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THE HINDU NEWSPAPER

17 OCTOBER 2025

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PCS Special		: 17 October 2025
1.	Sri Lankan PM goes down memory lane at alma mater श्रीलंकाई पीएम ने अपने आल्मा मेटर में यादों के रास्ते पर यात्रा की	
2.	People apprehended under Operation Aaghat 2.0 in Delhi	

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दिल्ली में ऑपरेशन आगहत 2.0 के तहत गिरफ्तार लोग

Off the cuff



PCS
Campus life: Sri Lankan Prime Minister Harini Amarasuriya, in India on a three-day visit, with students of Hindu College, her alma mater, in New Delhi on Thursday. SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA (REPORT ON PAGE 4)

Campus life: Sri Lankan Prime Minister Harini Amarasuriya, in India on a three-day visit, with students of Hindu College, her alma mater, in New Delhi on Thursday. SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA (REPORT ON PAGE 4)



PICTURE OF THE WEEK

An adrenaline rush



PCS
A mountain biker races downhill in Gulmarg in north Kashmir. India's first international downhill mountain biking event was held in Gulmarg from October 9 to 12. Top national and international athletes participated in the event, Zabarvan Legends Series. Brazilian biker Douglas Viera won the race. **IMRAN NISSAR**

A mountain biker races downhill in Gulmarg in north Kashmir. India's first international downhill mountain biking event was held in Gulmarg from October 9 to 12. Top national and international athletes participated in the event, Zabarvan Legends Series. Brazilian biker Douglas Viera won the race. **IMRAN NISSAR**

PATRIOTIC



Sri Lankan PM goes down memory lane at alma mater

Harini Amarasurya studied at Delhi University's Hindu College in 1991; praising India's diversity, she urged current students to 'never underestimate the power of asking difficult questions'

PCS

Ashna Butani
NEW DELHI

The acceptance of diversity and the importance of asking "difficult questions" are enduring memories of India for Sri Lankan Prime Minister Harini Amarasuriya, who began her first official visit to India on Thursday with a walk down memory lane to her alma mater, Delhi University's Hindu College.

She also met External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar, who said he had "discussed India's continued support to Sri Lanka and strengthening [India-Sri Lanka] cooperation in education & capacity building", addressed business leaders, and attended a diplomatic reception. On Friday, the Sri Lankan PM will hold talks with Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and is expected to discuss deepening economic cooperation and connectivity between the two countries.

Ms. Amarasuriya came to India as a student in 1991, at a time when universities in Sri Lanka were closed due to violence and



Sri Lankan PM Harini Amarasuriya with Hindu College Principal Anju Srivastava in New Delhi on Thursday. SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA

strikes. She studied Sociology at Hindu College on an Indian government scholarship. Recalling the first time she entered Delhi with "a mixture of dreams, uncertainties, hopes, questions and also nervousness", she said the city had accepted her and made her feel at home.

This acceptance of diversity, she said, is what makes Delhi unique to her. Three decades later, as she entered the same college gates, she was "filled with nostalgia and also admiration".

She thanked her teach-

ers, saying, "They didn't just teach me theories, but they encouraged me to think critically, to question and to never accept injustice as inevitable." College conversations about inequality, feminism, and human development felt both urgent and necessary, she recalled.

After graduating from Hindu College, Ms. Amarasuriya pursued her Masters in Australia and completed a PhD in Social Anthropology focusing on child protection and the complex relationship between state and society.

"Reflecting now on my academic journey, whether it was teaching Sociology, or conducting research on dissent, social justice, discrimination, or human rights, I think that the academic bearings that were instilled in me in Hindu College, were never far from me," she said.

Structural partnership

The India-Sri Lanka partnership is "not episodal" but "structural", Ms. Amarasuriya said, adding, "It is not a temporary convenience of today, it is a necessity of tomorrow."

She said that while India has been an "unwavering partner" in Sri Lanka's journey, supporting its economic recovery, providing critical assistance in times of crisis and standing with Sri Lanka in the pursuit of stability and growth, Sri Lanka has also "consistently upheld her solemn pledge to never permit her soil to be used in a manner that threatens the security of India".

The Sri Lankan PM took a tour of the college, and visited classroom number 27, where she had studied.

Sri Lankan PM goes down memory lane at alma mater श्रीलंकाई पीएम ने अपने आल्मा मेटर में यादों के रास्ते पर यात्रा की

- **Harini Amarasurya** studied at **Delhi University's Hindu College** in **1991**; praising **India's diversity**, she urged current students to "never underestimate the power of asking difficult questions."

हरिणी अमरासूर्या ने दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय के हिंदू कॉलेज में 1991 में पढ़ाई की; भारत की विविधता की सराहना करते हुए उन्होंने वर्तमान छात्रों से कहा कि "कठिन सवाल पूछने की शक्ति को कभी कम मत आंको।"

- The acceptance of **diversity** and the importance of asking "**difficult questions**" are enduring memories of **India** for **Sri Lankan Prime Minister Harini Amarasuriya**, who began her first official visit to India on Thursday with a walk down memory lane to her **alma mater, Delhi University's Hindu College**.

विविधता की स्वीकृति और "कठिन सवालों" को पूछने का महत्व भारत के लिए श्रीलंकाई प्रधानमंत्री हरिणी



अमरासूर्या की स्थायी यादें हैं, जिन्होंने गुरुवार को अपने पहले औपचारिक भारत दौरे की शुरुआत अपने आल्मा मेटर, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय के हिंदू कॉलेज की यादों की सैर से की।

- She also met **External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar**, who said he had “discussed India’s continued support to Sri Lanka and strengthening [India-Sri Lanka] cooperation in education & capacity building”, addressed business leaders, and attended a diplomatic reception.
उन्होंने विदेश मंत्री एस. जयशंकर से भी मुलाकात की, जिन्होंने कहा कि उन्होंने “श्रीलंका के प्रति भारत के लगातार समर्थन और [भारत-श्रीलंका] शिक्षा एवं क्षमता निर्माण सहयोग को मजबूत करने” पर चर्चा की, व्यापार नेताओं को संबोधित किया, और एक राजनयिक स्वागत समारोह में भाग लिया।
- On Friday, the **Sri Lankan PM** will hold talks with **Prime Minister Narendra Modi**, and is expected to discuss deepening **economic cooperation** and **connectivity** between the two countries.
शुक्रवार को, श्रीलंकाई पीएम प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी के साथ वार्ता करेंगे, और दोनों देशों के बीच आर्थिक सहयोग और संपर्क को गहरा करने पर चर्चा की संभावना है।
- Ms. Amarasuriya came to India as a student in **1991**, at a time when universities in **Sri Lanka** were closed due to **violence and strikes**.
सुश्री अमरासूर्या 1991 में छात्रा के रूप में भारत आईं, उस समय जब श्रीलंका में विश्वविद्यालय हिंसा और हड़तालों के कारण बंद थे।
- She studied **Sociology** at **Hindu College** on an **Indian government scholarship**.
उन्होंने हिंदू कॉलेज में सामाजशास्त्र की पढ़ाई की, वह भी भारतीय सरकारी छात्रवृत्ति पर।
- Recalling the first time she entered **Delhi** with “a mixture of dreams, uncertainties, hopes, questions and also nervousness”, she said the city had accepted her and made her feel at home.
जब उन्होंने पहली बार दिल्ली में प्रवेश किया था, तो वह “सपनों, अनिश्चितताओं, आशाओं, सवालों और भी घबराहट का मिश्रण” लेकर आई थीं, उन्होंने कहा कि शहर ने उन्हें स्वीकार किया और घर जैसा महसूस कराया।
- This acceptance of **diversity**, she said, is what makes **Delhi** unique to her.
उन्होंने कहा कि यह विविधता की स्वीकृति ही है जो दिल्ली को उनके लिए अनोखा बनाती है।
- Three decades later, as she entered the same college gates, she was “filled with nostalgia and also admiration”.
तीन दशकों बाद, जब वह वही कॉलेज के गेट्स में प्रवेश कीं, वह “स्मृतियों और प्रशंसा से भरी हुईं” थीं।
- She thanked her teachers, saying, “They didn’t just teach me theories, but they encouraged me to think critically, to question and to never accept injustice as inevitable.”
उन्होंने अपने शिक्षकों का धन्यवाद किया और कहा, “उन्होंने सिर्फ मुझे सिद्धांत नहीं सिखाए, बल्कि उन्होंने मुझे आलोचनात्मक रूप से सोचने, सवाल करने और अन्याय को अपरिहार्य मानने से कभी नहीं रोकने के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया।”
- College conversations about **inequality, feminism, and human development** felt both urgent and necessary, she recalled.
कॉलेज में असमानता, नारीवाद और मानव विकास के बारे में चर्चाएँ, उन्होंने याद करते हुए, तत्काल और आवश्यक महसूस हुईं।
- After graduating from **Hindu College**, Ms. Amarasuriya pursued her **Masters in Australia** and completed a **PhD in Social Anthropology** focusing on **child protection** and the complex relationship between **state and society**.
हिंदू कॉलेज से स्नातक होने के बाद, सुश्री अमरासूर्या ने ऑस्ट्रेलिया में मास्टर्स की पढ़ाई की और सामाजिक मानवविज्ञान में पीएचडी पूरी की, जिसमें उन्होंने बाल संरक्षण और राज्य और समाज के बीच जटिल संबंध पर ध्यान केंद्रित किया।
- “Reflecting now on my academic journey, whether it was teaching **Sociology**, or conducting research on **dissent, social justice, discrimination, or human rights**, I think that the academic bearings that were instilled in me in **Hindu College**, were never far from me,” she said.
“अब अपनी शैक्षणिक यात्रा पर विचार करते हुए, चाहे वह सामाजशास्त्र पढ़ाना हो, या विरोध, सामाजिक न्याय, भेदभाव या मानवाधिकार पर शोध करना हो, मुझे लगता है कि हिंदू कॉलेज में जो शैक्षणिक आधार मुझमें डाले गए थे, वे मुझसे कभी दूर नहीं थे,” उन्होंने कहा।

Structural partnership
संरचनात्मक साझेदारी



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- The **India-Sri Lanka partnership** is “not episodal” but “structural”, Ms. Amarasuriya said, adding, “It is not a temporary convenience of today, it is a necessity of tomorrow.”
भारत-श्रीलंका साझेदारी “क्षणिक नहीं” बल्कि “संरचनात्मक” है, सुश्री अमरासूर्या ने कहा, और जोड़ा, “यह आज की अस्थायी सुविधा नहीं है, यह कल की आवश्यकता है।”
- She said that while **India** has been an “unwavering partner” in **Sri Lanka’s journey**, supporting its **economic recovery**, providing critical assistance in times of **crisis** and standing with **Sri Lanka** in the pursuit of **stability and growth**, **Sri Lanka** has also “consistently upheld her solemn pledge to never permit her soil to be used in a manner that threatens the security of India”.
उन्होंने कहा कि जबकि **भारत श्रीलंका** की यात्रा में एक “अडिग साझेदार” रहा है, इसके **आर्थिक पुनर्प्राप्ति** का समर्थन किया, **संकट** के समय महत्वपूर्ण सहायता प्रदान की और **स्थिरता और विकास** के प्रयासों में **श्रीलंका** के साथ खड़ा रहा, **श्रीलंका** ने भी “लगातार अपना गंभीर वचन निभाया है कि वह अपनी जमीन को भारत की सुरक्षा को खतरे में डालने वाले तरीके से उपयोग नहीं होने देगी।”
- The **Sri Lankan PM** took a tour of the college, and visited **classroom number 27**, where she had studied.
श्रीलंकाई पीएम ने कॉलेज का दौरा किया, और **कक्षा संख्या 27** का दौरा किया, जहाँ उन्होंने पढ़ाई की थी।

People apprehended under Operation Aaghat 2.0 in Delhi

PCS
500 The Delhi Police on Thursday claimed a 20% reduction in PCR calls related to street crimes over the last month in the Southeast Delhi district. According to an official, around 500 people were apprehended under Operation Aaghat 2.0. PTI

People apprehended under Operation Aaghat 2.0 in Delhi दिल्ली में ऑपरेशन आगहत 2.0 के तहत गिरफ्तार लोग

- The Delhi Police on Thursday claimed a **20% reduction** in **PCR calls** related to **street crimes** over the last month in the Southeast Delhi district.
दिल्ली पुलिस ने गुरुवार को दावा किया कि पिछले महीने साउथईस्ट दिल्ली जिले में **सड़क अपराधों (street crimes)** से संबंधित **PCR कॉल्स** में **20% कमी (20% reduction)** आई है।
- According to an official, around **500 people** were apprehended under **Operation Aaghat 2.0**.
एक अधिकारी के अनुसार, **ऑपरेशन आगहत 2.0 (Operation Aaghat 2.0)** के तहत लगभग **500 लोग (500 people)** गिरफ्तार किए गए।

GS Paper 1: History, Society and Geography

TOPICS COVERED	17 October 2025
1.	Southwest monsoon gave 8% surplus rain, says IMD दक्षिण-पश्चिम मानसून ने 8% अतिरिक्त वर्षा दी, IMD के अनुसार
2.	None too soon



	बहुत देर नहीं
3.	<p>Critical mineral firms up Washington lobbying as U.S. expands investments</p> <p>अमेरिका के निवेश बढ़ाने के बीच क्रिटिकल मिनरल कंपनियों ने वॉशिंगटन में लॉबिंग तेज की</p>

Southwest monsoon gave 8% surplus rain, says IMD

The southwest monsoon withdrew from the entire country on Thursday, a day after the usual date of October 15, the India Meteorological Department (IMD) said. At the same time, the northeast monsoon has set in over Tamil Nadu, Puducherry, Karaikal, coastal Andhra Pradesh, and other regions, the IMD said. This year, the monsoon reached Kerala on May 24, its earliest onset over the Indian mainland since 2009. It covered the entire country nine days before the usual date of July 8. India recorded 937.2 mm of rainfall against the normal of 868.6 mm, a surplus of 8%, in the four-month monsoon season that ended on September 30. PTI

has set in over **Tamil Nadu, Puducherry, Karaikal, coastal Andhra Pradesh**, and other regions, the **IMD** said.

साथ ही, **उत्तर-पूर्व मानसून** ने **तमिलनाडु, पुदुचेरी, कराइकल, तटीय आंध्र प्रदेश** और अन्य क्षेत्रों में प्रवेश कर लिया है, **IMD** ने कहा।

- This year, the monsoon reached **Kerala** on **May 24**, its earliest onset over the **Indian mainland** since **2009**.

इस साल, मानसून **केरल** में **24 मई** को पहुँचा, जो कि **2009** के बाद से भारतीय मुख्य भूमि पर सबसे जल्दी आगमन था।

- It covered the entire country **nine days before the usual date of July 8**.

इसने पूरे देश को **8 जुलाई की सामान्य तारीख से नौ दिन पहले** कवर किया।

- India recorded **937.2 mm** of rainfall against the normal of **868.6 mm**, a surplus of **8%**, in the four-month monsoon season that ended on **September 30**.

भारत ने चार महीने के मानसून मौसम में, जो **30 सितंबर** को समाप्त हुआ, सामान्य **868.6 मिमी** की तुलना में **937.2 मिमी** वर्षा दर्ज की, जो कि **8%** की अतिरिक्त वर्षा थी।

Southwest monsoon gave 8% surplus rain, says IMD
दक्षिण-पश्चिम मानसून ने 8% अतिरिक्त वर्षा दी, IMD के अनुसार

- The **southwest monsoon** withdrew from the entire country on Thursday, a day after the usual date of **October 15**, the **India Meteorological Department (IMD)** said.

दक्षिण-पश्चिम

मानसून ने गुरुवार को पूरे देश से विदाई ली,

जो कि सामान्य तारीख **15 अक्टूबर** के एक दिन बाद था, **भारतीय मौसम विभाग (IMD)** ने कहा।



- At the same time, the **northeast monsoon**



None too soon

The timely arrival of the northeast monsoon bodes well for farmers

GS I: Monsoon

The timely arrival of the northeast monsoon, which benefits many parts of the southern peninsula, especially Tamil Nadu and the coastal and Rayalaseema regions of Andhra Pradesh, has brought relief to the region, given its importance from an agricultural as well as a disaster management perspective. Against its normal arrival date of October 20 (plus or minus seven days), the monsoon set in on October 16. The India Meteorological Department has forecast "above normal" rain with more than 112% of the long period average. Going by the data for 1971-2020, the season's share in the annual rainfall is 48% for Tamil Nadu and over 30% for Andhra Pradesh. The monsoon also witnesses at least three cyclonic disturbances over the Bay of Bengal. There is also the added factor of cloudbursts, which are more frequent now, according to an Indian Institute of Tropical Meteorology study. Consequently, coastal States face urban flooding with residents of Chennai living in dread of it, going by their experiences of the past 10 years.

Keeping this in mind, the Tamil Nadu government is putting in place a real-time flood forecasting system for Chennai to calibrate excess water discharge from the reservoirs in and around the city. In addition, the authorities, as in other southern States, are preparing the official machinery to handle any situation. Over the years, the loss of lives has dropped after effective coordination among the agencies concerned. However, there are still many areas in need of more focused attention. The state of stormwater drains and water courses through cities leaves much to be desired, but State governments alone cannot be held responsible for this. That sections of people still use waterbodies as dumping yards only aggravates the problem, highlighting the near absence of community ownership among urban residents. In the farm sector, the shortage of fertilizers, particularly urea, has been bothering agriculturists. About a month ago, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.K. Stalin, in a letter to Prime Minister Narendra Modi, flagged the issue. Other States which are dependent on rainfall during the southwest monsoon, had also complained of urea shortage. The Union Ministry of Agriculture is reported to have enhanced urea demand for October – it was 36.65 lakh tonnes a year ago. Looking at the macro picture of the monsoon, the message is that as rainfall is expected to be more intense, the authorities at every level have to be vigilant and act in unison so that any adverse impact is reduced, if not eliminated.

- Keeping this in mind, the **Tamil Nadu government** is putting in place a **real-time flood forecasting system for Chennai** to calibrate **excess water discharge from the reservoirs** in and around the city.
इसे ध्यान में रखते हुए, तमिलनाडु सरकार चेन्नई के लिए वास्तविक समय बाढ़ पूर्वानुमान प्रणाली स्थापित कर रही है ताकि शहर और उसके आसपास के जलाशयों से अतिरिक्त जल निकासी को नियंत्रित किया जा सके।

None too soon

बहुत देर नहीं

- The timely arrival of the **northeast monsoon** bodes well for **farmers**.

उत्तर-पूर्व मानसून का समय पर आगमन किसानों के लिए शुभ संकेत है।

Northeast Monsoon Arrival and Impact

उत्तर-पूर्व मानसून आगमन और प्रभाव

- The timely arrival of the **northeast monsoon**, which benefits many parts of the **southern peninsula**, especially **Tamil Nadu** and the coastal and **Rayalaseema regions of Andhra Pradesh**, has brought relief to the region, given its importance from an **agricultural as well as a disaster management perspective**.

उत्तर-पूर्व मानसून का समय पर आगमन, जो दक्षिणी प्रायद्वीप के कई हिस्सों, विशेष रूप से तमिलनाडु और आंध्र प्रदेश के तटीय और रायालसीमा क्षेत्रों को लाभ पहुंचाता है, क्षेत्र के लिए राहत लेकर आया है, इसके महत्व को कृषि और आपदा प्रबंधन दोनों दृष्टिकोण से देखा गया।

- Against its normal arrival date of **October 20** (plus or minus seven days), the monsoon set in on **October 16**. सामान्य आगमन तिथि 20 अक्टूबर (± सात दिन) के मुकाबले, मानसून 16 अक्टूबर को शुरू हुआ।

- The **India Meteorological Department** has forecast "**above normal**" rain with more than **112% of the long period average**.

भारत मौसम विज्ञान विभाग ने "सामान्य से अधिक" बारिश का पूर्वानुमान दिया है, जो दीर्घकालिक औसत का 112% से अधिक है।

- Going by the data for **1971-2020**, the season's share in the **annual rainfall** is **48% for Tamil Nadu** and over **30% for Andhra Pradesh**.

1971-2020 के डेटा के अनुसार, इस मौसम का वार्षिक वर्षा में हिस्सा तमिलनाडु के लिए 48% और आंध्र प्रदेश के लिए 30% से अधिक है।

- The monsoon also witnesses at least **three cyclonic disturbances** over the **Bay of Bengal**.

मानसून में बंगाल की खाड़ी पर कम से कम तीन चक्रवाती व्यवधान होते हैं।

- There is also the added factor of **cloudbursts**, which are more frequent now, according to an **Indian Institute of Tropical Meteorology study**.

इसके अलावा, **मेघ-गर्जन** का कारक है, जो अब अधिक सामान्य हो गया है, भारतीय उष्णकटिबंधीय मौसम विज्ञान संस्थान के अध्ययन के अनुसार।

- Consequently, **coastal States** face **urban flooding** with residents of **Chennai** living in dread of it, going by their experiences of the past **10 years**.

परिणामस्वरूप, तटीय राज्य शहरी बाढ़ का सामना करते हैं और चेन्नई के निवासी पिछले 10 वर्षों के अनुभव के आधार पर इससे डरते हैं।



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- In addition, the **authorities**, as in other southern States, are preparing the **official machinery** to handle any situation.
इसके अलावा, अन्य दक्षिणी राज्यों की तरह, अधिकारी किसी भी स्थिति से निपटने के लिए सरकारी तंत्र तैयार कर रहे हैं।
- Over the years, the **loss of lives** has dropped after **effective coordination among the agencies concerned**.
वर्षों के दौरान, संबंधित एजेंसियों के बीच प्रभावी समन्वय के बाद हानियों में कमी आई है।
- However, there are still many areas in need of **more focused attention**.
हालांकि, अभी भी कई क्षेत्र ऐसे हैं जिन्हें अधिक ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।
- The state of **stormwater drains** and **water courses** through cities leaves much to be desired, but **State governments alone cannot be held responsible** for this.
शहरों में तूफानी जल निकासी और जल मार्ग की स्थिति अभी भी बेहतर हो सकती है, लेकिन इसके लिए केवल राज्य सरकारें जिम्मेदार नहीं ठहराई जा सकती हैं।
- That sections of people still use **waterbodies as dumping yards** only aggravates the problem, highlighting the near absence of **community ownership among urban residents**.
कुछ लोग अभी भी जल निकायों को कचरा फेंकने के लिए इस्तेमाल करते हैं, जिससे समस्या बढ़ती है और शहरी निवासियों में सामुदायिक जिम्मेदारी की कमी सामने आती है।
- In the **farm sector**, the shortage of **fertilizers**, particularly **urea**, has been bothering **agriculturists**.
कृषि क्षेत्र में उर्वरकों की कमी, विशेष रूप से यूरिया, किसानों के लिए समस्या बनी हुई है।
- About a month ago, **Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.K. Stalin**, in a letter to **Prime Minister Narendra Modi**, flagged the issue.
लगभग एक महीने पहले, तमिलनाडु के मुख्यमंत्री M.K. स्टालिन ने प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी को पत्र में इस मुद्दे को उठाया।
- Other States which are dependent on **rainfall during the southwest monsoon** had also complained of **urea shortage**.
अन्य राज्य जो दक्षिण-पश्चिम मानसून के दौरान बारिश पर निर्भर हैं, उन्होंने भी यूरिया की कमी की शिकायत की थी।
- The **Union Ministry of Agriculture** is reported to have enhanced **urea demand for October** — it was **36.65 lakh tonnes** a year ago.
सूचना के अनुसार, कृषि मंत्रालय ने अक्टूबर के लिए यूरिया की मांग बढ़ा दी है — यह पिछले वर्ष 36.65 लाख टन थी।
- Looking at the **macro picture of the monsoon**, the message is that as **rainfall is expected to be more intense**, the **authorities at every level** have to be **vigilant and act in unison** so that any **adverse impact** is reduced, if not eliminated.
मानसून की समग्र तस्वीर को देखते हुए, संदेश यह है कि क्योंकि बारिश अधिक तीव्र होने की संभावना है, हर स्तर पर अधिकारी सतर्क रहें और एकजुट होकर कार्य करें ताकि किसी भी प्रतिकूल प्रभाव को कम किया जा सके, यदि पूरी तरह से नहीं हटाया जा सकता।



Critical mineral firms up Washington lobbying as U.S. expands investments

There is a sharp uptick in influence campaigns; understanding the complex sector may require detailed knowledge of scientific arcana, geopolitics, trade and procurement, so lobbyists often see themselves as educators for the 535 members of Congress and hundreds of executive branch offices

SSI Resources

NEWS ANALYSIS

Reuters

Critical mineral companies are boosting lobbying efforts in Washington, hoping to share in the ambitious investments that U.S. President Donald Trump has pledged to firms deemed essential to national security, a Reuters review of public records and interviews with executives and officials showed.

At least a dozen companies – including lithium, copper, rare earths, and geothermal firms – have signed with major Washington lobbying firms since January, the review found.

There has been a sharp uptick in influence campaigns aimed at securing federal investment, permitting support and long-term procurement guarantees. The White House has pivoted from a historical focus on industry subsidies to one focused on partial ownership of MP Materials, Lithium Americas and other companies to counter China's dominance in critical minerals.

"Once the U.S. government started giving money away earlier this year, every minerals boardroom in America started to think, 'What about us?'" said Ken Hoffman, a commodity strategist with mining investment bank Red Cloud



First step: A sample of rock drilled at a cobalt mining site operated by Jervois Global. sources

Securities and a former mining industry consultant. Even with recent moves by JPMorgan to invest up to \$10 billion in critical minerals and other industries, Hoffman said government funding is crucial as many private investors remain anxious about funding junior miners and novel processing technologies. The shift has sent stock prices soaring across the sector as companies scramble to align themselves with Washington's industrial strategy.

The Sprott Lithium Miners ETF, for instance, has jumped more than 35% in the past month. The roster of lobbying firms includes Ballard Partners, run by Trump ally and top Republican fundraiser Brian



The shift has sent stock prices soaring across the sector as companies scramble to align themselves with Washington's industrial strategy

Ballard, who helped raise more than \$50 million for Mr. Trump's 2024 campaign.

Another prominent firm, The Bernhardt Group, is tied to David Bernhardt, who in Mr. Trump's first term ran the U.S. Interior Department, a key player in permitting critical mineral projects. Bernhardt and Ballard

did not respond to requests for comment.

Understanding the complex sector can require detailed knowledge of scientific arcana, geopolitics, trade and procurement, so lobbyists often see themselves as educators for the 535 members of Congress and hundreds of executive branch offices. "You need to have someone on the ground in Washington educating lawmakers on what you're doing and the science behind it," said Jim Sims of NioCorp. The company is developing a Nebraska scandium mine that has received \$10 million from the Pentagon and is under consideration for an \$800 million loan from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. In April, NioCorp

tapped the lobbying firm Navigators Global, whose roster includes Secretary of State Marco Rubio's former legislative staffer Cesar Conda.

Landing deals

Some companies that recently hired lobbyists are in talks with the administration or have landed deals. Lithium Americas hired lobbying firm Guidepost Strategies in July and reached a deal this month to give Washington a 5% equity stake in the company and its Thacker Pass project with General Motors in exchange for access to a \$2.26 billion loan. The company has paid Guidepost at least \$2,000,000 so far this year, filings show. Tim Crowley, vice president of government affairs for Lithium Americas, said that "for years, we've worked to share the positive impact of Thacker Pass with an array of critical stakeholders, including Congress, the White House and relevant federal agencies."

Critical Metals Corp, which hired Cornerstone Government Affairs in February, has held talks with the White House about a possible U.S. equity investment in its rare earths deposit in Greenland. Reuters reported earlier this month. The company has paid Cornerstone \$2,10,000 so far this year.

Critical Metals Chairman Tory Sage said the

West's limited access to rare earths "makes it even more important to ensure our deposit and vision are on the radar of key decision makers in the United States."

United States Antimony has paid \$1,30,000 to Cassidy & Associates since hiring them last November. Last month, the company won a \$245 million contract with the Pentagon's Defense Logistics Agency.

Eyeing antimony

U.S. Antimony CEO Gary Evans said the lobbying firm has helped with outreach to state officials in Alaska and Montana, where the company aims to mine and process antimony.

"The whole intent and purpose of this lobbying is to help legislators understand what we're doing," Evans said. "Some didn't even know we existed." BHP Minerals Service, a subsidiary of mining giant BHP, registered with Bernhardt's firm last month to lobby on critical minerals-related trade issues.

BHP declined to comment. Trigg Minerals, which is developing a Tennessee tungsten mine, hired Bernhardt's firm in July to help secure U.S. government support. Trigg did not respond to a request for comment.

Ballard's firm has signed at least six critical mineral companies.

Critical mineral firms up Washington lobbying as U.S. expands investments अमेरिका के निवेश बढ़ाने के बीच क्रिटिकल मिनरल कंपनियों ने वॉशिंगटन में लॉबिंग तेज की

- There is a sharp uptick in influence campaigns; understanding the complex sector may require detailed knowledge of **scientific arcana, geopolitics, trade and procurement**, so lobbyists often see themselves as educators for the **535 members of Congress and hundreds of executive branch offices**.

प्रभाव अभियान में तेज़ी देखी जा रही है; जटिल क्षेत्र को समझने के लिए **वैज्ञानिक रहस्य, भू-राजनीति, व्यापार और खरीद** का विस्तृत ज्ञान आवश्यक हो सकता है, इसलिए लॉबिस्ट अक्सर खुद को **कांग्रेस के 535 सदस्यों और सैकड़ों कार्यकारी शाखा कार्यालयों** के लिए शिक्षक मानते हैं।

- Critical mineral companies** are boosting lobbying efforts in **Washington**, hoping to share in the ambitious investments that U.S. President **Donald Trump** has pledged to firms deemed essential to **national security**, a Reuters review of public records and interviews with executives and officials showed.

क्रिटिकल मिनरल कंपनियां वॉशिंगटन में लॉबिंग प्रयास बढ़ा रही हैं, यह उम्मीद करते हुए कि वे उन महत्वाकांक्षी निवेशों में हिस्सा लें जो अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति **डोनाल्ड ट्रंप** ने **राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा** के लिए आवश्यक मानी



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जाने वाली कंपनियों को देने का वचन दिया है, जैसा कि रॉयटर्स के सार्वजनिक रिकॉर्ड और अधिकारियों व अधिकारियों के साथ इंटरव्यू से पता चला।

- At least a dozen companies — including **lithium, copper, rare earths, and geothermal firms** — have signed with major Washington lobbying firms since January, the review found. जांच में पाया गया कि जनवरी से कम से कम बारह कंपनियों — जिनमें **लिथियम, तांबा, दुर्लभ पृथ्वी तत्व और जियोथर्मल फर्म्स** शामिल हैं — ने प्रमुख वाशिंगटन लॉबिंग फर्मों के साथ अनुबंध किए हैं।
- There has been a sharp uptick in influence campaigns aimed at securing **federal investment, permitting support and long-term procurement guarantees**. **संघीय निवेश, अनुमति समर्थन और दीर्घकालिक खरीद गारंटी** सुनिश्चित करने के लिए प्रभाव अभियान में तेज़ी देखी गई है।
- The **White House** has pivoted from a historical focus on **industry subsidies** to one focused on partial ownership of **MP Materials, Lithium Americas and other companies** to counter **China's dominance in critical minerals**. **व्हाइट हाउस** ने ऐतिहासिक रूप से **उद्योग सब्सिडी** पर ध्यान देने से हटकर **MP Materials, Lithium Americas और अन्य कंपनियों** में आंशिक स्वामित्व पर ध्यान केंद्रित किया है ताकि **क्रिटिकल मिनरल्स में चीन की प्रभुत्वता** का मुकाबला किया जा सके।
- “Once the U.S. government started giving money away earlier this year, every minerals boardroom in America started to think, ‘What about us?’” said **Ken Hofman**, a commodity strategist with mining investment bank **Red Cloud Securities** and a former mining industry consultant. “इस साल की शुरुआत में जब अमेरिकी सरकार ने पैसा देना शुरू किया, तो अमेरिका में हर मिनरल बोर्डरूम ने सोचना शुरू किया, ‘हमारे बारे में क्या?’” कहा **केन हॉफमैन**, **Red Cloud Securities** के कॉमोडिटी स्ट्रैटेजिस्ट और पूर्व खनन उद्योग सलाहकार ने।
- Even with recent moves by **JPMorgan** to invest up to **\$10 billion** in critical minerals and other industries, Hofman said government funding is crucial as many private investors remain anxious about funding **junior miners and novel processing technologies**. हाल की **JPMorgan** की **\$10 बिलियन** तक क्रिटिकल मिनरल्स और अन्य उद्योगों में निवेश की योजना के बावजूद, हॉफमैन ने कहा कि सरकार की फंडिंग महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि कई निजी निवेशक **जूनियर माइनर्स और नई प्रोसेसिंग तकनीकों** में निवेश करने को लेकर चिंतित रहते हैं।
- The shift has sent stock prices soaring across the sector as companies scramble to align themselves with **Washington's industrial strategy**. इस बदलाव ने पूरे क्षेत्र में स्टॉक की कीमतों को बढ़ा दिया है क्योंकि कंपनियां **वाशिंगटन की औद्योगिक रणनीति** के साथ खुद को संरेखित करने के लिए दौड़ रही हैं।
- The **Sprott Lithium Miners ETF**, for instance, has jumped more than **35%** in the past month. उदाहरण के लिए, **Sprott Lithium Miners ETF** ने पिछले महीने में **35%** से अधिक की छलांग लगाई है।
- The roster of lobbying firms includes **Ballard Partners**, run by **Trump ally and top Republican fundraiser Brian Ballard**, who helped raise more than **\$50 million** for Mr. Trump's 2024 campaign. लॉबिंग फर्मों की सूची में **Ballard Partners** शामिल है, जिसे **ट्रंप के सहयोगी और शीर्ष रिपब्लिकन फंडरेज़र ब्रायन बॉलार्ड** चलाते हैं, जिन्होंने श्री ट्रंप के 2024 अभियान के लिए **\$50 मिलियन** से अधिक जुटाने में मदद की।
- Another prominent firm, **The Bernhardt Group**, is tied to **David Bernhardt**, who in Mr. Trump's first term ran the **U.S. Interior Department**, a key player in permitting critical mineral projects. एक और प्रमुख फर्म, **The Bernhardt Group**, **डेविड बर्नहार्ट** से जुड़ी है, जिन्होंने श्री ट्रंप की पहली अवधि में **U.S. Interior Department** चलाई, जो क्रिटिकल मिनरल परियोजनाओं को अनुमति देने में एक प्रमुख खिलाड़ी है।
- Understanding the complex sector can require detailed knowledge of **scientific arcana, geopolitics, trade and procurement**, so lobbyists often see themselves as educators for the **535 members of Congress and hundreds of executive branch offices**. जटिल क्षेत्र को समझने के लिए **वैज्ञानिक रहस्य, भू-राजनीति, व्यापार और खरीद** का विस्तृत ज्ञान आवश्यक हो सकता है, इसलिए लॉबिस्ट अक्सर खुद को **कांग्रेस के 535 सदस्यों और सैकड़ों कार्यकारी शाखा कार्यालयों** के लिए शिक्षक मानते हैं।
- “You need to have someone on the ground in Washington educating lawmakers on what you're doing and the science behind it,” said **Jim Sims of NioCorp**.



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“आपको वॉशिंगटन में किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति की आवश्यकता है जो विधायकों को यह समझाए कि आप क्या कर रहे हैं और इसके पीछे का विज्ञान क्या है,” कहा **Jim Sims of NioCorp** ने।

- The company is developing a **Nebraska scandium mine** that has received **\$10 million from the Pentagon** and is under consideration for an **\$800 million loan from the U.S. Export-Import Bank**.

कंपनी **Nebraska scandium mine** विकसित कर रही है, जिसे **पेंटागन से \$10 मिलियन** प्राप्त हुए हैं और इसे **U.S. Export-Import Bank से \$800 मिलियन ऋण** के लिए विचाराधीन रखा गया है।

- In April, NioCorp tapped the lobbying firm **Navigators Global**, whose roster includes Secretary of State **Marco Rubio's** former legislative staffer **Cesar Conda**.

अप्रैल में, NioCorp ने लॉबिंग फर्म **Navigators Global** को चुना, जिनकी सूची में विदेश मंत्री **Marco Rubio** के पूर्व विधायी स्टाफ **Cesar Conda** शामिल हैं।

Landing deals

सौदे पाना

- Some companies that recently hired lobbyists are in talks with the administration or have landed deals.
कुछ कंपनियां जिन्होंने हाल ही में लॉबिस्ट को हायर किया है, प्रशासन के साथ बातचीत में हैं या सौदे हासिल कर चुकी हैं।
- **Lithium Americas** hired lobbying firm **Guidepost Strategies** in July and reached a deal this month to give Washington a **5% equity stake** in the company and its **Thacker Pass project** with **General Motors** in exchange for access to a **\$2.26 billion loan**.
Lithium Americas ने जुलाई में लॉबिंग फर्म **Guidepost Strategies** को हायर किया और इस महीने एक सौदा किया, जिसके तहत वॉशिंगटन को कंपनी और उसके **Thacker Pass प्रोजेक्ट** में **5% इक्विटी हिस्सा** दिया गया, **General Motors** के साथ, बदले में **\$2.26 बिलियन ऋण** तक पहुंच मिली।
- The company has paid **Guidepost** at least **\$200,000** so far this year, filings show.
फाइलिंग्स के अनुसार, कंपनी ने इस साल अब तक **Guidepost** को कम से कम **\$200,000** का भुगतान किया है।
- Tim Crowley, vice president of government affairs for **Lithium Americas**, said that “for years, we’ve worked to share the positive impact of **Thacker Pass** with an array of critical stakeholders, including **Congress, the White House and relevant federal agencies**.”
Lithium Americas के सरकारी मामलों के उपाध्यक्ष **Tim Crowley** ने कहा कि “सालों से हम **Thacker Pass** के सकारात्मक प्रभाव को विभिन्न महत्वपूर्ण हितधारकों, जिनमें **कांग्रेस, व्हाइट हाउस और संबंधित संघीय एजेंसियां** शामिल हैं, के साथ साझा करने के लिए काम कर रहे हैं।”
- Critical Metals Corp, which hired **Cornerstone Government Affairs** in February, has held talks with the **White House** about a possible U.S. equity investment in its **rare earths deposit in Greenland**, Reuters reported earlier this month.
Critical Metals Corp, जिसने फरवरी में **Cornerstone Government Affairs** को हायर किया, ने इस महीने की शुरुआत में रॉयटर्स के अनुसार **ग्रीनलैंड में अपने दुर्लभ पृथ्वी तत्वों के भंडार** में संभावित अमेरिकी इक्विटी निवेश के बारे में **व्हाइट हाउस** के साथ बातचीत की।
- The company has paid **Cornerstone \$210,000** so far this year.
कंपनी ने इस साल अब तक **Cornerstone** को **\$210,000** का भुगतान किया है।
- Critical Metals Chairman **Tony Sage** said the West’s limited access to **rare earths** “makes it even more important to ensure our deposit and vision are on the radar of key decision makers in the United States.”
Critical Metals के अध्यक्ष **Tony Sage** ने कहा कि पश्चिम का **दुर्लभ पृथ्वी तत्वों** तक सीमित पहुंच “इस बात को और भी महत्वपूर्ण बनाता है कि हमारे भंडार और दृष्टिकोण को संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय निर्माताओं की निगरानी में रखा जाए।”
- United States Antimony has paid **\$130,000** to **Cassidy & Associates** since hiring them last November.
United States Antimony ने पिछले नवंबर में हायर करने के बाद **Cassidy & Associates** को **\$130,000** का भुगतान किया है।
- Last month, the company won a **\$245 million contract** with the **Pentagon’s Defense Logistics Agency**.



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



पिछले महीने, कंपनी ने पेंटागन की Defense Logistics Agency के साथ \$245 मिलियन का कॉन्ट्रैक्ट जीता।

Eyeing antimony एंटीमनी पर नज़र

- U.S. Antimony CEO **Gary Evans** said the lobbying firm has helped with outreach to state officials in **Alaska and Montana**, where the company aims to mine and process antimony. **U.S. Antimony** के CEO **Gary Evans** ने कहा कि लॉबिंग फर्म ने **अलास्का और मोंटाना** में राज्य अधिकारियों तक पहुंच बनाने में मदद की है, जहां कंपनी एंटीमनी खनन और संसाधित करने का लक्ष्य रखती है।
- “The whole intent and purpose of this lobbying is to help legislators understand what we’re doing,” Evans said. “Some didn’t even know we existed.”
“इस लॉबिंग का पूरा उद्देश्य विधायकों को यह समझाने में मदद करना है कि हम क्या कर रहे हैं,” Evans ने कहा। “कुछ को तो हमारा अस्तित्व भी नहीं पता था।”

GS Paper II: Polity, Governance, And International Relations	
TOPICS COVERED	17 October 2025
1.	SC won't lift stay on quota in Telangana civic polls एससी तेलंगाना नगर निकाय चुनावों में कोटा पर स्टे नहीं हटाएगा
2.	A reading of a revisionism in constitutional history संवैधानिक इतिहास में संशोधनवाद की एक समीक्षा
3.	NAM should advance goals of Global South: Kirti Vardhan Singh NAM को ग्लोबल साउथ के लक्ष्यों को आगे बढ़ाना चाहिए: किर्ती वर्धन सिंह



SC won't lift stay on quota in Telangana civic polls

ISS II: Reservation

Aaratrika Bhaumik
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court on Thursday declined to interfere with a Telangana High Court order that had stayed two Government Orders enhancing the reservation for Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in municipalities and panchayats to 42%.

A Bench of Justices Vikram Nath and Sandeep Mehta declined to stay the High Court's interim order, observing that it could not take a view inconsistent with Constitution Bench rulings that have fixed a 50% ceiling on total reservations in local body elections. However, it said that local body elections could proceed without the proposed hike in OBC quotas.

"You may continue with your elections... [State's appeal] dismissed. This will not prevent the High Court from deciding the matter on its own merits," the Bench told the State.

The Telangana Government had approached the Supreme Court challenging the High Court's Octob-

er 9 order, which halted its move to raise the OBC quota in local bodies. The High Court had found that the proposed increase would push the total reservation, including 15% for Scheduled Castes and 10% for Scheduled Tribes, to 67%, breaching the 50% ceiling prescribed by the Supreme Court in earlier rulings. It had, however, clarified that there was no impediment to holding local body elections, and directed the State Election Commission (SEC) to conduct the polls while capping the overall reservation at 50%.

Polling for the Telangana local body elections is scheduled for October 23 and 27.

'Policy decision'

During the proceedings, senior advocate Abhishek Manu Singhvi, appearing for the State, argued that the enhanced quota was a "policy decision" aimed at empowering marginalised communities and that there was "a misconception that reservations cannot exceed 50%." He referred to the 1992



judgment in *Indra Sawhney v. Union of India*, which upheld the Mandal Commission recommendations, to contend that the 50% ceiling could be breached in exceptional circumstances. "It is a policy decision by the elected government to benefit marginalised classes. How can it be stayed without pleadings? Barring the first few pages, no reasons have been given for the stay," he said, referring to the High Court's order.

The Bench, however, questioned the State on the timing of the decision, asking why the reservation hike had not been introduced before the issuance of the election notification.

In response, Mr. Singhvi submitted that the delay

arose because the Governor had withheld assent to the Bill.

When the Bench pointed out that the Bill had yet to receive formal assent, the senior counsel referred to the Supreme Court's April ruling in the Tamil Nadu Governor case, that the concept of "deemed assent" now applied if the Governor failed to act within a stipulated time period.

A Division Bench headed by Justice J.B. Pardiwala had held that laws which remain pending with the President and Governor beyond the specified three-month deadline would be "deemed" as approved.

However, a month after the ruling, a reference was sought by the President under Article 143 seeking clarity on whether the judiciary can fix timelines for the President and State Governors to clear State Bills.

The Judges also questioned whether the State had complied with the parameters laid down in its 2010 ruling in *K. Krishna Murthy v. Union of India*, which mandates a "triple test" - identification of

backwardness, determination of inadequate representation, and ensuring administrative efficiency - before extending reservation to local self-government institutions.

'Prior precedents'

Opposing the State's plea, senior advocate Gopal Sankaranarayanan, representing social activist Buttemgar Madhava Reddy, who had challenged the government orders before the High Court, cited the Supreme Court's 2021 ruling in *Vikas Kishanrao Gawali*, which had reaffirmed that reservations in local body elections cannot exceed 50%. "The High Court's order strictly followed these rulings," he said, pointing out that the State's ordinances had also lapsed on August 30, rendering the subsequent government orders legally untenable.

The Bench appeared to concur with this view, telling Mr. Singhvi, "You cannot expect us to take a view different from the Constitution Bench about the 50% ceiling," before dismissing the appeal.

SC won't lift stay on quota in Telangana civic polls

एससी तेलंगाना नगर निकाय चुनावों में कोटा पर स्टे नहीं हटाएगा

- The **Supreme Court** on Thursday declined to interfere with a **Telangana High Court** order that had stayed two **Government Orders** enhancing the **reservation for Other Backward Classes (OBCs)** in municipalities and panchayats to **42%**.

सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने गुरुवार को तेलंगाना उच्च न्यायालय के उस आदेश में हस्तक्षेप करने से इंकार कर दिया जिसने नगरपालिका और पंचायतों में अन्य पिछड़ी जातियों (OBCs) के लिए आरक्षण को 42% तक बढ़ाने वाले दो सरकारी आदेशों को स्थगित कर दिया था।

- A Bench of **Justices Vikram Nath and Sandeep Mehta** declined to stay the High Court's interim order, observing that it could not take a view inconsistent with **Constitution Bench** rulings that have fixed a **50% ceiling** on total reservations in local body elections.

न्यायमूर्ति विक्रम नाथ और संदीप मेहता की पीठ ने उच्च न्यायालय के अंतरिम आदेश को रोकने से इनकार कर दिया, यह कहते हुए कि यह संविधान पीठ के निर्णयों के विपरीत नहीं हो सकता जिन्होंने स्थानीय निकाय चुनावों में कुल आरक्षण पर 50% की सीमा निर्धारित की है।

- However, it said that local body elections could proceed without the proposed hike in **OBC quotas**.

हालांकि, इसने कहा कि स्थानीय निकाय चुनाव **OBC कोटा** में प्रस्तावित वृद्धि के बिना भी हो सकते हैं।

- "You may continue with your elections... [State's appeal] dismissed. This will not prevent the High Court from deciding the matter on its own merits," the Bench told the State.

पीठ ने राज्य को कहा, "आप अपने चुनाव जारी रख सकते हैं... [राज्य की अपील] खारिज। इससे उच्च न्यायालय को मामले को अपने मूल आधार पर निर्णय लेने से रोक नहीं मिलेगा।"



- The **Telangana Government** had approached the Supreme Court challenging the High Court's **October 9 order**, which halted its move to raise the OBC quota in local bodies.
तेलंगाना सरकार ने उच्च न्यायालय के 9 अक्टूबर के आदेश को चुनौती देते हुए सुप्रीम कोर्ट का रुख किया था, जिसने स्थानीय निकायों में OBC कोटा बढ़ाने के उसके प्रयास को रोक दिया था।
- The High Court had found that the proposed increase would push the total reservation, including **15% for Scheduled Castes** and **10% for Scheduled Tribes**, to **67%**, breaching the **50% ceiling** prescribed by the Supreme Court in earlier rulings.
उच्च न्यायालय ने पाया कि प्रस्तावित वृद्धि कुल आरक्षण को, जिसमें **अनुसूचित जातियों के लिए 15%** और **अनुसूचित जनजातियों के लिए 10%**, 67% तक पहुंचा देगी, जो पहले के सुप्रीम कोर्ट के आदेशों में निर्धारित **50% की सीमा** का उल्लंघन है।
- It had, however, clarified that there was no impediment to holding local body elections, and directed the **State Election Commission (SEC)** to conduct the polls while capping the overall reservation at **50%**.
हालांकि, इसने स्पष्ट किया कि स्थानीय निकाय चुनाव कराने में कोई बाधा नहीं है, और **राज्य चुनाव आयोग (SEC)** को कुल आरक्षण को **50%** पर सीमित रखते हुए चुनाव कराने का निर्देश दिया।
- Polling for the Telangana local body elections is scheduled for **October 23 and 27**.
तेलंगाना स्थानीय निकाय चुनाव के मतदान की समय-सीमा **23 और 27 अक्टूबर** निर्धारित की गई है।

'Policy decision' 'नीति निर्णय'

- During the proceedings, senior advocate **Abhishek Manu Singhvi**, appearing for the State, argued that the enhanced quota was a "policy decision" aimed at empowering marginalised communities and that there was "a misconception that reservations cannot exceed 50%."
कार्यवाही के दौरान, वरिष्ठ वकील **अभिषेक मनु सिंहवी**, जो राज्य का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे थे, ने तर्क दिया कि बढ़ाया गया कोटा एक "नीति निर्णय" था, जिसका उद्देश्य हाशिए पर रहने वाले समुदायों को सशक्त बनाना था और यह "गलत धारणा है कि आरक्षण 50% से अधिक नहीं हो सकता।"
- He referred to the **1992 judgment in Indra Sawhney v. Union of India**, which upheld the **Mandal Commission** recommendations, to contend that the **50% ceiling** could be breached in exceptional circumstances.
उन्होंने **1992 के इंद्रा साहनी बनाम भारत संघ** के निर्णय का हवाला दिया, जिसने **मंडल आयोग** की सिफारिशों को मान्यता दी, यह तर्क देने के लिए कि **50% की सीमा** अपवादात्मक परिस्थितियों में उल्लंघन की जा सकती है।
- "It is a policy decision by the elected government to benefit marginalised classes. How can it be stayed without pleadings? Barring the first few pages, no reasons have been given for the stay," he said, referring to the High Court's order.
उन्होंने उच्च न्यायालय के आदेश का हवाला देते हुए कहा, "यह हाशिए पर रहने वाले वर्गों को लाभ पहुंचाने के लिए निर्वाचित सरकार का नीति निर्णय है। इसे दलीलों के बिना कैसे रोका जा सकता है? पहले कुछ पृष्ठों को छोड़कर, स्टे के कोई कारण नहीं दिए गए हैं।"
- The Bench, however, questioned the State on the timing of the decision, asking why the reservation hike had not been introduced before the issuance of the election notification.
हालांकि, पीठ ने राज्य से निर्णय के समय पर सवाल किया, यह पूछते हुए कि चुनाव अधिसूचना जारी होने से पहले आरक्षण वृद्धि क्यों नहीं लागू की गई।
- In response, Mr. Singhvi submitted that the delay arose because the **Governor** had withheld assent to the **Bill**.
जवाब में, श्री सिंहवी ने कहा कि विलंब इसलिए हुआ क्योंकि **राज्यपाल** ने **बिल** को अनुमोदन देने से रोक रखा था।
- When the Bench pointed out that the Bill had yet to receive formal assent, the senior counsel referred to the Supreme Court's **April ruling in the Tamil Nadu Governor case**, that the concept of "**deemed assent**" now applied if the Governor failed to act within a stipulated time period.
जब पीठ ने इंगित किया कि बिल को अभी तक औपचारिक स्वीकृति नहीं मिली है, तो वरिष्ठ वकील ने सुप्रीम कोर्ट के **तमिलनाडु राज्यपाल मामले में अप्रैल निर्णय** का हवाला दिया, जिसमें कहा गया कि यदि राज्यपाल निर्दिष्ट समय सीमा के भीतर कार्य नहीं करता है तो "**मान्य स्वीकृति**" की अवधारणा लागू होती है।



- A Division Bench headed by **Justice J.B. Pardiwala** had held that laws which remain pending with the **President and Governor** beyond the specified three-month deadline would be “**deemed**” as approved.
न्यायमूर्ति जे.बी. परदीवाला की एक डिविजन पीठ ने कहा कि जो कानून राष्ट्रपति और राज्यपाल के पास निर्दिष्ट तीन महीने की समय सीमा से अधिक लंबित रहते हैं, उन्हें “माना गया” के रूप में स्वीकृत माना जाएगा।
- However, a month after the ruling, a reference was sought by the **President under Article 143** seeking clarity on whether the judiciary can fix timelines for the **President and State Governors** to clear State Bills.
हालांकि, निर्णय के एक महीने बाद, अनुच्छेद 143 के तहत राष्ट्रपति द्वारा यह स्पष्टता मांगते हुए संदर्भ मांगा गया कि क्या न्यायपालिका राष्ट्रपति और राज्यपालों के लिए राज्य विधेयकों को मंजूरी देने की समय सीमा तय कर सकती है।
- The Judges also questioned whether the State had complied with the parameters laid down in its **2010 ruling in K. Krishna Murthy v. Union of India**, which mandates a “**triple test**” — identification of backwardness, determination of inadequate representation, and ensuring administrative efficiency — before extending reservation to local self-government institutions.
न्यायाधीशों ने यह भी सवाल किया कि क्या राज्य ने **K. कृष्णा मूर्ति बनाम भारत संघ के 2010 के अपने निर्णय** में निर्धारित मानकों का पालन किया है, जिसमें स्थानीय स्व-शासन संस्थानों में आरक्षण बढ़ाने से पहले “**त्रिगुण परीक्षण**” — पिछड़ेपन की पहचान, अपर्याप्त प्रतिनिधित्व का निर्धारण, और प्रशासनिक दक्षता सुनिश्चित करना — अनिवार्य है।

‘Prior precedents’ ‘पूर्व निर्णय’

- Opposing the State’s plea, senior advocate **Gopal Sankaranarayanan**, representing social activist **Buttemgari Madhava Reddy**, who had challenged the government orders before the High Court, cited the Supreme Court’s **2021 ruling in Vikas Kishanrao Gawali**, which had reaffirmed that reservations in local body elections cannot exceed **50%**.
राज्य की अपील का विरोध करते हुए, वरिष्ठ वकील **गोपाल अंकनारायणन**, जो सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता **बुट्टेमगारी माधव रेड्डी** का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे थे, जिन्होंने उच्च न्यायालय में सरकारी आदेशों को चुनौती दी थी, ने सुप्रीम कोर्ट के **2021 के निर्णय Vikas Kishanrao Gawali** का हवाला दिया, जिसने पुष्टि की कि स्थानीय निकाय चुनावों में आरक्षण **50%** से अधिक नहीं हो सकता।
- “The High Court’s order strictly followed these rulings,” he said, pointing out that the State’s ordinances had also lapsed on **August 30**, rendering the subsequent government orders legally untenable.
उन्होंने कहा, “उच्च न्यायालय का आदेश इन निर्णयों का सख्ती से पालन करता है,” यह बताते हुए कि राज्य के अध्यादेश भी **30 अगस्त** को समाप्त हो गए थे, जिससे बाद के सरकारी आदेश कानूनी रूप से असंगत हो गए।
- The Bench appeared to concur with this view, telling Mr. Singhvi, “You cannot expect us to take a view different from the **Constitution Bench** about the **50% ceiling**,” before dismissing the appeal.
पीठ इस विचार से सहमत दिखाई दी, श्री सिंहवी से कहती है, “आप हमसे अपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते कि हम संविधान पीठ के **50% की सीमा** के बारे में अलग दृष्टिकोण अपनाएं,” इसके बाद अपील को खारिज कर दिया गया।



NAM should advance goals of Global South: Kirti Vardhan Singh

GS II: NAM

Kallol Bhattacharjee

NEW DELHI

Members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) should harness the initiative to advance the aspirations of the Global South, said Minister of State for External Affairs Kirti Vardhan Singh on Thursday.

Delivering the national statement at the 19th NAM mid-term ministerial meeting in Kampala, Uganda, Mr. Singh said the members of NAM should “repurpose” the movement.

He also participated in a NAM Ministerial Committee on Palestine that met on Wednesday and called for a “two-state” solution on Israel-Palestinian crisis. “We must raise our voice

for reformed multilateralism, including the UN Security Council and the international financial institutions for reflecting contemporary realities,” said Mr. Singh. He said NAM should “destigmatise” movement of skilled professionals and said, “These are of prime importance for harnessing our demographic dividend.”

He said innocent Palestinians must not perish because of conflict. “The essential parameters are clear – a sovereign, independent, viable state of Palestine, living side by side in peace and security with Israel, within secure and recognised borders,” he said, laying out the Indian policy on Palestine.

NAM should advance goals of Global South: Kirti Vardhan Singh

NAM को ग्लोबल साउथ के लक्ष्यों को आगे बढ़ाना चाहिए: किर्ती वर्धन सिंह

• Members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

should harness the initiative to advance the aspirations of the Global South, said

Minister of State for External Affairs Kirti Vardhan Singh on Thursday.

गैर-संरेखित आंदोलन (NAM) के सदस्य पहल का उपयोग ग्लोबल साउथ की आकांक्षाओं को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए करें, ऐसा राज्य मंत्री, विदेश कार्य मंत्री किर्ती वर्धन सिंह ने गुरुवार को कहा।

• Delivering the national statement at the 19th NAM mid-term ministerial meeting in Kampala, Uganda, Mr. Singh said the members of NAM should “repurpose” the movement.

कम्पाला, युगांडा में 19वें NAM मध्यकालीन मंत्रीस्तरीय बैठक में राष्ट्रीय बयान देते हुए, श्री सिंह ने कहा कि NAM के सदस्यों को आंदोलन को “पुनः प्रयोजित” करना चाहिए।

• He also participated in a NAM Ministerial Committee on Palestine that met on Wednesday and called for a “two-state” solution on Israel-Palestinian crisis.

उन्होंने बुधवार को हुई NAM मंत्रीस्तरीय समिति ऑन पलेस्टाइन में भी भाग लिया और इज़राइल-पलेस्टाइन संकट पर “दो-राज्य” समाधान की अपील की।



Union Minister of State for External Affairs Kirti Vardhan Singh during 19th Mid-Term Ministerial Meeting in Kampala, Uganda.

- “We must raise our voice for reformed **multilateralism**, including the **UN Security Council** and the international financial institutions for reflecting contemporary realities,” said Mr. Singh. “हमें सुधारित **बहुपक्षवाद** के लिए अपनी आवाज उठानी चाहिए, जिसमें **संयुक्त राष्ट्र सुरक्षा परिषद** और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय वित्तीय संस्थान शामिल हैं, ताकि वे समकालीन वास्तविकताओं को दर्शा सकें,” श्री सिंह ने कहा।
- He said **NAM** should “destigmatise” movement of **skilled professionals** and said, “These are of prime importance for harnessing our **demographic dividend**.”
उन्होंने कहा कि **NAM** को **कुशल पेशेवरों** की आवाजाही का कलंक हटाना चाहिए और कहा, “ये हमारे **जनसांख्यिकीय लाभ** का उपयोग करने के लिए अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण हैं।”
- He said innocent **Palestinians** must not perish because of conflict.
उन्होंने कहा कि निर्दोष **पलेस्टीनियों** को संघर्ष के कारण नहीं मरना चाहिए।
- “The essential parameters are clear — a **sovereign, independent, viable state of Palestine**, living side by side in peace and security with **Israel**, within secure and recognised borders,” he said, laying out the **Indian policy on Palestine**.
“मूलभूत मानक स्पष्ट हैं — **सशक्त, स्वतंत्र, जीवित रहने योग्य पलेस्टीन राज्य**, जो **इज़राइल** के साथ शांति और सुरक्षा में साथ-साथ रहे, सुरक्षित और मान्यता प्राप्त सीमाओं के भीतर,” उन्होंने कहा, और **पलेस्टाइन पर भारतीय नीति** स्पष्ट की।



A reading of a revisionism in constitutional history

SS II: Constitutional History

A quiet revisionism in constitutional history is being seeded. Some commentators now argue that Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, the Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly, was the real architect of India's Constitution, while Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, merely polished an already finished product. This argument may sound academic, but it is not. It represents an attempt to diminish Dalit agency in India's founding story and to erase the moral force that B.R. Ambedkar brought to the making of the Republic.

Complementary, not competing

Both men were indispensable to the Constitution's creation, but their roles were entirely different. Sir B.N. Rau, a distinguished civil servant and jurist, was appointed Constitutional Adviser in July 1946. His assignment was technical and preparatory. Rau had in British India, helped in the drafting of the Government of India Act of 1935. Eleven years later, he had to prepare a working draft of the Constitution based on reports of the Constituent Assembly's committees and his study of other constitutions. He examined the American, Canadian, Irish, Australian and Weimar models, and consulted jurists such as Felix Frankfurter and Harold Laski. In October 1947, he submitted his draft with 243 articles and 13 schedules. Rau's document provided the Assembly with a starting point. He had no seat in the Constituent Assembly and no political mandate. His authority was scholarly, not representative.

Ambedkar's task was of a different order. As Chairman of the Drafting Committee, he had to turn a legal draft into a political covenant. He carried the Constitution through the turbulence of Partition, the murder of the Mahatma and had to defend its provisions, clause by clause, in the Assembly. His responsibility was not only to refine the text but also to build consensus among sharply divided interests. Rau built the framework. Ambedkar made it a living instrument of justice.

Ambedkar never denied Rau's contribution. In his concluding address to the Constituent Assembly on November 25, 1949, he said: "The credit that is given to me does not really belong to me. It belongs partly to Sir B.N. Rau, the Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly who prepared a rough draft of the Constitution for the consideration of the Drafting Committee."

He also said, "A part of the credit must go to the members of the Drafting Committee who, as I have said, have sat for 141 days... Much greater share of the credit must go to Mr. S.N. Mukherjee,



Sanjay Hegde

is a Senior Advocate designated by the Supreme Court of India

the Chief Draftsman of the Constitution. His ability to put the most intricate proposals in the simplest and clearest legal form can rarely be equalled, nor his capacity for hard work."

Thus the words which are often used to claim that Rau, not Ambedkar, was the real author of the Constitution in fact, show the opposite. Ambedkar called Rau's work a "rough draft", not a finished text. The Drafting Committee and the Assembly turned that raw material into the document that finally came into force in January 1950. Nor does any evidence exist to show that Rau ever claimed to be the Constitution's author. His correspondence at that time with Ambedkar and Jawaharlal Nehru conveys respect and cooperation. The current effort to crown him as "Father of the Constitution" distorts both the record and Rau's own modesty.

The political motive

The campaign to elevate Rau and sideline Ambedkar is not driven by scholarship alone. It reflects a discomfort with the idea that a Dalit thinker could stand at the centre of the Republic's founding moment. Recasting Rau as the Constitution's principal author is an attempt to reclaim authorship for caste privilege. It tames Ambedkar's radical legacy and turns a social revolution into a bureaucratic exercise. The Constitution is not a sterile legal document. It is, first and foremost, a social manifesto which promises the dignity of the individual. It was born out of conflict, hope and redemption. It represented the arrival of the oppressed at the table of power. To detach Ambedkar from it is to rob it of its soul.

Ambedkar's presence in the Constituent Assembly was itself the result of a decisive act of political wisdom. He had originally been elected from Bengal, but after Partition, that seat went to Pakistan. Many within the Congress were hesitant to bring him back because of past disagreements. It was Mahatma Gandhi's intervention that settled the question.

Though Gandhi and Ambedkar had clashed over separate electorates, Gandhi insisted that Ambedkar must be part of the Assembly. He told Congress leaders that no Constitution could claim legitimacy if the Scheduled Castes were excluded from its making.

As a result, Ambedkar was re-elected from the Bombay Presidency. Gandhi's insistence was an act of foresight. In 1947, when the nation was fractured by religion, an alienated Dalit leadership could have deepened the divide. By ensuring Ambedkar's inclusion, Gandhi prevented a crisis that could have weakened the new Republic at its birth. Ambedkar's subsequent leadership proved that inclusion right. He turned the making of the Constitution into a moral

enterprise that bound the country together.

Rau's draft provided the order and structure. Ambedkar gave the Constitution its moral depth. The provisions on Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles, and affirmative action bear his imprint. His speeches in the Assembly made the Constitution a living moral philosophy.

Ambedkar warned that political equality would fail without social and economic equality. He said, "How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up." That warning still remains the most powerful moral statement in India's constitutional history.

The peril of forgetting

Every Republic must guard its memory. The attempt to raise Rau above Ambedkar is part of a larger effort to drain the Constitution of its radical spirit. It presents the founding as a matter of technical competence rather than social transformation. To honour Ambedkar is not to diminish Rau. Both served the Republic faithfully. But the Constitution is more than a legal framework. It is a statement of national purpose. It needed a scholar's precision, but it also needed a reformer's conviction. Ambedkar was that reformer.

When the Constitution was adopted, leaders across the political spectrum, including Nehru, Patel and Prasad, publicly acknowledged Ambedkar's central role. None suggested that Rau was the Constitution's principal author. They understood the difference between drafting a text and shaping a nation's conscience.

Rau deserves admiration as a brilliant adviser. Ambedkar deserves reverence as the Constitution's moral architect. The Constitution was not written in the calm of colonial offices but in the shadow of Partition, the Mahatma's assassination and caste oppression. To place Ambedkar at its centre was not symbolic generosity but a statement that India's new order would belong equally to those once excluded.

Ambedkar never claimed sole authorship. Yet, his leadership of the Drafting Committee, his defence of every clause, and his vision of liberty, equality and fraternity have defined the Indian Republic. To diminish his role is to betray the Republic's founding promise. Rau built the structure; Ambedkar filled it with justice. Sir B.N. Rau deserves gratitude as the constitutional engineer. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar remains the architect and moral founder of modern India.

To deny that truth is to deny the Republic.

The campaign to elevate B.N. Rau and sideline B.R. Ambedkar as the real architect of India's Constitution is misplaced

A reading of a revisionism in constitutional history

संवैधानिक इतिहास में संशोधनवाद की एक समीक्षा

Revisionism in Constitutional History

संवैधानिक इतिहास में पुनर्लेखन

- A quiet revisionism in constitutional history is being seeded. संवैधानिक इतिहास में एक शांत पुनर्लेखन की प्रक्रिया शुरू हो रही है।
- Some commentators now argue that Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, the Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly, was the real architect of India's Constitution, while Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, merely polished an already finished product. कुछ टिप्पणीकार अब यह तर्क देते हैं कि सिर बेनेगल नारसिंग राऊ, संविधान सभा के संवैधानिक



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सलाहकार, भारत के संविधान के वास्तविक आर्किटेक्ट थे, जबकि डॉ. भीमराव रामजी अंबेडकर, ड्राफ्टिंग कमेटी के अध्यक्ष, केवल पहले से तैयार उत्पाद को संपादित कर रहे थे।

- This argument may sound academic, but it is not. यह तर्क शैक्षणिक लग सकता है, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है।
- It represents an attempt to diminish **Dalit agency** in India's **founding story** and to erase the **moral force** that B.R. Ambedkar brought to the making of the **Republic**. यह भारत की स्थापना की कहानी में दलित एजेंसी को कम करने और गणराज्य के निर्माण में बी.आर. अंबेडकर द्वारा लाए गए नैतिक बल को मिटाने का प्रयास है।

Complementary, not competing पूरक, प्रतिस्पर्धी नहीं

- Both men were indispensable to the **Constitution's creation**, but their roles were entirely different. दोनों पुरुष संविधान के निर्माण के लिए अनिवार्य थे, लेकिन उनकी भूमिकाएँ पूरी तरह से अलग थीं।
- **Sir B.N. Rau**, a distinguished **civil servant and jurist**, was appointed **Constitutional Adviser** in **July 1946**. सिर बी.एन. राऊ, एक प्रतिष्ठित सिविल सेवक और न्यायविद, को जुलाई 1946 में संवैधानिक सलाहकार नियुक्त किया गया।
- His assignment was **technical and preparatory**. उनका कार्य तकनीकी और प्रारंभिक था।
- Rau had in **British India** helped in the drafting of the **Government of India Act of 1935**. राऊ ने ब्रिटिश भारत में भारत सरकार अधिनियम 1935 के प्रारूपण में मदद की थी।
- Eleven years later, he had to prepare a **working draft** of the **Constitution** based on reports of the **Constituent Assembly's committees** and his study of other **constitutions**. ग्यारह साल बाद, उन्हें संविधान का कार्यशील मसौदा तैयार करना था, जो संविधान सभा की समितियों की रिपोर्ट और अन्य संविधानों के अध्ययन पर आधारित था।
- He examined the **American, Canadian, Irish, Australian and Weimar models**, and consulted jurists such as **Felix Frankfurter** and **Harold Laski**. उन्होंने अमेरिकी, कनाडाई, आयरिश, ऑस्ट्रेलियाई और वाइमर मॉडल का अध्ययन किया और फेलिक्स फ्रैंकफर्टर और हारोल्ड लास्की जैसे न्यायविदों से परामर्श किया।
- In **October 1947**, he submitted his draft with **243 articles** and **13 schedules**. अक्टूबर 1947 में, उन्होंने अपना मसौदा 243 अनुच्छेदों और 13 अनुसूचियों के साथ प्रस्तुत किया।
- Rau's document provided the **Assembly with a starting point**. राऊ का दस्तावेज़ सभा को एक प्रारंभिक बिंदु प्रदान करता था।
- He had **no seat in the Constituent Assembly** and no **political mandate**. उनका संविधान सभा में कोई स्थान नहीं था और कोई राजनीतिक मण्डेट नहीं था।
- His authority was **scholarly, not representative**. उनकी प्राधिकरण शैक्षणिक था, प्रतिनिधि नहीं।
- **Ambedkar's task** was of a different order. अंबेडकर का कार्य एक अलग श्रेणी का था।
- As **Chairman of the Drafting Committee**, he had to turn a **legal draft** into a **political covenant**. ड्राफ्टिंग कमेटी के अध्यक्ष के रूप में, उन्हें कानूनी मसौदे को राजनीतिक समझौते में बदलना था।
- He carried the **Constitution** through the turbulence of **Partition**, the murder of the **Mahatma** and had to defend its provisions, **clause by clause**, in the **Assembly**. उन्होंने विभाजन की अशांति, महात्मा की हत्या के दौरान संविधान को संभाला और इसके प्रावधानों का अनुच्छेद दर अनुच्छेद सभा में बचाव करना पड़ा।
- His responsibility was not only to refine the text but also to build **consensus** among sharply divided **interests**. उनकी जिम्मेदारी केवल पाठ को सुधारने तक सीमित नहीं थी, बल्कि विभाजित हितों के बीच सहमति बनाने की भी थी।
- Rau built the **framework**. राऊ ने ढांचा तैयार किया।



- Ambedkar made it a **living instrument of justice**.
अंबेडकर ने इसे **न्याय का जीवंत उपकरण** बनाया।
- Ambedkar never denied Rau's **contribution**.
अंबेडकर ने कभी राऊ के **योगदान** को नकारा नहीं।
- In his concluding address to the **Constituent Assembly** on **November 25, 1949**, he said:
"The credit that is given to me does not really belong to me. It belongs partly to **Sir B.N. Rau**, the **Constitutional Adviser** to the **Constituent Assembly** who prepared a **rough draft** of the **Constitution** for the consideration of the **Drafting Committee**."
संविधान सभा को **25 नवंबर 1949** को अपने समापन संबोधन में उन्होंने कहा: "जो श्रेय मुझे दिया जाता है, वह वास्तव में मेरा नहीं है। यह आंशिक रूप से **सिर बी.एन. राऊ**, **संविधान सभा के संवैधानिक सलाहकार** का है, जिन्होंने **ड्राफ्टिंग कमेटी** के विचार के लिए **संविधान का प्रारंभिक मसौदा** तैयार किया।"
- He also said, "A part of the credit must go to the members of the **Drafting Committee** who, as I have said, have sat for **141 days**... Much greater share of the credit must go to **Mr. S.N. Mukherjee**, the **Chief Draftsman of the Constitution**. His ability to put the most intricate proposals in the simplest and clearest legal form can rarely be equalled, nor his capacity for hard work."
उन्होंने यह भी कहा, "श्रेय का एक हिस्सा **ड्राफ्टिंग कमेटी के सदस्यों** को जाना चाहिए जिन्होंने, जैसा मैंने कहा, **141 दिन** बैठकर काम किया... श्रेय का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा **श्री एस.एन. मुखर्जी**, **संविधान के मुख्य मसौदा लेखक** को जाना चाहिए। उनकी क्षमता सबसे जटिल प्रस्तावों को सरल और स्पष्ट कानूनी रूप में प्रस्तुत करने में दुर्लभ है, और उनकी कठिन परिश्रम की क्षमता भी।"
- Thus the words which are often used to claim that Rau, not Ambedkar, was the real **author of the Constitution** in fact, show the opposite.
इसलिए उन शब्दों का उपयोग जो अक्सर यह दावा करने के लिए किया जाता है कि राऊ, अंबेडकर नहीं, **संविधान के वास्तविक लेखक** थे, वास्तव में इसके विपरीत दिखाते हैं।
- Ambedkar called Rau's work a "**rough draft**", not a finished text.
अंबेडकर ने राऊ के कार्य को "**प्रारंभिक मसौदा**" कहा, न कि तैयार पाठ।
- The **Drafting Committee** and the **Assembly** turned that raw material into the document that finally came into force in **January 1950**.
ड्राफ्टिंग कमेटी और **सभा** ने उस कच्चे सामग्री को उस दस्तावेज़ में बदला जो अंततः **जनवरी 1950** में लागू हुआ।
- Nor does any evidence exist to show that Rau ever claimed to be the **Constitution's author**.
और कोई सबूत नहीं है कि राऊ ने कभी खुद को **संविधान का लेखक** कहा।
- His correspondence at that time with Ambedkar and **Jawaharlal Nehru** conveys **respect and cooperation**.
उस समय उनका पत्राचार अंबेडकर और **जवाहरलाल नेहरू** के साथ **सम्मान और सहयोग** दर्शाता है।
- The current effort to crown him as "**Father of the Constitution**" distorts both the record and Rau's own **modesty**.
उन्हें वर्तमान में "**संविधान का पिता**" घोषित करने का प्रयास रिकॉर्ड और राऊ की अपनी **विनम्रता** दोनों को विकृत करता है।

The Political Motive राजनीतिक उद्देश्य

- The campaign to elevate **Rau** and sideline **Ambedkar** is not driven by scholarship alone.
राऊ को ऊपर उठाने और **अंबेडकर** को किनारे करने का अभियान केवल शैक्षणिक कारणों से प्रेरित नहीं है।
- It reflects a discomfort with the idea that a **Dalit thinker** could stand at the centre of the **Republic's founding moment**.
यह इस विचार से असुविधा को दर्शाता है कि एक **दलित विचारक** **गणराज्य की स्थापना** के महत्वपूर्ण क्षण में केंद्र में खड़ा हो सकता है।
- Recasting **Rau** as the **Constitution's principal author** is an attempt to reclaim authorship for **caste privilege**.
राऊ को **संविधान का मुख्य लेखक** बताना जातिवाद के **विशेषाधिकार** के लिए लेखन का दावा करने का प्रयास है।
- It tames **Ambedkar's radical legacy** and turns a social revolution into a **bureaucratic exercise**.



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यह अंबेडकर की कट्टर विरासत को कम करता है और एक सामाजिक क्रांति को नौकरशाही अभ्यास में बदल देता है।

- The **Constitution** is not a sterile legal document.
संविधान केवल एक शुष्क कानूनी दस्तावेज़ नहीं है।
- It is first and foremost a **social manifesto** which promises the **dignity of the individual**.
यह सबसे पहले एक सामाजिक घोषणापत्र है जो व्यक्ति की गरिमा का वादा करता है।
- It was born out of **conflict, hope and redemption**.
यह संघर्ष, आशा और मोक्ष से जन्मा था।
- It represented the arrival of the **oppressed** at the table of **power**.
यह दमनितों के सत्ता की मेज पर आगमन का प्रतिनिधित्व करता था।
- To detach **Ambedkar** from it is to rob it of its **soul**.
इसे अंबेडकर से अलग करना इसे उसकी आत्मा से वंचित करना है।
- **Ambedkar's presence** in the **Constituent Assembly** was itself the result of a decisive act of **political wisdom**.
संविधान सभा में अंबेडकर की उपस्थिति स्वयं एक निर्णायक राजनीतिक बुद्धिमत्ता का परिणाम थी।
- He had originally been elected from **Bengal**, but after **Partition**, that seat went to **Pakistan**.
उन्हें मूल रूप से बंगाल से चुना गया था, लेकिन विभाजन के बाद, वह सीट पाकिस्तान चली गई।
- Many within the **Congress** were hesitant to bring him back because of past disagreements.
अतीत के मतभेदों के कारण कई कांग्रेस नेताओं को उन्हें वापस लाने में संकोच था।
- It was **Mahatma Gandhi's intervention** that settled the question.
इस प्रश्न को सुलझाने वाला महात्मा गांधी का हस्तक्षेप था।
- Though Gandhi and Ambedkar had clashed over **separate electorates**, Gandhi insisted that **Ambedkar must be part of the Assembly**.
भले ही गांधी और अंबेडकर अलग निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों पर टकराए थे, गांधी ने जोर दिया कि अंबेडकर सभा का हिस्सा होना चाहिए।
- He told **Congress leaders** that no **Constitution** could claim legitimacy if the **Scheduled Castes** were excluded from its making.
उन्होंने कांग्रेस नेताओं से कहा कि कोई भी संविधान वैधता का दावा नहीं कर सकता यदि अनुसूचित जातियों को इसके निर्माण से बाहर रखा गया।
- As a result, **Ambedkar** was re-elected from the **Bombay Presidency**.
परिणामस्वरूप, अंबेडकर को बॉम्बे प्रेसीडेंसी से फिर से चुना गया।
- Gandhi's insistence was an act of **foresight**.
गांधी का जोर एक दूरदर्शिता का कार्य था।
- In **1947**, when the nation was fractured by **religion**, an alienated **Dalit leadership** could have deepened the divide.
1947 में, जब राष्ट्र धर्म से विभाजित था, एक अलगावग्रस्त दलित नेतृत्व विभाजन को और गहरा सकता था।
- By ensuring **Ambedkar's inclusion**, Gandhi prevented a crisis that could have weakened the **new Republic** at its birth.
अंबेडकर की समावेशिता सुनिश्चित करके, गांधी ने एक संकट को रोका जो नए गणराज्य को इसके जन्म पर कमजोर कर सकता था।
- **Ambedkar's subsequent leadership** proved that inclusion right.
अंबेडकर की बाद की नेतृत्व क्षमता उस समावेशिता को सही साबित करती है।
- He turned the making of the **Constitution** into a **moral enterprise** that bound the country together.
उन्होंने संविधान के निर्माण को एक नैतिक उपक्रम में बदल दिया जिसने देश को एक साथ जोड़ा।
- **Rau's draft** provided the **order and structure**.
राऊ का मसौदा ने व्यवस्था और ढांचा प्रदान किया।
- **Ambedkar** gave the **Constitution** its **moral depth**.
अंबेडकर ने संविधान को उसकी नैतिक गहराई दी।
- The provisions on **Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles, and affirmative action** bear his imprint.
मौलिक अधिकार, निर्देशात्मक सिद्धांत, और सकारात्मक कार्रवाई पर प्रावधान उनके छाप को दर्शाते हैं।
- His speeches in the **Assembly** made the **Constitution** a **living moral philosophy**.
सभा में उनके भाषणों ने संविधान को एक जीवित नैतिक दर्शन बना दिया।



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- **Ambedkar warned that political equality would fail without social and economic equality.**
अंबेडकर ने चेतावनी दी कि सामाजिक और आर्थिक समानता के बिना राजनीतिक समानता असफल होगी।
- He said, "How long shall we continue to deny equality in our **social and economic life**? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our **political democracy** in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from **inequality** will blow up the structure of **political democracy** which this **Assembly** has so laboriously built up."
उन्होंने कहा, "हम अपनी सामाजिक और आर्थिक जीवन में समानता को कितनी देर तक अस्वीकार करते रहेंगे? अगर हम इसे लंबे समय तक अस्वीकार करते रहे, तो हम ऐसा केवल अपनी राजनीतिक लोकतंत्र को खतरे में डालकर करेंगे। हमें इस विरोधाभास को यथाशीघ्र दूर करना चाहिए अन्यथा जो असमानता से पीड़ित हैं वे उस राजनीतिक लोकतंत्र की संरचना को उड़ा देंगे जिसे इस सभा ने इतनी मेहनत से बनाया है।"
- That warning still remains the most powerful **moral statement** in India's **constitutional history**.
वह चेतावनी अभी भी भारत के संवैधानिक इतिहास में सबसे शक्तिशाली नैतिक बयान बनी हुई है।

The Peril of Forgetting भूलने का खतरा

- Every **Republic** must guard its **memory**.
प्रत्येक गणराज्य को अपनी स्मृति की रक्षा करनी चाहिए।
- The attempt to raise **Rau above Ambedkar** is part of a larger effort to drain the **Constitution** of its **radical spirit**.
राऊ को अंबेडकर से ऊपर उठाने का प्रयास संविधान की कट्टर मानसिकता को समाप्त करने के व्यापक प्रयास का हिस्सा है।
- It presents the founding as a matter of **technical competence** rather than **social transformation**.
यह स्थापना को सामाजिक परिवर्तन के बजाय तकनीकी क्षमता का मामला दिखाता है।
- To honour **Ambedkar** is not to diminish **Rau**.
अंबेडकर का सम्मान करना राऊ को कम करना नहीं है।
- Both served the **Republic faithfully**.
दोनों ने गणराज्य की निष्ठापूर्वक सेवा की।
- But the **Constitution** is more than a **legal framework**.
लेकिन संविधान केवल एक कानूनी ढांचा से अधिक है।
- It is a statement of **national purpose**.
यह राष्ट्रीय उद्देश्य का एक बयान है।
- It needed a scholar's **precision**, but it also needed a reformer's **conviction**.
इसे एक विद्वान की सटीकता की आवश्यकता थी, लेकिन इसे एक सुधारक के विश्वास की भी आवश्यकता थी।
- **Ambedkar** was that **reformer**.
अंबेडकर वही सुधारक थे।
- When the **Constitution** was adopted, leaders across the **political spectrum**, including **Nehru, Patel and Prasad**, publicly acknowledged **Ambedkar's central role**.
जब संविधान अपनाया गया, राजनीतिक क्षेत्र के नेताओं ने, जिनमें नेहरू, पटेल और प्रसाद शामिल थे, सार्वजनिक रूप से अंबेडकर की केंद्रीय भूमिका को स्वीकार किया।
- None suggested that **Rau** was the **Constitution's principal author**.
किसी ने भी यह सुझाव नहीं दिया कि राऊ संविधान के मुख्य लेखक थे।
- They understood the difference between **drafting a text** and **shaping a nation's conscience**.
उन्होंने पाठ का मसौदा तैयार करने और राष्ट्र की चेतना आकार देने के बीच का अंतर समझा।
- **Rau** deserves admiration as a brilliant **adviser**.
एक शानदार सलाहकार के रूप में राऊ प्रशंसा के योग्य हैं।
- **Ambedkar** deserves reverence as the **Constitution's moral architect**.
अंबेडकर को संविधान के नैतिक आर्किटेक्ट के रूप में श्रद्धा देने योग्य हैं।
- The **Constitution** was not written in the calm of **colonial offices** but in the shadow of **Partition, the Mahatma's assassination and caste oppression**.



संविधान को औपनिवेशिक कार्यालयों की शांति में नहीं लिखा गया था, बल्कि विभाजन, महात्मा की हत्या और जाति उत्पीड़न की छाया में लिखा गया।

- To place **Ambedkar** at its centre was not symbolic generosity but a statement that **India's new order** would belong equally to those once excluded.
इसे केंद्र में रखने के लिए **अंबेडकर** को रखना प्रतीकात्मक उदारता नहीं था, बल्कि यह एक बयान था कि **भारत का नया क्रम** उन लोगों के लिए समान रूप से होगा जिन्हें पहले बाहर रखा गया था।
- Ambedkar** never claimed sole authorship.
अंबेडकर ने कभी एकल लेखन का दावा नहीं किया।
- Yet, his leadership of the **Drafting Committee**, his defence of every clause, and his vision of **liberty, equality and fraternity** have defined the **Indian Republic**.
फिर भी, **ड्राफ्टिंग कमेटी** में उनकी नेतृत्व क्षमता, प्रत्येक अनुच्छेद का उनका बचाव और **स्वतंत्रता, समानता और भ्रातृत्व** की उनकी दृष्टि ने **भारतीय गणराज्य** को परिभाषित किया।
- To diminish his role is to betray the **Republic's founding promise**.
उनकी भूमिका को कम करना **गणराज्य की स्थापना के वादे** के साथ विश्वासघात है।
- Rau** built the **structure**; **Ambedkar** filled it with **justice**.
राऊ ने **ढांचा** तैयार किया; **अंबेडकर** ने इसे **न्याय** से भरा।
- Sir B.N. Rau** deserves gratitude as the **constitutional engineer**.
सिर बी.एन. राऊ को **संवैधानिक इंजीनियर** के रूप में कृतज्ञता का पात्र है।
- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar** remains the **architect and moral founder** of modern India.
डॉ. बी.आर. अंबेडकर **आधुनिक भारत के आर्किटेक्ट और नैतिक संस्थापक** बने हुए हैं।
- To deny that truth is to deny the **Republic**.
उस सत्य को नकारना **गणराज्य** को नकारने के समान है।

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

TOPICS COVERED	17_10_2025
1.	FSSAI says only WHO-approved products can be labelled as ORS FSSAI कहता है कि केवल WHO-मान्यता प्राप्त उत्पादों को ORS के रूप में लेबल किया जा सकता है
2.	'Studying space weather must be a major activity for humans' 'अंतरिक्ष मौसम का अध्ययन मानवों के लिए एक प्रमुख गतिविधि होना चाहिए'
3.	Google's new AI finds promising approach for cancer treatment गूगल की नई AI ने कैंसर उपचार के लिए एक आशाजनक दृष्टिकोण खोजा
4.	Dopamine overdose: how modern lifestyles are rewiring our brains



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	डोपामाइन ओवरडोज़: आधुनिक जीवनशैली हमारे मस्तिष्क को कैसे बदल रही है
5.	From brisk walk to simple exercises, investing in spinal health now can pay rich dividends तेज़ चलने से लेकर सरल व्यायाम तक, अभी रीढ़ की हड्डी के स्वास्थ्य में निवेश करना लाभकारी हो सकता है
6.	Ensure safeguards for India's carbon market भारत के कार्बन बाजार के लिए सुरक्षा उपाय सुनिश्चित करें
7.	Is landlockedness the reason for Bihar's underdevelopment? क्या भू-सीमितता बिहार के अविकसित होने का कारण है?
8.	Restoring Fiscal Space for the States राज्यों के लिए वित्तीय स्थान पुनर्स्थापित करना
9.	QUIZ
10.	Next formal round of India-EU FTA talks not set, says Agrawal भारत-ईयू FTA वार्ता का अगला औपचारिक दौर तय नहीं, अग्रवाल ने कहा
11.	Germany working on plan against Russian 'hybrid' threats, says Merz जर्मनी रूस के 'हाइब्रिड' खतरों के खिलाफ योजना पर काम कर रहा है, मर्ज़ के अनुसार



FSSAI says only WHO-approved products can be labelled as ORS

GS III: S&T

Siddharth Kumar Singh
HYDERABAD

A Hyderabad-based paediatrician's long-standing fight against sugar-rich beverages falsely marketed as oral rehydration solutions (ORS) has resulted in a major regulatory change. The Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI) has issued an order stating that no food brand may use the term 'Oral Rehydration Salts' or 'ORS' on its products unless the formulation adheres strictly to the standards recommended by the World Health Organisation.

The directive, issued on Tuesday, mandates the immediate withdrawal of all previous permissions

FSSAI said that the use of 'ORS' in any food product's name violates the Food Safety and Standards Act, 2006

granted to food business operators for using 'ORS' in conjunction with their brand names. Specifically, it rescinds two earlier orders, dated July 14, 2022, and February 2, 2024, that had allowed the use of 'ORS' as part of a trademark with a prefix or suffix, provided the label included a disclaimer stating, "The product is not an ORS formula as recommended by WHO."

On Wednesday, FSSAI

issued a detailed clarification reaffirming that the use of 'ORS' in any food product's name, whether fruit-based, non-carbonated, or ready-to-drink, violates the Food Safety and Standards Act, 2006, and related regulations. The regulator stated that such labelling 'misleads consumers by way of false, deceptive, ambiguous, and erroneous names or label declarations,' and therefore contravenes multiple provisions under the Act.

This regulatory intervention stems from a persistent legal campaign by paediatrician Sivaranjani Santosh, who began questioning deceptive marketing practices nearly a decade ago.

FSSAI says only WHO-approved products can be labelled as ORS

FSSAI कहता है कि केवल WHO-मान्यता प्राप्त उत्पादों को ORS के रूप में लेबल किया जा सकता है

- A Hyderabad-based paediatrician's long-standing fight against sugar-rich beverages falsely marketed as oral rehydration solutions (ORS) has resulted in a major regulatory change.

हैदराबाद स्थित बाल रोग विशेषज्ञ की लंबे समय से चल रही लड़ाई, जो चीनी-युक्त पेय पदार्थों के खिलाफ थी, जिन्हें झूठे तरीके से ओरल रिहाइड्रेशन सॉल्यूशंस (ORS) के रूप में बेचा जा रहा था, एक बड़े नियामक बदलाव का परिणाम रही है।

- The Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI) has issued an order stating that no food brand may use the term 'Oral Rehydration Salts' or 'ORS' on its products unless the formulation adheres strictly to the standards recommended by the World Health Organisation.

भारतीय खाद्य सुरक्षा और मानक प्राधिकरण (FSSAI) ने एक आदेश जारी किया है जिसमें कहा गया है कि कोई भी खाद्य ब्रांड अपने उत्पादों पर 'Oral Rehydration Salts' या 'ORS' शब्द का उपयोग नहीं कर सकता जब तक कि निर्माण विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन (WHO) द्वारा सुझाए गए मानकों का कड़ाई से पालन न करे।



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- The directive, issued on Tuesday, mandates the immediate withdrawal of all previous permissions granted to **food business operators** for using 'ORS' in conjunction with their brand names.
मंगलवार को जारी इस निर्देश में सभी पूर्व अनुमतियों को तुरंत वापस लेने का आदेश दिया गया है, जो **खाद्य व्यवसाय संचालकों** को उनके ब्रांड नामों के साथ 'ORS' शब्द का उपयोग करने के लिए दी गई थीं।
- Specifically, it rescinds two earlier orders, dated **July 14, 2022**, and **February 2, 2024**, that had allowed the use of 'ORS' as part of a trademark with a prefix or suffix, provided the label included a disclaimer stating, "The product is not an ORS formula as recommended by WHO."
विशेष रूप से, यह दो पहले के आदेशों को रद्द करता है, दिनांक **14 जुलाई 2022** और **2 फरवरी 2024**, जिन्होंने 'ORS' को ट्रेडमार्क के हिस्से के रूप में उपयोग करने की अनुमति दी थी, यदि लेबल पर एक अस्वीकरण शामिल था जिसमें कहा गया था, "यह उत्पाद WHO द्वारा सुझाए गए ORS फॉर्मूला के अनुरूप नहीं है।"
- On Wednesday, FSSAI issued a detailed clarification reaffirming that the use of 'ORS' in any food product's name, whether **fruit-based, non-carbonated, or ready-to-drink**, violates the **Food Safety and Standards Act, 2006**, and related regulations.
बुधवार को, FSSAI ने एक विस्तृत स्पष्टिकरण जारी किया, जिसमें पुनः पुष्टि की गई कि किसी भी खाद्य उत्पाद के नाम में 'ORS' का उपयोग, चाहे वह **फल आधारित, गैर-कार्बोनेटेड, या रेडी-टू-ड्रिंक** हो, **खाद्य सुरक्षा और मानक अधिनियम, 2006** और संबंधित नियमों का उल्लंघन करता है।
- The regulator stated that such labelling 'misleads consumers by way of false, deceptive, ambiguous, and erroneous names or label declarations,' and therefore contravenes multiple provisions under the Act.
नियामक ने कहा कि ऐसा लेबलिंग 'उपभोक्ताओं को **झूठे, भ्रामक, अस्पष्ट और त्रुटिपूर्ण नामों या लेबल घोषणाओं** के माध्यम से गुमराह करता है,' और इसलिए यह अधिनियम के कई प्रावधानों का उल्लंघन करता है।
- This regulatory intervention stems from a persistent legal campaign by **paediatrician Sivaranjani Santosh**, who began questioning deceptive marketing practices nearly a decade ago.
यह नियामक हस्तक्षेप **बाल रोग विशेषज्ञ शिवरंजनी सन्तोष** के लगातार कानूनी अभियान से उत्पन्न हुआ है, जिन्होंने लगभग एक दशक पहले **भ्रामक विपणन प्रथाओं** पर सवाल उठाना शुरू किया था।

PATRIOTIC



‘Studying space weather must be a major activity for humans’

GS III: S&T

The Hindu Bureau

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

The PUNCH Space Mission, launched by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) earlier this year to observe the ‘young solar wind,’ is “making the invisible, visible,” Craig Edward DeForest, Principal Investigator of the mission, has said.

“We are making the solar wind visible,” Dr. DeForest said on Wednesday evening, while giving a public lecture on ‘Imaging Almost Nothing At All...With the PUNCH Space Mission of NASA’ in Thiruvananthapuram. The lecture was jointly organised by the Indian Institute of Space Science and Technology (IIST), the Christ University



Craig Edward DeForest

Nodal Office and the local chapter of the Breakthrough Science Society.

PUNCH, short for ‘Polarimeter to Unify the Corona and Heliosphere,’ is attempting to understand the corona (the Sun’s outermost atmosphere) and the solar wind as “a single system,” according to Dr. DeForest, who is also Director of the Department of Solar and Heliospheric

Physics, Southwest Research Institute, Boulder, Colorado.

Studying and forecasting space weather should be important activities for humans, Dr. DeForest said. He points out that they provide a way to “protect ourselves.” Solar events such as the solar wind and coronal mass ejections can have impacts across the solar system.

Solar maximum

The sun is now in a time of solar maximum, a period of high activity. In five years or so it will be much quieter, he said. “We cannot predict when an ejection will happen, but we can predict that ejections will happen over an interval of time,” he said.

‘Studying space weather must be a major activity for humans’

‘अंतरिक्ष मौसम का अध्ययन मानवों के लिए एक प्रमुख गतिविधि होना चाहिए’

- The **PUNCH Space Mission**, launched by the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)** earlier this year to observe the ‘**young solar wind**,’ is “making the invisible, visible,” **Craig Edward DeForest**, Principal Investigator of the mission, has said. **PUNCH स्पेस मिशन**, जिसे इस साल की शुरुआत में **नेशनल एरोनाटिक्स एंड स्पेस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (NASA)** द्वारा ‘**यंग सोलर विंड**’ का निरीक्षण करने के लिए लॉन्च किया गया, “अदृश्य को दृश्यमान बना रहा है,” मिशन के प्रधान अन्वेषक **क्रेग एडवर्ड डेफोरेस्ट** ने कहा।
- “We are making the solar wind visible,” **Dr. DeForest** said on Wednesday evening, while giving a public lecture on ‘**Imaging Almost Nothing At All...With the PUNCH Space Mission of NASA**’ in **Thiruvananthapuram**. “हम सौर हवाओं को दृश्यमान बना रहे हैं,” **डॉ. डेफोरेस्ट** ने बुधवार शाम को **तिरुवनंतपुरम** में ‘**Imaging Almost Nothing At All...With the PUNCH Space Mission of NASA**’ पर एक सार्वजनिक व्याख्यान देते हुए कहा।



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

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

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- The lecture was jointly organised by the **Indian Institute of Space Science and Technology (IIST)**, the **Christ University Nodal Office** and the local chapter of the **Breakthrough Science Society**.
व्याख्यान का संयुक्त आयोजन **इंडियन इंस्टीट्यूट ऑफ स्पेस साइंस एंड टेक्नोलॉजी (IIST)**, **क्राइस्ट यूनिवर्सिटी नोडल ऑफिस** और **ब्रेकथ्रू साइंस सोसाइटी** के स्थानीय अध्याय द्वारा किया गया था।
- **PUNCH**, short for '**Polarimeter to Unify the Corona and Heliosphere**,' is attempting to understand the **corona (the Sun's outermost atmosphere)** and the **solar wind** as "a single system," according to **Dr. DeForest**, who is also **Director of the Department of Solar and Heliospheric Physics, Southwest Research Institute, Boulder, Colorado**.
PUNCH, जिसका पूरा नाम '**Polarimeter to Unify the Corona and Heliosphere**' है, **सूर्य का कोरोना (सबसे बाहरी वातावरण)** और **सौर हवा** को "एक एकल प्रणाली" के रूप में समझने का प्रयास कर रहा है, **डॉ. डेफोरेस्ट** के अनुसार, जो **डाइरेक्टर, डिपार्टमेंट ऑफ सोलर एंड हेलियोस्फेरिक फिजिक्स, साउथवेस्ट रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, बोल्डर, कोलोराडो** भी हैं।
- Studying and forecasting **space weather** should be important activities for humans, **Dr. DeForest** said.
डॉ. डेफोरेस्ट ने कहा कि **अंतरिक्ष मौसम** का अध्ययन और पूर्वानुमान मानवों के लिए महत्वपूर्ण गतिविधियाँ होनी चाहिए।
- He points out that they provide a way to "protect ourselves."
उन्होंने यह बताया कि यह हमें "अपने आप को सुरक्षित रखने" का तरीका प्रदान करता है।
- **Solar events** such as the **solar wind** and **coronal mass ejections** can have impacts across the **solar system**.
सौर घटनाएँ, जैसे कि **सौर हवा** और **कोरोनल मास इजेक्शन्स**, पूरे **सौर मंडल** पर प्रभाव डाल सकती हैं।

Solar maximum सौर अधिकतम

- The sun is now in a time of **solar maximum**, a period of high activity.
सूर्य अब **सौर अधिकतम** के समय में है, एक उच्च गतिविधि की अवधि।
- In five years or so it will be much quieter, he said.
उन्होंने कहा कि लगभग पाँच वर्षों में यह बहुत शांत हो जाएगा।
- "We cannot predict when an ejection will happen, but we can predict that ejections will happen over an interval of time," he said.
उन्होंने कहा, "हम यह नहीं अनुमानित कर सकते कि कोई इजेक्शन कब होगा, लेकिन हम यह अनुमानित कर सकते हैं कि इजेक्शन एक समय अवधि में होंगे।"



Google's new AI finds promising approach for cancer treatment

GS III: S&T

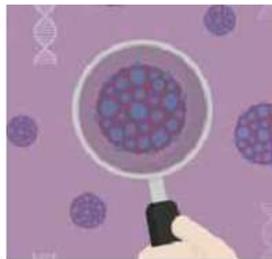
Jacob Koshy

NEW DELHI

Opening a portal to a new approach to drug discovery, Google unveiled a family of artificial intelligence tools that proposed a drug combination for detecting cancer that human experts did not know about, which seemed effective in laboratory conditions.

This is a rare instance of AI being used in the process of scientific discovery to design practical drug candidates.

The Cell2Sentence-Scale 27B (C2S-Scale) is a 27-billion-parameter foundation model designed to understand the language of individual cells. "This announcement marks a milestone for AI in science," Shekoofeh Azizi and Brian Perozzi, staff scientists at Google DeepMind and Google Research, respectively, said in a blogpost, adding,



The problem that researchers set out to solve was how to detect an emerging tumour.

"C2S-Scale generated a novel hypothesis about cancer cellular behaviour and we have since confirmed its prediction with experimental validation in living cells. This discovery reveals a promising new pathway for developing therapies to fight cancer."

Their research paper, with the scientific details, was made available for public scrutiny at bioRxiv, a repository of pre-prints.

The problem that researchers set out to solve was how to detect an

emerging tumour when the immune system itself was unaware of it. A strategy was to force such nascent tumours to display immune-triggering signals through a process called antigen presentation.

The C2S-Scale 27B model was given a task: find a drug that boosts immune signals only if low levels of interferon are present. Interferons are proteins produced by the body and act as frontline defenders against infections and tumours. This is a situation that exists when a tumour is likely secretly growing while avoiding the body's natural threat detection system. Small AI, or Large Language Models were unable to learn this. By exposing the 27-billion parameter model to two large data sets – real-world patient samples with tumour-immune interactions plus low-level interferon signalling and cell-line data with

no immune context – the scientists trod upon insight.

They first simulated the effect of over 4,000 drugs and noted how many of them worked in situations where interferon levels were low even as the tumours grew. Out of the many drug candidates highlighted by the model, a fraction (10%-30%) of drug hits are already known in prior literature, while the remaining drugs were "surprising hits with no prior known link". The model zeroed in on a chemical drug called silmitasertib that only seemed to boost the immune system when it suspected a tumour.

"With more pre-clinical and clinical tests, this discovery may reveal a promising new pathway for developing therapies to fight cancer," Sundar Pichai, CEO, Google and Alphabet, posted on X on Thursday.

Google's new AI finds promising approach for cancer treatment गूगल की नई AI ने कैंसर उपचार के लिए एक आशाजनक दृष्टिकोण खोजा

- Opening a portal to a new approach to **drug discovery**, Google unveiled a family of **artificial intelligence tools** that proposed a **drug combination** for detecting **cancer** that human experts did not know about, which seemed effective in laboratory conditions.

दवा खोज (drug discovery) के लिए एक नए दृष्टिकोण का मार्ग खोलते हुए, गूगल ने **कृत्रिम बुद्धिमत्ता उपकरणों (AI tools)** का एक परिवार पेश किया, जिसने **कैंसर** का पता लगाने के लिए एक **दवा संयोजन** सुझाया, जिसे मानव विशेषज्ञ नहीं जानते थे, और जो प्रयोगशाला की स्थितियों में प्रभावी प्रतीत हुआ।

- This is a rare instance of **AI** being used in the process of **scientific discovery** to design practical **drug candidates**.

यह **वैज्ञानिक खोज (scientific discovery)** की प्रक्रिया में व्यावहारिक **दवा उम्मीदवार (drug candidates)** डिजाइन करने के लिए **AI** के उपयोग का एक दुर्लभ उदाहरण है।

- The **Cell2Sentence-Scale 27B (C2S-Scale)** is a **27-billion-parameter foundation model** designed to understand the language of individual **cells**.

Cell Sentence-Scale 27B (C2S-Scale) एक **27-बिलियन-पैरामीटर फाउंडेशन मॉडल** है, जिसे व्यक्तिगत **कोशिकाओं (cells)** की भाषा को समझने के लिए डिज़ाइन किया गया है।



- “This announcement marks a milestone for **AI in science**,” Shekoofeh Azizi and Brian Perozzi, staff scientists at **Google DeepMind** and **Google Research**, respectively, said in a blogpost, adding, “C2S-Scale generated a novel hypothesis about **cancer cellular behaviour** and we have since confirmed its prediction with experimental validation in living cells. This discovery reveals a promising new pathway for developing therapies to fight **cancer**.”
“यह घोषणा **विज्ञान में AI** के लिए एक मील का पत्थर है,” **शेकोफे अज़ीज़ी** और **ब्रायन पेरोज़ी**, जो क्रमशः **Google DeepMind** और **Google Research** के स्टाफ वैज्ञानिक हैं, ने ब्लॉग पोस्ट में कहा, और जोड़ा, “C2S-Scale ने **कैंसर कोशिकीय व्यवहार (cancer cellular behaviour)** पर एक नया सिद्धांत उत्पन्न किया और हमने इसे जीवित कोशिकाओं में प्रयोगात्मक सत्यापन के साथ पुष्टि की। यह खोज **कैंसर** से लड़ने के लिए उपचार विकसित करने के लिए एक आशाजनक नया मार्ग प्रस्तुत करती है।”
- Their **research paper**, with the scientific details, was made available for public scrutiny at **bioRxiv**, a repository of pre-prints.
उनका **शोध पत्र (research paper)**, जिसमें वैज्ञानिक विवरण हैं, जनता की समीक्षा के लिए **bioRxiv** में उपलब्ध कराया गया, जो प्री-प्रिंट का भंडार है।
- The problem that researchers set out to solve was how to detect an emerging **tumour** when the **immune system** itself was unaware of it.
शोधकर्ताओं ने जो समस्या हल करने का प्रयास किया वह यह था कि कैसे उभरते हुए **ट्यूमर (tumour)** का पता लगाया जाए जब **रोग प्रतिरोधक प्रणाली (immune system)** स्वयं इसके बारे में अवगत न हो।
- A strategy was to force such nascent tumours to display **immune-triggering signals** through a process called **antigen presentation**.
एक रणनीति यह थी कि ऐसे नवजात ट्यूमर को **एंटीजन प्रस्तुति (antigen presentation)** नामक प्रक्रिया के माध्यम से **प्रतिरक्षा-प्रेरक संकेत (immune-triggering signals)** दिखाने के लिए मजबूर किया जाए।
- The **C2S-Scale 27B model** was given a task: find a **drug** that boosts **immune signals** only if low levels of **interferon** are present.
C2S-Scale 27B मॉडल को एक कार्य दिया गया: ऐसी **दवा (drug)** खोजें जो केवल तब **प्रतिरक्षा संकेत (immune signals)** को बढ़ाए जब **इंटरफेरॉन (interferon)** का स्तर कम हो।
- Interferons are **proteins** produced by the body and act as frontline defenders against **infections and tumours**.
इंटरफेरॉन (interferons) शरीर द्वारा उत्पादित **प्रोटीन** हैं और **संक्रमण और ट्यूमर (infections and tumours)** के खिलाफ अग्रिम रक्षक के रूप में कार्य करते हैं।
- This is a situation that exists when a **tumour** is likely secretly growing while avoiding the body’s natural threat detection system.
यह वह स्थिति है जब एक **ट्यूमर (tumour)** संभवतः गुप्त रूप से बढ़ रहा है और शरीर की प्राकृतिक खतरा पहचान प्रणाली से बच रहा है।
- Small AI, or **Large Language Models** were unable to learn this.
छोटी AI, या **बड़े भाषा मॉडल (Large Language Models)** इसे सीखने में असमर्थ थे।
- By exposing the 27-billion parameter model to two large data sets — real-world patient samples with tumour-immune interactions plus low-level interferon signalling and cell-line data with no immune context — the scientists trod upon insight.
27-बिलियन पैरामीटर मॉडल को दो बड़े डेटा सेट्स — ट्यूमर-प्रतिरक्षा इंटरैक्शन के साथ वास्तविक रोगी नमूने, कम स्तर के इंटरफेरॉन संकेत और प्रतिरक्षा संदर्भ के बिना सेल-लाइन डेटा — के सामने रखकर वैज्ञानिकों ने अंतर्दृष्टि प्राप्त की।
- They first simulated the effect of over **4,000 drugs** and noted how many of them worked in situations where **interferon levels** were low even as the **tumours grew**.
उन्होंने पहले **4,000 से अधिक दवाओं (drugs)** के प्रभाव का सिमुलेशन किया और यह नोट किया कि इनमें से कितनी दवाएं उस स्थिति में काम करती हैं जहां **इंटरफेरॉन स्तर (interferon levels)** कम होते हैं, भले ही **ट्यूमर (tumours)** बढ़ रहे हों।
- Out of the many drug candidates highlighted by the model, a fraction (10%-30%) of drug hits are already known in prior literature, while the remaining drugs were “surprising hits with no prior known link”.
मॉडल द्वारा हाइलाइट किए गए कई **दवा उम्मीदवारों (drug candidates)** में से, एक अंश (10%-30%) पहले से ज्ञात थे, जबकि बाकी दवाएं “ऐसी आश्चर्यजनक खोजें थीं जिनका पहले कोई ज्ञात संबंध नहीं था।”
- The model zeroed in on a chemical **drug** called **silmitasertib** that only seemed to boost the **immune system** when it suspected a **tumour**.
मॉडल ने एक रासायनिक **दवा (drug)** **सिलमितसर्टिब (silmitasertib)** पर ध्यान केंद्रित किया, जो केवल



तब प्रतिरक्षा प्रणाली (immune system) को बढ़ाता प्रतीत होता था जब इसे ट्यूमर (tumour) का संदेह होता था।

- “With more pre-clinical and clinical tests, this discovery may reveal a promising new pathway for developing therapies to fight cancer,” Sundar Pichai, CEO, Google and Alphabet, posted on X on Thursday.

“अधिक पूर्व-नैदानिक और नैदानिक परीक्षणों के साथ, यह खोज कैंसर (cancer) से लड़ने के लिए उपचार विकसित करने का एक आशाजनक नया मार्ग प्रस्तुत कर सकती है,” सुंदर पिचाई, CEO, गूगल और अल्फाबेट ने X पर गुरुवार को पोस्ट किया।

Dopamine overdose: how modern lifestyles are rewiring our brains

Contemporary life has made dopamine a double-edged sword that both stimulates productivity and feeds addiction; bringing back balance is key; breaks from devices, regular movement and meaningful social connections can all help stabilise dopamine levels and enhance mental well-being

SCIENCE
Pretty Duggar Gupta

If there were a chemical formula for happiness, dopamine would be at its core. Often called the “feel-good” neurotransmitter, dopamine drives motivation, reward, and pleasure, whether from a good meal, an achievement, or a meaningful relationship. From drug addictions to social media marathons, contemporary life has made dopamine a double-edged sword that both stimulates productivity and feeds addiction.

Dopamine is a chemical signal that conveys pleasure and thus a sense of reward. Each time something happens that makes us happy, such as eating chocolate or receiving a compliment, our brain releases dopamine, prompting us to act in the same manner again. On a neurobiological level, this is largely contingent on the mesolimbic pathway from the ventral tegmental area (VTA) to the nucleus accumbens, a central part of the brain's reward pathways. The mesolimbic pathway reinforces behaviours we perceive as constructive or pleasurable, along with reward prediction and a motivation to learn.

Certain times, these processes are commandeered by addictive drugs, including cocaine, nicotine, or alcohol. Such drugs induce massive dopamine surges, overwhelming the reward centre of the brain. Over time however, the brain gets desensitised, requiring more doses of the addictive substance in order to feel normal. This is where addiction begins – not from pleasure itself, but from the brain trying to bring balance back.

From substances to screens
Drugs used to be the primary cause of dopamine overload, but now, technology is the new push. Every ping, like, and notification serves to deliver tiny doses of dopamine, delivered intermittently, to promote user engagement in a reward schedule that best resembles a slot machine. Social media, short videos, reels, and streaming services exploit this gap, producing dependency with their endless cycle of suspense and satisfaction.

Although scrolling on Instagram or watching endless short videos may feel harmless, neuroscientists have shown that the brain processes the kind of stimulation presented by technology similarly to actual drug use. Such use promotes compulsive checking behaviours, fractured attention, anxiety, or withdrawal when disconnected. Functional MRI studies have shown overlapping activation in the nucleus



Worrying trend: Although scrolling on Instagram or watching endless short videos may feel harmless, neuroscientists have shown that the brain processes the kind of stimulation presented by technology similarly to actual drug use. S.R. SETHNA

accumbens during social media engagement and substance use, supporting the idea that digital stimuli can trigger the same reward circuits that drive addiction.

What is more concerning is that dopamine-driven design is not coincidental – it is a result of behavioural engineering, in which algorithms find out what rewards you the most and serve you more of it.

Young adults and teenagers, who are still learning how to manage their emotions and impulses, are especially susceptible. Research indicates that adolescents who report spending more than three hours a day on social media report substantially higher levels of anxiety and depressive symptoms. The adolescent brain is particularly plastic in development. This means that under-stimulation from the world around them and overstimulation from technology may, quickly yet casually, shape their reward circuits – creating hyper-short attention spans and emotional instability. Excessive screen time is shown by research to change the sensitivity of dopamine receptors, making it more difficult to find pleasure in daily life. Short of that, our normal baseline happiness is decreasing, while our appetites for stimulation become stronger.

An overload of dopamine does not indicate that we are off the charts happy; it suggests that our brain's reward system may be fatigued. By constantly seeking out stimulation, we are unknowingly setting ourselves up for burnout. The implications may be slow and stealthy at first: the experience of losing motivation when performing a normal task as it feels bland compared to an immediate sense of stability experienced while waiting for digital affirmation or enjoying the pharmacologic effects of a substance. Eventually, wear and tear will dull our emotional responses to regular experiences, for instance, the ability to experience joy, and will interrupt sleep, shorten our attention span and begin to deteriorate our mental health with anxiety, depression and poor self-esteem.

It is possible to use social media engagement to stimulate reward circuits in the brain that resemble what drives some to addiction. When the brain becomes accustomed to constant spikes of pleasure and begins screaming for more, potential manifestations include addiction, whether social media, video games, or drugs.

Reclaiming balance
The solution, of course, is not to eliminate dopamine, but rather to bring it back in balance. “Dopamine fasting” refers to

taking a break from the defeating pleasure and excitement our brains tend to rely on and instead, attempting to retrain our brains to function appropriately with a more moderate and sustainable level of happiness when engaging in slower and deeper experiences. Taking time away from constant phone reminders, silencing emails, taking a break from your devices, making your devices greyscale, or simply instituting a tech break can help your mind reset its rhythm.

Regular movement and moderate engagement with mindfulness will allow you to experience dopamine naturally and at a more stable and healthy level, instead of the non-stop hyper-stimulating level we are used to in the present. Focusing on meaningful activities – deep work, learning new skills – also unshins in enjoyable experiences with slower, more lasting rewards.

The most important return to balance comes with real human connection – a good old-fashioned conversation – a laugh with a friend, or time spent with family that provides a level of happiness that no social media ‘likes’ can match. Ensuring good sleep, good nutrition, and emotional awareness helps stabilise dopamine levels and grounds our moods.

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THE GIST

Dopamine is a chemical signal that conveys pleasure and thus a sense of reward. Each time something happens that makes us happy, such as eating chocolate or receiving a compliment, our brain releases dopamine, prompting us to act in the same manner again.

An overload of dopamine does not indicate that we are off the charts happy; it suggests that our brain's reward system may be fatigued. By constantly seeking out stimulation, we are unknowingly setting ourselves up for burnout.

Regular movement and moderate engagement with mindfulness will allow you to experience dopamine naturally and at a more stable and healthy level, instead of the non-stop hyper-stimulating level we are used to in the present. Focusing on meaningful activities also unshins in enjoyable experiences with slower, more lasting rewards.



Dopamine overdose: how modern lifestyles are rewiring our brains डोपामाइन ओवरडोज़: आधुनिक जीवनशैली हमारे मस्तिष्क को कैसे बदल रही है

- Contemporary life has made **dopamine** a double-edged sword that both stimulates productivity and feeds addiction; bringing back balance is key: breaks from devices, regular movement and meaningful social connections can all help stabilize **dopamine levels** and enhance mental well-being.
आधुनिक जीवन ने **डोपामाइन (dopamine)** को एक दोधारी तलवार बना दिया है जो उत्पादकता को बढ़ाती है और नशे को भी बढ़ावा देती है; संतुलन लौटाना महत्वपूर्ण है: उपकरणों से ब्रेक लेना, नियमित गतिविधि और सार्थक सामाजिक संबंध सभी **डोपामाइन स्तर (dopamine levels)** को स्थिर करने और मानसिक स्वास्थ्य बढ़ाने में मदद कर सकते हैं।
- If there were a chemical formula for **happiness**, dopamine would be at its core.
यदि **खुशी (happiness)** का कोई रासायनिक सूत्र होता, तो **डोपामाइन (dopamine)** इसका मूल होता।
- Often called the “feel-good” **neurotransmitter**, dopamine drives **motivation, reward, and pleasure**, whether from a good meal, an achievement, or a meaningful relationship.
अक्सर इसे “फील-गुड” **न्यूरोट्रांसमीटर (neurotransmitter)** कहा जाता है, डोपामाइन **प्रेरणा, इनाम और आनंद (motivation, reward, and pleasure)** को नियंत्रित करता है, चाहे वह अच्छे भोजन, उपलब्धि या सार्थक संबंध से हो।
- From drug addictions to social media marathons, contemporary life has made dopamine a double-edged sword that both stimulates productivity and feeds addiction.
ड्रग एडिक्शन से लेकर सोशल मीडिया मैराथन तक, आधुनिक जीवन ने डोपामाइन को एक दोधारी तलवार बना दिया है जो उत्पादकता को बढ़ाती है और नशे को भी बढ़ावा देती है।
- Dopamine is a chemical signal that conveys **pleasure** and thus a sense of **reward**.
डोपामाइन एक रासायनिक संकेत है जो **आनंद (pleasure)** और इस प्रकार **इनाम (reward)** का अनुभव कराता है।
- Each time something happens that makes us happy, such as eating chocolate or receiving a compliment, our brain releases dopamine, prompting us to act in the same manner again.
हर बार जब कुछ ऐसा होता है जो हमें खुश करता है, जैसे चॉकलेट खाना या तारीफ पाना, हमारा मस्तिष्क डोपामाइन छोड़ता है, जिससे हम फिर से वही कार्य करने के लिए प्रेरित होते हैं।
- On a neurobiological level, this is largely contingent on the **mesolimbic pathway** from the **ventral tegmental area (VTA)** to the **nucleus accumbens**, a central part of the brain’s **reward pathways**.
स्नायु-जीवविज्ञान स्तर पर, यह मुख्य रूप से **वेंट्रल टेगमेंटल एरिया (VTA)** से **न्यूक्लियस अक्युम्बेंस (nucleus accumbens)** तक के **मेसोलिम्बिक पथ (mesolimbic pathway)** पर निर्भर करता है, जो मस्तिष्क के **इनाम मार्ग (reward pathways)** का केंद्रीय हिस्सा है।
- The mesolimbic pathway reinforces behaviours we perceive as **constructive or pleasurable**, along with reward prediction and a motivation to learn.
मेसोलिम्बिक पथ उन व्यवहारों को मजबूत करता है जिन्हें हम **सकारात्मक या आनंददायक (constructive or pleasurable)** मानते हैं, साथ ही इनाम की भविष्यवाणी और सीखने की प्रेरणा भी प्रदान करता है।
- Certain times, these processes are commandeered by addictive drugs, including **cocaine, nicotine, or alcohol**.
कुछ समय, इन प्रक्रियाओं पर नशे वाली दवाओं का नियंत्रण होता है, जैसे **कोकीन, निकोटीन, या शराब (cocaine, nicotine, alcohol)**।
- Such drugs induce massive dopamine surges, overwhelming the **reward centre** of the brain.
ऐसी दवाएं भारी डोपामाइन वृद्धि पैदा करती हैं, जिससे मस्तिष्क के **इनाम केंद्र (reward centre)** पर दबाव पड़ता है।
- Over time however, the brain gets **desensitised**, requiring more doses of the addictive substance in order to feel normal.
समय के साथ, मस्तिष्क **सेंसिटिविटी खो देता है (desensitised)**, और सामान्य महसूस करने के लिए नशे वाली दवा की अधिक खुराक की आवश्यकता होती है।
- This is where **addiction** begins — not from pleasure itself, but from the brain trying to bring balance back.
यहीं से **नशा (addiction)** शुरू होता है — आनंद से नहीं, बल्कि मस्तिष्क संतुलन लौटाने की कोशिश कर रहा होता है।



- From substances to screens: Drugs used to be the primary cause of dopamine overload, but now, **technology** is the new push.
सामग्रियों से स्क्रीन तक: पहले डोपामाइन ओवरलोड का मुख्य कारण दवाएं थीं, लेकिन अब **प्रौद्योगिकी (technology)** नया कारण है।
- Every ping, like, and notification serves to deliver tiny doses of dopamine, delivered intermittently, to promote user engagement in a **reward schedule** that best resembles a slot machine.
हर पिंग, लाइक और नोटिफिकेशन छोटे डोपामाइन की खुराक देता है, जो अंतराल पर प्रदान किया जाता है, ताकि उपयोगकर्ता की भागीदारी एक **इनाम अनुसूची (reward schedule)** में बढ़ाई जा सके, जो स्लॉट मशीन जैसी होती है।
- Social media, short videos, reels, and streaming services exploit this gap, producing dependency with their endless cycle of suspense and satisfaction.
सोशल मीडिया, शॉर्ट वीडियो, रील और स्ट्रीमिंग सेवाएं इस अंतर का लाभ उठाती हैं, अपने अंतहीन सस्पेंस और संतोष के चक्र से निर्भरता पैदा करती हैं।
- Although scrolling on Instagram or watching endless short videos may feel harmless, neuroscientists have shown that the brain processes the kind of stimulation presented by technology similarly to actual drug use.
हालांकि इंस्टाग्राम पर स्क्रॉल करना या अंतहीन शॉर्ट वीडियो देखना हानिरहित लग सकता है, न्यूरोसाइंटिस्ट्स ने दिखाया है कि मस्तिष्क तकनीक द्वारा प्रस्तुत प्रकार की उत्तेजना को वास्तविक दवा उपयोग के समान संसाधित करता है।
- Such use promotes compulsive checking behaviours, fractured attention, anxiety, or withdrawal when disconnected.
ऐसा उपयोग जब **डिस्कनेक्टेड** होता है तो **जबरदस्त जांच व्यवहार, टूटे ध्यान, चिंता, या वापसी (withdrawal)** को बढ़ावा देता है।
- Functional MRI studies have shown overlapping activation in the **nucleus accumbens** during social media engagement and substance use, supporting the idea that **digital stimuli** can trigger the same **reward circuits** that drive addiction.
फंक्शनल MRI अध्ययन में दिखाया गया कि सोशल मीडिया उपयोग और दवा उपयोग के दौरान **न्यूक्लियस अक्युम्बेंस (nucleus accumbens)** में सक्रियता ओवरलैप होती है, जो पुष्टि करती है कि **डिजिटल उत्तेजना (digital stimuli)** वही **इनाम मार्ग (reward circuits)** सक्रिय कर सकती है जो नशे को प्रेरित करते हैं।
- What is more concerning is that dopamine-driven design is not coincidental — it is a result of **behavioural engineering**, in which algorithms find out what rewards you the most and serve you more of it.
सबसे चिंता का विषय यह है कि **डोपामाइन-प्रेरित डिजाइन (dopamine-driven design)** संयोग नहीं है — यह **व्यवहार इंजीनियरिंग (behavioural engineering)** का परिणाम है, जिसमें एल्गोरिदम यह पता लगाते हैं कि आपको कौन सा इनाम सबसे अधिक पसंद है और आपको अधिक प्रदान करते हैं।
- Young adults and teenagers, who are still learning how to manage their emotions and impulses, are especially susceptible.
युवा वयस्क और किशोर, जो अभी भी अपनी भावनाओं और आवेगों को प्रबंधित करना सीख रहे हैं, विशेष रूप से संवेदनशील होते हैं।
- Research indicates that adolescents who report spending more than three hours a day on social media report substantially higher levels of anxiety and depressive symptoms.
शोध से पता चलता है कि किशोर जो रिपोर्ट करते हैं कि वे सोशल मीडिया पर रोजाना तीन घंटे से अधिक समय बिताते हैं, उनमें चिंता और अवसाद के लक्षण काफी अधिक पाए जाते हैं।
- The adolescent brain is particularly plastic in development.
किशोर मस्तिष्क विकास में विशेष रूप से **प्लास्टिक (plastic)** होता है।
- This means that under-stimulation from the world around them and overstimulation from technology may, quickly yet casually, shape their **reward circuits** — creating hyper-short attention spans and emotional instability.
इसका अर्थ है कि उनके चारों ओर की दुनिया से कम उत्तेजना और प्रौद्योगिकी से अत्यधिक उत्तेजना तेजी से लेकिन सहज रूप से उनके **इनाम मार्ग (reward circuits)** को आकार दे सकती है — अत्यधिक कम ध्यान अवधि और भावनात्मक अस्थिरता पैदा करना।
- Excessive screen time is shown by research to change the sensitivity of **dopamine receptors**, making it more difficult to find pleasure in daily life.



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अत्यधिक स्क्रीन समय शोध द्वारा यह दिखाया गया है कि यह **डोपामाइन रिसेप्टर्स (dopamine receptors)** की संवेदनशीलता बदल देता है, जिससे दैनिक जीवन में आनंद पाना कठिन हो जाता है।

- Short of that, our normal baseline happiness is decreasing, while our appetites for stimulation become stronger.

इसके अलावा, हमारी सामान्य आधारभूत खुशी घट रही है, जबकि उत्तेजना की हमारी इच्छा मजबूत होती जा रही है।

- An overload of dopamine does not indicate that we are off the charts happy; it suggests that our brain's **reward system** may be fatigued.

डोपामाइन का ओवरलोड यह नहीं बताता कि हम अत्यधिक खुश हैं; यह सुझाव देता है कि हमारे मस्तिष्क का **इनाम प्रणाली (reward system)** थक चुका है।

- By constantly seeking out stimulation, we are unknowingly setting ourselves up for **burnout**. लगातार उत्तेजना की खोज करके, हम अनजाने में खुद को **बर्नआउट (burnout)** के लिए तैयार कर रहे हैं।

- The implications may be slow and stealthy at first: the experience of losing motivation when performing a normal task as it feels bland compared to an immediate sense of stability experienced while waiting for digital affirmation or enjoying the pharmacologic effects of a substance.

प्रभाव प्रारंभ में धीरे और छिपे हुए हो सकते हैं: एक सामान्य कार्य करते समय प्रेरणा खोने का अनुभव, क्योंकि यह डिजिटल पुष्टि का इंतजार करते समय या किसी पदार्थ के औषधीय प्रभाव का आनंद लेते समय अनुभव किए गए तात्कालिक स्थिरता की तुलना में फीका लगता है।

- Eventually, wear and tear will dull our emotional responses to regular experiences, for instance, the ability to experience joy, and will interrupt sleep, shorten our attention span and begin to deteriorate our mental health with anxiety, depression and poor self-esteem.

अंततः, पहनावा और आंसू हमारे नियमित अनुभवों के प्रति भावनात्मक प्रतिक्रियाओं को सुस्त कर देंगे, जैसे आनंद अनुभव करने की क्षमता, और यह नींद में बाधा डालेगा, हमारी ध्यान अवधि को छोटा करेगा और चिंता, अवसाद और कम आत्म-सम्मान के साथ हमारे मानसिक स्वास्थ्य को बिगाड़ना शुरू कर देगा।

- It is possible to use social media engagement to stimulate **reward circuits** in the brain that resemble what drives some to **addiction**.

यह संभव है कि सोशल मीडिया की भागीदारी का उपयोग मस्तिष्क में **इनाम मार्ग (reward circuits)** को उत्तेजित करने के लिए किया जाए जो कुछ लोगों को **नशे (addiction)** की ओर प्रेरित करता है।

- When the brain becomes accustomed to constant spikes of pleasure and begins screaming for more, potential manifestations include **addiction**, whether social media, video games, or drugs.

जब मस्तिष्क लगातार आनंद की वृद्धि के आदी हो जाता है और अधिक की मांग करने लगता है, तो संभावित परिणामों में **नशा (addiction)** शामिल है, चाहे वह सोशल मीडिया, वीडियो गेम या दवाएं हों।

Reclaiming balance

संतुलन फिर से हासिल करना

- The solution, of course, is not to eliminate **dopamine**, but rather to bring it back in balance. समाधान, निश्चित रूप से, **डोपामाइन (dopamine)** को समाप्त करना नहीं है, बल्कि इसे संतुलन में वापस लाना है।

- “Dopamine fasting” refers to taking a break from the defeating pleasure and excitement our brains tend to rely on and instead, attempting to retrain our brains to function appropriately with a more moderate and sustainable level of happiness when engaging in slower and deeper experiences.

“**डोपामाइन फास्टिंग (Dopamine fasting)**” का मतलब है हमारे मस्तिष्क द्वारा भरोसा किए जाने वाले अत्यधिक आनंद और उत्तेजना से ब्रेक लेना और इसके बजाय, अपने मस्तिष्क को धीरे और गहरे अनुभवों में शामिल होने पर एक अधिक संतुलित और स्थायी स्तर की खुशी के साथ सही ढंग से कार्य करने के लिए पुनः प्रशिक्षित करने का प्रयास करना।

- Taking time away from constant phone reminders, silencing emails, taking a break from your devices, making your devices greyscale, or simply instituting a tech break can help your mind reset its rhythm.

लगातार फोन रिमाइंडर से दूर समय निकालना, ईमेल को म्यूट करना, अपने उपकरणों से ब्रेक लेना, अपने उपकरणों को ग्रेस्केल बनाना, या सरल रूप से तकनीकी ब्रेक लागू करना आपके मस्तिष्क को अपनी लय रीसेट करने में मदद कर सकता है।



- Regular movement and moderate engagement with **mindfulness** will allow you to experience dopamine naturally and at a more stable and healthy level, instead of the non-stop hyper-stimulating level we are used to in the present.
नियमित गतिविधि और **माइंडफुलनेस (mindfulness)** के साथ मध्यम भागीदारी आपको डोपामाइन का प्राकृतिक और अधिक स्थिर एवं स्वस्थ स्तर पर अनुभव करने की अनुमति देगा, बजाय उस निरंतर अत्यधिक उत्तेजक स्तर के जिसे हम वर्तमान में अनुभव करने के आदी हैं।
- Focusing on meaningful activities — deep work, learning new skills — also ushers in enjoyable experiences with slower, more lasting rewards.
सार्थक गतिविधियों पर ध्यान केंद्रित करना — गहरा काम, नई कौशल सीखना — भी धीरे और अधिक स्थायी इनाम के साथ सुखद अनुभव लाता है।
- The most important return to balance comes with real human connection — a good old-fashioned conversation, a laugh with a friend, or time spent with family that provides a level of happiness that no social media 'likes' can match.
संतुलन लौटाने के लिए सबसे महत्वपूर्ण चीज है वास्तविक **मानव संपर्क (human connection)** — एक पुराना अच्छा संवाद, मित्र के साथ ह

From brisk walk to simple exercises, investing in spinal health now can pay rich dividends

GS III S&T

WORLD SPINE DAY

Backiaraj D.

World Spine Day on October 16, has arrived with a clear, energising brief: "Invest in Your Spine." Far from a passive plea to sit up straight, the 2025 campaign is a call to motion, urging every age group to treat spinal health as an active, daily practice rather than a background setting on a digital device. With low back pain now the leading cause of global disability, the most valuable contribution we can make is to move — deliberately, repeatedly, and joyfully — because the vertebrae thrive on rhythm, load, and circulation, not on the static hunch that has become the signature posture of modern life.

Stepping up

For the average adult the equation is refreshingly simple: the more steps you bank before noon, the less pain you will tally by nightfall. A brisk 20-minute walk at sunrise wakes the deep stabilising muscles that hug the lumbar spine and drives nutrient-rich fluid through the discs, keeping them plump and shock-absorbent. From there, micro-doses of motion are the interest that compounds: set a quiet hourly chime, stand up and march in place for 60 seconds



Movement as medicine: With low back pain now the leading cause of global disability, the most valuable contribution we can make is to move. FILE PHOTO

while rolling the shoulder blades together; climb one flight of stairs sideways, leading with the left leg on the way up and the right on the way down; swap the elevator queue for a two-minute calf-stretch against the wall. These snippets accumulate into the 150 minutes of moderate activity recommended by the World Health Organization, yet they feel less like exercise and more like reclaiming stolen minutes from a chair.

Pregnancy, often misinterpreted as a nine-month sentence to stillness, is in fact an invitation to curated movement. Physiotherapists now prescribe pool walking three times a week; the buoyancy unloads 70% of body weight while the gentle drag of water strengthens multifidus muscles that guard the spine. On land, a standing pelvic

tilt — hands on hips, exhale and tuck, inhale, and release — can be performed at the kitchen counter for two sets of fifteen, turning meal prep into a mini-workout. A low step stool placed beneath the desk allows one foot to alternate elevation, keeping the pelvis dynamic and reducing the static sway-back that compresses lumbar discs.

After birth, front-loaded baby carriers can be replaced with ergonomic backpacks that sit above the hips, encouraging the parent to walk taller and longer, transforming stroller routes into spine-lengthening hikes.

Rewrite ageing

Ageing does not retire the spine from activity; it merely rewrites the playlist. Osteopenia vertebrae respond to axial loading with renewed mineral deposition.

Doctors encourage the elderly to keep up with their daily outings including temple stairs and market walks to stay in shape, but with small updates.

A calm dawn walk around the neighbourhood temple or park gives steady, weight-bearing steps; carrying a light cloth bag with a kilogram of lentils adds a gentle load that tells bones to stay strong. At home, a firm cotton mattress on a regular wooden cot supports the back better than the old rope-strung cot, and placing a rolled towel under the knees during afternoon rest eases lower back arch. Calcium comes through food like ragi porridge sweetened with jaggery, small river fish eaten with soft bones, and a warm glass of milk at night. These habits let ageing spines stay active and upright.

The ledger is unambiguous: every minute spent in motion is interest earned against future pain, surgery days and pharmacy bills. The spine is not a fragile column to be guarded; it is a dynamic spring that wants to be compressed, released and compressed again. Invest today by moving, and the spine will pay dividends for every tomorrow you plan to stand up in.

(Dr. Backiaraj D. is a spine surgeon with the department of spine surgery and neurological sciences at Naruvi Hospitals, Vellore. backiaraj.d@naruvihospitals.com)



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From brisk walk to simple exercises, investing in spinal health now can pay rich dividends

तेज़ चलने से लेकर सरल व्यायाम तक, अभी रीढ़ की हड्डी के स्वास्थ्य में निवेश करना लाभकारी हो सकता है

- World Spine Day on **October 16**, has arrived with a clear, energising brief: **"Invest in Your Spine."**
विश्व रीढ़ दिवस **16 अक्टूबर** को स्पष्ट और ऊर्जा देने वाले संदेश के साथ आया है: **"अपनी रीढ़ में निवेश करें (Invest in Your Spine)!"**
- Far from a passive plea to sit up straight, the 2025 campaign is a call to **motion**, urging every age group to treat **spinal health** as an active, daily practice rather than a background setting on a digital device.
सिर्फ सीधे बैठने का आग्रह नहीं, 2025 का अभियान **गतिशीलता (motion)** की पुकार है, जो हर उम्र के समूह को **रीढ़ स्वास्थ्य (spinal health)** को सक्रिय, दैनिक अभ्यास के रूप में अपनाने का सुझाव देता है, न कि डिजिटल डिवाइस पर पृष्ठभूमि सेटिंग के रूप में।
- With **low back pain** now the leading cause of global **disability**, the most valuable contribution we can make is to **move** — deliberately, repeatedly, and joyfully — because the **vertebrae** thrive on rhythm, load, and circulation, not on the static hunch that has become the signature posture of modern life.
अब **कमर दर्द (low back pain)** वैश्विक **अक्षम्यता (disability)** का प्रमुख कारण बन गया है, इसलिए सबसे मूल्यवान योगदान जो हम दे सकते हैं वह है **सक्रिय होना (move)** — जानबूझकर, बार-बार और खुशी के साथ — क्योंकि **रीढ़ की हड्डियाँ (vertebrae)** लय, भार और परिसंचरण पर फलती हैं, न कि स्थिर झुकाव पर जो आधुनिक जीवन की पहचान बन गया है।

Stepping up

सक्रिय कदम उठाना

- For the average adult the equation is refreshingly simple: the more steps you bank before noon, the less pain you will tally by nightfall.
औसत वयस्क के लिए समीकरण अत्यंत सरल है: जितने अधिक कदम आप दोपहर से पहले चलते हैं, उतना ही रात तक दर्द कम होगा।
- A brisk 20-minute walk at sunrise wakes the deep stabilising muscles that hug the **lumbar spine** and drives nutrient-rich fluid through the **discs**, keeping them plump and shock-absorbent.
सूर्योदय पर 20 मिनट की तेज़ चाल **कमर की रीढ़ (lumbar spine)** के गहरे स्थिरीकरण मांसपेशियों को सक्रिय करती है और पोषक तत्वों से भरपूर तरल को **डिस्क (discs)** में प्रवाहित करती है, जिससे वे मजबूत और झटका सहिष्णु बने रहते हैं।
- From there, micro-doses of motion are the interest that compounds: set a quiet hourly chime, stand up and march in place for 60 seconds while rolling the shoulder blades together; climb one flight of stairs sideways, leading with the left leg on the way up and the right on the way down; swap the elevator queue for a two-minute calf-stretch against the wall.
इसके बाद, हल्की गति (micro-doses of motion) ब्याज के रूप में जुड़ती है: हर घंटे एक शांत घंटी सेट करें, उठें और कंधे के ब्लेड को घुमाते हुए 60 सेकंड तक जगह पर मार्च करें; सीढ़ियों की एक उड़ान पार करें, ऊपर जाते समय बाएँ पैर से और नीचे आते समय दाएँ पैर से; लिफ्ट की कतार को दीवार के खिलाफ दो मिनट के बछड़े खिंचाव (calf-stretch) से बदलें।
- These snippets accumulate into the 150 minutes of moderate activity recommended by the **World Health Organization**, yet they feel less like exercise and more like reclaiming stolen minutes from a chair.
ये छोटे अभ्यास **विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन (World Health Organization)** द्वारा सुझाए गए 150 मिनट मध्यम गतिविधि में जुड़ जाते हैं, फिर भी ये व्यायाम जैसा नहीं बल्कि कुर्सी से चुराए गए समय को वापस पाने जैसा महसूस होता है।
- **Pregnancy**, often misinterpreted as a nine-month sentence to stillness, is in fact an invitation to curated movement.



गर्भावस्था (Pregnancy), जिसे अक्सर नौ महीने की निष्क्रियता समझा जाता है, वास्तव में चुनी हुई गति (curated movement) का निमंत्रण है।

- Physiotherapists now prescribe **pool walking** three times a week; the buoyancy unloads 70% of body weight while the gentle drag of water strengthens **multifidus muscles** that guard the spine.

फिजियोथेरेपिस्ट अब सप्ताह में तीन बार **पूल वॉकिंग (pool walking)** की सलाह देते हैं; पानी की buoyancy शरीर के 70% भार को कम करती है जबकि पानी की हल्की खिंचाव से **मल्टीफिडस मांसपेशियां (multifidus muscles)** मजबूत होती हैं जो रीढ़ की रक्षा करती हैं।

- On land, a standing **pelvic tilt** — hands on hips, exhale and tuck, inhale, and release — can be performed at the kitchen counter for two sets of fifteen, turning meal prep into a mini-workout.

सतह पर, **पेल्विक टिल्ट (pelvic tilt)** — हाथ कमर पर, exhales करते हुए अंदर झुकाव, inhale और छोड़ें — रसोई काउंटर पर 15 दोहराव के दो सेट के लिए किया जा सकता है, जिससे भोजन की तैयारी एक मिनी-वर्कआउट में बदल जाती है।

- A low step stool placed beneath the desk allows one foot to alternate elevation, keeping the **pelvis** dynamic and reducing the static sway-back that compresses **lumbar discs**.

डेस्क के नीचे रखी कम स्टेप स्टूल एक पैर को उठाने-झुकाने की सुविधा देती है, जिससे **पेल्विस (pelvis)** गतिशील रहता है और स्थिर झुकाव कम होता है जो **कमर की डिस्क (lumbar discs)** को दबाता है।

- After birth, front-loaded baby carriers can be replaced with ergonomic backpacks that sit above the hips, encouraging the parent to walk taller and longer, transforming stroller routes into **spine-lengthening hikes**.

जन्म के बाद, सामने लादे जाने वाले बेबी कैरियर्स को एर्गोनॉमिक बैकपैक्स से बदल सकते हैं जो कूल्हों के ऊपर बैठते हैं, माता-पिता को लंबा और लंबा चलने के लिए प्रेरित करते हैं, स्टॉलर मार्ग को **रीढ़ लंबाई बढ़ाने वाली सैर (spine-lengthening hikes)** में बदल देते हैं।

Rewrite ageing

बुढ़ापे को फिर से लिखना

- Ageing does not retire the spine from activity; it merely rewrites the playlist.
बुढ़ापा रीढ़ को सक्रियता से बाहर नहीं करता; यह केवल गतिविधियों की सूची को फिर से लिखता है।
- **Osteopenia vertebrae** respond to axial loading with renewed mineral deposition.
ऑस्टियोपीनिया हड्डियां (Osteopenia vertebrae) अक्षीय भार (axial loading) पर नए खनिज जमा (mineral deposition) के साथ प्रतिक्रिया देती हैं।
- Doctors encourage the elderly to keep up with their daily outings including temple stairs and market walks to stay in shape, but with small updates.
डॉक्टर बुजुर्गों को दैनिक गतिविधियों जैसे मंदिर की सीढ़ियों और बाजार की सैर को बनाए रखने की सलाह देते हैं, लेकिन कुछ छोटे बदलावों के साथ।
- A calm dawn walk around the neighbourhood temple or park gives steady, weight-bearing steps; carrying a light cloth bag with a kilogram of lentils adds a gentle load that tells bones to stay strong.
शांति भरी सुबह की सैर, पड़ोस के मंदिर या पार्क के चारों ओर, स्थिर भार-धारण कदम देती है; एक हल्की कपड़े की थैली में एक किलो दाल रखना हड्डियों को मजबूत रहने का संकेत देता है।
- At home, a firm cotton mattress on a regular wooden cot supports the back better than the old rope-strung cot, and placing a rolled towel under the knees during afternoon rest eases lower back arch.
घर पर, नियमित लकड़ी के खाट पर एक मजबूत कपास का गद्दा पुराने रस्सी वाले खाट की तुलना में पीठ का बेहतर समर्थन करता है, और दोपहर की आराम के दौरान घुटनों के नीचे एक मोड़ा हुआ तौलिया रखना कमर की झुकाव को आराम देता है।
- Calcium comes through food like **ragi porridge sweetened with jaggery**, small river fish eaten with soft bones, and a warm glass of milk at night.
कैल्शियम ऐसे भोजन से आता है जैसे **जागरी के साथ मीठा रागी दलिया (ragi porridge sweetened with jaggery)**, छोटे नदी के मछली जिन्हें नरम हड्डियों के साथ खाया जाता है, और रात में एक गिलास गर्म दूध।
- These habits let ageing spines stay active and upright.
ये आदतें बुढ़ती रीढ़ को सक्रिय और सीधा बनाए रखती हैं।



- The ledger is unambiguous: every minute spent in **motion** is interest earned against future pain, surgery days and pharmacy bills.
लेजर स्पष्ट है: हर मिनट जो **गतिशीलता (motion)** में बिताया जाता है वह भविष्य के दर्द, सर्जरी और दवा के खर्च के खिलाफ ब्याज के रूप में होता है।
- The spine is not a fragile column to be guarded; it is a dynamic spring that wants to be compressed, released and compressed again.
रीढ़ एक नाजुक स्तंभ नहीं है जिसे संरक्षित किया जाए; यह एक गतिशील स्प्रिंग है जिसे दबाया, छोड़ा और फिर से दबाया जाना चाहिए।
- Invest today by **moving**, and the spine will pay dividends for every tomorrow you plan to stand up in.
आज **सक्रिय होकर (moving)** निवेश करें, और रीढ़ हर उस कल के लिए लाभ देगी जिसमें आप खड़ा होने की योजना बनाते हैं।

Ensure safeguards for India's carbon market

SS III Environment

The growth-driven model of development, rooted in the Industrial Revolution, has already pushed planetary boundaries beyond safe limits. Some call for "degrowth" to address environmental damage, but this is neither just nor feasible for developing countries that are still grappling with poverty and hunger. A more equitable path lies in decoupling growth from environmental harm. In other words, countries must find ways to reduce poverty and expand their economies without repeating the high-pollution, high-emission model of the past.

This can be done by relying on cleaner technologies, renewable energy and sustainable farming practices. In India, for instance, the rapid expansion of solar energy and micro-irrigation illustrate how growth and sustainability can go hand in hand.

On carbon credit

Carbon crediting is one such tool. A carbon credit represents a certified reduction or removal of greenhouse gases, expressed in carbon dioxide (CO₂)-equivalents. These can be generated through mitigation activities such as renewable energy or sequestration efforts such as reforestation, agroforestry and biochar. Firms buy them to offset emissions while transitioning to cleaner processes, ideally rewarding developing countries for adopting low-carbon practices.

Carbon credits are booming, with 175 million-180 million retired annually, primarily from renewable energy and nature-based projects such as REDD+ and afforestation. India is also building its own carbon market through the Carbon Credit Trading Scheme (CCTS). The scheme will set emission-intensity benchmarks for energy-intensive sectors and include voluntary offsets. A national registry and trading platform will manage transactions, with draft methods for biomass, compressed biogas, and low-emission rice cultivation already released.

Globally, agriculture-based projects lag despite high potential. Of 64 Indian agricultural projects listed under Verra, only four are registered and none has issued credits. CIMMYT's research links



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As India builds its carbon market, the lessons from global failures show why protecting farmers and communities must come first

this to weak farmer engagement, training and follow-up, especially among smallholders and marginalised caste groups.

Carbon markets and the risk of exploitation

Carbon projects are meant to reward communities at the frontlines of climate action. But without safeguards, they risk replicating extractive power structures, echoing the logic of colonial plantations. Rising carbon prices only heighten this risk. The Northern Kenya Rangelands Carbon Project offers a cautionary tale. Launched in 2012, it spanned 1.9 million hectares and sought to remove 50 million tonnes of CO₂ over 30 years. Though framed as community-led, the project has drawn scrutiny for bypassing consent and weakening local land rights, raising critical questions about who truly controls and benefits from carbon projects. The project introduced rotational grazing and rangeland restoration, but cracks soon appeared.

In 2023, Verra suspended credit issuance after advocacy groups highlighted flaws in soil carbon measurement and a lack of free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) from indigenous communities. Petitioners alleged that the conservancies were created without public consultation, on unregistered community land, and enforced through armed rangers. In 2025, a Kenyan court confirmed that key conservancies had bypassed public participation, prompting a second suspension by Verra. Community conservancies, common across Kenya, are locally managed bodies meant to promote sustainability and protect livelihoods through elected governance. In principle, they embody decentralised, community-driven resource management. Critics argue that the project's top-down grazing restrictions and opaque governance structures mirror colonial-era resource control, infringing on pastoralist land rights and underscoring the urgent need for community-led, decolonised carbon initiatives.

Similarly, the Lake Turkana Wind Power project (Kenya) fenced 1,50,000 acres of community rangeland, cutting off herders from grazing routes and water; it raised the question of

whether sustainability is advancing at the expense of the vulnerable.

India could face similar risks. Carbon projects in afforestation, reforestation and agriculture often extend into areas with customary land use. Plantations on village commons or forest fringes could disrupt access to grazing, fuelwood and forest produce without community consent. Agricultural projects have already shown signs of bypassing marginalised caste farmers while delivering few benefits. The Kenyan judgment is a timely warning: unless land rights, consent and fair benefit-sharing are secured, India's carbon market risks reproducing extractive models under the guise of climate action.

Why carbon projects are vulnerable

Carbon projects can slip into "modern plantations" when powerful companies dominate and local communities are sidelined. In India, farmers and tribal communities often face information and power asymmetries that enable opaque deals and unfair benefit-sharing. Developers are not required to disclose benefit-sharing arrangements, and practices are often imposed top-down, with little regard for local contexts or consent.

India's Carbon Credit Trading Scheme, while ambitious, focuses mainly on procedures and compliance, with scant attention to land rights, FPIC, and equitable revenue distribution. These blind spots may expose vulnerable groups to exclusion and exploitation as the market expands.

Overregulation is not the solution, as burdensome legal frameworks could discourage even well-intentioned actors. What India needs is a balanced, lightweight regulatory architecture that guarantees transparency, formalises benefit-sharing, and protects community rights, without creating bureaucratic choke points.

Achieving this will require stakeholder consultation, adaptive regulation and a clear-eyed recognition of risks. Only then can India build trust and integrity in its carbon market while ensuring that climate action does not come at the cost of justice.



Ensure safeguards for India's carbon market भारत के कार्बन बाजार के लिए सुरक्षा उपाय सुनिश्चित करें

Growth-Driven Development and Environmental Limits विकास-संचालित विकास और पर्यावरणीय सीमाएँ

- The **growth-driven model of development**, rooted in the **Industrial Revolution**, has already pushed **planetary boundaries** beyond **safe limits**.
विकास-संचालित विकास मॉडल, जो औद्योगिक क्रांति में आधारित है, ने पहले ही ग्रहीय सीमाओं को सुरक्षित सीमाओं से परे धकेल दिया है।
- Some call for “**degrowth**” to address **environmental damage**, but this is neither just nor feasible for **developing countries** still grappling with **poverty and hunger**.
कुछ लोग पर्यावरणीय क्षति को संबोधित करने के लिए “डिग्रोथ” की मांग करते हैं, लेकिन यह उन विकासशील देशों के लिए न्यायसंगत या व्यावहारिक नहीं है जो अभी भी गरीबी और भूख से जूझ रहे हैं।
- A more equitable path lies in **decoupling growth from environmental harm**.
एक अधिक समान मार्ग यह है कि विकास को पर्यावरणीय नुकसान से अलग किया जाए।
- Countries must find ways to reduce **poverty** and expand their **economies** without repeating the **high-pollution, high-emission model** of the past.
देशों को गरीबी कम करने और अपनी अर्थव्यवस्था का विस्तार करने के तरीके खोजने चाहिए बिना अतीत के उच्च प्रदूषण, उच्च उत्सर्जन मॉडल को दोहराए।
- This can be done by relying on **cleaner technologies, renewable energy, and sustainable farming practices**.
यह साफ-सुथरी तकनीकों, नवीकरणीय ऊर्जा और सतत कृषि प्रथाओं पर निर्भर होकर किया जा सकता है।
- In **India**, the rapid expansion of **solar energy** and **micro-irrigation** illustrate how **growth and sustainability** can go hand in hand.
भारत में, सौर ऊर्जा और सूक्ष्म-सिंचाई का तेजी से विस्तार दर्शाता है कि कैसे विकास और स्थिरता साथ-साथ चल सकते हैं।

On Carbon Credit कार्बन क्रेडिट पर

- **Carbon crediting** is one such tool.
कार्बन क्रेडिटिंग ऐसा एक उपकरण है।
- A **carbon credit** represents a certified reduction or removal of **greenhouse gases**, expressed in **carbon dioxide (CO2) equivalents**.
एक कार्बन क्रेडिट प्रमाणित ग्रीनहाउस गैसों की कमी या हटाने का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है, जिसे कार्बन डाइऑक्साइड (CO2) समतुल्य में व्यक्त किया जाता है।
- These can be generated through **mitigation activities** such as **renewable energy** or **sequestration efforts** such as **reforestation, agroforestry, and biochar**.
इन्हें निवारक गतिविधियों जैसे नवीकरणीय ऊर्जा या संवेदन प्रयासों जैसे वनरोपण, कृषि वानिकी, और बायोचार के माध्यम से उत्पन्न किया जा सकता है।
- Firms buy them to **offset emissions** while transitioning to **cleaner processes**, ideally rewarding **developing countries** for adopting **low-carbon practices**.
कंपनियां इन्हें खरीदती हैं ताकि उत्सर्जन की भरपाई हो सके जबकि वे साफ-सुथरी प्रक्रियाओं की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं, और आदर्श रूप से विकासशील देशों को लो-कार्बन प्रथाओं को अपनाने के लिए पुरस्कृत किया जाए।
- **Carbon credits** are booming, with **175 million–180 million** retired annually, primarily from **renewable energy** and **nature-based projects** such as **REDD+ and afforestation**.
कार्बन क्रेडिट तेजी से बढ़ रहे हैं, जिसमें प्रतिवर्ष 175 मिलियन–180 मिलियन सेवानिवृत्त होते हैं, मुख्य रूप से नवीकरणीय ऊर्जा और प्रकृति-आधारित परियोजनाओं जैसे REDD+ और वनरोपण से।
- **India** is building its own **carbon market** through the **Carbon Credit Trading Scheme (CCTS)**.
भारत अपने स्वयं के कार्बन बाजार का निर्माण कर रहा है कार्बन क्रेडिट ट्रेडिंग स्कीम (CCTS) के माध्यम से।



- The scheme will set **emission-intensity benchmarks** for **energy-intensive sectors** and include **voluntary offsets**.
योजना ऊर्जा-गहन क्षेत्रों के लिए उत्सर्जन-तीव्रता मानक निर्धारित करेगी और इसमें **स्वैच्छिक ऑफसेट** शामिल होंगे।
- A **national registry** and **trading platform** will manage transactions, with **draft methods** for **biomass, compressed biogas, and low-emission rice cultivation** already released.
एक **राष्ट्रीय रजिस्ट्री** और **व्यापार मंच** लेन-देन का प्रबंधन करेगा, और **जैवमास, संकुचित बायोगैस और कम-उत्सर्जन धान की खेती** के लिए **मसौदा विधियाँ** पहले ही जारी की जा चुकी हैं।
- Globally, **agriculture-based projects** lag despite **high potential**.
वैश्विक स्तर पर, **कृषि-आधारित परियोजनाएँ उच्च क्षमता** के बावजूद पीछे हैं।
- Of **64 Indian agricultural projects** listed under **Verra**, only **four** are registered and **none** has issued credits.
Verra के तहत सूचीबद्ध **64 भारतीय कृषि परियोजनाओं** में केवल **चार** पंजीकृत हैं और **किसी ने भी क्रेडिट जारी नहीं किया**।
- **CIMMYT's research** links this to weak **farmer engagement, training, and follow-up**, especially among **smallholders and marginalized caste groups**.
CIMMYT के शोध इसे कमजोर किसान सहभागिता, प्रशिक्षण और फॉलो-अप से जोड़ता है, विशेष रूप से छोटे किसानों और हाशिए पर रहने वाले जाति समूहों में।

Carbon Markets and the Risk of Exploitation

कार्बन बाजार और शोषण का जोखिम

- **Carbon projects** are meant to reward **communities** at the **frontlines of climate action**.
कार्बन परियोजनाओं का उद्देश्य **जलवायु कार्रवाई की अग्रिम पंक्ति में रहने वाले समुदायों** को पुरस्कृत करना है।
- But without **safeguards**, they risk replicating **extractive power structures**, echoing the logic of **colonial plantations**.
लेकिन बिना **सुरक्षात्मक उपायों** के, वे **शोषक सत्ता संरचनाओं** को दोहराने का जोखिम रखते हैं, जो **औपनिवेशिक बागान** की तर्कशक्ति की याद दिलाती हैं।
- Rising **carbon prices** only heighten this risk.
बढ़ती **कार्बन कीमतें** केवल इस जोखिम को बढ़ाती हैं।
- The **Northern Kenya Rangelands Carbon Project** offers a **cautionary tale**.
नॉर्डर्न केन्या रेंजलैंड्स कार्बन प्रोजेक्ट एक **सावधानिक कहानी** पेश करता है।
- Launched in **2012**, it spanned **1.9 million hectares** and sought to remove **50 million tonnes of CO2** over **30 years**.
2012 में शुरू हुआ, यह **1.9 मिलियन हेक्टेयर** में फैला और **30 वर्षों में 50 मिलियन टन CO2** हटाने का लक्ष्य रखता था।
- Though framed as **community-led**, the project has drawn scrutiny for **bypassing consent** and **weakening local land rights**, raising critical questions about who truly **controls** and **benefits** from carbon projects.
हालांकि इसे **समुदाय-निर्देशित** के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया, परियोजना ने **अनुमति को बायपास करने** और **स्थानीय भूमि अधिकारों को कमजोर करने** के लिए जांच आकर्षित की, यह सवाल उठाते हुए कि वास्तव में कौन नियंत्रण करता है और लाभ उठाता है।
- The project introduced **rotational grazing** and **rangeland restoration**, but cracks soon appeared.
परियोजना ने **घूर्णन चराई** और **रेंजलैंड पुनर्स्थापन** पेश किया, लेकिन जल्दी ही समस्याएँ दिखाई दीं।
- In **2023**, **Verra** suspended **credit issuance** after advocacy groups highlighted flaws in **soil carbon measurement** and lack of **free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC)** from **indigenous communities**.
2023 में, **Verra** ने **क्रेडिट जारी करना** निलंबित कर दिया जब वकालती समूहों ने **मृदा कार्बन मापन** में खामियों और **स्वतंत्र, पूर्व और सूचित सहमति (FPIC)** की कमी को उजागर किया।
- Petitioners alleged that the **conservancies** were created without **public consultation**, on **unregistered community land**, and enforced through **armed rangers**.
याचिकाकर्ताओं ने दावा किया कि **संरक्षण क्षेत्र** बिना **सार्वजनिक परामर्श** के, **अंजीकृत सामुदायिक भूमि** पर बनाए गए और **सशस्त्र रेंजर्स** के माध्यम से लागू किए गए।



- In 2025, a Kenyan court confirmed that key conservancies had bypassed public participation, prompting a second suspension by Verra.
2025 में, एक केन्याई न्यायालय ने पुष्टि की कि प्रमुख संरक्षण क्षेत्र ने सार्वजनिक भागीदारी को बायपास किया, जिससे Verra द्वारा दूसरा निलंबन हुआ।
- **Community conservancies**, common across Kenya, are locally managed bodies meant to promote sustainability and protect livelihoods through elected governance.
समुदाय संरक्षण क्षेत्र, जो केन्या में आम हैं, स्थानीय रूप से प्रबंधित निकाय हैं, जिनका उद्देश्य स्थिरता को बढ़ावा देना और रोज़गार की रक्षा करना है, चुनी हुई शासन प्रणाली के माध्यम से।
- In principle, they embody decentralised, community-driven resource management.
सिद्धांत रूप में, वे विकेंद्रित, समुदाय-चालित संसाधन प्रबंधन का प्रतीक हैं।
- Critics argue that the project's top-down grazing restrictions and opaque governance structures mirror colonial-era resource control, infringing on pastoralist land rights and underscoring the urgent need for community-led, decolonised carbon initiatives.
आलोचकों का कहना है कि परियोजना की ऊपर-से-नीचे चराई सीमाएं और अस्पष्ट शासन संरचनाएं औपनिवेशिक युग के संसाधन नियंत्रण की याद दिलाती हैं, जो चरवाहा भूमि अधिकारों का उल्लंघन करती हैं और समुदाय-निर्देशित, उपनिवेशीय मुक्त कार्बन पहलों की तत्काल आवश्यकता को उजागर करती हैं।
- Similarly, the Lake Turkana Wind Power project (Kenya) fenced 1,50,000 acres of community rangeland, cutting off herders from grazing routes and water; it raised the question of whether sustainability is advancing at the expense of the vulnerable.
इसी तरह, लेक टर्काना विंड पावर प्रोजेक्ट (केन्या) ने 1,50,000 एकड़ समुदायिक रेंजलैंड को घेर लिया, जिससे चरवाहों को चराई मार्ग और पानी से वंचित किया गया; इसने यह सवाल उठाया कि क्या स्थिरता संवेदनशीलों की कीमत पर आगे बढ़ रही है।
- India could face similar risks. Carbon projects in afforestation, reforestation, and agriculture often extend into areas with customary land use.
भारत को समान जोखिम का सामना करना पड़ सकता है। वनरोपण, पुनर्वनीकरण और कृषि में कार्बन परियोजनाएं अक्सर परंपरागत भूमि उपयोग वाले क्षेत्रों में फैलती हैं।
- Plantations on village commons or forest fringes could disrupt access to grazing, fuelwood, and forest produce without community consent.
गाँव के साझा क्षेत्रों या वन किनारों पर प्लांटेशन बिना समुदाय की सहमति के चराई, ईंधन लकड़ी और वन उत्पाद तक पहुँच को बाधित कर सकते हैं।
- Agricultural projects have already shown signs of bypassing marginalised caste farmers while delivering few benefits.
कृषि परियोजनाओं ने पहले ही यह संकेत दिखाया है कि वे हाशिए पर रहने वाले जाति के किसानों को बायपास कर रहे हैं और केवल कुछ लाभ दे रहे हैं।
- The Kenyan judgment is a timely warning: unless land rights, consent, and fair benefit-sharing are secured, India's carbon market risks reproducing extractive models under the guise of climate action.
केन्याई निर्णय एक समयोचित चेतावनी है: जब तक भूमि अधिकार, सहमति और उचित लाभ-वितरण सुरक्षित नहीं होता, भारत का कार्बन बाजार जलवायु कार्रवाई के बहाने शोषक मॉडल को दोहराने का जोखिम रखता है।

Why Carbon Projects Are Vulnerable

कार्बन परियोजनाएँ क्यों संवेदनशील हैं

- Carbon projects can slip into “modern plantations” when powerful companies dominate and local communities are sidelined.
जब शक्तिशाली कंपनियां हावी हों और स्थानीय समुदाय हाशिए पर हों, तो कार्बन परियोजनाएँ “आधुनिक बागानों” में बदल सकती हैं।
- In India, farmers and tribal communities often face information and power asymmetries that enable opaque deals and unfair benefit-sharing.
भारत में, किसान और आदिवासी समुदाय अक्सर सूचना और शक्ति असमानताओं का सामना करते हैं जो अस्पष्ट सौदों और अनुचित लाभ-वितरण को सक्षम बनाती हैं।
- Developers are not required to disclose benefit-sharing arrangements, and practices are often imposed top-down, with little regard for local contexts or consent.



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डेवलपर्स को लाभ-वितरण व्यवस्था का खुलासा करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, और प्रथाएं अक्सर ऊपर-से-नीचे थोप दी जाती हैं, स्थानीय संदर्भ या सहमति की बहुत कम परवाह की जाती है।

- **India's Carbon Credit Trading Scheme**, while ambitious, focuses mainly on **procedures and compliance**, with scant attention to **land rights, FPIC, and equitable revenue distribution**.

भारत की कार्बन क्रेडिट ट्रेडिंग स्कीम, हालांकि महत्वाकांक्षी है, मुख्य रूप से प्रक्रियाओं और अनुपालन पर केंद्रित है, भूमि अधिकार, FPIC, और न्यायसंगत राजस्व वितरण पर कम ध्यान देती है।

- These **blind spots** may expose **vulnerable groups** to **exclusion and exploitation** as the **market expands**.

ये अंधेरे स्थान जैसे-जैसे बाजार बढ़ता है, संवेदनशील समूहों को बहिष्कार और शोषण के लिए उजागर कर सकते हैं।

- **Overregulation** is not the solution, as **burdensome legal frameworks** could discourage even **well-intentioned actors**.

अत्यधिक विनियमन समाधान नहीं है, क्योंकि भारी कानूनी ढांचे यहां तक कि सद्भावनापूर्ण अभिनेताओं को हतोत्साहित कर सकते हैं।

- What **India** needs is a **balanced, lightweight regulatory architecture** that guarantees **transparency**, formalises **benefit-sharing**, and protects **community rights**, without creating **bureaucratic choke points**.

भारत को एक संतुलित, हल्का नियामक ढांचा चाहिए जो पारदर्शिता की गारंटी दे, लाभ-वितरण को औपचारिक बनाए और समुदाय के अधिकारों की रक्षा करे, बिना नौकरशाही बाधाओं को पैदा किए।

- Achieving this will require **stakeholder consultation, adaptive regulation, and a clear-eyed recognition of risks**.

इसे प्राप्त करने के लिए हितधारक परामर्श, अनुकूलनशील नियमन और जोखिम की स्पष्ट पहचान आवश्यक होगी।

- Only then can **India** build **trust and integrity** in its **carbon market** while ensuring that **climate action** does not come at the cost of **justice**.

तभी भारत अपने कार्बन बाजार में विश्वास और सत्यनिष्ठा बना सकता है, जबकि यह सुनिश्चित करता है कि जलवायु कार्रवाई न्याय की कीमत पर न हो।

PATRIOTICIAS



Is landlockedness the reason for Bihar's underdevelopment?



R. Nagaraj
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Manindra Nath Thakur
Professor, Centre for Political Studies, JNU, Delhi

PARLEY

It is election season in Bihar. While the Opposition often speaks about the lack of development and industrialisation in the State, in its campaigns, the National Democratic Alliance, which is in power, argues that a change of government will bring back the 'Jungle Raj' of the earlier decade. What makes Bihar one of India's most underdeveloped States? Is landlockedness a reason for its underdevelopment, as some argue? R. Nagaraj and Manindra Nath Thakur discuss the question in a conversation moderated by Saptaromo Ghosh. Edited excerpts:

It is often argued that Bihar is disadvantaged because it is a landlocked State. Punjab and Telangana are landlocked as well, and they are doing relatively well. So how is being landlocked a constraint for Bihar?

R. Nagaraj: If you look at the success of Telangana, especially Hyderabad, it is mostly because of the tertiary sector; it has nothing to do with geography. If a State has an educated workforce and good infrastructure, being landlocked will not be an issue. Punjab, too, has a developed network of railways and roads, and has FCI (Food Corporation of India) godowns across the country to help with export of crops.

Manindra Nath Thakur: Let us look at Bihar's prominent exports: makhana, fish, and corn. It has been difficult for Bihar to transport these items from Patna to West Bengal or to any port. These, alongside the vegetables Bihar exports, are perishable. Moreover, significant costs are incurred due to road transport; time and distance are crucial factors in agrarian exports. One way Bihar is attempting to resolve this issue is by launching projects along the Ganga. So, it is not that concerns about being landlocked are not genuine, but they cannot be cited as a major reason for the State's economic backwardness.

Prof. Nagaraj spoke of the tertiary sector; you spoke of agrarian exports. Bihar has been assessed as an agrarian economy. What should be its imperative going forward: industrialisation or agriculture?

MT: In the last 30 years, the Chief Minister has tried to engage with industrialists. However, industrialists have often raised concerns about access to ports, citing the need to spend more on transportation. Having said that, I do think that in this modern capitalist system, no society can think of surviving with just agricultural products. While Bihar should capitalise on its potential in terms of agricultural production and



A woman shucks corn in Vigara village in Begusarai, Bihar. (A. SIKHAIN)

processing, it must ultimately transition to industry. Without that, there is no future.

RN: Before we think of high-technology and/or manufacturing industries, we should consider where the comparative advantage lies. Four-fifths of Bihar's labour force is in agriculture. But despite Bihar having fertile land and irrigation facilities, agricultural productivity is mostly less than the national average. Why is agriculture not picking up? That is the big question.

In the 1970s or 80s, a committee set up under the agricultural economist, S.R. Sen, was figuring out how to take the Green Revolution to the Indo-Gangetic belt. It came up with a plan for massive State investments in infrastructure and electrification to ensure that States have abundant water for the cultivation of wheat and rice. Surprisingly, the Green Revolution spread to the Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh rather than the Indo-Gangetic belt. We must understand what went wrong.

I think it will be both in Bihar's interest and the national interest to get back wheat, rice, and sugarcane cultivation going. This way, western India will be burdened less; it can conserve more water and move to value-added crops.

MT: On the agrarian front, I don't think Bihar should repeat the mistake that Punjab made during the Green Revolution, which produced a water crisis. Although Bihar has abundant water, it may face the same consequences as Punjab if water is overused. Moreover, increasing agricultural production is linked with the heavy use of fertilisers and pesticides, creating a health crisis. Therefore, I don't support the shifting of agriculture to eastern India. Agriculture is not profitable anywhere in the world unless it is heavily supported by the State.

RN: Madhya Pradesh was also seen as a backward State. It does not have the same water



It is not that concerns about being landlocked are not genuine, but they cannot be cited as a major reason for the State's economic backwardness.

MANINDRA-NATH THAKUR

resources as Bihar, yet the Green Revolution expanded there. Prosperity in the Malwa region is amazing. Therefore, I am sceptical about the idea that agriculture has no potential.

So what do you think are the factors that contributed to Bihar's underdevelopment?

MT: Apart from what I have said, there are also notions that the Centre is not interested in Bihar's growth. The State, I think, is frozen in its transition from feudalism to capitalism. One of the reasons for this is the internal colonisation of the State. Earlier, Bihar supplied raw materials, but due to policies such as freight equalisation, it suffered significantly, and industries didn't develop locally, despite having the advantage of raw material availability. Bihar ultimately lost revenues and its natural advantage. Now, with a supply of labour from Bihar, nobody is interested in developing the State.

RN: A commodity where freight equalisation was done and which benefited eastern India was cement. Steel did not accrue the same advantage. Cement has heavy transport costs compared to steel so the freight equalisation policy for it helped eastern India.

Furthermore, why Indians are leaving Bihar has no element of capitalist conspiracy. In fact, when investments in agriculture were made in Bihar, migration to Punjab declined. It is clear that if people have more options at home, they will not move out.

Literature often suggests that Bihar has a 'socialist hangover', and that entrepreneurship does not draw confidence.

RN: The socialist ideology in Bihar is often equated with caste politics and caste in general – basically, distributing limited resources across various castes. If the focus shifts to productive investment, it will do a lot of good for Bihar. Policy must focus on how to augment production rather than looking at redistributing the limited resources more equitably or in a manner that helps people stay in power.

MT: Bihar has never really followed the socialist model. It also failed to understand the logic behind India's shift to capitalism. Bihar is

currently at a significant disadvantage. For any structural change, there must be a solid commitment to reinvestment by the Union government. Unless that is done, the transition to capital will not take place. With respect to migration, if there are good working conditions and a decent income, no Bihar would like to migrate. The amount of investment required to help Bihar move out of this 'frozen transition' phase has not been made. It could be linked to general societal politics. One argument, as Shashil Gupta used to make, relates to the lack of a distinct Bihar identity. Or as Prashant Kishore says, of the concept of Biharism.

Would special status be of any help to Bihar?

RN: I am not sure it would help. The bigger question relates to whether it will be utilised productively or not. Bihar lacks the state capacity to use it. Whereas, if you give the same money to Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu, they will grab it and use it better.

Being among the poorest states, Bihar gets a considerable amount of resources from the Finance Commission on considerations of its backwardness and to bring greater equality among States. When those are not utilised, the money lapses. Many of those grants are performance-based – meaning the State must raise its own share of resources to access the full amount. This often doesn't happen in Bihar.

MT: If a good amount of money is invested, it would certainly be beneficial. However, no change will come unless we make sure that the money we reinvest is not appropriated by a small number of people – elites, politicians, and contractors. If the money is invested properly, it leads to capital formation. But this also requires a kind of social revolution, one that raises public awareness that these funds are not free gifts, but more like loans. People must understand that we need to rebuild and strengthen our society in order to repay that investment.

About state capacity – many funding packages include a clause requiring the state to contribute a portion of the investment. Now, suppose you give me ₹100 and tell me that I have to add to it to utilise the amount. I can't do that as I don't have the money. In a way that amounts to forcing me not to use the money. The special status might be of help – it might remove these conditions and allow us to access the support without being held back by limited state capacity.



To listen to the full interview
Scan the code or go to the link
www.thehindu.com

Is landlockedness the reason for Bihar's underdevelopment? क्या भू-सीमितता बिहार के अविकसित होने का कारण है?

Bihar Election and Development Debate बिहार चुनाव और विकास बहस

- It is election season in Bihar. बिहार में चुनावी मौसम है।
- While the **Opposition** often speaks about the lack of **development** and **industrialisation** in the State, the **National Democratic Alliance (NDA)**, which is in **power**, argues that a **change of government** will bring back the '**Jungle Raj**' of the earlier decade. जबकि **विपक्ष** अक्सर राज्य में **विकास** और **औद्योगिकीकरण** की कमी के बारे में बोलता है, सत्ता में रहने वाला **राष्ट्रीय लोकतांत्रिक गठबंधन (NDA)** यह तर्क देता है कि **सरकार बदलने** से पिछले दशक का '**जंगल राज**' लौट आएगा।
- What makes **Bihar** one of India's most **underdeveloped States**? भारत के सबसे **अविकसित राज्यों** में से एक बनने में **बिहार** को क्या कारण बनाता है?



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- Is **landlockedness** a reason for its **underdevelopment**, as some argue?
क्या कुछ लोगों के अनुसार इसकी **अंतर्देशीय स्थिति** इसके **अविकास** का कारण है?
- **R. Nagaraj** and **Manindra Nath Thakur** discuss the question in a **conversation moderated by Saptaparno Ghosh**.
आर. नागराज और **मनींद्र नाथ ठाकुर** इस सवाल पर **सप्तपर्णो घोष** द्वारा संचालित बातचीत में चर्चा करते हैं।
- Edited excerpts:
संपादित अंश:
- It is often argued that **Bihar** is disadvantaged because it is a **landlocked State**.
अक्सर तर्क दिया जाता है कि **बिहार** को नुकसान है क्योंकि यह एक **अंतर्देशीय राज्य** है।
- **Punjab** and **Telangana** are **landlocked** as well, and they are doing relatively **well**.
पंजाब और **तेलंगाना** भी **अंतर्देशीय** हैं, और वे अपेक्षाकृत **सफल** हैं।
- So how is being **landlocked** a constraint for **Bihar**?
तो **अंतर्देशीय होना** **बिहार** के लिए कैसे बाधा बनता है?
- **R. Nagaraj**: If you look at the success of **Telangana**, especially **Hyderabad**, it is mostly because of the **tertiary sector**; it has nothing to do with **geography**.
आर. नागराज: यदि आप **तेलंगाना** की सफलता देखें, विशेष रूप से **हैदराबाद**, तो यह मुख्य रूप से **तीसरे क्षेत्र (tertiary sector)** की वजह से है; इसका **भूगोल** से कोई लेना-देना नहीं है।
- If a **State** has an **educated workforce** and good **infrastructure**, being **landlocked** will not be an issue.
यदि किसी **राज्य** में **शिक्षित कार्यबल** और अच्छी **बुनियादी ढांचा** है, तो **अंतर्देशीय होना** कोई समस्या नहीं होगी।
- **Punjab**, too, has a developed network of **railways** and **roads**, and has **FCI (Food Corporation of India) godowns** across the country to help with **export of crops**.
पंजाब के पास भी **रेलवे** और **सड़कों** का विकसित नेटवर्क है, और पूरे देश में **FCI (फूड कॉरपोरेशन ऑफ इंडिया)** गोदाम हैं, जो **फसलों के निर्यात** में मदद करते हैं।
- **Manindra Nath Thakur**: Let us look at **Bihar's prominent exports: makhana, litchi, and corn**.
मनींद्र नाथ ठाकुर: आइए **बिहार के प्रमुख निर्यात** देखें: **मखाना, लीची और मक्का**।
- It has been difficult for **Bihar** to transport these items from **Patna** to **West Bengal** or to any **port**.
बिहार के लिए इन वस्तुओं को **पटना** से **पश्चिम बंगाल** या किसी भी **बंदरगाह** तक ले जाना मुश्किल रहा है।
- These, alongside the **vegetables Bihar exports**, are **perishable**.
ये, **बिहार के निर्यातित सब्जियों** के साथ, **नाशवान (perishable)** हैं।
- Moreover, significant **costs** are incurred due to **road transport**; **time** and **distance** are crucial factors in **agrarian exports**.
इसके अलावा, **सड़क परिवहन** के कारण महत्वपूर्ण **लागतें** आती हैं; **समय** और **दूरी** **कृषि निर्यात** में महत्वपूर्ण कारक हैं।
- One way **Bihar** is attempting to resolve this issue is by launching **projects along the Ganga**.
इस समस्या को हल करने के लिए **बिहार गंगा के किनारे परियोजनाएं** शुरू कर रहा है।
- So, it is not that concerns about being **landlocked** are not **genuine**, but they cannot be cited as a major reason for the State's **economic backwardness**.
इसलिए, यह नहीं है कि **अंतर्देशीय होने** के बारे में चिंताएँ **असली नहीं** हैं, लेकिन इन्हें राज्य की **आर्थिक पिछड़ापन** का मुख्य कारण नहीं कहा जा सकता।

Bihar's Agrarian vs Industrial Imperative बिहार का कृषि बनाम औद्योगिक अनिवार्य

- Prof. Nagaraj spoke of the **tertiary sector**; you spoke of **agrarian exports**.
प्रो. नागराज ने तीसरे क्षेत्र की बात की; आपने कृषि निर्यात की बात की।
- **Bihar** has been assessed as an **agrarian economy**.
बिहार को कृषि अर्थव्यवस्था के रूप में आंका गया है।
- What should be its **imperative going forward: industrialisation or agriculture?**
आगे बढ़ने के लिए इसका अनिवार्य रास्ता क्या होना चाहिए: औद्योगिकीकरण या कृषि?
- **MT**: In the last **10 years**, the **Chief Minister** has tried to engage with **industrialists**.
एमटी: पिछले 10 वर्षों में, मुख्यमंत्री ने औद्योगिकपतियों के साथ जुड़ने की कोशिश की है।

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- However, **industrialists** have often raised concerns about access to **ports**, citing the need to spend more on **transportation**.
हालांकि, औद्योगिकपतियों ने अक्सर बंदरगाहों तक पहुँच के बारे में चिंता जताई है, और परिवहन पर अधिक खर्च करने की आवश्यकता बताई है।
- Having said that, I do think that in this **modern capitalist system**, no society can think of surviving with just **agricultural products**.
ऐसा कहते हुए, मुझे लगता है कि इस आधुनिक पूंजीवादी प्रणाली में, कोई भी समाज केवल कृषि उत्पादों के साथ जीवित रहने के बारे में सोच नहीं सकता।
- While **Bihar** should capitalise on its potential in terms of **agricultural production and processing**, it must ultimately transition to **industry**.
जबकि बिहार को अपनी कृषि उत्पादन और प्रसंस्करण की क्षमता का लाभ उठाना चाहिए, अंततः इसे औद्योगिक में संक्रमण करना चाहिए।
- Without that, there is no **future**.
इसके बिना, कोई भविष्य नहीं है।
- **RN**: Before we think of **high-technology** and/or **manufacturing industries**, we should consider where the **comparative advantage** lies.
आरएन: इससे पहले कि हम उच्च तकनीक और/या निर्माण उद्योग के बारे में सोचें, हमें यह देखना चाहिए कि तुलनात्मक लाभ कहाँ है।
- Four-fifth of **Bihar's labour force** is in **agriculture**.
बिहार की श्रम शक्ति का चार-पाँचवाँ हिस्सा कृषि में है।
- But despite **Bihar** having **fertile land** and **irrigation facilities**, **agricultural productivity** is mostly less than the **national average**.
लेकिन इसके बावजूद कि बिहार में उपजाऊ भूमि और सिंचाई सुविधाएँ हैं, कृषि उत्पादकता अधिकांशतः राष्ट्रीय औसत से कम है।
- Why is **agriculture not picking up**? That is the **big question**.
कृषि क्यों नहीं बढ़ रही? यही बड़ा सवाल है।
- In the **1970s or 80s**, a committee set up under the agricultural economist, **S.R. Sen**, was figuring out how to take the **Green Revolution** to the **Indo-Gangetic belt**.
1970s या 80s में, कृषि अर्थशास्त्री S.R. Sen के तहत एक समिति बनाई गई थी, जो ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन को इंडो-गैंगेटिक बेल्ट में कैसे ले जाए, यह तय कर रही थी।
- It came up with a plan for massive **State investments in infrastructure** and **electrification** to ensure that States have abundant **water** for the cultivation of **wheat** and **rice**.
इसने राज्य निवेश में बड़े पैमाने पर बुनियादी ढांचा और विद्युतीकरण की योजना बनाई, ताकि राज्यों में गेहूँ और चावल की खेती के लिए पर्याप्त पानी हो।
- Surprisingly, the **Green Revolution** spread to the **Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh** rather than the **Indo-Gangetic belt**.
आश्चर्यजनक रूप से, ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन इंडो-गैंगेटिक बेल्ट के बजाय मध्य प्रदेश के मालवा क्षेत्र में फैल गया।
- We must understand what went **wrong**.
हमें समझना चाहिए कि क्या गलत हुआ।
- I think it will be both in **Bihar's interest** and the **national interest** to get basic **wheat, rice, and sugarcane cultivation** going.
मुझे लगता है कि यह बिहार के हित और राष्ट्रीय हित दोनों में होगा कि बुनियादी गेहूँ, चावल और गन्ना की खेती शुरू हो।
- This way, **western India** will be burdened less; it can conserve more **water** and move to **value-added crops**.
इस तरह, पश्चिम भारत पर बोझ कम होगा; यह अधिक पानी बचा सकता है और मूल्य-वर्धित फसलों की ओर जा सकता है।
- **MT**: On the **agrarian front**, I don't think **Bihar** should repeat the mistake that **Punjab** made during the **Green Revolution**, which produced a **water crisis**.
एमटी: कृषि मोर्चे पर, मुझे नहीं लगता कि बिहार वह गलती दोहराए जिसे पंजाब ने ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन के दौरान की, जिसने जल संकट पैदा किया।
- Although **Bihar** has abundant **water**, it may face the same consequences as **Punjab** if **water** is overused.
हालांकि बिहार में पर्याप्त पानी है, यदि पानी का अत्यधिक उपयोग किया गया तो इसे पंजाब जैसी ही समस्याएँ हो सकती हैं।



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- Moreover, increasing **agricultural production** is linked with the heavy use of **fertilisers** and **pesticides**, creating a **health crisis**.
इसके अलावा, कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने का संबंध भारी मात्रा में उर्वरक और कीटनाशकों के उपयोग से है, जो स्वास्थ्य संकट पैदा करता है।
- Therefore, I don't support the shifting of **agriculture** to **eastern India**.
इसलिए, मैं कृषि को पूर्वी भारत में स्थानांतरित करने का समर्थन नहीं करता।
- **Agriculture** is not **profitable** anywhere in the world unless it is heavily supported by the **State**.
कृषि दुनिया में कहीं भी लाभकारी नहीं है जब तक कि इसे राज्य द्वारा भारी समर्थन न मिले।
- **RN: Madhya Pradesh** was also seen as a **backward State**.
आरएन: मध्य प्रदेश को भी एक पिछड़ा राज्य माना जाता था।
- It does not have the same **water resources** as **Bihar**, yet the **Green Revolution** expanded there.
इसके पास बिहार जैसी जल संसाधन नहीं हैं, फिर भी वहाँ ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन फैला।
- Prosperity in the **Malwa region** is amazing.
मालवा क्षेत्र में समृद्धि अद्भुत है।
- Therefore, I am sceptical about the idea that **agriculture has no potential**.
इसलिए, मैं इस विचार को लेकर संदेहशील हूँ कि कृषि में कोई संभावना नहीं है।

Factors Contributing to Bihar's Underdevelopment बिहार के पिछड़ेपन में योगदान देने वाले कारक

- So what do you think are the factors that contributed to **Bihar's underdevelopment**?
तो आप क्या सोचते हैं कि बिहार के पिछड़ेपन में कौन-कौन से कारक योगदान दे रहे हैं?
- **MT:** Apart from what I have said, there are also notions that the **Centre** is not interested in **Bihar's growth**.
एमटी: मैंने जो कहा उसके अलावा, यह धारणा भी है कि केंद्र बिहार की विकास में रुचि नहीं रखता।
- The **State**, I think, is **frozen in its transition** from **feudalism** to **capitalism**.
मुझे लगता है कि राज्य सामंती प्रणाली से पूंजीवादी प्रणाली में संक्रमण के दौर में फंसा हुआ है।
- One of the reasons for this is the **internal colonisation** of the State.
इसका एक कारण राज्य का आंतरिक उपनिवेशीकरण है।
- Earlier, **Bihar** supplied **raw materials**, but due to policies such as **freight equalisation**, it suffered significantly, and **industries** didn't develop locally, despite having the advantage of **raw material availability**.
पहले बिहार कच्चा माल प्रदान करता था, लेकिन भाड़ा समता जैसी नीतियों के कारण इसे काफी नुकसान हुआ, और स्थानीय उद्योग विकसित नहीं हुए, जबकि कच्चे माल की उपलब्धता का लाभ था।
- **Bihar** ultimately lost **revenues** and its **natural advantage**.
बिहार ने अंततः राजस्व और अपने प्राकृतिक लाभ को खो दिया।
- Now, with a supply of **labour** from Bihar, nobody is interested in developing the **State**.
अब, बिहार से श्रम की आपूर्ति के साथ, कोई राज्य को विकसित करने में रुचि नहीं लेता।
- **RN:** A **commodity** where **freight equalisation** was done and which benefited **eastern India** was **cement**.
आरएन: एक वस्तु जिस पर भाड़ा समता लागू की गई और जिससे पूर्वी भारत को लाभ मिला, वह सीमेंट थी।
- **Steel** did not accrue the same advantage.
स्टील को समान लाभ नहीं मिला।
- **Cement** has heavy **transport costs** compared to **steel**, so the **freight equalisation policy** for it helped **eastern India**.
सीमेंट की परिवहन लागत स्टील की तुलना में अधिक है, इसलिए इसके लिए भाड़ा समता नीति ने पूर्वी भारत की मदद की।
- Furthermore, why **Biharis** are leaving **Bihar** has no element of **capitalist conspiracy**.
इसके अलावा, बिहारियों का बिहार छोड़ना पूंजीवादी साजिश का हिस्सा नहीं है।
- In fact, when **investments in agriculture** were made in Bihar, **migration to Punjab** declined.
वास्तव में, जब बिहार में कृषि में निवेश किया गया, तो पंजाब की ओर प्रवास घट गया।
- It is clear that if people have more **options at home**, they will not move out.
यह स्पष्ट है कि यदि लोगों के पास घर पर अधिक विकल्प हों, तो वे बाहर नहीं जाएंगे।



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- Literature often suggests that **Bihar** has a '**socialist hangover**', and that **entrepreneurship** does not draw **confidence**.
साहित्य अक्सर यह सुझाव देता है कि बिहार में 'साम्यवादी प्रभाव' है और उद्यमशीलता में विश्वास नहीं है।
- RN:** The **socialist ideology** in Bihar is often equated with **caste politics** and caste in general — basically, distributing limited **resources** across various **castes**.
आरएन: बिहार में साम्यवादी विचारधारा को अक्सर जाति राजनीति और सामान्यतः जाति के साथ जोड़ा जाता है — मूलतः सीमित संसाधनों को विभिन्न जातियों में वितरित करना।
- If the focus shifts to **productive investment**, it will do a lot of good for **Bihar**.
यदि ध्यान उत्पादक निवेश पर केंद्रित किया जाए, तो यह बिहार के लिए बहुत फायदेमंद होगा।
- Policy** must focus on how to augment **production** rather than looking at redistributing the limited **resources** more equitably or in a manner that helps people stay in **power**.
नीति को इस बात पर ध्यान देना चाहिए कि उत्पादन को कैसे बढ़ाया जाए, बजाय इसके कि सीमित संसाधनों का पुनर्वितरण कैसे किया जाए या लोगों को सत्ता में बनाए रखने में मदद कैसे की जाए।
- MT:** Bihar has never really followed the **socialist model**.
एमटी: बिहार ने कभी वास्तव में साम्यवादी मॉडल का पालन नहीं किया।
- It also failed to understand the logic behind India's shift to **capitalism**.
यह भारत के पूंजीवाद की ओर बदलाव के तर्क को समझने में भी विफल रहा।
- Bihar** is currently at a significant **disadvantage**.
बिहार वर्तमान में महत्वपूर्ण असुविधा में है।
- For any **structural change**, there must be a solid commitment to **reinvestment** by the **Union government**.
किसी भी संरचनात्मक बदलाव के लिए, केंद्र सरकार द्वारा पुनर्निवेश के लिए मजबूत प्रतिबद्धता होनी चाहिए।
- Unless that is done, the transition to **capital** will not take place.
जब तक ऐसा नहीं किया जाता, पूंजी में संक्रमण नहीं होगा।
- With respect to **migration**, if there are good **working conditions** and a decent **income**, no **Bihari** would like to migrate.
प्रवास के संबंध में, यदि अच्छे कार्य परिस्थितियाँ और उचित आय हो, तो कोई भी बिहारी प्रवास करना नहीं चाहेगा।
- The amount of **investment required** to help Bihar move out of this '**frozen transition**' phase has not been made.
इस 'स्थिर संक्रमण' चरण से बाहर निकलने में बिहार की मदद के लिए आवश्यक निवेश नहीं किया गया है।
- It could be linked to general **societal politics**.
इसे सामान्य सामाजिक राजनीति से जोड़ा जा सकता है।
- One argument, as **Shaibal Gupta** used to make, relates to the lack of a distinct **Bihari identity**.
एक तर्क, जैसा कि शैबाल गुप्ता कहते थे, बिहार की विशिष्ट पहचान की कमी से संबंधित है।
- Or as **Prashant Kishore** says, of the concept of **Bihari asmita**.
या जैसा कि प्रशांत किशोर कहते हैं, बिहार अस्मिता की अवधारणा से संबंधित है।

Special Status for Bihar

बिहार के लिए विशेष दर्जा

- Would **special status** be of any help to **Bihar**?
क्या बिहार के लिए विशेष दर्जा किसी मदद का काम करेगा?
- RN:** I am not sure it would help. The bigger question relates to whether it will be utilised **productively** or not.
आरएन: मुझे यकीन नहीं है कि यह मदद करेगा। बड़ा सवाल यह है कि क्या इसे उत्पादक रूप से इस्तेमाल किया जाएगा या नहीं।
- Bihar** lacks the **state capacity** to use it.
बिहार के पास इसे इस्तेमाल करने की राज्य क्षमता नहीं है।
- Whereas, if you give the same money to **Andhra Pradesh** or **Tamil Nadu**, they will grab it and use it better.
जबकि, यदि आप वही पैसा आंध्र प्रदेश या तमिलनाडु को दें, तो वे इसे बेहतर तरीके से इस्तेमाल करेंगे।
- Being among the **poorest states**, Bihar gets a considerable amount of **resources** from the **Finance Commission** on considerations of its **backwardness** and to bring greater **equality**



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among States.

सबसे गरीब राज्यों में होने के कारण, बिहार को अपनी पिछड़ी स्थिति और राज्यों के बीच अधिक समानता लाने के लिए वित्त आयोग से पर्याप्त संसाधन मिलते हैं।

- When those are not utilised, the **money lapses**.
जब इनका इस्तेमाल नहीं होता, तो पैसा समाप्त हो जाता है।
- Many of these **grants are performance-based** — meaning the State must raise its own share of resources to access the full amount.
इनमें से कई अनुदान प्रदर्शन-आधारित होते हैं — अर्थात् राज्य को पूर्ण राशि का उपयोग करने के लिए अपनी हिस्सेदारी बढ़ानी होती है।
- This often doesn't happen in **Bihar**.
यह अक्सर बिहार में नहीं होता।
- **MT**: If a good amount of **money** is invested, it would certainly be beneficial.
एमटी: यदि पर्याप्त पैसा निवेश किया जाए, तो यह निश्चित रूप से फायदेमंद होगा।
- However, no change will come unless we make sure that the money we **reinvest** is not appropriated by a small number of people — **elites, politicians, and contractors**.
हालांकि, कोई बदलाव तब तक नहीं आएगा जब तक हम यह सुनिश्चित नहीं करते कि पुनर्निवेश किया गया पैसा कुछ लोगों — अभिजात वर्ग, राजनेताओं और ठेकेदारों — द्वारा कब्जा न किया जाए।
- If the **money** is invested properly, it leads to **capital formation**.
यदि पैसा सही ढंग से निवेश किया जाए, तो यह पूंजी निर्माण की ओर ले जाता है।
- But this also requires a kind of **social revolution**, one that raises **public awareness** that these funds are not **free gifts**, but more like **loans**.
लेकिन इसके लिए एक प्रकार का सामाजिक क्रांति भी आवश्यक है, जो जनता में यह जागरूकता बढ़ाए कि ये फंड मुफ्त उपहार नहीं हैं, बल्कि ऋण की तरह हैं।
- People must understand that we need to **rebuild** and **strengthen our society** in order to **repay** that investment.
लोगों को यह समझना चाहिए कि हमें उस निवेश को चुकाने के लिए अपनी समाज को पुनर्निर्मित और मजबूत करना होगा।
- About **state capacity** – many **funding packages** include a clause requiring the state to contribute a portion of the investment.
राज्य क्षमता के बारे में – कई वित्त पोषण पैकेज में एक शर्त होती है जिसमें राज्य को निवेश का एक हिस्सा योगदान करना होता है।
- Now, suppose you give me ₹100 and tell me that I have to add to it to utilise the amount. I can't do that as I don't have the **money**.
अब, मान लीजिए आप मुझे ₹100 देते हैं और कहते हैं कि इसे उपयोग करने के लिए मुझे इसमें जोड़ना होगा। मैं ऐसा नहीं कर सकता क्योंकि मेरे पास पैसा नहीं है।
- In a way that amounts to forcing me not to use the **money**.
एक तरह से यह मुझे पैसा इस्तेमाल न करने के लिए मजबूर करने के बराबर है।
- The **special status** might be of help — it might remove these conditions and allow us to access the **support** without being held back by limited **state capacity**.
विशेष दर्जा मददगार हो सकता है — यह शर्तों को हटाकर हमें सीमित राज्य क्षमता द्वारा रोके बिना सहायता तक पहुँचने की अनुमति दे सकता है।



Restoring fiscal space for the States

With rising public aspirations and widening service gaps, States' expenditure commitments are steadily increasing. GST introduction has altered the resource position of the States, in addition to centralising the authority to levy tax

ECONOMIC NOTES

K. Shanmugam

The journey of Goods and Services Tax (GST) implementation has entered a major new stage with the latest restructuring of tax slabs, a move expected to pass on over ₹2 lakh crore in tax benefits to consumers. With this, the GST compensation cess stands abolished as it merges with the regular tax, marking the end of an era of compensation under GST. The decision is likely to boost local demand, and the consequent growth in revenue may reduce the expected revenue loss. However, certain States feel that no proper estimation of this loss has been made, and that the actual loss would be much higher than projected. They are aggrieved that their demand for compensation has been ignored.

Though studies show that GST implementation has largely benefited all States through liberal compensation mechanisms, the post-compensation tax structure is expected to raise concerns in some of them. The cess and surcharge mechanism gives the Centre additional leverage over the States. With significant changes in the fiscal policy landscape in recent years, including the introduction of GST, which has effectively shifted taxation power from the States to the GST Council, there is an increasing demand to revisit the fiscal policy on tax sharing to live up to the principle of 'cooperative federalism.'

Evolving tax landscape

Fiscal policy in India, particularly on revenue sharing between the Union and State governments, is an evolving story. Article 246 of the Constitution (subject matter of laws made by Parliament and by the legislatures of States) demarcates the areas of taxation power between the Centre and the States under the Union List and the State List, respectively, with residuary power reserved for the former. Using this residuary power, Parliament amended the Constitution in 2016 through Article 246A for the levy of Service Tax. The tax landscape changed with the introduction of the Service Tax through the 50th Amendment, and further with the 101st Amendment, through which GST was launched in July 2017.

For the first time, GST introduced a destination-based tax instead of an origin-based one, besides allowing the Centre and the States to share a common tax base. With GST being a contributor of substantial own tax revenue to States, this new regime has led them to suffer a significant erosion in their fiscal autonomy, as the power on taxation is shifted to the GST Council, where the Centre dominates the decision-making process.

As India is a multi-tiered government, design asymmetry arises in assigning resources and responsibilities between the Centre and the States. Normally, the power to raise resources is largely centralised for efficiency and economic reasons. The expenditure responsibilities are decentralised for better accountability and efficient delivery of public services. The resulting fiscal imbalances are corrected through re-assignment and redistribution, enabling the government at each level to command resources to discharge its responsibility. Such an adjustment must remain dynamic to address changes in the fiscal landscape.

Role of Finance Commission
Articles 268 to 293 of the Constitution define the Centre-State financial relations.

Table 1 shows how the actual devolution of Central taxes to States has fallen short

Finance Commission	Recommended share as shareable pool (in %)	Actual share on GTR (in %)
13th FC	33	28
14th FC	42	32
15th FC (up to 2019-24)	41	31

The Finance Commission (FC) is constituted under Article 280, which has been constitutionally assigned the task of determining transfers to all States. However, there are grievances regarding the manner in which the Central Finance Commission applies its tax-sharing criteria, which, according to some States, penalise progressive ones. There are also complaints of inconsistency among the Finance Commissions in adopting criteria and applying relative weights.

The Commission's grants are supplemented by grants under various Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS), Central Sector Schemes, and, earlier, by the Union Planning Commission (PC) grants, which ceased after the abolition of the Planning Commission in 2014. Article 282 provides for direct grants by the Union government, while Article 275 provides for statutory grants through the Finance Commissions. Some States feel that the flow of funds through these channels is neither fair nor transparent.

Falling devolution share

The earlier system of sharing individual taxes was replaced by a global sharing principle, thanks to the 80th Amendment that came into effect during the 11th Finance Commission (2000-2005). The Commission recommended 29.5% to the States out of the proceeds of shareable Central taxes, which was steadily enhanced to 30.5% by the 12th Finance Commission, 32% by the 13th Finance Commission and 42% by the 14th Finance Commission. In view of Jammu and Kashmir having ceased to be a State, the share came down to 40%. However, despite higher recommendations, the actual devolution to the States as a percentage of Gross Tax Revenue (GTR) has consistently fallen short (Table 1).

The shortfall is attributed to the ever-increasing cesses and surcharges, which are not part of the shareable pool of revenue. The cess and surcharge accounted for ₹3,86,440 crore as per the Revised Estimates (RE) 2024-25. It is expected to be ₹4,23,456 crore under the Budget Estimates (BE) for 2025-26, excluding the GST compensation cess. States have been constantly pressing for their merger with the shareable pool, a demand the Union government has not accepted. This resource gives additional leverage to the Centre in managing its expenses over and above its usual tax share, as the proceeds from cesses and surcharges often fund the Central share in various schemes.

Dependence on Central transfers

Central transfers still account for 44% of the States' revenue receipts. It ranges from 72% for Bihar to 20% for Haryana with nine States – Haryana (20%), Telangana (21%), Gujarat (28%), Maharashtra (28%), Karnataka (31%), Tamil Nadu (31%), Goa (33%), Kerala (34%), and Odisha (41%) – getting less than the overall average figure of 44%. This indicates heavy dependency of States on Central transfers and, to that extent, a compromise in their fiscal autonomy.

A look at the proportion of tax revenue shared between the Centre and the States during pre- and post-GST periods reveals a clear trend: the power to levy taxes is getting centralised, while the expenditure responsibilities on the States are on the



Growing concerns: With the end of GST compensation, States face a loss of fiscal autonomy. REUTERS

Year	Share of central Transfers in State Revenue Receipts (₹ Crores)					
	Revenue receipt of States (RR)	Central tax devolution (CD)	% of CD to RR	Grants (G)	% of G to RR	Total transfers (T) to RR
2013-13	12,52,824	2,51,890	0.23	1,89,682	0.15	4,41,572
2013-14	13,68,107	3,18,273	0.23	2,06,862	0.15	5,24,135
2014-15	15,81,583	3,37,835	0.21	3,30,847	0.21	6,68,682
2015-16	18,32,895	5,08,291	0.28	3,25,898	0.18	8,34,189
2016-17	20,46,411	6,07,861	0.30	3,54,091	0.17	9,61,952
	60,92,881	20,01,890	0.33	14,67,464	0.24	34,69,354
2017-18	33,21,281	6,05,186	0.18	4,05,968	0.12	10,11,154
2018-19	38,28,353	3,46,894	0.09	4,29,889	0.11	7,76,783
2019-20	46,70,136	6,58,687	0.14	5,34,567	0.11	11,93,254
2020-21	45,85,622	5,95,127	0.13	6,43,841	0.14	12,38,968
2021-22	52,23,390	8,81,190	0.17	6,22,628	0.12	15,03,818
2022-23	36,54,498	5,48,982	0.15	6,69,817	0.18	12,18,800
	1,47,95,688	30,24,890	0.20	30,82,382	0.21	61,07,272

(Table 2)

For the five years from 2012-13 to 2016-17, the pre-GST period, the Centre collected 67% of the total tax revenue, while the States collected 33%. During the post-GST period (2018-19 to 2022-23), the ratio remained unchanged. As for revenue expenditure, the Centre incurred 47% and the States 53% in the pre-GST era. During the post-GST period, the figures were 48% and 52%, respectively. Increases in the Centre's revenue expenditure in recent years are largely attributed to the expansion of CSS on subjects that mostly fall in the domain of the States.

The expenditure commitments of the States are comparatively higher, as they are responsible for tackling the subjects of law and order, health, education, agriculture, and local self-government. As a result, States seek power to collect higher tax revenues, as the present fiscal policy of taxing power does not adequately address their requirements. Further, heavy dependence on Central transfers also creates problems such as liquidity management and the fear of political vendetta on the Opposition-ruled States.

As a way out, some States suggest that the example of Canada be followed where the federal government collects 46% of tax revenue and spends 40%, while sub-national governments collect 54% and spend 60%. Such a system gives more financial autonomy and flexibility to the States.

With rising public aspirations and widening service gaps, States' expenditure commitments are steadily increasing. GST introduction has altered the resource position of the States, in addition to centralising the authority to

levy tax. The heavy dependence of the States on the Centre is creating friction, especially in the Opposition-ruled States. This is why many States and economists are calling for a restructuring of the tax sharing principle to enhance the States' fiscal autonomy.

Towards fiscal autonomy

States like Tamil Nadu have appointed a committee to examine Centre-State relations. It is against this backdrop that the recommendation is being made to share the tax base on personal income tax (IT) between the Centre and the States, on the lines of the GST. For instance, the share of Central tax devolution to States as per the 2025-26 Budget Estimates is ₹4,22,444 crore. If the personal IT base of ₹13,57,000 crore (BE 2025-26) is shared on a 50-50 basis with States where tax is collected, the Central tax devolution share to the States would effectively get reduced to ₹7,43,944 crore.

Alternatively, it is also suggested to empower the States to top up IT, without major changes to the current system of levy and collection.

Such an arrangement would reduce States' fiscal dependence on the Centre, improve liquidity, and allow progressive States – which contribute more tax revenue – to directly benefit from their higher tax base. The Centre will still have substantial leverage in resource sharing to correct fiscal imbalances, if any, through Central schemes, grants and usual tax devolution.

K. Shanmugam is a former officer of the Indian Administrative Service. He served as Chief Secretary of the Tamil Nadu government during 2019-20, after being the State Finance Secretary from 2010 to 2019.

THE GST

The restructuring of GST slabs merges the GST compensation cess with regular tax, ending compensation under GST and potentially boosting local demand.

Central transfers still account for 44% of the States' revenue receipts, with several States receiving less than the overall average, indicating heavy dependency on the Centre.

Progressive States contributing more tax revenue can directly benefit if the personal income tax base is shared or States are empowered to top up IT, reducing fiscal dependency.



Restoring Fiscal Space for the States राज्यों के लिए वित्तीय स्थान पुनर्स्थापित करना

- With rising **public aspirations** and widening **service gaps**, States' **expenditure commitments** are steadily increasing.
बढ़ती जनता की आकांक्षाओं और बढ़ती सेवा अंतराल के साथ, राज्यों की व्यय प्रतिबद्धताएँ लगातार बढ़ रही हैं।
- **GST introduction** has altered the **resource position** of the States, in addition to **centralising the authority to levy tax**.
GST की शुरुआत ने राज्यों की संसाधन स्थिति को बदल दिया है, इसके अलावा **कर लगाने के अधिकार को केंद्रीकृत** भी कर दिया है।

Goods and Services Tax (GST) Implementation वस्तु और सेवा कर (GST) कार्यान्वयन

- The journey of **Goods and Services Tax (GST)** implementation has entered a major new stage with the latest **restructuring of tax slabs**, a move expected to pass on over ₹2 lakh crore in tax benefits to consumers.
वस्तु और सेवा कर (GST) के कार्यान्वयन की यात्रा नवीनतम **कर स्लैब पुनर्संरचना** के साथ एक नए प्रमुख चरण में प्रवेश कर चुकी है, जिससे उपभोक्ताओं को ₹2 लाख करोड़ से अधिक के कर लाभ मिलने की संभावना है।
- With this, the **GST compensation cess** stands abolished as it merges with the regular tax, marking the end of an era of compensation under GST.
इसके साथ ही, **GST मुआवजा उपकर** समाप्त हो गया है क्योंकि यह नियमित कर में विलय हो गया है, जो GST के तहत मुआवजे के युग के अंत का प्रतीक है।
- The decision is likely to boost **local demand**, and the consequent growth in revenue may reduce the expected revenue loss.
यह निर्णय **स्थानीय मांग** को बढ़ावा देने की संभावना है, और इसके परिणामस्वरूप राजस्व में वृद्धि अपेक्षित राजस्व हानि को कम कर सकती है।
- However, certain **States** feel that no proper estimation of this loss has been made, and that the actual loss could be much higher than projected.
हालांकि, कुछ **राज्यों** का मानना है कि इस हानि का कोई उचित अनुमान नहीं लगाया गया है, और वास्तविक हानि अनुमानित से बहुत अधिक हो सकती है।
- They are aggrieved that their demand for **compensation** has been ignored.
वे इस बात से आहत हैं कि उनके **मुआवजे** की मांग को नजरअंदाज किया गया है।
- Though studies show that GST implementation has largely benefited all **States** through liberal **compensation mechanisms**, the post-compensation tax structure is expected to raise concerns in some of them.
यद्यपि अध्ययन बताते हैं कि GST कार्यान्वयन ने उदार **मुआवजा तंत्रों** के माध्यम से सभी **राज्यों** को बड़े पैमाने पर लाभ पहुंचाया है, लेकिन मुआवजा के बाद की कर संरचना कुछ राज्यों में चिंताएं पैदा कर सकती है।
- The **cess and surcharge mechanism** gives the **Centre** additional leverage over the **States**.
उपकर और अधिभार तंत्र केंद्र को **राज्यों** पर अतिरिक्त लाभ देता है।
- With significant changes in the **fiscal policy landscape** in recent years, including the introduction of GST, which has effectively shifted taxation power from the **States** to the **GST Council**, there is an increasing demand to revisit the fiscal policy on **tax sharing** to live up to the principle of '**cooperative federalism**.'
हाल के वर्षों में **राजकोषीय नीति परिदृश्य** में महत्वपूर्ण बदलावों के साथ, जिसमें GST का परिचय शामिल है, जिसने प्रभावी रूप से कराधान शक्ति को **राज्यों** से **GST काउंसिल** में स्थानांतरित कर दिया है, **कर साझा करने** पर राजकोषीय नीति की समीक्षा करने की मांग बढ़ रही है ताकि '**सहकारी संघवाद**' के सिद्धांत को पूरा किया जा सके।

Evolving Tax Landscape कर परिदृश्य का विकास



- Fiscal policy in **India**, particularly on revenue sharing between the **Union and State governments**, is an evolving story.
भारत में राजकोषीय नीति, विशेष रूप से केंद्र और राज्य सरकारों के बीच राजस्व साझा करने पर, एक विकसित होती कहानी है।
- **Article 246** of the **Constitution** (subject-matter of laws made by Parliament and by the legislatures of States) demarcates the areas of **taxation power** between the **Centre** and the **States** under the **Union List** and the **State List**, respectively, with **residuary power** reserved for the former.
संविधान का अनुच्छेद 246 (संसद और राज्यों की विधानसभाओं द्वारा बनाए गए कानूनों का विषय-वस्तु) केंद्र और राज्यों के बीच कराधान शक्ति के क्षेत्रों को क्रमशः केंद्र सूची और राज्य सूची के तहत विभाजित करता है, जिसमें अवशिष्ट शक्ति पूर्व को सुरक्षित है।
- Using this **residuary power**, Parliament amended the Constitution in 2016 through **Article 246A** for the levy of **Service Tax**.
इस अवशिष्ट शक्ति का उपयोग करते हुए, संसद ने 2016 में सेवा कर लगाने के लिए अनुच्छेद 246A के माध्यम से संविधान में संशोधन किया।
- The tax landscape changed with the introduction of the **Service Tax** through the **92nd Amendment**, and further with the **101st Amendment**, through which **GST** was launched in **July 2017**.
सेवा कर के परिचय के साथ 92वें संशोधन के माध्यम से कर परिदृश्य बदल गया, और आगे 101वें संशोधन के माध्यम से GST जुलाई 2017 में शुरू हुआ।
- For the first time, **GST** introduced a **destination-based tax** instead of an **origin-based** one, besides allowing the **Centre** and the **States** to share a **common tax base**.
पहली बार, GST ने उत्पत्ति आधारित कर के बजाय गंतव्य आधारित कर प्रस्तुत किया, इसके अलावा केंद्र और राज्यों को एक सामान्य कर आधार साझा करने की अनुमति दी।
- With GST being a contributor of substantial **own tax revenue** to **States**, this new regime has led them to suffer a significant **erosion in their fiscal autonomy**, as the power on taxation is shifted to the **GST Council**, where the **Centre dominates** the decision-making process.
GST राज्यों को पर्याप्त स्वयं के कर राजस्व देने वाला योगदानकर्ता होने के कारण, इस नए शासन ने उन्हें अपने राजकोषीय स्वायत्तता में महत्वपूर्ण क्षरण झेलने के लिए मजबूर किया है, क्योंकि कराधान की शक्ति GST काउंसिल में स्थानांतरित हो गई है, जहां केंद्र निर्णय लेने की प्रक्रिया में प्रभुत्व रखता है।
- As India is a **multi-tiered government**, design asymmetry arises in assigning **resources** and **responsibilities** between the **Centre** and the **States**.
चूंकि भारत एक बहु-स्तरीय सरकार है, केंद्र और राज्यों के बीच संसाधनों और जिम्मेदारियों के आवंटन में डिजाइन असमानता उत्पन्न होती है।
- Normally, the power to raise **resources** is largely **centralised** for **efficiency** and **economic reasons**.
सामान्यतः, संसाधन जुटाने की शक्ति मुख्य रूप से केंद्रीकृत होती है कुशलता और आर्थिक कारणों के लिए।
- The **expenditure responsibilities** are **decentralised** for better **accountability** and efficient delivery of **public services**.
व्यय जिम्मेदारियां बेहतर जवाबदेही और सार्वजनिक सेवाओं की कुशल आपूर्ति के लिए विकेंद्रीकृत होती हैं।
- The resulting **fiscal imbalances** are corrected through **re-assignment** and **redistribution**, enabling the government at each level to command **resources** to discharge its **responsibility**.
इसके परिणामस्वरूप उत्पन्न राजकोषीय असंतुलन को पुनः आवंटन और पुनर्वितरण के माध्यम से सुधारा जाता है, जिससे प्रत्येक स्तर की सरकार को अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभाने के लिए संसाधनों का संचालन करने में सक्षम बनाया जाता है।
- Such an adjustment must remain **dynamic** to address changes in the **fiscal landscape**.
ऐसे समायोजन को गतिशील बने रहना चाहिए ताकि राजकोषीय परिदृश्य में बदलावों को संबोधित किया जा सके।

Role of Finance Commission वित्त आयोग की भूमिका



- Articles 268 to 293 of the Constitution define the Centre-State financial relations. संविधान के अनुच्छेद 268 से 293 केंद्र-राज्य वित्तीय संबंधों को परिभाषित करते हैं।
- The Finance Commission (FC) is constituted under Article 280, which has been constitutionally assigned the task of determining transfers to all States. वित्त आयोग (FC) को अनुच्छेद 280 के तहत गठित किया गया है, जिसे सभी राज्यों को हस्तांतरण निर्धारित करने का संवैधानिक कार्य सौंपा गया है।
- There are grievances regarding the manner in which the Central Finance Commission applies its tax-sharing criteria, which, according to some States, penalise progressive ones. कुछ राज्यों के अनुसार, केंद्रीय वित्त आयोग द्वारा अपने कर-साझा करने के मानदंडों को लागू करने के तरीके के संबंध में शिकायतें हैं, जो प्रगतिशील राज्यों को दंडित करती हैं।
- There are also complaints of inconsistency among the Finance Commissions in adopting criteria and applying relative weights. वित्त आयोगों के बीच मानदंड अपनाने और सापेक्ष भार लागू करने में असंगतियों की भी शिकायतें हैं।
- The Commission's grants are supplemented by grants under various Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS), Central Sector Schemes, and earlier by the Union Planning Commission (PC) grants, which ceased after the abolition of the Planning Commission in 2014. आयोग के अनुदान को विभिन्न केंद्र प्रायोजित योजनाओं (CSS), केंद्रीय क्षेत्रीय योजनाओं, और पहले संघीय योजना आयोग (PC) के अनुदानों से पूरक किया जाता था, जो 2014 में योजना आयोग के उन्मूलन के बाद बंद हो गए।
- Article 282 provides for direct grants by the Union government, while Article 275 provides for statutory grants through the Finance Commissions. अनुच्छेद 282 केंद्र सरकार द्वारा प्रत्यक्ष अनुदान प्रदान करने का प्रावधान करता है, जबकि अनुच्छेद 275 वित्त आयोगों के माध्यम से सांविधिक अनुदान प्रदान करने का प्रावधान करता है।
- Some States feel that the flow of funds through these channels is neither fair nor transparent. कुछ राज्यों का मानना है कि इन चैनलों के माध्यम से धन प्रवाह न तो न्यायसंगत है और न ही पारदर्शी।

Falling Devolution Share हासशील हस्तांतरण हिस्सेदारी

- The earlier system of sharing individual taxes was replaced by a global sharing principle, thanks to the 80th Amendment that came into effect during the 11th Finance Commission (2000-2005). पहले व्यक्तिगत करों को साझा करने की प्रणाली को वैश्विक साझा करने के सिद्धांत से बदल दिया गया, जिसके लिए 80वें संशोधन जिम्मेदार है, जो 11वें वित्त आयोग (2000-2005) के दौरान प्रभावी हुआ।
- The Commission recommended 29.5% to the States out of the proceeds of shareable Central taxes, which was steadily enhanced to 30.5% by the 12th Finance Commission, 32% by the 13th Finance Commission, and 42% by the 14th Finance Commission. आयोग ने साझा किए जाने योग्य केंद्रीय करों की आय में से राज्यों को 29.5% देने की सिफारिश की, जिसे क्रमशः 12वें वित्त आयोग द्वारा 30.5%, 13वें वित्त आयोग द्वारा 32%, और 14वें वित्त आयोग द्वारा 42% तक बढ़ाया गया।
- In view of Jammu and Kashmir having ceased to be a State, the share came down to 41%. चूंकि जम्मू और कश्मीर अब राज्य नहीं रहा, इसलिए हिस्सेदारी 41% रह गई।
- Despite higher recommendations, the actual devolution to the States as a percentage of Gross Tax Revenue (GTR) has consistently fallen short. उच्च सिफारिशों के बावजूद, राज्यों को वास्तविक हस्तांतरण सकल कर राजस्व (GTR) के प्रतिशत के रूप में लगातार कम रहा है।
- The shortfall is attributed to the ever-increasing cesses and surcharges, which are not part of the shareable pool of revenue. इस कमी का कारण लगातार बढ़ते हुए उपकर और अधिभार हैं, जो साझा किए जाने योग्य राजस्व का हिस्सा नहीं हैं।



- The **cess and surcharge** accounted for **₹3,86,440 crore** as per the **Revised Estimates (RE) 2024-25**.
उपकर और अधिभार का हिसाब संशोधित अनुमान (RE) 2024-25 के अनुसार ₹3,86,440 करोड़ था।
- It is expected to be **₹4,23,456 crore** under the **Budget Estimates (BE) for 2025-26**, excluding the **GST compensation cess**.
इसे 2025-26 के बजट अनुमान (BE) के तहत ₹4,23,456 करोड़ होने की उम्मीद है, जिसमें GST मुआवजा उपकर शामिल नहीं है।
- **States** have been constantly pressing for their **merger** with the **shareable pool**, a demand the **Union government** has not accepted.
राज्य लगातार अपने साझा किए जाने योग्य पूल में विलय के लिए दबाव डाल रहे हैं, जिसे केंद्र सरकार ने स्वीकार नहीं किया है।
- This **resource** gives additional **leverage** to the **Centre** in managing its **expenses** over and above its usual **tax share**, as the proceeds from **cesses and surcharges** often fund the **Central share** in various **schemes**.
यह संसाधन केंद्र को अपनी सामान्य कर हिस्सेदारी के ऊपर अपने खर्चों को प्रबंधित करने में अतिरिक्त प्रभावशीलता देता है, क्योंकि उपकर और अधिभार से प्राप्त आय अक्सर विभिन्न योजनाओं में केंद्रीय हिस्सेदारी को वित्तपोषित करती है।

Dependence on Central transfers केंद्रीय हस्तांतरणों पर निर्भरता

- **Central transfers** still account for **44%** of the **States' revenue receipts**.
केंद्रीय हस्तांतरण अभी भी राज्यों की राजस्व प्राप्तियों का 44% हैं।
- It ranges from **72% for Bihar** to **20% for Haryana** with nine **States** — Haryana (**20%**), Telangana (**21%**), Gujarat (**28%**), Maharashtra (**28%**), Karnataka (**31%**), Tamil Nadu (**31%**), Goa (**33%**), Kerala (**34%**), and Odisha (**41%**) — getting less than the overall average figure of **44%**.
यह बिहार के लिए 72% से लेकर हरियाणा के लिए 20% तक है, जिसमें नौ राज्य — हरियाणा (20%), तेलंगाना (21%), गुजरात (28%), महाराष्ट्र (28%), कर्नाटक (31%), तमिलनाडु (31%), गोवा (33%), केरल (34%) और ओडिशा (41%) — कुल औसत संख्या 44% से कम प्राप्त कर रहे हैं।
- This indicates heavy dependency of **States** on **Central transfers** and, to that extent, a compromise in their **fiscal autonomy**.
यह राज्यों की केंद्रीय हस्तांतरणों पर भारी निर्भरता और इसके परिणामस्वरूप उनकी राजकोषीय स्वायत्तता में समझौता दर्शाता है।
- A look at the proportion of **tax revenue** shared between the **Centre and the States** during pre- and post-GST periods reveals a clear trend: the power to levy **taxes** is getting **centralised**, while the **expenditure responsibilities** on the **States** are on the rise.
GST से पहले और बाद की अवधि में केंद्र और राज्यों के बीच साझा किए गए कर राजस्व के अनुपात पर नजर डालने से स्पष्ट रुझान सामने आता है: कर लगाने की शक्ति केंद्रीकृत हो रही है, जबकि राज्यों की खर्च की जिम्मेदारियां बढ़ रही हैं।
- For the five years from **2012-13 to 2016-17**, the pre-GST period, the **Centre** collected **67%** of the total **tax revenue**, while the **States** collected **33%**.
पांच वर्षों के लिए 2012-13 से 2016-17, GST से पहले की अवधि में, केंद्र ने कुल कर राजस्व का 67% एकत्र किया, जबकि राज्यों ने 33% एकत्र किया।
- During the post-GST period (**2018-19 to 2022-23**), the ratio remained unchanged.
GST के बाद की अवधि (2018-19 से 2022-23) में यह अनुपात अपरिवर्तित रहा।
- As for **revenue expenditure**, the **Centre** incurred **47%** and the **States** **53%** in the pre-GST era.
राजस्व व्यय के मामले में, GST से पहले के युग में केंद्र ने 47% और राज्यों ने 53% व्यय किया।
- During the post-GST period, the figures were **48%** and **52%**, respectively.
GST के बाद की अवधि में यह आंकड़े क्रमशः 48% और 52% रहे।
- Increases in the **Centre's revenue expenditure** in recent years are largely attributed to the expansion of **CSS** on subjects that mostly fall in the domain of the **States**.
हाल के वर्षों में केंद्र के राजस्व व्यय में वृद्धि का मुख्य कारण उन विषयों पर CSS का विस्तार है, जो मुख्य रूप से राज्यों के क्षेत्राधिकार में आते हैं।



- The **expenditure commitments** of the **States** are comparatively higher, as they are responsible for tackling subjects of **law and order, health, education, agriculture, and local self-government**.
राज्यों की खर्च प्रतिबद्धताएं अपेक्षाकृत अधिक हैं, क्योंकि वे कानून और व्यवस्था, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा, कृषि और स्थानीय स्वशासन के विषयों के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं।
- As a result, **States** seek power to collect higher **tax revenues**, as the present **fiscal policy** of taxing power does not adequately address their requirements.
परिणामस्वरूप, राज्य अधिक कर राजस्व संग्रह करने की शक्ति चाहते हैं, क्योंकि वर्तमान राजकोषीय नीति उनकी आवश्यकताओं को पर्याप्त रूप से संबोधित नहीं करती।
- Heavy dependence on **Central transfers** also creates problems such as **liquidity management** and the fear of **political vendetta** on the **Opposition-ruled States**.
केंद्रीय हस्तांतरणों पर भारी निर्भरता से तरलता प्रबंधन और विपक्ष-शासित राज्यों पर राजनीतिक प्रतिशोध का डर जैसी समस्याएं भी उत्पन्न होती हैं।
- As a way out, some **States** suggest that the example of **Canada** be followed where the **federal government** collects **46%** of **tax revenue** and spends **40%**, while **sub-national governments** collect **54%** and spend **60%**.
समाधान के रूप में, कुछ राज्य सुझाव देते हैं कि कनाडा का उदाहरण अपनाया जाए, जहां संघीय सरकार कर राजस्व का 46% संग्रह करती है और 40% खर्च करती है, जबकि उप-राष्ट्रीय सरकारें 54% संग्रह करती हैं और 60% खर्च करती हैं।
- Such a system gives more **financial autonomy** and **flexibility** to the **States**.
ऐसी प्रणाली राज्यों को अधिक वित्तीय स्वायत्तता और लचीलापन प्रदान करती है।
- With rising **public aspirations** and widening **service gaps**, **States'** **expenditure commitments** are steadily increasing.
बढ़ती जनता की आकांक्षाओं और बढ़ते सेवा अंतर के साथ, राज्यों की खर्च प्रतिबद्धताएं लगातार बढ़ रही हैं।
- **GST introduction** has altered the **resource position** of the **States**, in addition to **centralising the authority** to levy **tax**.
GST परिचय ने राज्यों की संसाधन स्थिति को बदल दिया है, इसके साथ ही कर लगाने की प्राधिकरण को केंद्रीकृत भी कर दिया गया है।
- The heavy dependence of the **States** on the **Centre** is creating **friction**, especially in the **Opposition-ruled States**.
राज्यों की केंद्र पर भारी निर्भरता घर्षण पैदा कर रही है, विशेष रूप से विपक्ष-शासित राज्यों में।
- This is why many **States** and **economists** are calling for a restructuring of the **tax sharing principle** to enhance the **States'** **fiscal autonomy**.
यही कारण है कि कई राज्य और अर्थशास्त्री कर साझा करने के सिद्धांत का पुनर्गठन करने की मांग कर रहे हैं ताकि राज्यों की राजकोषीय स्वायत्तता बढ़ सके।

Towards fiscal autonomy राजकोषीय स्वायत्तता की ओर

- **States** like **Tamil Nadu** have appointed a **committee** to examine **Centre-State relations**.
तमिलनाडु जैसे राज्यों ने केंद्र-राज्य संबंधों की जांच के लिए एक समिति नियुक्त की है।
- It is against this backdrop that the recommendation is being made to share the **tax base** on **personal income tax (IT)** between the **Centre and the States**, on the lines of the **GST**.
इसी पृष्ठभूमि के खिलाफ सिफारिश की जा रही है कि व्यक्तिगत आयकर (IT) के कर आधार को केंद्र और राज्यों के बीच GST के समान साझा किया जाए।
- For instance, the share of **Central tax devolution** to **States** as per the **2025-26 Budget Estimates** is **₹14,22,444 crore**.
उदाहरण के लिए, 2025-26 बजट अनुमान के अनुसार राज्यों को केंद्रीय कर हस्तांतरण का हिस्सा ₹14,22,444 करोड़ है।
- If the **personal IT base** of **₹13,57,000 crore (BE 2025-26)** is shared on a **50:50 basis** with **States** where tax is collected, the **Central tax devolution share** to the **States** would effectively get reduced to **₹7,43,944 crore**.
यदि ₹13,57,000 करोड़ (BE 2025-26) का व्यक्तिगत IT आधार उन राज्यों के साथ 50:50 आधार पर



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साझा किया जाता है, जहां कर संग्रहित किया जाता है, तो राज्यों के लिए केंद्रीय कर हस्तांतरण का हिस्सा प्रभावी रूप से ₹7,43,944 करोड़ हो जाएगा।

- Alternatively, it is also suggested to empower the States to top up IT, without major changes to the current system of levy and collection.
विकल्प के रूप में, यह भी सुझाव दिया गया है कि राज्यों को IT बढ़ाने की शक्ति दी जाए, बिना वर्तमान लागू और संग्रह प्रणाली में बड़े बदलाव के।
- Such an arrangement would reduce States' fiscal dependence on the Centre, improve liquidity, and allow progressive States — which contribute more tax revenue — to directly benefit from their higher tax base.
ऐसी व्यवस्था राज्यों की केंद्रीय पर राजकोषीय निर्भरता को कम करेगी, तरलता में सुधार करेगी, और प्रगतिशील राज्यों — जो अधिक कर राजस्व का योगदान करते हैं — को सीधे उनके उच्च कर आधार से लाभान्वित होने की अनुमति देगी।
- The Centre will still have substantial leverage in resource sharing to correct fiscal imbalances, if any, through Central schemes, grants and usual tax devolution.
केंद्र के पास अभी भी संसाधन साझा करने में पर्याप्त प्रभावशीलता होगी, यदि कोई राजकोषीय असंतुलन है, तो उसे केंद्रीय योजनाओं, अनुदानों और सामान्य कर हस्तांतरण के माध्यम से सही किया जा सकता है।

Questions and Answers to the previous day's daily quiz: 1.

The first question pertains to K.S. Ranjitsinhji. Name the English county for which the Indian prince turned out the most in his first-class career. **Ans: Sussex**

2. This Ranji great, who never played a single Test for India, is currently the coach of the Indian women's cricket team. **Ans: Amol Muzumdar**

3. Who holds the highest batting average (98.35) in the Ranji Trophy? **Ans: Vijay Merchant**

4. The person with the second-highest batting average (85.62) was also the youngest to score a century on debut in the Trophy. But another youngster, who tragically passed away in a road accident just after he turned 18, held the record of being the youngest to score 1,000 runs in the Trophy. Name him. **Ans: Dhruv Pandove (and Sachin Tendulkar)**

5. Which Bengal player holds the record for the most wickets in an innings (10/20) in an innings, which he achieved against Assam in 1956/57. **Ans: Premangsu Chatterjee**

Visual: Vidarbha won the Ranji Trophy for the third time in the previous season (2024-25). This bowler played a key role in this tournament win by picking 69 wickets, the highest in any Ranji season. **Ans: Harsh Dubey**

Early Birds: Haridas Pal | Arun Kumar Singh | Tamal Biswas | Siddhartha Viswanathan | Sukdev Shet

out and 150 runs, showcasing his exceptional batting skills.

Notable Achievements

- In the 1896 County Championship, Ranjitsinhji scored 1,698 runs for Sussex at an average of 58.55, the highest in the league that season.
- He was the leading run-scorer in the 1899 County Championship, accumulating 2,285 runs for Sussex.
- In the 1900 County Championship, he again topped the run charts with 2,563 runs for Sussex.

Playing Style

- Ranjitsinhji was renowned for his elegant batting technique, particularly his leg-glance shot, which became his signature stroke.
- His ability to play fast bowlers with ease and his innovative stroke play earned him admiration from contemporaries and fans alike.

QUIZ

KS Ranjitsinhji's First-Class Career with Sussex

Introduction

- KS Ranjitsinhji, also known as Kumar Shri Ranjitsinhji, was an Indian prince who became one of the most celebrated cricketers in England during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

- He played for Sussex County Cricket Club, making significant contributions to the club's history.

Debut for Sussex

- Ranjitsinhji made his debut for Sussex in May 1895.

- In his first match against the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) at Lord's, he scored 77 not



Legacy

- Ranjitsinhji's contributions to Sussex and English cricket are commemorated by the **Sussex Cricket Museum**, which houses memorabilia and exhibits dedicated to his life and career.
- His impact on the game is also remembered through the **Ranji Trophy**, a premier domestic cricket competition in India, named in his honor.

Amol Muzumdar: From Domestic Cricket Legend to Head Coach of Indian Women's Team

Early Life and Domestic Cricket Career

- **Full Name:** Amol Anil Muzumdar
- **Date of Birth:** November 11, 1974
- **Place of Birth:** Mumbai, Maharashtra, India
- **Batting Style:** Right-handed
- **Bowling Style:** Right-arm leg break
- **Role:** Batsman

First-Class Cricket Achievements

- **Debut Match:** In the 1993–94 Ranji Trophy season, Muzumdar scored **260 runs** against Haryana, setting a **world record** for the highest score by a debutant in first-class cricket at that time.
- **Career Stats:**
 - **Matches Played:** 171
 - **Runs Scored:** 11,167
 - **Batting Average:** 48.13
 - **Centuries:** 30
 - **Half-Centuries:** 60
 - **Top Score:** 260
 - **Wickets Taken:** 6

Coaching Career

- **India Under-19 and Under-23:** Served as a batting coach, mentoring young talents.
- **Rajasthan Royals (IPL):** Appointed as the batting coach for the 2018–2020 seasons.
- **South Africa National Team:** Briefly served as an interim batting coach during their tour of India.
- **Mumbai Senior Team:** Became the head coach, leading the team to success in domestic competitions.
- **India Women's National Team:** In **October 2023**, appointed as the **head coach**, marking a significant milestone in his coaching career.

Significance of Appointment

- **Historic Achievement:** Muzumdar's appointment as the head coach of the Indian women's team is notable, as he **never played for the Indian national team** despite his illustrious domestic career.
- **Leadership Qualities:** Known for his leadership skills, he **captained Mumbai to a Ranji Trophy title** in the 2006–07 season.
- **Mentorship:** His extensive experience in domestic cricket positions him as an ideal mentor for the next generation of Indian cricketers.

Recent Developments



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- **Historic T20I Series Win:** Under his guidance, the Indian women's team secured their **first-ever T20I series victory against England in July 2025.**
- **Focus on Player Development:** Emphasizes the importance of platforms like the **Women's Premier League (WPL)** in enhancing player skills and performance.

Vijay Merchant: The Ranji Trophy Legend with the Highest Batting Average

Early Life and Background

- **Full Name:** Vijay Madhavji Merchant
- **Date of Birth:** November 12, 1911
- **Place of Birth:** Bombay (now Mumbai), Maharashtra, India
- **Batting Style:** Right-handed
- **Role:** Batsman
- **Nickname:** "The Merchant of Runs"

Domestic Cricket Career

- **First-Class Debut:** 1933–34 Ranji Trophy season for **Bombay**
- **Career Span:** 1933–1958
- **Key Achievement:** Holds the **highest batting average in Ranji Trophy history – 98.35**
- **Career Statistics:**
 - **Matches Played:** 92
 - **Runs Scored:** 7,525
 - **Centuries:** 27
 - **Half-Centuries:** 24
 - **Top Score:** 359 not out against Maharashtra in 1943
- **Significance:** Renowned for **technical perfection, patience, and classical batting style**, setting benchmarks for future generations.

International Career

- **Test Debut:** 1946 against England
- **Matches Played:** 10
- **Runs Scored:** 990
- **Batting Average:** 47.61
- **Centuries:** 3
- Despite a relatively short international career, he was considered one of India's **finest batsmen before independence.**

Legacy and Recognition

- **Awards:** Padma Bhushan in 1958 for contributions to Indian cricket
- **Post-Retirement:** Cricket commentator and mentor, influencing many young cricketers
- **Influence:** Known for **sportsmanship, calm demeanor, and unwavering focus** at the crease

Dhruv Pandove and Young Achievers in Ranji Trophy History

Second-Highest Batting Average

- The player with the **second-highest batting average in Ranji Trophy history is 85.62.**
- He was also the **youngest to score a century on debut** in the Trophy.
- This highlights the trend of **exceptionally talented young batsmen making early impacts** in Indian domestic cricket.

Dhruv Pandove: Youngest to Score 1,000 Runs

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- **Name:** Dhruv Pandove
- **Born:** December 9, 1974, in Patiala, Punjab, India
- **Achievements:**
 - Became the **youngest player in Ranji Trophy history to score 1,000 runs** at just 17 years of age.
 - Tragically **passed away in a road accident** shortly after turning 18.
- **Legacy:** Known as a **prodigy of Indian cricket**, Pandove's records and talent continue to inspire young cricketers in India.
- **Playing Style:** Right-handed batsman, technically sound, and aggressive scorer from a young age.

Other Young Achievers

- **Sachin Tendulkar**, another iconic Indian cricketer, also achieved remarkable feats as a youngster in Ranji Trophy:
 - Scored **centuries at a very young age**, breaking multiple domestic records.
 - Became a key part of Mumbai's batting lineup before making his Test debut at age 16.

Premangsu Chatterjee – Record Wicket-Taker in Ranji Trophy

Bengal Player Record

- **Premangsu Chatterjee**, a cricketer from **Bengal**, holds the record for **most wickets in a single innings in Ranji Trophy**.
- He achieved **10 wickets for 20 runs (10/20)** in an innings, which remains one of the most remarkable bowling feats in Indian domestic cricket history.
- This record-setting performance took place **against Assam in the 1956/57 Ranji Trophy season**.

Significance of the Record

- Taking **all 10 wickets in a single innings** is a **rare achievement in cricket**, comparable to Jim Laker's 10-wicket haul in Test cricket.
- The feat highlights **exceptional bowling skill and stamina**, as the bowler must outthink and outplay every batsman in the innings.
- It demonstrates **Bengal's rich cricketing history** and the contribution of domestic cricketers to Indian cricket.

Playing Style and Profile

- **Bowling Type:** Premangsu Chatterjee was known for his **accurate and skillful bowling**, capable of exploiting the pitch conditions effectively.
- **Impact:** His 10/20 performance showcased **both precision and control**, making him a standout figure in domestic cricket.



Next formal round of **India-EU FTA** talks not set, says Agrawal

Issues pertaining to market access, regulatory cooperation, agricultural sensitivities need constant discussion before formal negotiations

GS III: India-EU

T.C.A. Sharad Raghavan
NEW DELHI

Negotiations on the free trade agreement (FTA) between India and the European Union are facing issues relating to market access, regulatory cooperation and agricultural sensitivities, *The Hindu* has learnt.

Separately, Commerce Secretary Rajesh Agrawal said that the next formal round of negotiations has not been announced as the nature of these issues are such that they require constant discussion rather than waiting for a formal round.

The 14th and latest round of negotiations was held on October 6-10 in Brussels. Minister of Commerce and Industry Piyush Goyal, and his counterparts in Europe, have regu-



Talking terms: The Commerce Secretary said both sides will continue to interact with each other to resolve their differences. PTI

larly reiterated their commitment to completing negotiations on the trade deal by the end of this calendar year.

“India-EU FTA negotiations are progressing very well,” Mr. Agrawal said at a press conference.

“We are in the last leg of negotiations. The last was the most arduous leg of negotiations because the toughest things are decided at the end. We are in

that stage of negotiations. The last round saw real progress.”

Mr. Agrawal added that the teams from both sides would continue interacting with each other to work out their differences.

“Right now, we have not settled on the next round of official negotiations because we feel there are issues across areas that we need to resolve on a continuous basis,” he said.

Next formal round of India-EU FTA talks not set, says Agrawal
भारत-ईयू FTA वार्ता का अगला औपचारिक दौर तय नहीं, अग्रवाल ने कहा



- Negotiations on the **free trade agreement (FTA)** between **India and the European Union** are facing issues relating to **market access, regulatory cooperation and agricultural sensitivities**. The Hindu has learnt.
भारत और यूरोपीय संघ (European Union) के बीच फ्री ट्रेड एग्रीमेंट (FTA) पर बातचीत में बाजार पहुँच (market access), नियामक सहयोग (regulatory cooperation) और कृषि संवेदनशीलताओं (agricultural sensitivities) से जुड़े मुद्दों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है, जैसा कि द हिंदू ने जाना।
- Separately, **Commerce Secretary Rajesh Agrawal** said that the next formal round of negotiations has **not been announced** as the nature of these issues are such that they require **constant discussion** rather than waiting for a formal round.
अलग से, **वाणिज्य सचिव राजेश अग्रवाल** ने कहा कि वार्ता के अगले औपचारिक दौर की **घोषणा नहीं की गई है**, क्योंकि इन मुद्दों की प्रकृति ऐसी है कि इनके लिए औपचारिक दौर की प्रतीक्षा के बजाय **निरंतर चर्चा (constant discussion)** की आवश्यकता है।
- The **14th and latest round** of negotiations was held on **October 6-10** in **Brussels**.
वार्ता का **14वां और नवीनतम दौर (14th and latest round) 6-10 अक्टूबर (October 6-10) को ब्रसेल्स (Brussels) में आयोजित किया गया था।**
- **Minister of Commerce and Industry Piyush Goyal**, and his counterparts in Europe, have regularly reiterated their commitment to completing negotiations on the trade deal by the end of this **calendar year**.
वाणिज्य और उद्योग मंत्री पीयूष गोयल (Piyush Goyal) और उनके यूरोप में समकक्षों ने इस वर्ष के अंत (calendar year) तक व्यापार समझौते पर बातचीत पूरी करने की अपनी प्रतिबद्धता बार-बार दोहराई है।
- **"India-EU FTA negotiations are progressing very well,"** Mr. Agrawal said at a press conference.
"भारत-ईयू FTA वार्ता बहुत अच्छी प्रगति कर रही है," श्री अग्रवाल ने एक प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस में कहा।
- **"We are in the last leg of negotiations.** The last was the most arduous leg of negotiations because the **toughest things** are decided at the end. We are in that stage of negotiations. The last round saw real progress."
"हम वार्ता के अंतिम चरण (last leg of negotiations) में हैं। पिछला दौर सबसे कठिन चरण था क्योंकि सबसे मुश्किल चीजें (toughest things) अंत में तय की जाती हैं। हम उसी चरण में हैं। पिछला दौर वास्तविक प्रगति देखने को मिला।"
- Mr. Agrawal added that the teams from both sides would continue interacting with each other to **work out their differences**.
श्री अग्रवाल ने कहा कि दोनों पक्षों की टीमों **अपनी मतभेदों (work out their differences)** को सुलझाने के लिए बातचीत जारी रखेंगी।
- **"Right now, we have not settled on the next round** of official negotiations because we feel there are issues across areas that we need to resolve on a **continuous basis**," he said.
"अभी, हमने अगले औपचारिक दौर (next round) पर निर्णय नहीं लिया है क्योंकि हमें लगता है कि कई क्षेत्रों में मुद्दे हैं जिन्हें हमें निरंतर आधार (continuous basis) पर हल करना है," उन्होंने कहा।



Indian iron and steel exporters face the highest CBAM levy

GS III: Environment

Jacob Koshy

NEW DELHI

Indian exporters of iron and steel to EU may have to pay about €301 million (approximately ₹3,000 crore) in Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) fees, the highest among all countries exporting similar products to the EU, an analysis by European non-profit think-tank Sandberg has found.

CBAM is a levy that European importers must pay if they buy products from countries whose production emits more carbon dioxide per tonne than equivalent goods manufactured within the EU.

An online calculator developed by Sandberg, made public on Thursday, estimates that Russia will face the next highest CBAM charges (€240 million), followed by Ukraine (€198 million) and China (€194 million).

The analysis further indicates that India's total CBAM liability, covering exports of aluminium and ce-



Indian exporters could earn higher revenues if they shift to cleaner technologies.

ment in addition to iron and steel, stands at about €330 million, or roughly 1.05% of the value of all traded goods. However, the study also suggests that Indian exporters could earn higher revenues, estimated at €510 million, if they shift to cleaner technologies, resulting in a net cost reduction of around €180 million.

India has consistently opposed the CBAM, with industry bodies describing it as a "non-tariff barrier".

Commerce Minister Piyush Goyal said in July that if the EU implemented the CBAM, India would "retaliate with taxes of its own."

of all traded goods.

विश्लेषण यह भी बताता है कि भारत की कुल CBAM देनदारी (CBAM liability), जिसमें लोहा और इस्पात के अलावा एल्युमिनियम और सीमेंट (aluminium and cement) के निर्यात शामिल हैं, लगभग €330 मिलियन, या सभी व्यापारिक वस्तुओं के मूल्य का लगभग 1.05% है।

- However, the study also suggests that Indian exporters could earn higher revenues, estimated at €510 million, if they shift to cleaner technologies, resulting in a net cost

Indian iron and steel exporters face the highest CBAM levy
भारतीय लोहा और इस्पात निर्यातकों को सबसे अधिक CBAM शुल्क का सामना

- Indian exporters of iron and steel to EU may have to pay about €301 million (approximately ₹3,000 crore) in Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) fees, the highest among all countries exporting similar products to the EU, an analysis by European non-profit think-tank Sandberg has found.

यूरोपीय संघ (EU) को लोहा और इस्पात (iron and steel) निर्यात करने वाले भारतीय निर्यातकों को कार्बन बॉर्डर एडजस्टमेंट मैकेनिज्म (CBAM) शुल्क के रूप में लगभग €301 मिलियन (लगभग ₹3,000 करोड़) का भुगतान करना पड़ सकता है, जो EU को समान उत्पाद निर्यात करने वाले सभी देशों में सबसे अधिक है, यह निष्कर्ष यूरोपीय गैर-लाभकारी थिंक-टैंक Sandberg की विश्लेषण रिपोर्ट में पाया गया।

- CBAM is a levy that European importers must pay if they buy products from countries whose production emits more carbon dioxide per tonne than equivalent goods manufactured within the EU.

CBAM एक शुल्क है जो यूरोपीय आयातकों को तब देना होता है जब वे उन देशों से उत्पाद खरीदते हैं, जिनके उत्पादन से EU में निर्मित समान वस्तुओं की तुलना में प्रति टन अधिक कार्बन डाइऑक्साइड (carbon dioxide per tonne) उत्सर्जित होती है।

- An online calculator developed by Sandberg, made public on Thursday, estimates that Russia will face the next highest CBAM charges (€240 million), followed by Ukraine (€198 million) and China (€194 million).

Sandberg द्वारा विकसित एक ऑनलाइन कैलकुलेटर, जो गुरुवार को सार्वजनिक किया गया, अनुमान लगाता है कि रूस (Russia) को अगला सबसे उच्च CBAM शुल्क (€240 मिलियन) का सामना करना पड़ेगा, इसके बाद यूक्रेन (€198 मिलियन) और चीन (€194 मिलियन) का स्थान है।

- The analysis further indicates that India's total CBAM liability, covering exports of aluminium and cement in addition to iron and steel, stands at about €330 million, or roughly 1.05% of the value



reduction of around **€180 million**.

हालांकि, अध्ययन यह भी सुझाव देता है कि यदि भारतीय निर्यातक **साफ-सुथरी तकनीकों (cleaner technologies)** की ओर जाते हैं, तो वे उच्च राजस्व प्राप्त कर सकते हैं, जिसकी अनुमानित राशि **€510 मिलियन** है, जिससे लगभग **€180 मिलियन** की शुद्ध लागत में कमी होगी।

- India has consistently opposed the **CBAM**, with industry bodies describing it as a “**non-tariff barrier**”.

भारत ने लगातार **CBAM** का विरोध किया है, और उद्योग संगठनों ने इसे “**गैर-शुल्कीय बाधा (non-tariff barrier)**” के रूप में वर्णित किया है।

- **Commerce Minister Piyush Goyal** said in July that if the EU implemented the **CBAM**, India would “retaliate with taxes of its own.”

वाणिज्य मंत्री पीयूष गोयल (Piyush Goyal) ने जुलाई में कहा कि यदि EU **CBAM** को लागू करता है, तो भारत “अपने खुद के करों (taxes of its own)** के साथ जवाब देगा।”

‘Argentina may widen peso’s trading band after elections’

US Trade Policy Watch

NEWS ANALYSIS

Reuters
NEW YORK

Argentina will likely shift its foreign exchange policy to allow for a weaker peso after midterm elections this month, with analysts and investors warning that the current trading band is unsustainable and that U.S. support would only buy time for the beleaguered currency.

The U.S. has been buying pesos and is working on a debt facility for Argentina, contingent on a strong performance by President Javier Milei’s La Libertad Avanza party in the October 26 vote and a continuation of his policies of aggressive spending

cuts, deregulation and free markets. That support has lifted the stakes for Argentina’s next policy move, and the party will need to strengthen its presence to avoid a legislative override of Mr. Milei’s vetoes of spending bills and reliance on governing by decree.

Partially ease pressure
The Argentine central bank has kept the peso in a managed band since April while its interventions, alongside the Argentine treasury, have fended off recent attacks on the band’s weak end. But the downward pressure abated only partially after the U.S. Treasury said it purchased pesos in the open market. “The central bank might need to widen the currency band as it tries to



Weak tidings: A customer counts Argentine peso bills at a supermarket, in Buenos Aires, Reuters.

take the training wheels off the currency,” said Brian Jacobsen, chief economist at Amex’s Wealth Management, adding that shock therapy could trigger volatility near-term but was

needed for long-term success.

“Widening the trading band for the currency until it stops bumping against the bounds will take a while, but it’s probably the

direction they need to go.”

Argentine Economy Minister Luis Caputo said he hoped to execute a framework very soon with the terms of a \$20 billion currency swap the U.S. recent

ly agreed with the central bank. Caputo has said repeatedly that the band system will not be altered and that U.S. backing will help to support the bank’s efforts, while a policy that favors a weak currency would risk a worsening of inflation. U.S. Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent said Wednesday the U.S. again bought pesos in the open market, after initially announcing an intervention last week.

Pricing in band

Yet the forwards markets are already pricing in a breach of the band’s weaker limit, highlighting investors’ concerns. The peso ended 1.7% weaker at 1,378 per dollar on Wednesday. The band replaced more rigid currency controls, as

part of Argentina’s commitments to the International Monetary Fund when it secured a fresh \$20 billion loan program in April. The peso has fallen 22% since then.

Sticking with the band will require a redesign, according to Matthew Graves, portfolio manager in the emerging markets debt team at PPM America.

Floating exchange

“At the margin, investors would probably prefer a floating foreign exchange regime,” he said. “It’s a more straightforward, durable fix to what’s essentially an external problem.”

This is not the first time that government spending and ballooning trade and fiscal deficits contributed to a currency crisis. In

2001, Argentina defaulted on its sovereign debt, forcing the peso out of its dollar peg. The country has defaulted on its sovereign debt twice since then, in 2001 and 2020.

Capital Economics expects a one-off devaluation of the peso after the midterms, followed shortly thereafter by a new, wider band. “We think maintaining the status quo is unlikely given the extent of exchange rate misalignment and downward pressure on the peso,” it said in a note.

The base case peso scenario for Morgan Stanley is for a controlled devaluation and wider trading band, designed to shore up reserves and restore some external balance without triggering inflation spike.

‘Argentina may widen peso’s trading band after elections’

‘अर्जेटीना चुनावों के बाद पेसो के ट्रेडिंग बैंड को बढ़ा सकता है’

- Argentina will likely shift its **foreign exchange policy** to allow for a weaker **peso** after midterm elections this month, with analysts and investors warning that the current trading band is unsustainable and that **U.S. support** would only buy time for the beleaguered currency.

अर्जेटीना संभवतः इस महीने के मध्यकालीन चुनावों के बाद अपनी **विदेशी मुद्रा नीति** को बदल सकता है ताकि कमजोर **पेसो** की अनुमति दी जा सके, विश्लेषकों और निवेशकों ने चेतावनी दी है कि वर्तमान ट्रेडिंग बैंड अस्थिर है और **अमेरिकी समर्थन** केवल संकटग्रस्त मुद्रा के लिए समय खरीदेगा।

- The U.S. has been buying pesos and is working on a **debt facility** for Argentina, contingent on a strong performance by President **Javier Milei’s La Libertad Avanza party** in the October 26 vote and a continuation of his policies of aggressive **spending cuts, deregulation and free markets**.

अमेरिका पेसो खरीद रहा है और अर्जेटीना के लिए एक **ऋण सुविधा** पर काम कर रहा है, यह इस बात पर निर्भर है कि राष्ट्रपति **Javier Milei की La Libertad Avanza पार्टी** 26 अक्टूबर के मतदान में मजबूत प्रदर्शन करे और उनकी नीतियों जैसे आक्रामक **खर्च कटौती, विनियमन समाप्ति और मुक्त बाजार** जारी रहें।



- That support has lifted the stakes for Argentina's next policy move, and the party will need to strengthen its presence to avoid a legislative override of Mr. Milei's vetoes of **spending bills** and reliance on governing by decree.
इस समर्थन ने अर्जेन्टीना की अगली नीति कार्रवाई के लिए दांव बढ़ा दिए हैं, और पार्टी को अपना प्रभाव मजबूत करना होगा ताकि श्री Milei के **खर्च विधेयक** पर वीटो और अध्यादेश के माध्यम से शासन पर निर्भरता के लिए कानूनसंगत अधिनियमन का उल्लंघन न हो।

Partially ease pressure आंशिक रूप से दबाव कम करना

- The Argentine central bank has kept the **peso** in a **managed band** since April while its interventions, alongside the Argentine treasury, have fended off recent attacks on the band's weak end.
अर्जेन्टीना का केंद्रीय बैंक अप्रैल से **पेसो** को एक **मैनेज्ड बैंड** में रख रहा है जबकि इसके हस्तक्षेप, अर्जेन्टीना की ट्रेजरी के साथ, बैंड के कमजोर छोर पर हाल के हमलों को रोकते रहे हैं।
- But the downward pressure abated only partially after the U.S. Treasury said it purchased pesos in the open market.
लेकिन अमेरिकी ट्रेजरी ने खुले बाजार में पेसो खरीदने की घोषणा करने के बाद भी नीचे की ओर दबाव केवल आंशिक रूप से कम हुआ।
- "The central bank might need to widen the **currency band** as it tries to take the training wheels off the currency," said **Brian Jacobsen, chief economist at Annex Wealth Management**, adding that **shock therapy** could trigger volatility near-term but was needed for long-term success.
"केंद्रीय बैंक को **मुद्रा बैंड** बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता हो सकती है क्योंकि यह मुद्रा से प्रशिक्षण पहियों को हटा रहा है," कहा **Brian Jacobsen, Annex Wealth Management के मुख्य अर्थशास्त्री**, उन्होंने जोड़ा कि **शॉक थेरेपी** अल्पकालिक अस्थिरता ला सकती है लेकिन दीर्घकालिक सफलता के लिए आवश्यक है।
- "Widening the trading band for the currency until it stops bumping against the bounds will take a while, but it's probably the direction they need to go."
"मुद्रा के ट्रेडिंग बैंड को तब तक बढ़ाना जब तक यह सीमाओं से टकराना बंद न कर दे, इसमें समय लगेगा, लेकिन यह संभवतः वही दिशा है जिसमें उन्हें जाना चाहिए।"
- Argentine Economy Minister **Luis Caputo** said he hoped to execute a framework very soon with the terms of a **\$20 billion currency swap** the U.S. recently agreed with the central bank.
अर्जेन्टीना के अर्थव्यवस्था मंत्री **Luis Caputo** ने कहा कि उन्हें उम्मीद है कि वह बहुत जल्द एक ढांचा लागू करेंगे जिसमें हाल ही में अमेरिकी द्वारा केंद्रीय बैंक के साथ किए गए **\$20 बिलियन मुद्रा स्वैप** की शर्तें शामिल हों।
- Caputo has said repeatedly that the band system will not be altered and that **U.S. backing** will help to support the bank's efforts, while a policy that favors a weak currency would risk a worsening of **inflation**.
Caputo ने बार-बार कहा है कि बैंड सिस्टम को बदला नहीं जाएगा और **अमेरिकी समर्थन** बैंक के प्रयासों का समर्थन करने में मदद करेगा, जबकि कमजोर मुद्रा को प्राथमिकता देने वाली नीति **मुद्रास्फीति** को बढ़ा सकती है।
- U.S. Treasury Secretary **Scott Bessent** said Wednesday the U.S. again bought pesos in the open market, after initially announcing an intervention last week.
अमेरिकी ट्रेजरी सचिव **Scott Bessent** ने बुधवार को कहा कि अमेरिका ने खुले बाजार में फिर से पेसो खरीदे, जबकि पिछले सप्ताह हस्तक्षेप की घोषणा की गई थी।

Pricing in band बैंड में मूल्य निर्धारण

- Yet the forward markets are already pricing in a breach of the band's weaker limit, highlighting investors' concerns.
फिर भी, फॉरवर्ड मार्केट पहले ही बैंड की कमजोर सीमा के उल्लंघन का मूल्य निर्धारण कर रही है, जिससे निवेशकों की चिंताओं को उजागर किया गया है।
- The peso ended **1.7% weaker** at 1,378 per dollar on Wednesday.
बुधवार को पेसो **1.7% कमजोर** होकर 1,378 प्रति डॉलर पर बंद हुआ।



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

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

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- The band replaced more rigid **currency controls**, as part of Argentina's commitments to the **International Monetary Fund** when it secured a fresh **\$20 billion loan program** in April.
बैंड ने अधिक कठोर **मुद्रा नियंत्रण** को बदल दिया, जो अर्जेंटीना की **अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष** के प्रति प्रतिबद्धताओं का हिस्सा था, जब उसने अप्रैल में एक नया **\$20 बिलियन ऋण कार्यक्रम** सुनिश्चित किया।
- The peso has fallen **22%** since then.
तब से पेसो **22%** गिर चुका है।

Sticking with the band बैंड के साथ बने रहना

- Will require a redesign, according to **Matthew Graves, portfolio manager in the emerging markets debt team at PPM America**.
यह **Matthew Graves, PPM America** के **इमर्जिंग मार्केट्स डेट टीम के पोर्टफोलियो मैनेजर** के अनुसार, पुनः डिज़ाइन की आवश्यकता होगी।

Floating exchange फ्लोटिंग एक्सचेंज

- "At the margin, investors would probably prefer a **floating foreign exchange regime**," he said. "It's a more straightforward, durable fix to what's essentially an external problem."
"सीमांत पर, निवेशक संभवतः **फ्लोटिंग विदेशी मुद्रा प्रणाली** पसंद करेंगे," उन्होंने कहा। "यह मूल रूप से एक बाहरी समस्या का अधिक सीधे, स्थायी समाधान है।"
- This is not the first time that government spending and ballooning **trade and fiscal deficits** contributed to a **currency crisis**.
यह पहली बार नहीं है जब सरकारी खर्च और बढ़ती **व्यापार और वित्तीय घाटे** ने **मुद्रा संकट** में योगदान दिया हो।
- In 2001, Argentina defaulted on its **sovereign debt**, forcing the peso out of its dollar peg.
2001 में, अर्जेंटीना ने अपने **सावरेन ऋण** में डिफॉल्ट किया, जिससे पेसो को डॉलर पेग से बाहर होना पड़ा।
- The country has defaulted on its sovereign debt twice since then, in 2014 and 2020.
इसके बाद देश ने 2014 और 2020 में अपने सावरेन ऋण में दो बार डिफॉल्ट किया।
- **Capital Economics** expects a one-off devaluation of the **peso** after the midterms, followed shortly thereafter by a new, wider band.
Capital Economics का अनुमान है कि मध्यकालीन चुनावों के बाद **पेसो** का एक बार का अवमूल्यन होगा, जिसके तुरंत बाद एक नया, विस्तृत बैंड होगा।
- "We think maintaining the status quo is unlikely given the extent of exchange rate misalignment and downward pressure on the peso," it said in a note.
"हमारा मानना है कि विनिमय दर असंतुलन और पेसो पर नीचे की ओर दबाव को देखते हुए वर्तमान स्थिति बनाए रखना असंभव है," उन्होंने एक नोट में कहा।
- The base case **peso scenario** for **Morgan Stanley** is for a controlled devaluation and wider trading band, designed to shore up reserves and restore some external balance without triggering **inflation spike**.
Morgan Stanley के लिए बुनियादी मामला **पेसो परिदृश्य** एक नियंत्रित अवमूल्यन और व्यापक ट्रेडिंग बैंड है, जिसे भंडार मजबूत करने और कुछ बाहरी संतुलन बहाल करने के लिए डिज़ाइन किया गया है, बिना **मुद्रास्फीति वृद्धि** को ट्रिगर किए।



BERLIN

Germany working on plan against Russian 'hybrid' threats, says Merz



GS III: Defence

AFP

German Chancellor **Friedrich Merz** on Thursday announced a "comprehensive action plan" to counter Russia's hybrid warfare, including cyberattacks, espionage, and disinformation. Mr. Merz also accused Moscow of trying to destabilise Europe and criticised the Russia-friendly AfD party. AFP

Germany working on plan against Russian 'hybrid' threats, says Merz
जर्मनी रूस के 'हाइब्रिड' खतरों के खिलाफ योजना पर काम कर रहा है, मर्ज़ के अनुसार

- German Chancellor **Friedrich Merz** on Thursday announced a "comprehensive action plan" to counter Russia's hybrid warfare, including cyberattacks, espionage, and disinformation.

जर्मन चांसलर **Friedrich Merz** ने गुरुवार को रूस की हाइब्रिड युद्ध नीति का मुकाबला करने के लिए एक "व्यापक कार्य योजना" की घोषणा की, जिसमें साइबर हमले, जासूसी और गलत सूचना शामिल हैं।

- Mr. Merz also accused **Moscow** of trying to destabilise Europe and criticised the Russia-friendly **AfD party**.

मर्ज़ ने **मॉस्को** पर यूरोप को अस्थिर करने का प्रयास करने का भी आरोप लगाया और रूस-हितैषी **AfD पार्टी** की आलोचना की।

PATRIOTIC