second revolution** is **external**.  
दूसरी क्रांति बाह्य है।
- The **U.S.** traditionally relied on **predictable commitments** and **institutional stability**.  
संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका परंपरागत रूप से पूर्वानुमेय प्रतिबद्धताओं और संस्थागत स्थिरता पर निर्भर रहा है।
- The **Western Hemisphere** displaces **Europe** and the **Indo-Pacific** as the **primary theatre, reviving the Monroe Doctrine**.  
पश्चिमी गोलार्ध को प्राथमिक क्षेत्र के रूप में यूरोप और इंडो-पैसिफ़िक की जगह दी गई है, जिससे मोनरो सिद्धांत का पुनरुद्धार होता है।
- **Migration, a domestic concern**, is elevated into the **central security threat**, while institutions once **amplifying American power** are described as **constraints on sovereignty**.  
आव्रजन, जो एक घरेलू चिंता है, को मुख्य सुरक्षा खतरे के रूप में उँचा किया गया है, जबकि कभी अमेरिकी शक्ति को बढ़ाने वाली संस्थाओं को अब संप्रभुता पर बाधाएँ बताया गया है।



- The **Heritage document** provides the **ideological framework**.  
हेरिटेज दस्तावेज़ वैचारिक ढांचा प्रदान करता है।
- It frames **multilateral bodies** as **infringements of sovereignty**, **border control** as **geopolitics**, and **allied compliance** as contingent on **ideological alignment**, not **shared interest**.

## India and the U.S.: 2005 versus 2025

GS II: IR: India-US

MOB

In 2005, when I served on the Prime Minister's Task Force on Global Strategic Developments chaired by K. Subrahmanyam, India and the U.S. stood at the threshold of a historic transformation. Washington had declared that it wished to "help India become a major world power in the 21st century." It was an extraordinary statement, not merely because of what it promised but because of the confidence it reflected. The U.S. then still believed that strengthening responsible rising powers would strengthen the world. That belief seemed to form, for many, the bedrock of the civil nuclear breakthrough and of a strategic partnership built on a shared sense of possibility.

### The U.S.'s retreat

Reading the 2025 U.S. National Security Strategy (NSS) is therefore an unsettling experience. The document is saturated with self-praise. It claims to have "brought our nation – and the world – back from the brink of catastrophe and disaster" and asserts that "no administration in history has achieved so dramatic a turnaround in so short a time." But this assertiveness feels defensive. It projects a nation unsure of its place in a world it no longer fully comprehends, yet unwilling to concede that uncertainty even to itself. The result is a strategy that is less a map for global action and more an exercise in national reassurance.

The contrast with the intellectual spirit of 2005 could not be sharper. Then, Washington spoke the language of partnership. Today, it speaks the language of burdens. "The days of the United States propping up the entire world order like Atlas are over," the strategy declares. Global leadership, once embraced with ease, is now treated as a cost to be minimised. The overriding imperative is not to elevate the international system but to lighten America's load.

Nowhere is this shift more stark than in the treatment of India. Cooperation is acknowledged but



**Amitabh Mattoo**

Dean and Professor,  
School of  
International Studies,  
JNU;  
and former Member  
National Security  
Advisory Board

The 2025 U.S. National Security Strategy document marks a profound departure from the logic articulated in 2005. For India, the implications are clear.

is instrumental. India is framed less as a civilisational actor and more as a component in America's China calculus. The NSS states that the U.S. must "continue to improve commercial (and other) relations with India to encourage New Delhi to contribute to Indo-Pacific security, including through continued quadrilateral cooperation with... 'the Quad'." In this framing, India is not an end in itself but a means to a balance-of-power arrangement the U.S. seeks to preserve.

In 2005, India's rise was an objective; now, it is a function. This narrowing is part of a broader retreat from internationalist confidence. The so-called Trump Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, declaring an intent to "assert and enforce" hemispheric exclusivity, speaks to a nation turning inward. The irony is difficult to miss. In 2005, when India spoke of strategic autonomy, many in Washington bristled. In 2025, when America claims an expansive and unilateral autonomy, it calls it realism.

The document's tone reinforces this inwardness. It catalogues a series of claimed diplomatic triumphs, resolving multiple global conflicts "from Cambodia and Thailand" to "Pakistan and India". These read less like diplomatic achievements and more like political assertions crafted for domestic effect. Strategy becomes performance, and performance becomes a substitute for engagement with the world's real fissures.

For India, the implications are clear. The U.S. that sought to create strategic space for India in 2005 is not the U.S. reflected in the NSS – it is preoccupied with its own vulnerabilities, identity, and hierarchy of burdens. It demands more from partners yet offers less in return. It speaks of shared interests while retreating from shared responsibilities. It calls for burden-sharing but often means burden-shifting.

This does not diminish the importance of India-U.S. cooperation. It simply changes its

foundations. India cannot rely on the assumption that Washington will invest in India's rise as a matter of strategic design. India's rise will depend on India. Partnership will endure where interests converge and remain measured where they do not. As the NSS itself insists, partners must increasingly "assume primary responsibility for their regions," a polite but unmistakable signal that U.S. support will be conditional and limited.

### The path forward

The lesson of 2005 remains valuable because it reminds us of the conditions under which strategic transformations occur: confidence on both sides and a belief that the other's ascent strengthens one's own. The 2025 strategy lacks that confidence. It is shaped by grievance at past overreach, suspicion of institutions, and a preoccupation with restoring an earlier notion of American primacy.

India therefore must resist the temptation to interpret this

document through the lens of earlier hopes. The era that produced the civil nuclear breakthrough was an era of widening horizons for both India and the U.S. The era that produced this strategy is one of contracting horizons for

the U.S. and expanding responsibilities for India. If India is to be a major world power in the 21st century, it will not be because any external actor wills it. It will be because India possesses the strategic confidence and material capacity to act independently within a fragmented global order.

Paradoxically, the 2025 strategy makes that reality clearer than its authors intend. By reducing the scope of American commitments, it widens the space for others. For India, the challenge is not to fill a vacuum but to craft a role suited to its scale, interests, and civilisational temperament. The assumptions of 2005 cannot return, but the aspiration that animated them is ours to pursue.



## India and the U.S.: 2005 versus 2025

### भारत और अमेरिका: 2005 बनाम 2025

- In 2005, when I served on the **Prime Minister's Task Force on Global Strategic Developments** chaired by **K. Subrahmanyam**, India and the **U.S.** stood at the threshold of a



### historic transformation.

2005 में, जब मैंने के. सुब्रह्मण्यम की अध्यक्षता वाली वैश्विक रणनीतिक विकास पर प्रधानमंत्री की टास्क फोर्स में सेवा दी, तब भारत और अमेरिका एक ऐतिहासिक परिवर्तन के मुहाने पर खड़े थे।

- **Washington had declared that it wished to “help India become a major world power in the 21st century.”**  
It claims to have “brought our nation — and the world — back from the brink of catastrophe and disaster” and asserts that “no administration in history has achieved so dramatic a turnaround in such a short time.”
- The **NSS** states that the **U.S.** must “continue to improve commercial (and other) relations with India to encourage New Delhi to contribute to Indo-Pacific security, including through continued quadrilateral cooperation with... ‘the Quad’.”  
**NSS** कहता है कि अमेरिका को “भारत के साथ वाणिज्यिक (और अन्य) संबंधों में सुधार जारी रखना चाहिए ताकि नई दिल्ली को इंडो-पैसिफ़िक सुरक्षा में योगदान देने के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया जा सके, जिसमें ‘क्वाड’ के साथ निरंतर चतुष्पक्षीय सहयोग भी शामिल है।”
- In this framing, **India is not an end in itself but a means to a balance-of-power arrangement the U.S. seeks to preserve.**  
इस ढांचे में भारत स्वयं में लक्ष्य नहीं, बल्कि उस सत्ता-संतुलन व्यवस्था का एक साधन है जिसे अमेरिका बनाए रखना चाहता है।
- In **2005**, India’s **rise** was an **objective**; now, it is a **function**.  
**2005** में भारत का उभार एक उद्देश्य था; अब वह एक कार्य मात्र है।
- This **narrowing** is part of a broader **retreat from internationalist confidence**.  
यह संकुचन अंतरराष्ट्रीयतावादी आत्मविश्वास से व्यापक वापसी का हिस्सा है।
- The so-called **Trump Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, declaring an intent to “assert and enforce” hemispheric exclusivity, speaks to a nation turning inward.**  
तथाकथित मोनरो सिद्धांत का ट्रम्प कोरोलरी, जो गोलार्धीय विशिष्टता को “स्थापित और लागू” करने के इरादे की घोषणा करता है, एक ऐसे राष्ट्र की ओर संकेत करता है जो अंतर्मुखी हो रहा है।
- The **irony** is difficult to miss.  
यह विडंबना नज़रअंदाज़ करना कठिन है।
- In **2005**, when **India** spoke of **strategic autonomy**, many in **Washington** bristled.  
**2005** में, जब भारत ने रणनीतिक स्वायत्तता की बात की, तो वाशिंगटन में कई लोग असहज हो गए थे।
- In **2025**, when **America** claims an **expansive and unilateral autonomy**, it calls it **realism**.  
**2025** में, जब अमेरिका विस्तृत और एकतरफ़ा स्वायत्तता का दावा करता है, तो वह उसे यथार्थवाद कहता है।
- The document’s **tone** reinforces this **inwardness**.  
दस्तावेज़ की भाषा इस अंतर्मुखता को और मज़बूत करती है।
- It catalogues a series of **claimed diplomatic triumphs**, resolving multiple **global conflicts** “from **Cambodia and Thailand**” to “**Pakistan and India**”.  
यह कथित कूटनीतिक उपलब्धियों की एक श्रृंखला गिनाता है, जिसमें “कंबोडिया और थाईलैंड” से लेकर “पाकिस्तान और भारत” तक कई वैश्विक संघर्षों के समाधान का दावा किया गया है।
- These read less like **diplomatic achievements** and more like **political assertions crafted for domestic effect**.  
ये कूटनीतिक उपलब्धियों से कम और घरेलू प्रभाव के लिए गढ़े गए राजनीतिक दावों जैसे अधिक प्रतीत होते हैं।
- **Strategy** becomes **performance**, and **performance** becomes a substitute for **engagement with the world’s real fissures**.
- The era that produced the **civil nuclear breakthrough** was an era of **widening horizons** for both **India and the U.S.**



**TELEGRAM CHANNEL:** <https://t.me/patrioticIAS>  
**YOUTUBE CHANNEL:** <https://www.youtube.com/@PatrioticIAS>  
**CONTACT:** 9971932488



<b>TOPICS COVERED</b>		<b>17_12_2025</b>
1.	<b>Centre introduces Bill to replace MGNREGA amid loud Opposition protests</b> केंद्र ने जोरदार विपक्षी विरोध के बीच मनरेगा को बदलने के लिए विधेयक पेश किया	
2.	<b>Lok Sabha passes Bill on 100% FDI in insurance</b> लोकसभा ने बीमा में 100% एफडीआई पर विधेयक पारित किया	

PATRIOTIC IAS



# Centre introduces Bill to replace MGNREGA amid loud Opposition protests

**GS III: Economy**

**The Hindu Bureau**  
NEW DELHI

The Centre on Tuesday introduced the Viksit Bharat Guarantee for Rozgar and Ajeevika Mission (Gramin) (VB-G RAM G) Bill, 2025, which seeks to replace the two-decade-old Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), amid Opposition protests.



**Growing clamour:** Opposition MPs protest as Minister Shivraj Singh introduces the VB-G RAM G Bill on Tuesday SANSAD TV

## Lok Sabha passes Bill on 100% FDI in insurance

**GS III: Economy**

**N. Ravi Kumar**  
HYDERABAD

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The Lok Sabha on Tuesday passed an all important Bill that proposes to raise foreign direct investment (FDI) in insurance sector from 74% to 100% besides a clutch of other amendments to insurance laws amid protests from the opposition.

Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman, in her reply to the discussion, said allowing 100% FDI would pave the way for further capital infusion, better technology as well as better insurance products. It would ease the process for global companies to foray into the Indian insurance market without domestic partners, she said, adding forming a joint venture is a mammoth task.

All Indian laws will apply to the companies. They will be regulated like other insurance entities, she said, seeking to allay apprehensions around changes the Bill is proposing to the Insurance Act, 1938; the Life Insurance Corporation Act, 1956; and the Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority Act, 1999.

The FDI limit for insurance companies was raised from 26% to 49% in 2015 and from 49% to 74% in 2021. On the amendment reducing net owned fund requirement for foreign reinsurance branches from ₹5,000 crore to ₹1,000 crore, she said the move would invite more reinsurers to the country

**The Bill also empowers IRDAI to disgorge wrongful gains from insurers and intermediaries**

for creating greater risk capacities and create level playing field for FRBs in domestic tariff area as opposed to IFSC.

Stating that government's priority is to strengthen the public sector insurance companies, she said ₹17,450 crore was infused in three public sector general insurance companies to strengthen their capital base. Listing of LIC, GIC Re and New India Assurance was also a step in the direction of boosting public insurers.

The Bill also empowers insurance regulator IRDAI to disgorge wrongful gains from insurers and intermediaries. As part of proposal to rationalise penalties to be imposed by IRDAI, the maximum limit of penalty on insurance intermediaries like in the case of insurers is to be increased from ₹1 crore to ₹10 crore to "act as a deterrent and encourage legal and regulatory compliance."

Terming the Bill a landmark reform, General Insurance Council Chairman and Bajaj General Insurance MD and CEO Tapan Singhel said by strengthening policyholder protection, improving transparency and empowering the regulator, the Bill builds trust at the core of the insurance system.

The Trinamool Congress's Saugata Roy demanded the Bill be referred to a select committee. The RSP's N.K. Premchandran pointed out technical flaws, and said States could not afford the financial burden.

Congress general secretary K.C. Venugopal dismissed the promise of 125 days of work as "hollow". Addressing Mr. Chouhan, he said, "Your name will be remembered as a Minister who removed Mahatma Gandhi's name."

Opposition members stormed the Well of the House, holding photographs of Gandhiji. Amid the din, Mr. Chouhan reiterated that the Bill reflected Gandhian ideals and aimed to create "Ram Rajya" in villages. After walking out, Opposition MPs marched to the Mahatma Gandhi statue. Women members raised slogans from the old Parliament building's balcony. Left parties staged protests before the sitting began.

The Congress announced nationwide protests on Wednesday. In a letter to State presidents, Mr. Venugopal called for demonstrations at district headquarters.

**insurance market without domestic partners, she said, adding forming a joint venture is a mammoth task.**

उन्होंने कहा कि इससे वैश्विक कंपनियों के लिए बिना घरेलू साझेदारों के भारतीय बीमा बाजार में प्रवेश की प्रक्रिया आसान होगी, और संयुक्त उद्यम बनाना एक बहुत बड़ा कार्य है।

• All Indian laws will apply to the companies. They will be regulated like other insurance entities, she said, seeking to allay

• **Viksit Bharat Guarantee for Rozgar and Ajeevika Mission (Gramin) (VB-G RAM G) Bill, 2025**, which seeks to replace the two-decade-old Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA).

• Ms. Vadra warned that **reducing the Centre's share of funding from 90% to 60%** would hit **State finances** already strained by **GST compensation delays**. **Shifting liability to States violated fiscal federalism**.

• Promise of **125 days of work** as "hollow".

## Lok Sabha passes Bill on 100% FDI in insurance

**लोकसभा ने बीमा में 100% एफडीआई पर विधेयक पारित किया**

• The Lok Sabha on Tuesday passed an all important Bill that proposes to raise **foreign direct investment (FDI) in the insurance sector from 74% to 100%** besides a clutch of other amendments to insurance laws amid protests from the **opposition**.

**लोकसभा ने मंगलवार को एक अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण विधेयक पारित किया, जिसमें बीमा क्षेत्र में प्रत्यक्ष विदेशी निवेश (FDI) को 74% से बढ़ाकर 100% करने का प्रस्ताव है, साथ ही बीमा कानूनों में अन्य कई संशोधन किए गए हैं, और यह सब विपक्ष के विरोध के बीच हुआ।**

• **Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman**, in her reply to the discussion, said allowing **100% FDI** would pave the way for further **capital infusion, better technology** as well as better **insurance products**.

चर्चा के उत्तर में वित्त मंत्री निर्मला सीतारमण ने कहा कि **100% एफडीआई** की अनुमति देने से अधिक **पूंजी निवेश, बेहतर प्रौद्योगिकी** और बेहतर **बीमा उत्पादों** का मार्ग प्रशस्त होगा।

• It would ease the process for **global companies** to foray into the **Indian insurance market** without **domestic partners**, she said, adding forming a **joint venture** is a mammoth task.



apprehensions around changes the Bill is proposing to the **Insurance Act, 1938**; the **Life Insurance Corporation Act, 1956**; and the **Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority Act, 1999**.

उन्होंने कहा कि इन कंपनियों पर सभी **भारतीय कानून** लागू होंगे और इन्हें अन्य बीमा संस्थाओं की तरह विनियमित किया जाएगा, और विधेयक द्वारा **बीमा अधिनियम, 1938**, **जीवन बीमा निगम अधिनियम, 1956**, तथा **बीमा विनियामक और विकास प्राधिकरण अधिनियम, 1999** में प्रस्तावित बदलावों को लेकर आशंकाओं को दूर करने का प्रयास किया।

- The **FDI limit for insurance companies was raised from 26% to 49% in 2015 and from 49% to 74% in 2021**.

बीमा कंपनियों के लिए **एफडीआई सीमा** को **2015 में 26% से 49%** और **2021 में 49% से 74%** तक बढ़ाया गया था।

- On the amendment reducing **net owned fund requirement for foreign reinsurance branches from ₹5,000 crore to ₹1,000 crore**, she said the move would invite more **reinsurers to the country for creating greater risk capacities** and create a level **playing field for FRBs in domestic tariff areas** as opposed to **IFSC**.

**विदेशी पुनर्बीमा शाखाओं** के लिए **नेट ओन्ड फंड आवश्यकता** को **₹5,000 करोड़ से घटाकर ₹1,000 करोड़** करने वाले संशोधन पर उन्होंने कहा कि यह कदम अधिक **रीइंशोरर्स** को देश में आमंत्रित करेगा, अधिक **जोखिम क्षमता** का सृजन करेगा और **IFSC** की तुलना में **घरेलू टैरिफ क्षेत्र** में **FRBs** के लिए **समान अवसर** प्रदान करेगा।

- Stating that the government's priority is to strengthen the **public sector insurance companies**, she said **₹17,450 crore was infused in three public sector general insurance companies to strengthen their capital base**.

यह बताते हुए कि सरकार की प्राथमिकता **सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की बीमा कंपनियों** को मजबूत करना है, उन्होंने कहा कि **तीन सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की सामान्य बीमा कंपनियों** में उनकी **पूंजी आधार** को मजबूत करने के लिए **₹17,450 करोड़** डाले गए।

- Listing of **LIC, GIC Re and New India Assurance** was also a step in the direction of boosting **public insurers**.

**एलआईसी, जीआईसी री** और **न्यू इंडिया एश्योरेंस** की सूचीबद्धता भी **सार्वजनिक बीमाकर्ताओं** को सशक्त करने की दिशा में एक कदम था।

- The **Bill also empowers insurance regulator IRDAI to disgorge wrongful gains from insurers and intermediaries**.

यह विधेयक बीमा नियामक **IRDA** को बीमाकर्ताओं और मध्यस्थों से **अनुचित लाभ की वसूली** का अधिकार भी देता है।

- As part of a proposal to **rationalise penalties** to be imposed by **IRDAI**, the **maximum limit of penalty** on insurance intermediaries like in the case of insurers is to be increased from **₹1 crore to ₹10 crore** to “**act as a deterrent and encourage legal and regulatory compliance**.”

**IRDA** द्वारा लगाए जाने वाले **दंडों के युक्तिकरण** के प्रस्ताव के तहत, बीमाकर्ताओं की तरह बीमा मध्यस्थों पर **अधिकतम दंड सीमा** को **₹1 करोड़ से बढ़ाकर ₹10 करोड़** किया जाएगा ताकि यह “**निरोधक के रूप में कार्य करे और कानूनी व नियामकीय अनुपालन को प्रोत्साहित करे**।”

- By **strengthening policyholder protection**, improving **transparency** and empowering the **regulator**, the **Bill builds trust** at the core of the insurance system.



<b>GS Paper III: S&amp;T,</b>	
<b>TOPICS COVERED</b>	<b>17_12_2025</b>
1.	<b>Inhalable microplastics, a hidden toxin worsening the air in our cities</b> श्वसन योग्य माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स, एक छिपा हुआ विष जो हमारे शहरों की हवा को और खराब कर रहा है
2.	<b>Why do we have wisdom teeth?</b> हमें अक्ल दाढ़ क्यों होती है?
3.	<b>Stepping stone</b> स्टेपिंग स्टोन
4.	<b>WhatsApp SIM binding order may not meaningfully reduce cyberfraud: IMAI</b> व्हाट्सऐप सिम बाइंडिंग आदेश साइबर धोखाधड़ी को सार्थक रूप से कम नहीं कर सकता: IMAI

PATRIOTIC IAS



# Inhalable microplastics, a hidden toxin worsening the air in our cities

**A study which researched the threat posed by inhalable microplastics has warned that they can also smuggle in toxic co-pollutants, including heavy metals such as lead and cadmium, and hormone-disrupting chemical compounds like diethyl phthalates; researchers found atmospheric lead levels to be highest in Kolkata, followed by Delhi**

**ISSUE**  
Neelanjana Rai

**I**n successive weekends in November, hundreds of Delhi residents gathered at India Gate holding placards that read, "I miss breathing" and "right to live, not just survive". Winter's onset has once again plunged the National Capital Region into dense smog, with the air quality index refusing to exit 'severe' (301-400) or 'very poor' (201-300) levels.

Even now, regulators are scrambling to enforce graded action plans to mitigate the concentration of PM2.5 and PM10 particles in the air.

Into this toxic mix, new research has introduced a previously overlooked problem known as inhalable microplastics. According to scientists, they pose a direct and alarming risk to human health.

Atmospheric pollution has traditionally been associated with the so-called criteria pollutants; aside from the two size-wise groups of particulate matter, these include carbon monoxide, lead, sulphur oxides, nitrogen oxides, and ozone. Of late, however, they've been joined by respirable emerging contaminants – including inhalable microplastics – fuelled in no small part by the production of 400 million metric tonnes of plastics every year. The world also releases 52.1 million tonnes a year of plastic waste into the environment.

A first-of-its-kind comprehensive study published in *Environment International* in November examined inhalable microplastics in India. These are plastic particles smaller than 10 micrometres (µm). The researchers, led by Indian Institute of Science Education and Research Kolkata professor Gopala Krishna Darbha, monitored ambient concentrations at human breathing height (1.5 m) in five highly populated markets in Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, and Chennai.

Thus, the team estimated the average concentration of inhalable microplastics in all four cities to be 8.8 µg/m<sup>3</sup>.

This "means the average city resident is breathing in about 132 micrograms every single day", Dr. Darbha said. "This is a very high daily dose of pollution. The most critical factor is the size of these particles. They are so tiny that they can bypass our natural defences and penetrate deep into the lungs. This chronic exposure presents a serious, ongoing risk to public health."

Researchers, however, said that the greater danger is these plastic particles serving as Trojan horses that smuggle in toxic co-pollutants, including heavy metals like lead and cadmium and hormone-disrupting chemical compounds like diethyl phthalates. The



A smoggy winter morning, in Gurugram, on December 16, 2025. PPI

team found atmospheric lead levels to be highest in Kolkata, followed by Delhi.

The team members also found, reportedly for the first time, that the inhalable microplastics can also carry microbes, including harmful fungi like *Aspergillus fumigatus*, that contain antibiotic-resistance genes, meaning they could spread infections that don't respond to common antibiotics.

By comparing this information with major toxicology databases, the team found that breathing these contaminated plastic particles was associated with a higher risk of cancer, hormone-related diseases, breast problems, and respiratory illnesses.

#### Time and place

In all four cities, winter evenings had a mean inhalable microplastic concentration of 32.7 particles/m<sup>3</sup> while non-winter evenings averaged 18.8 particles/m<sup>3</sup>, reflecting a 74% seasonal increase during winter.

There was a significant inter-city variation as well: the data revealed that the residents of Delhi and Kolkata were exposed to high concentrations of inhalable microplastics – 14.18 µg/m<sup>3</sup> and 14.23 µg/m<sup>3</sup> respectively – whereas Mumbai (2.65 µg/m<sup>3</sup>) and Chennai (4 µg/m<sup>3</sup>) fared much better.

"The major factors here are meteorological conditions," Dr. Darbha said alluding to Mumbai and Chennai being coastal cities. "Second is urban population density, and the third is waste mismanagement."

"Zeroing in on the particles themselves, the researchers identified 11 kinds of plastics in the air, most of them coming



The most critical factor is the size of these particles. They are so tiny that they can bypass our natural defences and penetrate deep into the lungs. This chronic exposure presents a serious, ongoing risk to public health

**GOPALA KRISHNA DARBHA**  
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE EDUCATION AND RESEARCH KOLKATA

from places the researchers said people usually overlook.

"The particles were primarily less than 100 µm in size (56.2%), followed by 100-500 µm (24.7%) and over 500 µm (19.1%). Fragments were more common than filaments," the team wrote in its paper.

"Larger filament-shaped airborne microplastics typically ... originate from synthetic textiles or toy fillings. Smaller fragments, often secondary airborne microplastics, arising from packaging, tyre wear, household release, cosmetics, mini- and micro-industries, construction, [and] were more prevalent due to their small size and weathering, particularly in areas like Sealdah Market and Chandni Chowk."

#### Policy imperative

According to Dr. Darbha, the current air quality index may capture "a certain percentage of nanoplastics" but describes the existing evidence as "too preliminary" to correlate AQI values with inhalable microplastics. He did say workers such as traffic police and labourers are especially

vulnerable, since "tyre-wear particles seem to be more carcinogenic and may be a severe threat to their lungs. Policy reform is needed to protect such vulnerable groups."

The study also said the particles resist in the air due to low gravitational settling velocity.

"The government should ban single use plastic and many such polymers," he said, adding that cotton-based clothing is preferable to synthetics and that "recycled and refurbished polyester or reused fabrics ... are capable of releasing these tiny plastics."

He also said that uncontrolled waste disposal, improper waste segregation, and burning emitted poisonous gases and smaller particulate matter, some of which could piggyback on the inhalable microplastic particles into our lungs.

Overall Dr. Darbha said the study provides a new baseline for an emerging environmental crisis: "This is a starting point, and we are definitely looking forward to more results coming up in the country, to have more knowledge-sharing in the scientific community as well as among the common public to have more awareness."

Against the backdrop of the accumulating evidence of the persistence and harms of microplastic and nanoplastic pollution, the researchers also expressed hope that the Indian government would take serious measures regarding plastic disposal and worsening air quality.

(Neelanjana Rai is a freelance journalist who writes about indigenous communities, environment, science and health. [neelanjana189@gmail.com](mailto:neelanjana189@gmail.com))

#### THE GIST

Atmospheric pollution has traditionally been associated with criteria pollutants; they have now been joined by respirable contaminants fuelled by the annual production of 400 million metric tonnes of plastics, and the release of 52.1 million tonnes of plastic waste

Researchers found that inhalable microplastics can also carry microbes that contain antibiotic-resistance genes; these contaminated plastic particles were also found to be associated with a higher risk of cancer, hormone-related diseases, breast problems, and respiratory illnesses

In all four cities, winter evenings had a mean inhalable microplastic concentration of 32.7 particles/m<sup>3</sup> while non-winter evenings averaged 18.8 particles/m<sup>3</sup>. There was significant inter-city variation: Delhi and Kolkata fared much worse than Mumbai and Chennai

## Inhalable microplastics, a hidden toxin worsening the air in our cities

**श्वसन योग्य माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स, एक छिपा हुआ विष जो हमारे शहरों की हवा को और खराब कर रहा है**

- A study which researched the **threat posed by inhalable microplastics** has warned that they can also **smuggle in toxic co-pollutants**, including **heavy metals** such as **lead** and **cadmium**, and **hormone-disrupting chemical compounds** like **diethyl phthalates**; researchers found **atmospheric lead levels** to be **highest in Kolkata**, followed by **D** एक अध्ययन जिसने श्वसन योग्य माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स से उत्पन्न खतरे पर शोध किया है, उसने चेतावनी दी है कि ये विषैले सह-द्रव्यों को भी अपने साथ ले जा सकते हैं, जिनमें भारी धातुएँ जैसे सीसा (लेड) और



कैडमियम, तथा हार्मोन को बाधित करने वाले रासायनिक यौगिक जैसे डाइएथाइल फ्थैलेट्स शामिल हैं; शोधकर्ताओं ने पाया कि वायुमंडलीय सीसा स्तर कोलकाता में सबसे अधिक था, इसके बाद D

- On successive weekends in **November**, hundreds of **Delhi residents** gathered at **India Gate** holding placards that read, “**I miss breathing**” and “**right to live, not just survive**”.  
नवंबर के लगातार सप्ताहांतों में, सैकड़ों दिल्ली निवासी इंडिया गेट पर एकत्र हुए और “**I miss breathing**” तथा “**right to live, not just survive**” लिखी तख्तियाँ पकड़ीं।
- **Winter's onset** has once again plunged the **National Capital Region into dense smog**, with the **air quality index refusing to exit 'severe' (301–400) or 'very poor' (201–300) levels**.  
सर्दियों की शुरुआत ने एक बार फिर राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र को घने स्मॉग में डुबो दिया है, जहाँ वायु गुणवत्ता सूचकांक 'गंभीर' (301–400) या 'बहुत खराब' (201–300) स्तर से बाहर निकलने से इनकार कर रहा है।
- Even now, **regulators** are scrambling to enforce **graded action plans** to mitigate the concentration of **PM2.5** and **PM10** particles in the air.  
अब भी, **नियामक संस्थाएँ** हवा में **PM2.5** और **PM10** कणों की सांद्रता को कम करने के लिए **ग्रेडेड एक्शन प्लान** लागू करने में जुटी हुई हैं।
- Into this **toxic mix**, new research has introduced a previously overlooked problem known as **inhalable microplastics**.  
इस **विषाक्त मिश्रण** में, नए शोध ने पहले उपेक्षित समस्या **इनहेलेबल माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स** को सामने रखा है।
- According to **scientists**, they pose a direct and **alarming risk to human health**.  
**वैज्ञानिकों** के अनुसार, ये **मानव स्वास्थ्य** के लिए सीधा और **चिंताजनक खतरा** पैदा करते हैं।
- **Atmospheric pollution** has traditionally been associated with the so-called **criteria pollutants**; aside from the two size-wise groups of **particulate matter**, these include **carbon monoxide, lead, sulphur oxides, nitrogen oxides, and ozone**.  
परंपरागत रूप से **वायुमंडलीय प्रदूषण** को तथाकथित **मानक प्रदूषकों** से जोड़ा गया है; **कणीय पदार्थ** के दो आकार-आधारित समूहों के अलावा, इनमें **कार्बन मोनोऑक्साइड, सीसा, सल्फर ऑक्साइड, नाइट्रोजन ऑक्साइड, और ओज़ोन** शामिल हैं।
- Of late, however, they've been joined by **respirable emerging contaminants** — including **inhalable microplastics** — fuelled in no small part by the production of **400 million metric tonnes of plastics every year**.  
हाल के समय में, इनके साथ **श्वसनीय उभरते प्रदूषक** भी जुड़ गए हैं — जिनमें **इनहेलेबल माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स** शामिल हैं — जिन्हें काफी हद तक हर वर्ष **400 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन प्लास्टिक** के उत्पादन से बढ़ावा मिल रहा है।
- The **world also releases 52.1 million tonnes a year of plastic waste** into the environment.  
दुनिया हर साल पर्यावरण में **52.1 मिलियन टन प्लास्टिक कचरा** भी छोड़ती है।
- A **first-of-its-kind comprehensive study** published in **Environment International** in **November** examined **inhalable microplastics** in **India**.  
नवंबर में **Environment International** में प्रकाशित एक **पहले-प्रकार का व्यापक अध्ययन** भारत में **इनहेलेबल माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स** की जांच करता है।
- **These are plastic particles smaller than 10 micrometres (µm)**.  
ये **10 माइक्रोमीटर (µm)** से छोटे प्लास्टिक कण होते हैं।
- The researchers, led by **Indian Institute of Science Education and Research Kolkata** professor **Gopala Krishna Darbha**, monitored ambient concentrations at **human breathing height (1.5 m)** in **five highly populated markets in Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, and Chennai**.  
**भारतीय विज्ञान शिक्षा एवं अनुसंधान संस्थान, कोलकाता** के प्रोफेसर **गोपाल कृष्ण दर्भा** के नेतृत्व में शोधकर्ताओं ने **दिल्ली, मुंबई, कोलकाता और चेन्नई** के **पाँच अत्यधिक भीड़भाड़ वाले बाज़ारों** में **मानव श्वसन ऊँचाई (1.5 मीटर)** पर परिवेशीय सांद्रता की निगरानी की।
- Thus, the team estimated the **average concentration of inhalable microplastics in all four cities to be 8.8 µg/m³**.  
इस प्रकार, टीम ने चारों शहरों में **इनहेलेबल माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स की औसत सांद्रता 8.8 µg/m³** आंकी।
- This “**means the average city resident is breathing in about 132 micrograms every single day**,” **Dr. Darbha** said.  
**डॉ. दर्भा** ने कहा, “इसका मतलब है कि एक औसत शहरी निवासी हर दिन लगभग **132 माइक्रोग्राम** सांस के साथ अंदर ले रहा है।”
- “This is a **very high daily dose of pollution**. The most critical factor is the **size of these particles**. They are so tiny that they can bypass our **natural defenses** and penetrate deep into the **lungs**. This **chronic exposure** presents a serious, ongoing risk to **public health**.”



“यह प्रदूषण की बहुत अधिक दैनिक मात्रा है। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण कारक इन कणों का आकार है। ये इतने सूक्ष्म हैं कि हमारी प्राकृतिक सुरक्षा को पार कर फेफड़ों में गहराई तक प्रवेश कर सकते हैं। यह दीर्घकालिक संपर्क जनस्वास्थ्य के लिए एक गंभीर और निरंतर खतरा प्रस्तुत करता है।”

- Researchers, however, said that the **greater danger** is these plastic particles serving as **Trojan horses** that smuggle in **toxic co-pollutants**, including **heavy metals** like **lead** and **cadmium** and **hormone-disrupting chemical compounds** like **diethyl phthalates**.  
हालाँकि, शोधकर्ताओं ने कहा कि अधिक बड़ा खतरा यह है कि ये प्लास्टिक कण ट्रोजन हॉर्स की तरह काम करते हैं और विषैले सह-प्रदूषकों को अंदर ले जाते हैं, जिनमें सीसा और कैडमियम जैसे भारी धातु तथा डाइएथाइल फ्थैलेट्स जैसे हार्मोन-विघटनकारी रासायनिक यौगिक शामिल हैं।
- The team found **atmospheric lead levels** to be highest in **Kolkata**, followed by **Delhi**.  
टीम ने पाया कि वायुमंडलीय सीसा स्तर कोलकाता में सबसे अधिक था, इसके बाद दिल्ली का स्थान रहा।
- The team members also found, reportedly for the **first time**, that the **inhalable microplastics** can also carry **microbes**, including harmful fungi like **Aspergillus fumigatus**, that contain **antibiotic-resistance genes**, meaning they could spread infections that don't respond to **common antibiotics**.  
टीम के सदस्यों ने कथित तौर पर पहली बार यह भी पाया कि इनहेलेबल माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स सूक्ष्मजीवों को भी ढो सकते हैं, जिनमें **Aspergillus fumigatus** जैसे हानिकारक फंगस शामिल हैं, जिनमें एंटीबायोटिक-प्रतिरोधी जीन होते हैं, अर्थात वे ऐसे संक्रमण फैला सकते हैं जो सामान्य एंटीबायोटिक्स पर प्रतिक्रिया नहीं करते।
- By comparing this information with major **toxicology databases**, the team found that breathing these **contaminated plastic particles** was associated with a **higher risk of cancer, hormone-related diseases, breast problems, and respiratory illnesses**.  
इस जानकारी की तुलना प्रमुख टॉक्सिकोलॉजी डेटाबेस से करने पर टीम ने पाया कि इन दूषित प्लास्टिक कणों को सांस के साथ लेना कैंसर, हार्मोन-संबंधी रोगों, स्तन समस्याओं, और श्वसन रोगों के अधिक जोखिम से जुड़ा हुआ है।
- On successive weekends in **November**, hundreds of **Delhi residents** gathered at **India Gate** holding placards that read, “**I miss breathing**” and “**right to live, not just survive**”.  
नवंबर के लगातार सप्ताहांतों में, सैकड़ों दिल्ली निवासी इंडिया गेट पर एकत्र हुए और “I miss breathing” तथा “right to live, not just survive” लिखी तख्तियाँ पकड़ीं।
- **Winter's onset** has once again plunged the **National Capital Region** into **dense smog**, with the **air quality index** refusing to exit **'severe'** (301–400) or **'very poor'** (201–300) levels.  
सर्दियों की शुरुआत ने एक बार फिर राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र को घने स्मॉग में डुबो दिया है, जहाँ वायु गुणवत्ता सूचकांक 'गंभीर' (301–400) या 'बहुत खराब' (201–300) स्तर से बाहर निकलने से इनकार कर रहा है।
- Even now, **regulators** are scrambling to enforce **graded action plans** to mitigate the concentration of **PM2.5** and **PM10** particles in the air.  
अब भी, नियामक संस्थाएँ हवा में **PM2.5** और **PM10** कणों की सांद्रता को कम करने के लिए ग्रेडेड एक्शन प्लान लागू करने में जुटी हुई हैं।
- Into this **toxic mix**, new research has introduced a previously overlooked problem known as **inhalable microplastics**.  
इस विषाक्त मिश्रण में, नए शोध ने पहले उपेक्षित समस्या इनहेलेबल माइक्रोप्लास्टिक्स को सामने रखा है।
- According to **scientists**, they pose a direct and **alarming risk** to **human health**.  
वैज्ञानिकों के अनुसार, ये मानव स्वास्थ्य के लिए सीधा और चिंताजनक खतरा पैदा करते हैं।
- **Atmospheric pollution** has traditionally been associated with the so-called **criteria pollutants**; aside from the two size-wise groups of **particulate matter**, these include **carbon**



monoxide, lead, sulphur oxides, nitrogen oxides, and ozone.

## Wisdom teeth: evolutionary relic

GS III: S&T  
Vasudevan Mukundh



**Q: Why do we have wisdom teeth?**

**A:** The wisdom teeth are the third molars that sit at the very back of the jaw. They usually start forming in the teens and

try to erupt in the late teens to the mid-20s, hence the name "wisdom". We have wisdom teeth because of our ancestors, whose lives demanded more chewing to get through. For most stretches of their evolution, humans' diets were tougher and grittier, including uncooked plants, fibrous roots, meat unsoftened by modern tools, and nuts and seeds. So chewing them led to more cavities and cracks (relative to today) and wore teeth down faster. Having an 'extra set' of grinding teeth could help adult humans keep eating well into midlife before experiencing discomfort.

These human ancestors also tended to have larger jaws. Over thousands of years, however, human diets and technologies changed and cooking and other forms of processing foods reduced the daily chewing load.

At the same time, the average jaw size declined in many populations, leaving less room at the back for the third molars to erupt cleanly. This is an example of 'evolutionary mismatch', where our genes build teeth suited to older diets but our modern jaws and foods don't match those conditions.



Having an 'extra set' of grinding teeth could help adult humans keep eating well into midlife before experiencing discomfort. ENIS YAVUZ/UNSPLASH

The wisdom teeth are the last adult teeth to erupt, so they compete for space after the jaw has already settled. Sometimes they emerge at awkward angles, if they emerge at all, and require dental care if they become a source of discomfort.

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किया गया मांस, तथा मेवे और बीज शामिल थे।

- So chewing them led to more **cavities** and **cracks** (relative to today) and wore teeth down **faster**.  
इसलिए इन्हें चबाने से (आज की तुलना में) अधिक **कैविटी** और **दरारें** पड़ती थीं और **दाँत तेज़ी से घिसते** थे।
- Having an '**extra set**' of **grinding teeth** could help adult humans keep eating well into **midlife** before experiencing discomfort.  
**पीसने वाले दाँतों** का एक '**अतिरिक्त सेट**' वयस्क मनुष्यों को **मध्य आयु** तक बिना असुविधा के भोजन करते रहने में मदद कर सकता था।
- These human ancestors also tended to have **larger jaws**.  
इन मानव पूर्वजों के **जबड़े बड़े** हुआ करते थे।
- Over **thousands of years**, however, human diets and **technologies** changed and **cooking** and other forms of **processing foods** reduced the daily **chewing load**.  
हालाँकि, **हज़ारों वर्षों** में मानव आहार और **प्रौद्योगिकियाँ** बदलीं और **पकाने** व भोजन के अन्य **प्रसंस्करण** तरीकों ने दैनिक **चबाने के बोझ** को कम कर दिया।
- At the same time, the **average jaw size** declined in many populations, leaving **less room** at the back for the **third molars** to erupt cleanly.  
इसी समय, कई आबादियों में **औसत जबड़े का आकार** घट गया, जिससे पीछे की ओर **तीसरी दाढ़** के सही तरीके से निकलने के लिए **कम जगह** बची।
- This is an example of '**evolutionary mismatch**', where our **genes** build teeth suited to **older diets** but our **modern jaws and foods** don't match those conditions.  
यह '**विकासवादी असंतुलन**' का उदाहरण है, जहाँ हमारे **जीन** पुराने **आहार** के अनुकूल दाँत बनाते हैं, लेकिन हमारे **आधुनिक जबड़े और भोजन** उन परिस्थितियों से मेल नहीं खाते।
- The **wisdom teeth** are the **last adult teeth** to erupt, so they **compete for space** after the jaw has already **settled**.

### Why do we have wisdom teeth?

हमें अक्ल दाढ़ क्यों होती है?

- The **wisdom teeth** are the **third molars** that sit at the very back of the **jaw**.  
**अक्ल दाढ़ तीसरी दाढ़** होती हैं जो **जबड़े** के बिल्कुल पीछे स्थित होती हैं।
- They usually start forming in the **teens** and try to erupt in the **late teens to the mid-20s**, hence the name "**wisdom**".  
ये आमतौर पर **किशोरावस्था** में बनना शुरू होती हैं और **लेट टीनएज से मिड-20s** के बीच निकलने की कोशिश करती हैं, इसी कारण इन्हें "**wisdom**" कहा जाता है।
- We have wisdom teeth because of our **ancestors**, whose lives demanded more **chewing** to get through.  
हमारे पास अक्ल दाढ़ हमारे **पूर्वजों** की वजह से हैं, जिनके जीवन में अधिक **चबाने** की आवश्यकता होती थी।
- For most stretches of their **evolution**, humans' diets were tougher and **grittier**, including **uncooked plants**, **fibrous roots**, **meat unsoftened by modern tools**, and **nuts and seeds**.  
अपने अधिकांश **विकासक्रम** के दौरान, मनुष्यों का आहार अधिक कठोर और **खुरदुरा** था, जिसमें **कच्चे पौधे**, **रेशदार जड़ें**, **आधुनिक औज़ारों से नरम न**



अकल दाढ़ वयस्क अवस्था में निकलने वाले अंतिम दाँत होते हैं, इसलिए जब जबड़ा पहले ही स्थिर हो चुका होता है तब वे जगह के लिए प्रतिस्पर्धा करते हैं।

- Sometimes they emerge at **awkward angles**, if they emerge at all, and require **dental care** if they become a source of **discomfort**.

कभी-कभी ये **असहज कोणों** पर निकलती हैं, यदि निकलें तो, और यदि **असुविधा** का कारण बनें तो **दंत उपचार** की आवश्यकता होती है।



**3D printing**  
Under the Nutri3D project, scientists in Italy's public research agency are developing sweet snacks with lab-grown plant cells and fruit residues, producing a material that a 3D printer can then process into 'pastries' with high nutritional content. REUTERS

Under the **Nutri3D project**, scientists in Italy's public research agency are **developing sweet snacks with lab-grown plant cells and fruit residues**, producing a material that a 3D printer can then process into 'pastries' with high nutritional content.



GS III: S&T MQB

## Stepping stone

India's nuclear governance needs regulatory independence

**N**uclear power contributed only around 3% of the electricity generated in India in 2024-25. The government has set a target to install 100 GW of nuclear capacity by 2047, including from at least five indigenous small modular reactors by 2033. In this picture, the SHANTI Bill proposes to change who can legally build and operate civil nuclear facilities. By allowing the Centre to permit nuclear energy activities through licences to government entities, joint ventures and "any other company" (subject to conditions), SHANTI indicates that the intended new class of operators is domestic private capital rather than foreign plant owners. India being able to meet its 100 GW target will indeed require large capital mobilisation, and allowing licensed non-government entities expands the roster of entities that can share the construction risk. SHANTI also seeks to keep the most sensitive fuel cycles in state control while holding room for private participation in plant delivery and parts of the supply chain, reducing scope of commercial entry to those segments most relevant to scale power generation and keeping functions sensitive to nuclear proliferation with the state. The Bill could also mitigate the legal ambiguity new entrants face by putting safety, enforcement and dispute resolution and the terms of participation in the same statute. This could also reduce transaction costs for developers and shrink site approval and commissioning timelines.

However, the Bill's liability and governance provisions warrant caution. The maximum operator liability for a nuclear incident is ₹3,000 crore. The Centre is liable for nuclear damage beyond the operator's cap and can also assume full liability for a non-government installation if in the public interest. These choices make investment risk easier to price but also ask whether the capped operator amount is adequate for victims and for environmental remediation. Second, SHANTI requires operators to maintain insurance or other financial security, but exempts the Centre's nuclear installations, rendering clear public accounting very important. It also allows operator recourse only when expressly provided in a written contract or when an incident is due to an act or an omission with the intent to cause nuclear damage. This makes supplier accountability depend largely on what the operator secures by contract, which means how much recourse the operator has against suppliers can vary across projects. Finally, India's nuclear governance needs to address its regulator's independence. While SHANTI creates a statutory framework, it also vests significant influence in appointments with the Centre and the Atomic Energy Commission. This is still not conducive to increasing public trust and may also deter investor confidence.

रखना चाहता है, साथ ही प्लांट डिलीवरी और आपूर्ति श्रृंखला के कुछ हिस्सों में निजी भागीदारी की गुंजाइश देता है, जिससे वाणिज्यिक प्रवेश को बड़े पैमाने पर बिजली उत्पादन से जुड़े क्षेत्रों तक सीमित रखा जा सके और परमाणु प्रसार से जुड़े कार्य राज्य के पास रहें।

- The Bill could also mitigate the legal ambiguity new entrants face by putting safety, enforcement, dispute resolution and the terms of participation in the same statute.

## Stepping stone स्टेपिंग स्टोन

• India's nuclear governance needs regulatory independence

भारत की परमाणु शासन व्यवस्था को नियामक स्वतंत्रता की आवश्यकता है

## Nuclear power and SHANTI Bill

परमाणु ऊर्जा और शांति (SHANTI) विधेयक

• Nuclear power contributed only around 3% of the electricity generated in India in 2024-25.

2024-25 में भारत में उत्पादित बिजली में परमाणु ऊर्जा का योगदान केवल लगभग 3% था।

• The government has set a target to install 100 GW of nuclear capacity by 2047, including from at least five indigenous small modular reactors by 2033.

सरकार ने 2047 तक 100 GW परमाणु क्षमता स्थापित करने का लक्ष्य रखा है, जिसमें 2033 तक कम से कम पाँच स्वदेशी स्मॉल मॉड्यूलर रिएक्टर शामिल हैं।

• In this picture, the SHANTI Bill proposes to change who can legally build and operate civil nuclear facilities.

इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में, SHANTI विधेयक यह बदलने का प्रस्ताव करता है कि नागरिक परमाणु सुविधाओं का कानूनी रूप से निर्माण और संचालन कौन कर सकता है।

• By allowing the Centre to permit nuclear energy activities through licences to government entities, joint ventures and "any other company" (subject to conditions), SHANTI indicates that the intended new class of operators is domestic private capital rather than foreign plant owners.

केंद्र को सरकारी संस्थाओं, संयुक्त उपक्रमों और "किसी अन्य कंपनी" (शर्तों के अधीन) को लाइसेंस देकर परमाणु ऊर्जा गतिविधियों की अनुमति देने से, SHANTI यह संकेत देता है कि नए संचालकों का लक्षित वर्ग विदेशी संयंत्र मालिकों के बजाय घरेलू निजी पूंजी है।

• India being able to meet its 100 GW target will indeed require large capital mobilisation, and allowing licensed non-government entities expands the roster of entities that can share the construction risk.

भारत का 100 GW लक्ष्य प्राप्त करना वास्तव में बड़े पूंजी संग्रह की मांग करेगा, और लाइसेंस प्राप्त गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं को अनुमति देने से निर्माण जोखिम साझा करने वाली इकाइयों का दायरा बढ़ता है।

• SHANTI also seeks to keep the most sensitive fuel cycles in state control while holding room for private participation in plant delivery and parts of the supply chain, reducing scope of commercial entry to those segments most relevant to scale power generation and keeping functions sensitive to nuclear proliferation with the state.

SHANTI सबसे संवेदनशील ईंधन चक्रों को राज्य नियंत्रण में बनाए

रखना चाहता है, साथ ही प्लांट डिलीवरी और आपूर्ति श्रृंखला के कुछ हिस्सों में निजी भागीदारी की गुंजाइश देता है, जिससे वाणिज्यिक प्रवेश को बड़े पैमाने पर बिजली उत्पादन से जुड़े क्षेत्रों तक सीमित रखा जा सके और परमाणु प्रसार से जुड़े कार्य राज्य के पास रहें।

- The Bill could also mitigate the legal ambiguity new entrants face by putting safety, enforcement, dispute resolution and the terms of participation in the same statute.



यह विधेयक सुरक्षा, प्रवर्तन, विवाद निवारण और भागीदारी की शर्तों को एक ही कानून में शामिल कर नए प्रवेशकों के सामने मौजूद कानूनी अस्पष्टता को भी कम कर सकता है।

- This could also reduce **transaction costs** for developers and shrink **site approval and commissioning timelines**.  
इससे डेवलपर्स के लिए लेन-देन लागत कम हो सकती है और साइट अनुमोदन तथा कमीशनिंग समय-सीमा भी घट सकती है।
- However, the Bill's **liability and governance provisions** warrant **caution**.  
हालाँकि, विधेयक के दायित्व और शासन प्रावधान सावधानी की माँग करते हैं।
- The **maximum operator liability for a nuclear incident is ₹3,000 crore**.  
किसी परमाणु दुर्घटना के लिए अधिकतम संचालक दायित्व ₹3,000 करोड़ है।
- The **Centre is liable for nuclear damage beyond the operator's cap and can also assume full liability for a non-government installation if in the public interest**.  
केंद्र संचालक की सीमा से परे परमाणु क्षति के लिए उत्तरदायी है और सार्वजनिक हित में गैर-सरकारी स्थापना के लिए पूर्ण दायित्व भी ले सकता है।
- These choices make **investment risk** easier to price but also ask whether the capped operator amount is adequate for **victims** and for **environmental remediation**.  
ये विकल्प निवेश जोखिम का आकलन आसान बनाते हैं, लेकिन यह सवाल भी उठाते हैं कि सीमित संचालक राशि पीड़ितों और पर्यावरणीय पुनर्स्थापन के लिए पर्याप्त है या नहीं।
- Second, **SHANTI requires operators to maintain insurance or other financial security, but exempts the Centre's nuclear installations, rendering clear public accounting** very important.  
दूसरे, SHANTI संचालकों से बीमा या अन्य वित्तीय सुरक्षा बनाए रखने की माँग करता है, लेकिन केंद्र की परमाणु स्थापनाओं को इससे मुक्त करता है, जिससे स्पष्ट सार्वजनिक लेखांकन अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण हो जाता है।
- It also allows **operator recourse** only when expressly provided in a **written contract** or when an incident is due to an **act or an omission with intent** to cause nuclear damage.  
यह संचालक प्रतिकर की अनुमति केवल तब देता है जब लिखित अनुबंध में स्पष्ट प्रावधान हो या जब घटना जानबूझकर किए गए कृत्य या चूक के कारण हुई हो।
- This makes **supplier accountability** depend largely on what the operator secures by **contract**, which means how much recourse the operator has against suppliers can vary across **projects**.  
इससे आपूर्तिकर्ता जवाबदेही काफी हद तक इस पर निर्भर हो जाती है कि संचालक अनुबंध के माध्यम से क्या सुनिश्चित करता है, यानी आपूर्तिकर्ताओं के खिलाफ प्रतिकर परियोजना-दर-परियोजना अलग-अलग हो सकता है।
- Finally, India's **nuclear governance** needs to address its **regulator's independence**.  
अंततः, भारत के परमाणु शासन को अपने नियामक की स्वतंत्रता के मुद्दे को संबोधित करने की आवश्यकता है।
- While **SHANTI creates a statutory framework**, it also vests significant **influence in appointments with the Centre and the Atomic Energy Commission**.  
हालाँकि SHANTI एक वैधानिक ढांचा बनाता है, यह केंद्र और परमाणु ऊर्जा आयोग को नियुक्तियों में महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव भी प्रदान करता है।
- This is still not conducive to increasing **public trust** and may also deter **investor confidence**.  
यह स्थिति अभी भी सार्वजनिक विश्वास बढ़ाने के अनुकूल नहीं है और निवेशक विश्वास को भी हतोत्साहित कर सकती है।



# WhatsApp SIM binding order may not meaningfully reduce cyberfraud: IAMAI

GS III: S&T

**Aroon Deep**  
NEW DELHI

Ordering WhatsApp to “bind” user accounts to a SIM card in their phones may not “meaningfully reduce cyber fraud,” while causing “hurdles to the modern communication habits such as use of international numbers during travel [or] secondary devices” like laptops, the Internet and Mobile Association of India (IAMAI) said in a letter to Communications Minister Jyotiraditya Scindia.

The Department of Telecommunications ordered WhatsApp and other messaging apps last month to ensure that the messaging



platform stops working if a user takes out their SIM card. While the DoT was compelled to backtrack on another direction issued by the same division, the AI and Digital Intelligence Unit – requiring smartphone makers to install the Sanchar Saathi app on devices sold in India – this “SIM binding” order has remained, with some pushback from WhatsApp.

IAMAI represents Big Tech firms including Meta, which owns WhatsApp.

IAMAI argued that the DoT does not have the statutory power to order firms like WhatsApp to comply with orders like this. “Over-the-top (OTT) services are not within the scope of the Telecommunications Act, 2023,” the letter said, referring to apps that work online without owning telecom hardware and airwaves. “This limited scope was further outlined by the former Minister of Communications, Shri Ashwini Vaishnaw, who stated that “OTT has been regulated by the IT Act of 2000 and continues to be regulated by the IT Act. There is no

coverage of OTT in the new telecom bill passed by the Parliament”.

The DoT order also requires WhatsApp to log out users on WhatsApp Web after six hours. There is no fixed timeout for WhatsApp Web sessions. Making this change “will adversely impact many business owners and MSMEs rely on web-based messaging applications throughout the workday to coordinate with customers, suppliers, and internal teams,” IAMAI argued.

What’s more, IAMAI said, these directions may not achieve their goal of reducing cybercrime, while causing widespread inconvenience.

## WhatsApp SIM binding order may not meaningfully reduce cyberfraud: IAMAI व्हाट्सऐप सिम बाइंडिंग आदेश साइबर धोखाधड़ी को सार्थक रूप से कम नहीं कर सकता: IAMAI

- Ordering WhatsApp to “bind” user accounts to a SIM card in their phones may not “meaningfully reduce cyber fraud,” while causing “hurdles to the modern communication habits such as use of international numbers during travel [or] secondary devices” like laptops, the Internet and Mobile Association of India (IAMAI) said in a letter to Communications Minister Jyotiraditya Scindia.  
व्हाट्सऐप को फोन में सिम कार्ड से उपयोगकर्ता खातों को “बाइंड” करने का आदेश “साइबर धोखाधड़ी को सार्थक रूप से कम” नहीं कर सकता, बल्कि यात्रा के दौरान अंतरराष्ट्रीय नंबरों के उपयोग या लैपटॉप जैसे द्वितीयक उपकरणों जैसी आधुनिक संचार आदतों में बाधाएँ पैदा करेगा, इंटरनेट एंड मोबाइल एसोसिएशन ऑफ इंडिया (IAMAI) ने संचार मंत्री ज्योतिरादित्य सिंधिया को लिखे पत्र में कहा।
- The Department of Telecommunications ordered WhatsApp and other messaging apps last month to ensure that the messaging platform stops working if a user takes out their SIM card.  
दूरसंचार विभाग ने पिछले महीने व्हाट्सऐप और अन्य मैसेजिंग ऐप्स को यह सुनिश्चित करने का आदेश दिया कि यदि कोई उपयोगकर्ता अपना सिम कार्ड निकाल ले तो मैसेजिंग प्लेटफॉर्म काम करना बंद कर दे।
- While the DoT was compelled to backtrack on another direction issued by the same division, the AI and Digital Intelligence Unit — requiring smartphone makers to install the Sanchar Saathi app on devices sold in India — this “SIM binding” order has remained, with some pushback from WhatsApp.
- IAMAI ने तर्क दिया कि DoT के पास व्हाट्सऐप जैसी कंपनियों को ऐसे आदेशों का पालन कराने की वैधानिक शक्ति नहीं है।
- “Over-the-top (OTT) services are not within the scope of the Telecommunications Act, 2023,” the letter said, referring to apps that work online without owning telecom hardware and airwaves.
- “OTT has been regulated by the IT Act of 2000 and continues to be regulated by the IT Act. There is no coverage of OTT in the new telecom bill passed by the Parliament”.



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**CONTACT:** 9971932488



“इस सीमित दायरे को पूर्व संचार मंत्री श्री अश्विनी वैष्णव ने और स्पष्ट किया, जिन्होंने कहा कि “OTT को 2000 के आईटी अधिनियम द्वारा विनियमित किया गया है और यह आईटी अधिनियम द्वारा ही विनियमित रहता है। संसद द्वारा पारित नए दूरसंचार विधेयक में OTT का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।”

- The DoT order also requires WhatsApp to log out users on WhatsApp Web after six hours.

<b>GS Paper III: Environment,</b>	
<b>TOPICS COVERED</b>	<b>17_12_2025</b>
1.	<b>Study affirms Kerala's rich butterfly diversity in the Western Ghats region</b> अध्ययन ने पश्चिमी घाट क्षेत्र में केरल की समृद्ध तितली विविधता की पुष्टि की

PATRIOTIC IAS



# Study affirms Kerala's rich butterfly diversity in the Western Ghats region

**GS III: Environment**

**Sarath Babu George**

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

Kerala hosts the highest butterfly diversity among all Indian States along the Western Ghats, with 328 species documented, including 41 species endemic to the Western Ghats, according to a new monograph published in *ENTOMON*, an open access quarterly journal by the Association for Advancement of Entomology.

The researchers of the study 'The Butterflies (Lepidoptera, Rhopalocera) of Kerala: Status and Distribution' have reported that the Western Ghats support 337 butterfly species and Kerala accounts for nearly



Paris peacock swallowtail. DR. KALESH SADASIVAN

the entire diversity. The butterfly fauna of the State spans six families, led by Nymphalidae (97 species), Lycaenidae (96 species), and Hesperidae (82 species), followed by Papilionidae, Pieridae and Riodinidae.

The study, undertaken

by a team of researchers led by Kalesh Sadasivan, has also documented 36 migratory butterfly species to highlight the State's role as a key corridor for seasonal butterfly movements. Notably, 22 species recorded from Kerala are included in the IUCN Red List,

though most fall under the 'Least Concern' category, while two are listed as 'Near Threatened.'

The monograph highlights that 70 butterfly species found in Kerala are protected under the Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972. Of these, only four have the highest level of protection under Schedule I.

One of the most significant contributions of the work is the extensive larval host plant checklist which documents over 1,800 feeding records, including over 350 new field observations. Covering nearly 800 plant species, the list represents one of the largest region-specific compilations in India.

## Study affirms Kerala's rich butterfly diversity in the Western Ghats region अध्ययन ने पश्चिमी घाट क्षेत्र में केरल की समृद्ध तितली विविधता की पुष्टि की

- Kerala hosts the highest **butterfly diversity** among all Indian States along the **Western Ghats**, with **328 species** documented, including **41 species endemic to the Western Ghats**, according to a new **monograph** published in **ENTOMON**, an **open access quarterly journal** by the **Association for Advancement of Entomology**.
- The **butterfly fauna of the State** spans **six families**, led by **Nymphalidae (97 species)**, **Lycaenidae (96 species)**, and **Hesperidae (82 species)**, followed by **Papilionidae, Pieridae and Riodinidae**.  
राज्य की तितली जीव-जंतुओं की विविधता छह कुलों में फैली हुई है, जिनमें निम्फालिडे (97 प्रजातियाँ), लाइकेनिडे (96 प्रजातियाँ) और हेस्पेरिडे (82 प्रजातियाँ) प्रमुख हैं, इसके बाद पैपिलियोनिडे, पिएरिडे और रियोडिनिडे आते हैं।
- The study, undertaken by a team of researchers led by **Kalesh Sadasivan**, has also documented **36 migratory butterfly species** to highlight the State's role as a key corridor for **seasonal butterfly movements**.  
कलेश सदाशिवन के नेतृत्व में शोधकर्ताओं की एक टीम द्वारा किए गए इस अध्ययन में **36 प्रवासी तितली प्रजातियों** का भी दस्तावेजीकरण किया गया है, जो **मौसमी तितली आवागमन** के लिए राज्य की एक महत्वपूर्ण गलियारे के रूप में भूमिका को दर्शाता है।
- Notably, **22 species** recorded from Kerala are included in the **IUCN Red List**, though most fall under the **'Least Concern'** category, while **two** are listed as **'Near Threatened'**.  
उल्लेखनीय रूप से, केरल से दर्ज की गई **22 प्रजातियाँ IUCN रेड लिस्ट** में शामिल हैं, जिनमें से अधिकांश **'Least Concern'** श्रेणी में हैं, जबकि **दो** को **'Near Threatened'** के रूप में सूचीबद्ध किया गया है।
- The monograph highlights that **70 butterfly species** found in Kerala are protected under the **Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972**.



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मोनोग्राफ में बताया गया है कि केरल में पाई जाने वाली 70 तितली प्रजातियाँ वन्यजीव (संरक्षण) अधिनियम, 1972 के तहत संरक्षित हैं।

- Of these, **only four** have the highest level of protection under **Schedule I**.

<b>GS Paper III: Environment,</b>	
<b>TOPICS COVERED</b>	<b>17_12_2025</b>
1.	<b>Indian Army receives final batch of Apache helicopters</b> भारतीय सेना को अपाचे हेलीकॉप्टरों की अंतिम खेप प्राप्त
2.	<b>The future of governance in post-Maoist India</b> माओवादोत्तर भारत में शासन का भविष्य

PATRIOTIC IAS



# Indian Army receives final batch of Apache helicopters

**GS III: Internal Security:**  
**Defence**

NEW DELHI

The Indian Army on Tuesday received the final batch of three AH-64E Apache attack helicopters, completing its six-unit fleet at the 451 Army Aviation Squadron based in Jodhpur, Rajasthan. The helicopters landed at the Air Force Station, Hindon, in Ghaziabad before being inducted into the service.

The Apaches were contracted in February 2020 under a \$600-million deal with the United States. The first batch of three helicopters was delivered earlier this year, and the arrival of the final batch will ensure full operationalisation of the Army's dedicated Apache squadron.

The six advanced attack helicopters will be stationed at Jodhpur. The squadron was raised in March last year to cater



**Taking flight:** The AH-64E Apache is regarded as the world's most advanced multi-role combat helicopter. AFP

specifically to operational requirements on the west-ern front.

The deliveries come against the backdrop of a telephonic conversation between Defence Minister Rajnath Singh and U.S. Defence Secretary Pete Hegseth in July this year, during which both sides reviewed ongoing and up-coming initiatives to strengthen bilateral defence cooperation. During the talks, the United States

had assured India of delivering the first batch of three Apaches within two weeks and the remaining three by November this year. The first batch was delivered after a delay of nearly 15 months from the original delivery schedule of May 2024, primarily due to global supply chain disruptions.

The AH-64E Apache is regarded as the world's most advanced multi-role combat helicopter.

## Indian Army receives final batch of Apache helicopters

### भारतीय सेना को अपाचे हेलीकॉप्टरों की अंतिम खेप प्राप्त

- The **Indian Army** on Tuesday received the **final batch of three AH-64E Apache attack helicopters**, completing its **six-unit fleet** at the **451 Army Aviation Squadron** based in **Jodhpur, Rajasthan**.
- The Apaches were contracted in **February 2020** under a **\$600-million deal** with the **United States**.
- The **AH-64E Apache** is regarded as the **world's most advanced multi-role combat helicopter**.

**AH-64E अपाचे को दुनिया का सबसे उन्नत बहु-भूमिका लड़ाकू हेलीकॉप्टर माना जाता है।**



# The future of governance in post-Maoist India

India's Fifth Schedule areas became the hotbed of Maoist insurgencies due to administrative neglect, exacerbating discontent and a lack of representation of tribal groups in local bodies. Effective governance is crucial to address these issues and mitigate the ongoing challenges in these regions

## ISSUE IN BRIEF

### FULL CONTEXT

Niranjan Sahoo

A key element missing in the dominant discourse around the evolution and growth of the Maoist movement is governance. An overwhelming volume of empirical literature accounts the rapid growth of the Maoist movement in the 1990s and early 2000s to underdevelopment, and structural socio-economic issues. This is evident from the scores of official, non-official and scholarly articles which have attempted to study the "root causes" for insurgency in central and eastern India (popularly called the Red Corridor). These articles have argued for an accelerated development push to address the acute material needs of an impoverished population which includes many vulnerable tribes. As a result of these articulations, the Indian state has been relying on a "two-pronged" approach (combining security and development) to counter the Maoist threat.

This does not mean other factors such as governance, justice redressal and other issues have been completely neglected in the official discourse. On several occasions, policy makers and official reports have sought to bring attention to creating good governance frameworks and quicker justice redressal mechanisms to address the long-standing grievances of the affected population. But there has been little effort to understand the governance challenges that intensified the Maoist insurgency in different cycles.

### Unpacking challenges of governance

While the Maoist insurgency has evolved in different phases since the Naxalbari uprising (1967), the movement in its current avatar has largely been concentrated around the Fifth Schedule areas in central and eastern India – States with substantial tribal populations.

The Fifth Schedule was conceptualised and offered as a new social contract to the *adivasis* in these regions, by the framers of the Constitution, taking into account the special needs of the population. The Schedule provided a legal framework and instrumentality for governance of these tribal homelands. It offered special provisions such as the Tribal Advisory Council with three-fourth of members from the *adivasi* population and a special financial provision via the tribal sub-plan. Further, the Governor of each State was given discretionary powers to oversee the enforcement of these provisions, particularly with respect to checking land alienation.

However, extensive provisions notwithstanding, the local populations were subjected to the severest forms of discrimination and exploitation in their everyday life. As recorded in the Planning Commission's Expert Committee Report (2008), a vast region with abundant natural resources was reduced to penury due to state neglect and poor governance. That these special provisions were of little use is evident from tribal populations' persistently low social and economic status compared to other social groups. The Oxford University Multidimensional Poverty Index in 2010 ranked the region worse than Sub-Saharan Africa. Yet, for tribal populations, the far bigger challenge was how to exercise their rights over the land and forests. Despite legal safeguards and constitutional protection against arbitrary land acquisition, millions of them were dispossessed to penury. In his seminal study, writer Walter Fernandes



Returning home: Maoists with copies of the Constitution of India, after they surrendered at the police lines in Jagdalpur in Chhattisgarh's Bastar district, on October 17, 2011.

found that "more tribes have lost their land since the commencement of economic liberalisation than any time in the post-independent history".

Thus, while the Constitution makers imagined a new lease of life for the *adivasis* under the Fifth Schedule, successive governments failed to bring up appropriate governance structures to transform this lofty vision into reality. The same colonial structures and administrative forms, rules of business, and justice system were retained for Scheduled Areas, which made tribal groups, with very low literacy, barely able to understand these rules and the modern justice system.

### A lack of representation

What deepened the alienation was the complete absence of locals in the administrative units implementing provisions enumerated in the Fifth Schedule. B.D. Sharma, the then commissioner of the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes Commission, succinctly put that "the personnel who are overwhelmingly outsiders carried their attitudes, bias and lived experiences while performing day to day tasks". Importantly, apex bodies such as a separate Ministry of Tribal Welfare, and the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes created to oversee the execution of special provisions for the tribal population, as vividly observed by the Mungekar Committee (2009), did very little to stop the exploitation.

Moreover, while the Governors are constitutionally assigned to protect the interests of *adivasis* in Schedule areas, not a single Governor has acted since Independence in these regions. These institutions have been further

handicapped by weak and ineffective service delivery institutions such as health, education, revenue, police, and the judiciary.

The lone exception was the Panchayat Extension to Schedule Areas Act (PESA), 1996. PESA was enacted to address *adivasi* underrepresentation and alienation in the form of "self-governance". These democratic forums were envisioned to create space for *adivasis* to take their own decisions on welfare issues, land, natural resources, livelihood and preservation of culture and their way of life. While PESA made some substantial changes by improving political representation at the lower level of governance, key provisions were routinely violated. The Expert Committee Report (2008) found flagrant violations of PESA by the appointed officials. One of the most abused provisions has been with regards to land acquisition.

To sum up, governance maladies and relatively low political priority accorded to the Fifth Schedule in many ways created a fertile ground for the Maoist leadership to mobilise the aggrieved *adivasi* population against the Indian state. The growing governance deficits which directly impacted development, welfare functions and mitigation of local grievances created an opportunity for the Maoists to spread their ideologies of a people's government (*Janant Sarkar*). There is a rich body of evidence that indisputably credits tribal frustrations, anger and low trust in governance institutions as the reasons that drove many *adivasis* to support Maoist ideology and revolutionary missions. Many relied on the Maoist movement as some sort of instrument to get justice from state agencies such as the police, forest and

## THE GIST

While the Maoist insurgency has evolved in different phases since the Naxalbari uprising (1967), the movement in its current avatar has largely been concentrated around the Fifth Schedule areas of central and eastern India – States with substantial tribal populations.

As recorded in the Planning Commission's Expert Committee Report (2008), a vast region with abundant natural resources was reduced to penury due to state neglect and poor governance.

Going forward, India must pay close attention to governance paradoxes that continue to plague most regions under the Fifth Schedule.

revenue departments (which they often viewed as corrupt and oppressive). For instance, the entire Dandakaranya region largely characterised by extreme underdevelopment and poor governance was captured by the underground Maoists in the 1990s with the promise of providing ownership to *adivasis* over lands, and the forest (under the broad slogan of *Jai, Jungle and Zameen*). Persistent governance and development deficits created a space for Maoists to run parallel governments (offering critical services such as paramedics, schools, food rations and speedy justice through kangaroo courts) in many of their strongholds.

### Need for a new imagination

Going forward, India must pay close attention to governance paradoxes that continue to plague most regions under the Fifth Schedule. In recent years, there has been visible improvement in key service functions, particularly with respect to welfare schemes and critical infrastructure (roads, electricity, telecom) in Maoist affected regions. Both the Centre and affected States have found ways to improve service delivery functions via digital technology and cash transfer. However, critical service delivery institutions such as justice, health, education, policing, and revenue functions remain thin and unsatisfactory. Persistent structural bottlenecks (under-representation of locals in the existing governance system have a significant bearing in their effectiveness.

On the other side, crucial rights-based legislations like the Forest Rights Act (FRA) and PESA need greater political push from the Centre as well affected States. The FRA which remains a key legal tool to protect the rights of *adivasi* and forest dwellers to access forest resources for their sustenance is battling for its survival today. While many core provisions have been violated by state institutions, there have also been amendments and judicial interventions in recent years which have diluted its original mandate and effectiveness. In addition, the enactment and expansion of the Compensatory Afforestation Fund (CAF) Act, 2016 has grossly diluted legal safeguards, apart from affecting the livelihoods of forest dwellers in India. Similarly, PESA despite initial promises faces growing resistance from the States concerned. Under pressure to unlock huge mineral deposits, most State governments in Fifth Schedule Areas have undermined the powers granted to Gram Sabhas under PESA, particularly on the issues of granting consent for mining/land acquisition. Incidentally, the most widespread violations of PESA has been in the most Maoist-affected State of Chhattisgarh.

Thus, going forward priorities must include the reversal of political and administrative under-representation of *adivasis*. While there are mandatory quotas at the local levels, considering these self-governing bodies lack real autonomy and financial power, representation remains largely performatory. The permanent bureaucracy (overwhelmingly non-tribal) still calls the shots, giving the persistent alienation and trust deficits among the local population, the post-Maoist Fifth Schedule Areas governance vision can benefit by borrowing some feathers from the Sixth Schedule Areas which are governed by Autonomous Districts/Zonal Councils. In short, post-Maoist India needs a new governance charter.

Niranjan Sahoo is Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation, Delhi.

## The future of governance in post-Maoist India

### माओवादी उत्तर भारत में शासन का भविष्य

- India's Fifth Schedule areas became the hotbed of Maoist insurgencies due to administrative neglect, exacerbating discontent and a lack of representation of tribal groups in local bodies.  
भारत के पाँचवीं अनुसूची क्षेत्र प्रशासनिक उपेक्षा के कारण माओवादी उग्रवाद का केंद्र बन गए, जिससे असंतोष बढ़ा और स्थानीय निकायों में जनजातीय समूहों के प्रतिनिधित्व की कमी और गहरी हुई।
- Effective governance is crucial to address these issues and mitigate the ongoing challenges in these regions.  
इन क्षेत्रों में इन मुद्दों का समाधान करने और चल रही चुनौतियों को कम करने के लिए प्रभावी शासन अत्यंत आवश्यक है।
- A key element missing in the dominant discourse around the evolution and growth of the Maoist movement is governance



माओवादी आंदोलन के विकास और विस्तार से जुड़ी प्रमुख बहस में शासन (Governance) एक महत्वपूर्ण अनुपस्थित तत्व रहा है।

- An overwhelming volume of **empirical literature** accounts the rapid growth of the Maoist movement in the **1990s and early 2000s to underdevelopment, and structural socio-economic issues**.  
अनुभवजन्य साहित्य का एक बड़ा हिस्सा 1990 के दशक और 2000 के शुरुआती वर्षों में माओवादी आंदोलन की तेज़ वृद्धि को अल्पविकास और संरचनात्मक सामाजिक-आर्थिक समस्याओं से जोड़ता है।
- This is evident from the scores of **official, non-official and scholarly articles** which have attempted to study the “**root causes**” for insurgency in **central and eastern India (Red Corridor)**.  
यह बात आधिकारिक, गैर-आधिकारिक और शैक्षणिक लेखों की बड़ी संख्या से स्पष्ट होती है, जिन्होंने मध्य और पूर्वी भारत (रेड कॉरिडोर) में विद्रोह के “मूल कारणों” का अध्ययन किया है।
- These articles have argued for an **accelerated development push** to address the **acute material needs** of an **impoverished population**, which includes many **vulnerable tribes**.  
इन लेखों ने गरीब आबादी, जिसमें कई संवेदनशील जनजातियाँ शामिल हैं, की तीव्र भौतिक आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए तेज़ विकास प्रयास की वकालत की है।
- As a result of these articulations, the Indian state has been relying on a “**two-pronged**” **approach** combining **security and development** to counter the Maoist threat.  
इन तर्कों के परिणामस्वरूप, भारतीय राज्य माओवादी खतरे से निपटने के लिए सुरक्षा और विकास को मिलाकर “दो-आयामी रणनीति” पर निर्भर रहा है।
- This does not mean other factors such as **governance, justice redressal and other issues** have been completely neglected in the official discourse.  
इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि शासन, न्याय निवारण और अन्य मुद्दों को आधिकारिक विमर्श में पूरी तरह नज़रअंदाज़ किया गया है।
- On several occasions, **policy makers and official reports** have sought to bring attention to creating **good governance frameworks and quicker justice redressal mechanisms** to address the **long-standing grievances** of the affected population.  
कई अवसरों पर नीति-निर्माताओं और आधिकारिक रिपोर्टों ने प्रभावित आबादी की दीर्घकालिक शिकायतों को दूर करने के लिए सुशासन ढाँचे और तेज़ न्याय निवारण तंत्र पर जोर दिया है।
- But there has been **little effort** to understand the **governance challenges** that **intensified the Maoist insurgency** in different cycles.  
लेकिन विभिन्न चरणों में माओवादी विद्रोह को तीव्र करने वाली शासन संबंधी चुनौतियों को समझने का बहुत कम प्रयास हुआ है।

### Unpacking challenges of governance शासन की चुनौतियों को समझना

- While the Maoist insurgency has evolved in **different phases since the Naxalbari uprising (1967)**, the movement in its **current avatar** has largely been concentrated around the **Fifth Schedule areas of central and eastern India** — States with **substantial tribal populations**.  
हालाँकि माओवादी विद्रोह नक्सलबाड़ी आंदोलन (1967) के बाद से विभिन्न चरणों में विकसित हुआ है, लेकिन इसका वर्तमान स्वरूप मुख्यतः मध्य और पूर्वी भारत के पाँचवीं अनुसूची क्षेत्रों में केंद्रित है — जहाँ आदिवासी आबादी बड़ी संख्या में है।
- The **Fifth Schedule** was conceptualised and offered as a **new social contract** to the **adivasis**, by the **framers of the Constitution**, taking into account the **special needs** of the population.  
पाँचवीं अनुसूची को संविधान निर्माताओं ने आदिवासियों के लिए उनकी विशेष आवश्यकताओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए एक नए सामाजिक अनुबंध के रूप में परिकल्पित किया था।
- The **Schedule provided a legal framework and instrumentality for the governance of tribal homelands**.  
इस अनुसूची ने आदिवासी क्षेत्रों के शासन के लिए एक कानूनी ढाँचा और साधन प्रदान किया।
- It offered **special provisions** such as the **Tribal Advisory Council**, with **three-fourth of members from the adivasi population**, and a **special financial provision** via the **tribal sub-plan**.



इसमें विशेष प्रावधान थे, जैसे जनजातीय सलाहकार परिषद, जिसमें तीन-चौथाई सदस्य आदिवासी समुदाय से होते हैं, और जनजातीय उप-योजना के माध्यम से विशेष वित्तीय प्रावधान।

- Further, the **Governor of each State was given discretionary powers to oversee the enforcement of these provisions, particularly with respect to checking land alienation.**  
इसके अतिरिक्त, प्रत्येक राज्य के राज्यपाल को इन प्रावधानों के कार्यान्वयन की निगरानी हेतु विवेकाधीन शक्तियाँ दी गईं, विशेषकर भूमि अलगाव (Land Alienation) को रोकने के संदर्भ में।
- However, **extensive provisions notwithstanding, the local populations were subjected to the severest forms of discrimination and exploitation in everyday life.**  
हालाँकि व्यापक प्रावधानों के बावजूद, स्थानीय आबादी को रोज़मर्रा के जीवन में सबसे गंभीर प्रकार के भेदभाव और शोषण का सामना करना पड़ा।
- As recorded in the **Planning Commission's Expert Committee Report (2008)**, a vast region with **abundant natural resources** was reduced to **penury** due to **state neglect and poor governance.**  
योजना आयोग की विशेषज्ञ समिति रिपोर्ट (2008) के अनुसार, प्रचुर प्राकृतिक संसाधनों वाला एक विशाल क्षेत्र राज्य की उपेक्षा और खराब शासन के कारण गरीबी में धकेल दिया गया।
- That these **special provisions** were of little use is evident from **tribal populations' persistently low social and economic status** compared to other social groups.  
इन विशेष प्रावधानों की सीमित उपयोगिता इस तथ्य से स्पष्ट है कि अन्य सामाजिक समूहों की तुलना में जनजातीय आबादी की सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्थिति लगातार निम्न बनी रही।
- The **Oxford University Multidimensional Poverty Index (2010)** ranked the region **worse than Sub-Saharan Africa.**  
ऑक्सफोर्ड विश्वविद्यालय के बहुआयामी गरीबी सूचकांक (2010) में इस क्षेत्र को सब-सहारा अफ्रीका से भी बदतर स्थान दिया गया।
- Yet, for **tribal populations**, the far bigger challenge was how to **exercise their rights over land and forests.**  
फिर भी जनजातीय समुदायों के लिए सबसे बड़ी चुनौती भूमि और वनों पर अपने अधिकारों का प्रयोग करना थी।
- Despite **legal safeguards and constitutional protection** against **arbitrary land acquisition**, millions of them were **dispossessed to penury.**  
मनमाने भूमि अधिग्रहण के विरुद्ध कानूनी सुरक्षा और संवैधानिक संरक्षण के बावजूद, लाखों लोगों को गरीबी में धकेलते हुए बेदखल कर दिया गया।
- In his **seminal study**, writer **Walter Fernandes** found that "**more tribals have lost their land since the commencement of economic liberalisation than any time in the post-independent history**".  
अपने मौलिक अध्ययन में लेखक वॉल्टर फर्नांडिस ने पाया कि "आर्थिक उदारीकरण की शुरुआत के बाद किसी भी अन्य उत्तर-स्वतंत्रता काल की तुलना में अधिक आदिवासियों ने अपनी भूमि खोई है"।
- Thus, while the **Constitution makers** imagined a **new lease of life for the adivasis** under the **Fifth Schedule**, **successive governments** failed to bring up **appropriate governance structures** to transform this **lofty vision** into reality.  
इस प्रकार, जहाँ संविधान निर्माताओं ने पाँचवीं अनुसूची के तहत आदिवासियों के लिए नए जीवन की कल्पना की थी, वहीं लगातार आने वाली सरकारें इस उच्च दृष्टि को वास्तविकता में बदलने के लिए उपयुक्त शासन संरचनाएँ खड़ी करने में विफल रहीं।
- The same **colonial structures and administrative forms**, **rules of business**, and **justice system** were retained for **Scheduled Areas**, which made **tribal groups**, with **very low literacy**, barely able to understand these rules and the **modern justice system.**  
अनुसूचित क्षेत्रों में वही औपनिवेशिक संरचनाएँ और प्रशासनिक ढाँचे, कार्य संचालन के नियम, और न्याय प्रणाली बनाए रखे गए, जिससे अत्यंत कम साक्षरता वाले आदिवासी समूह इन नियमों और आधुनिक न्याय प्रणाली को समझ ही नहीं पाए।

### A lack of representation प्रतिनिधित्व की कमी

- What deepened the **alienation** was the **complete absence of locals** in the **administrative units** implementing provisions enumerated in the **Fifth Schedule.**



जिसने अलगाव की भावना को और गहरा किया, वह पाँचवीं अनुसूची के प्रावधानों को लागू करने वाली प्रशासनिक इकाइयों में स्थानीय लोगों की पूर्ण अनुपस्थिति थी।

- **B.D. Sharma, the then Commissioner of the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes Commission, succinctly put that “the personnel who are overwhelmingly outsiders carried their attitudes, bias and lived experiences while performing day to day tasks”.**  
तत्कालीन अनुसूचित जाति/अनुसूचित जनजाति आयोग के आयुक्त बी.डी. शर्मा ने संक्षेप में कहा कि “अधिकांशतः बाहरी अधिकारी अपने दृष्टिकोण, पूर्वाग्रह और जीवन अनुभवों को दैनिक कार्यों में साथ लेकर चलते थे”।
- Importantly, **apex bodies** such as a **separate Ministry of Tribal Welfare**, and the **National Commission for Scheduled Tribes** created to oversee the execution of **special provisions** for the tribal population, as observed by **the Mungekar Committee (2009)**, did **very little to stop the exploitation**.  
महत्वपूर्ण रूप से, आदिवासी कल्याण के लिए पृथक मंत्रालय और अनुसूचित जनजाति के लिए राष्ट्रीय आयोग जैसे शीर्ष संस्थानों ने, जैसा कि मुंगेकर समिति (2009) ने देखा, शोषण रोकने के लिए बहुत कम किया।
- **Moreover, while the Governors are constitutionally assigned to protect the interests of adivasis in Scheduled areas, not a single Governor has acted since Independence in these regions.**  
इसके अतिरिक्त, यद्यपि राज्यपालों को संवैधानिक रूप से अनुसूचित क्षेत्रों में आदिवासियों के हितों की रक्षा का दायित्व दिया गया है, फिर भी स्वतंत्रता के बाद से किसी भी राज्यपाल ने इन क्षेत्रों में कार्रवाई नहीं की।
- **These institutions have been further handicapped by weak and ineffective service delivery institutions such as health, education, revenue, police, and the judiciary.**  
इन संस्थानों को स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा, राजस्व, पुलिस और न्यायपालिका जैसी कमज़ोर और अप्रभावी सेवा वितरण संस्थाओं ने और अधिक अक्षम बना दिया।
- The lone exception was the **Panchayat Extension to Schedule Areas Act (PESA), 1996**.  
एकमात्र अपवाद था पंचायत (अनुसूचित क्षेत्रों तक विस्तार) अधिनियम – PESA, 1996।
- **PESA was enacted to address adivasi underrepresentation and alienation in the form of “self-governance”.**  
PESA को “स्व-शासन” के माध्यम से आदिवासी अल्प-प्रतिनिधित्व और अलगाव को दूर करने के लिए लागू किया गया था।
- These **democratic forums** were envisioned to create space for adivasis to take their own decisions on **welfare issues, land, natural resources, livelihood and preservation of culture and their way of life**.  
इन लोकतांत्रिक मंचों की परिकल्पना आदिवासियों को कल्याण, भूमि, प्राकृतिक संसाधन, आजीविका तथा संस्कृति और जीवन-पद्धति के संरक्षण पर स्वयं निर्णय लेने का अवसर देने के लिए की गई थी।
- While **PESA made some substantial changes by improving political representation at the lower level of governance, key provisions were routinely violated**.  
हालाँकि PESA ने निचले स्तर के शासन में राजनीतिक प्रतिनिधित्व सुधार कर कुछ महत्वपूर्ण बदलाव किए, लेकिन इसके मुख्य प्रावधानों का नियमित रूप से उल्लंघन किया गया।
- The **Expert Committee Report (2008)** found **flagrant violations of PESA by the appointed officials**.  
विशेषज्ञ समिति रिपोर्ट (2008) में नियुक्त अधिकारियों द्वारा PESA के खुले उल्लंघन पाए गए।
- One of the **most abused provisions** has been with regards to **land acquisition**.  
सबसे अधिक दुरुपयोग किए गए प्रावधानों में से एक भूमि अधिग्रहण से संबंधित रहा है।
- To sum up, **governance maladies and relatively low political priority** accorded to the **Fifth Schedule** in many ways created a **fertile ground** for the **Maoist leadership** to mobilise the **aggrieved adivasi population** against the **Indian state**.  
संक्षेप में, शासन की कमियाँ और पाँचवीं अनुसूची को दी गई कम राजनीतिक प्राथमिकता ने कई तरीकों से माओवादी नेतृत्व को आक्रोशित आदिवासी आबादी को भारतीय राज्य के विरुद्ध संगठित करने के लिए उपजाऊ ज़मीन प्रदान की।
- The growing **governance deficits** which directly impacted **development, welfare functions and mitigation of local grievances** created an opportunity for the Maoists to spread their ideologies of a **people’s government (Janatana Sarkar)**.  
बढ़ते शासन घाटे, जिनका सीधा प्रभाव विकास, कल्याणकारी कार्यों और स्थानीय शिकायतों के निवारण



पर पड़ा, ने माओवादियों को **जन सरकार (जनताना सरकार)** की अपनी विचारधाराओं को फैलाने का अवसर दिया।

- There is a **rich body of evidence** that indisputably credits **tribal frustrations, anger and low trust in governance institutions** as the reasons that drove many **adivasis** to support **Maoist ideology and revolutionary missions**.

ऐसा **प्रचुर प्रमाण** उपलब्ध है जो निर्विवाद रूप से **आदिवासियों की हताशा, आक्रोश और शासन संस्थाओं में कम भरोसे** को वह कारण मानता है जिसने कई **आदिवासियों** को **माओवादी विचारधारा और क्रांतिकारी अभियानों** का समर्थन करने के लिए प्रेरित किया।

- Many relied on the **Maoist movement** as some sort of **instrument to get justice from state agencies** such as the **police, forest and revenue departments**, which they often viewed as **corrupt and oppressive**.

कई लोगों ने **माओवादी आंदोलन** को **न्याय प्राप्त करने के एक साधन** के रूप में देखा, विशेषकर **पुलिस, वन और राजस्व विभाग** जैसी **राज्य एजेंसियों** से, जिन्हें वे अक्सर **भ्रष्ट और दमनकारी** मानते थे।

- For instance, the entire **Dandakaranya region**, largely characterised by **extreme underdevelopment and poor governance**, was easily captured by the **underground Maoists** in the **1990s** with the promise of providing **ownership to adivasis over lands and forests** under the broad slogan of **Jal, Jungle and Zameen**.

उदाहरण के लिए, **दंडकारण्य क्षेत्र**, जो मुख्यतः **अत्यधिक अल्पविकास और खराब शासन** से पहचाना जाता है, को **1990 के दशक** में **भूमिगत माओवादियों** ने आसानी से अपने कब्जे में ले लिया, **जल, जंगल और ज़मीन** के व्यापक नारे के तहत **आदिवासियों को भूमि और वनों पर स्वामित्व** देने के वादे के साथ।

- Persistent **governance and development deficits** created a space for Maoists to run **parallel governments**, offering **critical services such as paramedics, schools, food rations and speedy justice through kangaroo courts** in many of their **strongholds**.

लगातार बने रहे **शासन और विकास घाटों** ने माओवादियों को **समानांतर सरकारें** चलाने की जगह दी, जहाँ उनके कई **गढ़ों** में **पैरामेडिक्स, स्कूल, खाद्य राशन और कंगारू अदालतों के माध्यम से त्वरित न्याय** जैसी **महत्वपूर्ण सेवाएँ** प्रदान की गईं।

## Need for a new imagination

### नई परिकल्पना की आवश्यकता

- Going forward, India must pay close attention to **governance paradoxes** that continue to plague most regions under the **Fifth Schedule**.

आगे बढ़ते हुए, भारत को **पाँचवीं अनुसूची** के अंतर्गत आने वाले अधिकांश क्षेत्रों में बनी रहने वाली **शासन संबंधी विडंबनाओं** पर गंभीर ध्यान देना होगा।

- In recent years, there has been **visible improvement in key service functions**, particularly with respect to **welfare schemes and critical infrastructure** such as **roads, electricity**, and **telecom** in **Maoist affected regions**.

हाल के वर्षों में **माओवादी प्रभावित क्षेत्रों** में **कल्याणकारी योजनाओं** और **महत्वपूर्ण अवसंरचना** जैसे **सड़क, बिजली और दूरसंचार** के संदर्भ में प्रमुख **सेवा कार्यों** में स्पष्ट सुधार देखा गया है।

- Both the **Centre** and affected **States** have found ways to improve **service delivery functions** via **digital technology** and **cash transfer**.

**केंद्र** और प्रभावित **राज्यों** दोनों ने **डिजिटल तकनीक** और **नकद अंतरण** के माध्यम से **सेवा वितरण** को बेहतर बनाने के तरीके खोजे हैं।

- However, **critical service delivery institutions** such as **justice, health, education, policing, and revenue functions** remain thin and unsatisfactory.

हालाँकि, **न्याय, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा, पुलिसिंग और राजस्व** जैसी महत्वपूर्ण **सेवा वितरण संस्थाएँ** अभी भी कमजोर और असंतोषजनक बनी हुई हैं।

- Persistent **structural bottlenecks** such as **under-representation of locals** in the existing governance system have a significant bearing on their **effectiveness**.

मौजूदा शासन व्यवस्था में **स्थानीय लोगों के अल्प प्रतिनिधित्व** जैसी स्थायी **संरचनात्मक बाधाएँ** इनकी **प्रभावशीलता** पर गहरा प्रभाव डालती हैं।

- On the other side, **crucial rights-based legislations** like the **Forest Rights Act (FRA)** and **PESA** need greater **political push** from the **Centre** as well as affected **States**.

दूसरी ओर, **वन अधिकार अधिनियम (FRA)** और **PESA** जैसे महत्वपूर्ण **अधिकार-आधारित कानूनों** को **केंद्र** और प्रभावित **राज्यों** दोनों से अधिक **राजनीतिक समर्थन** की आवश्यकता है।



- The **FRA**, which remains a key legal tool to protect the rights of **adivasis** and **forest dwellers** to access **forest resources** for their sustenance, is battling for its **survival** today. **FRA**, जो आदिवासियों और वनवासियों के वन संसाधनों तक आजीविका हेतु पहुँच के अधिकारों की रक्षा का एक प्रमुख कानूनी साधन है, आज अपने अस्तित्व के लिए संघर्ष कर रहा है।
- While many **core provisions** have been violated by **state institutions**, there have also been **amendments** and **judicial interventions** in recent years which have diluted its **original mandate** and **effectiveness**.  
जहाँ राज्य संस्थाओं द्वारा कई मूल प्रावधानों का उल्लंघन किया गया है, वहीं हाल के वर्षों में हुए संशोधनों और न्यायिक हस्तक्षेपों ने इसके मूल उद्देश्य और प्रभावशीलता को कमजोर किया है।
- In addition, the enactment and expansion of the **Compensatory Afforestation Fund (CAF) Act, 2016** has grossly diluted **legal safeguards**, apart from affecting the **livelihoods of forest dwellers** in India.  
इसके अतिरिक्त, क्षतिपूरक वनीकरण निधि (CAF) अधिनियम, 2016 के प्रवर्तन और विस्तार ने कानूनी सुरक्षा उपायों को गंभीर रूप से कमजोर किया है, साथ ही भारत में वनवासियों की आजीविका को भी प्रभावित किया है।
- Similarly, **PESA**, despite initial promises, faces growing **resistance from States** concerned. इसी प्रकार, प्रारंभिक वादों के बावजूद **PESA** को संबंधित राज्यों के बढ़ते विरोध का सामना करना पड़ रहा है।
- Under pressure to unlock huge **mineral deposits**, most **State governments** in **Fifth Schedule Areas** have undermined the **powers granted to Gram Sabhas** under **PESA**, particularly on issues of **consent for mining and land acquisition**.  
विशाल खनिज भंडारों को खोलने के दबाव में, पाँचवीं अनुसूची क्षेत्रों के अधिकांश राज्य सरकारों ने **PESA** के अंतर्गत ग्राम सभाओं को दिए गए अधिकारों को कमजोर किया है, विशेष रूप से खनन और भूमि अधिग्रहण की सहमति के मामलों में।
- Incidentally, the most widespread **violations of PESA** have been in the most **Maoist affected State of Chhattisgarh**.  
संयोगवश, **PESA** के सबसे व्यापक उल्लंघन सबसे अधिक माओवादी प्रभावित राज्य छत्तीसगढ़ में हुए हैं।
- Thus, going forward priorities must include the **reversal of political and administrative under-representation of adivasis**.  
अतः आगे की प्राथमिकताओं में आदिवासियों के राजनीतिक और प्रशासनिक अल्प प्रतिनिधित्व को पलटना शामिल होना चाहिए।
- While there are **mandatory quotas** at the **local levels**, considering that these **self-governing bodies** lack real **autonomy** and **financial power**, representation remains largely **performatory**.  
हालाँकि स्थानीय स्तर पर अनिवार्य आरक्षण हैं, लेकिन इन स्वशासी निकायों के पास वास्तविक स्वायत्तता और वित्तीय शक्ति न होने के कारण प्रतिनिधित्व अधिकांशतः औपचारिक बना रहता है।
- The **permanent bureaucracy**, which is overwhelmingly **non-tribal**, still **calls the shots**.  
मुख्यतः गैर-आदिवासी स्थायी नौकरशाही आज भी निर्णय लेने की शक्ति अपने हाथ में रखती है।
- Given the persistent **alienation** and **trust deficits** among the local population, the post-Maoist **Fifth Schedule Areas governance vision** can benefit by borrowing some features from the **Sixth Schedule Areas** governed by **Autonomous District and Zonal Councils**.  
स्थानीय आबादी में बनी रहने वाली झूझभावना और विश्वास की कमी को देखते हुए, माओवादी-उत्तर पाँचवीं अनुसूची क्षेत्रों की शासन परिकल्पना स्वायत्त जिला और क्षेत्रीय परिषदों द्वारा शासित छठी अनुसूची क्षेत्रों से कुछ विशेषताएँ अपनाकर लाभान्वित हो सकती है।
- In short, **post-Maoist India** needs a **new governance charter**.  
संक्षेप में, माओवादी-उत्तर भारत को एक नई शासन रूपरेखा की आवश्यकता है।