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PCS Special:	14 February
1. Reliance acquires U.S. licence to import Venezuelan oil रिलायंस को वेनेजुएला से तेल आयात करने के लिए अमेरिका का लाइसेंस मिला	
2. Tissa Vitarana, Sri Lanka's LSSP leader, dies at 91 टिस्सा विटाराना, श्रीलंका की LSSP के नेता, का 91 वर्ष की आयु में निधन	



PCS

Reliance acquires U.S. licence to import Venezuelan oil

Reliance Industries has acquired a general licence from the U.S. to procure Venezuelan oil, sources privy to the development confirmed to *The Hindu*. The licence would allow the refiner to procure oil from the South American country being in compliance with relevant laws, the source confirmed. With this, Reliance, which operates the world's largest single-site refining complex at Gujarat's Jamnagar, would be joining multiple global refiners to buy Venezuelan oil.

largest single-site refining complex at Gujarat's Jamnagar, would be joining multiple global refiners to buy Venezuelan oil.

इसके साथ ही, रिलायंस, जो **world's largest single-site refining complex** का संचालन Gujarat के Jamnagar में करता है, वेनेजुएला का तेल खरीदने वाले कई **global refiners** में शामिल हो जाएगा।

Reliance acquires U.S. licence to import Venezuelan oil

रिलायंस को वेनेजुएला से तेल आयात करने के लिए अमेरिका का लाइसेंस मिला

- Reliance Industries has acquired a general licence from the U.S. to procure Venezuelan oil, sources privy to the development confirmed to *The Hindu*.

Reliance Industries ने U.S. से **general licence** प्राप्त किया है ताकि Venezuela का तेल खरीदा जा सके, इस विकास से जुड़े सूत्रों ने *The Hindu* को पुष्टि की।

- The licence would allow the refiner to procure oil from the South American country being in compliance with relevant laws, the source confirmed.

सूत्र ने पुष्टि की कि यह **licence** रिफाइनर को **relevant laws** के अनुरूप रहते हुए **South American country** से तेल खरीदने की अनुमति देगा।

- With this, Reliance, which operates the world's largest single-site refining complex at Gujarat's Jamnagar, would be joining multiple global refiners to buy Venezuelan oil.

Tissa Vitarana, Sri Lanka's LSSP leader, dies at 91

PCS

Meera Srinivasan
COLOMBO

Tissa Vitarana, leader of Sri Lanka's leftist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and a key figure in the All Party Representative Committee (APRC) formed in 2006 to develop a political solution to the island's civil war, died in Colombo early Friday. He was 91.

Drawn to politics in his student days, Vitarana studied medicine in Sri Lanka before moving into research – he obtained a PhD in virology from the University of London – while continuing his party activities covertly.

After retiring from government service and assuming party leadership, he became a steadfast supporter of former President Mahinda Rajapaksa, helm-

ing the science and technology portfolios in his Cabinet from 2004. In the following years, the civil war entered its final, bloody phase, with the Rajapaksa administration facing serious allegations of human rights violations against Tamil civilians, even as the military defeated the LTTE. Like much of Sri Lanka's old left, Vitarana believed that asserting national sovereignty and resisting imperialism called for unconditional support to Mr. Rajapaksa.

All the same, many – including in the Tamil polity – saw the APRC initiative led by him as a valuable starting point on power devolution to the Tamils. The Committee included 15 political parties and a panel of experts, reflecting diverse political engagement



Tissa Vitarana

and deliberation on Sri Lanka's burning national question. "Prof. Vitarana was rather disappointed that Mahinda Rajapaksa did not make the Committee's full report public," said Jayampathy Wickramaratne, former LSSP member and senior lawyer. "That was his greatest contribution, the APRC process."

M.A. Sumanthiran, general secretary of Ilankai Ta-

mil Arasu Katchi (ITAK), a party representing Tamils of the island's north and east, concurred, pointing to Vitarana's "valiant efforts" to arrive at political solution that still eludes Tamils. The APRC report had some "excellent features" on power sharing, including doing away with the concurrent list, the former Jaffna MP noted. "When our party was engaged in the process of drafting a new Constitution later (2015-19), we compared it with the proposals that came out in 2000 under President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, and found that the APRC devolved more power to the provinces."

Vitarana was "born into the LSSP", Mr. Wickramaratne said, referring to the

island's oldest political party and the region's best known Trotskyist formation. Vitarana's maternal uncle N.M. Perera, an iconic left political figure, was among its founders. The party was once a formidable left voice representing working class interests, unafraid to take on the United National Party in power then.

Vitarana is credited with launching the 'Vidatha Movement', an island-wide initiative supporting small and medium enterprises with technology and finance. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the renowned virologist rebuked the Gotabaya Rajapaksa administration's policy of mandatory cremation of victims, refuting its claim that burials would contaminate the water table.

Tissa Vitarana, Sri Lanka's LSSP leader, dies at 91

टिस्सा विटाराना, श्रीलंका की LSSP के नेता, का 91 वर्ष की आयु में निधन

- Tissa Vitarana, leader of **Sri Lanka's leftist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP)** and a key figure in the **All Party Representative Committee (APRC)** formed in **2006** to develop a political solution to the island's civil war, died in **Colombo** early Friday. He was **91**
टिस्सा विटाराना, श्रीलंका की वामपंथी लंका समा समाजा पार्टी (LSSP) के नेता और 2006 में गठित ऑल



पार्टी रिप्रेज़ेंटेटिव कमेटी (APRC) के एक प्रमुख सदस्य, जिनका उद्देश्य द्वीप के गृहयुद्ध के लिए राजनीतिक समाधान तैयार करना था, का **कोलंबो** में शुक्रवार तड़के निधन हो गया। वह **91** वर्ष के थे

- Drawn to politics in his student days, Vitarana studied medicine in Sri Lanka before moving into research — he obtained a **PhD in virology** from the **University of London** — while continuing his party activities covertly
छात्र जीवन में ही राजनीति की ओर आकर्षित हुए विटाराना ने **श्रीलंका** में चिकित्सा की पढ़ाई की, इसके बाद शोध के क्षेत्र में गए — उन्होंने **यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ लंदन** से **वायरोलॉजी में पीएचडी** प्राप्त की — और साथ ही गुप्त रूप से पार्टी गतिविधियाँ जारी रखीं
- After retiring from government service and assuming party leadership, he became a steadfast supporter of former President **Mahinda Rajapaksa**, helming the **science and technology portfolios** in his Cabinet from **2004**
सरकारी सेवा से सेवानिवृत्त होने और पार्टी नेतृत्व संभालने के बाद, वह पूर्व राष्ट्रपति **महिंदा राजपक्षे** के दृढ़ समर्थक बन गए और **2004** से उनके मंत्रिमंडल में **विज्ञान और प्रौद्योगिकी विभाग** संभाला
- In the following years, the civil war entered its final, bloody phase, with the Rajapaksa administration facing serious allegations of **human rights violations** against **Tamil civilians**, even as the military defeated the **LTTE**
इसके बाद के वर्षों में गृहयुद्ध अपने अंतिम और रक्तंजित चरण में पहुँचा, जब राजपक्षे प्रशासन पर **तमिल नागरिकों** के खिलाफ **मानवाधिकार उल्लंघन** के गंभीर आरोप लगे, जबकि सेना ने **LTTE** को पराजित किया
- Like much of Sri Lanka's old left, Vitarana believed that asserting **national sovereignty** and resisting **imperialism** called for unconditional support to Mr. Rajapaksa
श्रीलंका के पुराने वामपंथ के कई नेताओं की तरह, विटाराना का मानना था कि **राष्ट्रीय संप्रभुता** को मजबूत करने और **साम्राज्यवाद** का विरोध करने के लिए श्री राजपक्षे को बिना शर्त समर्थन आवश्यक है
- All the same, many — including in the **Tamil polity** — saw the **APRC initiative** led by him as a valuable starting point on **power devolution** to the Tamils
फिर भी, **तमिल राजनीति** से जुड़े कई लोगों सहित अनेक लोगों ने उनके नेतृत्व वाली **APRC पहल** को तमिलों को **सत्ता के विकेंद्रीकरण** की दिशा में एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रारंभिक कदम माना
- The Committee included **15 political parties** and a panel of experts, reflecting diverse political engagement and deliberation on Sri Lanka's burning national question
इस समिति में **15 राजनीतिक दल** और विशेषज्ञों का एक पैनल शामिल था, जो श्रीलंका के ज्वलंत राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न पर विविध राजनीतिक सहभागिता और विचार-विमर्श को दर्शाता था
- “Prof. Vitarana was rather disappointed that **Mahinda Rajapaksa** did not make the Committee's full report public,” said **Jayampathy Wickramaratne**, former LSSP member and senior lawyer
“प्रो. विटाराना इस बात से काफी निराश थे कि **महिंदा राजपक्षे** ने समिति की पूरी रिपोर्ट सार्वजनिक नहीं की,” **जयमपथी विक्रमरत्ने**, पूर्व LSSP सदस्य और वरिष्ठ वकील ने कहा
- “That was his greatest contribution, the **APRC process**.”
“यही उनका सबसे बड़ा योगदान था, यानी **APRC प्रक्रिया**।”
- **M.A. Sumanthiran**, general secretary of **Ilankai Tamil Arasu Katchi (ITAK)**, a party representing Tamils of the island's north and east, concurred, pointing to Vitarana's “**valiant efforts**” to arrive at political solution that still eludes Tamils
द्वीप के उत्तर और पूर्व के तमिलों का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाले दल **इलंकई तमिल अरसु कच्ची (ITAK)** के महासचिव **एम.ए. सुमंथिरन** ने भी सहमति जताई और तमिलों के लिए अब भी अप्राप्य राजनीतिक समाधान तक पहुँचने के लिए विटाराना के “**साहसी प्रयासों**” की ओर इशारा किया
- The **APRC report** had some “**excellent features**” on power sharing, including doing away with the **concurrent list**, the former **Jaffna MP** noted
पूर्व **जाफ़ना सांसद** ने कहा कि **APRC रिपोर्ट** में सत्ता साझेदारी पर कुछ “**उत्कृष्ट विशेषताएँ**” थीं, जिनमें **समवर्ती सूची** को समाप्त करना भी शामिल था
- “When our party was engaged in the process of drafting a new **Constitution** later (2015-19), we compared it with the proposals that came out in **2000** under President **Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga**, and found that the APRC devolved more power to the provinces.”
“जब हमारा दल बाद में (2015-19) नए **संविधान** के मसौदे की प्रक्रिया में शामिल था, तो हमने इसकी तुलना **2000** में राष्ट्रपति **चंद्रिका बंडारनायके कुमारतुंगा** के तहत आए प्रस्तावों से की और पाया कि APRC ने प्रांतों को अधिक शक्ति सौंपी थी।”



- Vitarana was “born into the LSSP”, Mr. Wickramaratne said, referring to the island’s oldest political party and the region’s best known **Trotskyist** formation
श्री विक्रमरत्ने ने कहा कि विटाराना “LSSP में ही जन्मे”, जो द्वीप का सबसे पुराना राजनीतिक दल और क्षेत्र का सबसे प्रसिद्ध **ट्रॉट्स्कीवादी** संगठन है
- Vitarana’s maternal uncle **N.M. Perera**, an iconic left political figure, was among its founders
विटाराना के मामा **एन.एम. परेरा**, जो वामपंथ के एक प्रतिष्ठित राजनीतिक व्यक्तित्व थे, इसके संस्थापकों में शामिल थे
- The party was once a formidable left voice representing **working class interests**, unafraid to take on the **United National Party** in power then
यह पार्टी कभी **मजदूर वर्ग के हितों** का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाली एक प्रभावशाली वामपंथी आवाज़ थी, जो उस समय सत्ता में रही **यूनाइटेड नेशनल पार्टी** को चुनौती देने से नहीं डरती थी
- Vitarana is credited with launching the ‘**Vidatha Movement**’, an island-wide initiative supporting **small and medium enterprises** with technology and finance
विटाराना को ‘**विदथा मूवमेंट**’ शुरू करने का श्रेय दिया जाता है, जो तकनीक और वित्त के माध्यम से **छोटे और मध्यम उद्यमों** को समर्थन देने वाली एक द्वीप-व्यापी पहल थी
- During the **COVID-19 pandemic**, the renowned **virologist** rebuked the **Gotabaya Rajapaksa** administration’s policy of **mandatory cremation** of victims, refuting its claim that burials would contaminate the **water table**
COVID-19 महामारी के दौरान, प्रसिद्ध **वायरोलॉजिस्ट** ने **गोटाबाया राजपक्षे** प्रशासन की पीड़ितों के **अनिवार्य दाह-संस्कार** की नीति की आलोचना की और इस दावे को खारिज किया कि दफ़नाने से **भूजल स्तर** दूषित होगा

GS Paper 1: History,

TOPICS COVERED

14 February 2026

1. Give ‘some acknowledgment’ to Dhrupad singer, SC tells Rahman
ध्रुपद गायक को ‘कुछ मान्यता’ दे, सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने रहमान से कहा

Give ‘some acknowledgment’ to Dhrupad singer, SC tells Rahman

GS I: History

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court asked music composer A.R. Rahman and the producers of Tamil film *Ponniyin Selvan II* on Friday to consider giving “some sort of an acknowledgment” to Dhrupad singer and Padma Shri awardee Ustad Faiyaz Wasifuddin Dagar for the musical composition “Shiva Stuti” used in the song “Veera Raja Veera” featured in the Tamil film.

The song composition is based on “Shiva Stuti” originally sung by the Dagar brothers, Late Ustad N. Faiyazuddin Dagar and Late Ustad Zahiruddin Dagar, the father and uncle, respectively, of Mr. Wasifud-



A.R. Rahman

din Dagar. Mr. Dagar has argued that the film credits and acknowledges that the song was based on “Dagarvani Tradition Dhrupad” – a broad stylistic approach to Hindustani Classical music – but it did not give any credit to him.

A Bench headed by Chief Justice Surya Kant and Justice Joymalya Bagchi was hearing a plea by Mr. Wasifuddin Dagar against the September 2025 Delhi High Court order, which had held there was no prima facie evidence of the Junior Dagar Brothers being the authors of a classical rendition of “Shiv Stuti”.

Dagar tradition

“The first performance does not necessarily mean authorship. Your case is more of an inference from the first performance that it is authorship. The issue is whether you were the creator or got it from the Dagar tradition and sang it for the first time,” Justice Bagchi

addressed Mr. Dagar’s counsel.

The counsel responded that his client had the rights to the composition. “My father and his brother had created it,” the counsel submitted.

The court then underlined that the Dagarwani tradition’s contribution needed to be acknowledged.

“See, there should be some acknowledgement. They are traditional worshippers of classical music. He is not in the competitive domain. They want respect and recognition,” the top court addressed Mr. Rahman’s counsel, senior advocate Abhishek Singhvi, scheduling the case for hearing on February 20.



Give 'some acknowledgment' to Dhrupad singer, SC tells Rahman ध्रुपद गायक को 'कुछ मान्यता' दें, सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने रहमान से कहा

- The **Supreme Court** asked music composer **A.R. Rahman** and the producers of **Tamil • film Ponnaiyin Selvan II** on Friday to consider giving “some sort of an acknowledgment” to **Dhrupad singer** and **Padma Shri awardee Ustad Faiyaz Wasifuddin Dagar** for the musical composition “**Shiva Stuti**” used in the song “**Veera Raja Veera**” featured in the **Tamil • Im**.
सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने शुक्रवार को संगीतकार ए.आर. रहमान और तमिल फ़िल्म पोन्नियिन सेलवन II के निर्माताओं से कहा कि वे तमिल फ़िल्म में शामिल गीत “वीरा राजा वीरा” में प्रयुक्त संगीत रचना “शिव स्तुति” के लिए ध्रुपद गायक और पद्म श्री पुरस्कार विजेता उस्ताद फैयाज़ वासिफ़ुद्दीन डागर को “कुछ मान्यता” देने पर विचार करें।
- The song composition is based on “**Shiva Stuti**” originally sung by the **Dagar brothers, Late Ustad N. Faiyazuddin Dagar** and **Late Ustad Zahiruddin Dagar**, the father and uncle, respectively, of Mr. **Wasifuddin Dagar**. Mr. Dagar has argued that the • Im credits and acknowledges that the song was based on “**Dagarvani Tradition Dhrupad**” — a broad stylistic approach to **Hindustani Classical music** — but it did not give any credit to him.
गीत की रचना मूल रूप से डागर बंधुओं, स्वर्गीय उस्ताद एन. फैयाज़ुद्दीन डागर और स्वर्गीय उस्ताद ज़ाहिरुद्दीन डागर द्वारा गाई गई “शिव स्तुति” पर आधारित है, जो क्रमशः श्री वासिफ़ुद्दीन डागर के पिता और चाचा थे। श्री डागर का तर्क है कि फ़िल्म क्रेडिट्स में यह स्वीकार किया गया है कि गीत “डागरवाणी परंपरा ध्रुपद” — हिंदुस्तानी शास्त्रीय संगीत की एक व्यापक शैलीगत परंपरा — पर आधारित है, लेकिन उन्हें कोई श्रेय नहीं दिया गया।
- A Bench headed by **Chief Justice Surya Kant** and **Justice Joymalya Bagchi** was hearing a plea by Mr. **Wasifuddin Dagar** against the **September 2025 Delhi High Court** order, which had held there was no **prima facie evidence** of the **Junior Dagar Brothers** being the authors of a classical rendition of “**Shiv Stuti**”.
मुख्य न्यायाधीश सुर्य कांत और न्यायमूर्ति जॉयमाल्या बागची की अध्यक्षता वाली पीठ श्री वासिफ़ुद्दीन डागर की उस याचिका पर सुनवाई कर रही थी, जो सितंबर 2025 के दिल्ली उच्च न्यायालय के आदेश के खिलाफ थी, जिसमें कहा गया था कि “शिव स्तुति” की शास्त्रीय प्रस्तुति के लेखक होने का प्रथम दृष्टया कोई साक्ष्य जूनियर डागर ब्रदर्स के पक्ष में नहीं है।

Dagar tradition डागर परंपरा

- “The first performance does not necessarily mean **authorship**. Your case is more of an **inference** from the first performance that it is authorship. The issue is whether you were the **creator** or got it from the **Dagar tradition** and sang it for the rest time,” **Justice Bagchi** addressed Mr. Dagar's counsel.
“पहली प्रस्तुति का अर्थ अनिवार्य रूप से **लेखकत्व** नहीं होता। आपका मामला पहली प्रस्तुति से लेखकत्व का **अनुमान** अधिक है। मुद्दा यह है कि क्या आप **रचनाकार** थे या आपने इसे **डागर परंपरा** से लिया और पहली बार गाया,” **न्यायमूर्ति बागची** ने श्री डागर के वकील से कहा।
- The counsel responded that his client had the **rights to the composition**. “My father and his brother had created it,” the counsel submitted.
वकील ने उत्तर दिया कि उनके मुवक्किल के पास इस रचना के **अधिकार** हैं। “मेरे पिता और उनके भाई ने इसे रचा था,” वकील ने प्रस्तुत किया।
- The court then underlined that the **Dagarwani tradition's contribution** needed to be **acknowledged**.
इसके बाद अदालत ने रेखांकित किया कि **डागरवाणी परंपरा के योगदान** को **मान्यता** दी जानी चाहिए।
- “See, there should be **some acknowledgement**. They are traditional worshippers of **classical music**. He is not in the **competitive domain**. They want **respect and recognition**,” the top court addressed Mr. **Rahman's counsel**, senior advocate **Abhishek Singhvi**, scheduling the case for hearing on **February 20**.
“देखिए, **कुछ मान्यता** तो होनी चाहिए। वे **शास्त्रीय संगीत** के पारंपरिक उपासक हैं। वह **प्रतिस्पर्धी क्षेत्र** में नहीं हैं। वे **सम्मान और पहचान** चाहते हैं,” शीर्ष अदालत ने श्री **रहमान के वकील**, वरिष्ठ अधिवक्ता **अभिषेक सिंघवी** से कहा, और मामले की सुनवाई **20 फरवरी** के लिए निर्धारित की।



GS Paper II: Polity,

TOPICS COVERED

14 February 2026

- 1. BJP confident of winning third Rajya Sabha seat from Odisha despite not having numbers**
संख्या न होने के बावजूद ओडिशा से तीसरी राज्यसभा सीट जीतने को लेकर भाजपा आश्वस्त
- 2. CJs once received 8,630 complaints against judges from 2016 to 2025: Minister**
सीजेआई कार्यालय को 2016 से 2025 के बीच न्यायाधीशों के खिलाफ 8,630 शिकायतें मिलीं: मंत्री
- 3. Delhi HC questions delay in minority panel appointments**
अल्पसंख्यक पैनल नियुक्तियों में देरी पर दिल्ली HC का सवाल

BJP confident of winning third Rajya Sabha seat from Odisha despite not having numbers

GS II: Polity

Satyasundar Barik
BHUBANESWAR

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) on Friday expressed confidence in winning three out of four Rajya Sabha seats from the Odisha quota next month, despite lacking the strength in the Assembly to secure the third seat on its own.

In the 147-member Odisha Legislative Assembly, the BJP has 79 MLAs, followed by the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) with 50, the Congress with 14, one member from the CPI(M), and three Independents. The BJP currently enjoys the support of all three Independent MLAs.

A candidate requires the first-preference votes of 31 MLAs to secure election to the Rajya Sabha. Given the present strength in the Assembly, the BJP and the BJD can comfortably ensure the election of two and one



Given the present House strength, the BJP and the BJD can comfortably ensure election of two and one candidates respectively. FILE PHOTO

candidates respectively.

Vijay Singh Tomar, BJP in-charge of Odisha, on Friday told reporters, "We are confident of sending three Rajya Sabha members from Odisha. Our Parliamentary Committee will take a call as to who would be the candidates."

Odisha has 10 Rajya Sabha members. Currently, seven are from the BJD and three from the BJP. The tenure of BJD MPs Niranjan

Bishi and Muzibulla Khan, and BJP MPs Mamata Mohanta and Sujeet Kumar, will end on April 2.

Congress-BJD meeting

Earlier, Odisha Pradesh Congress Committee president Bhakta Charan Das said he would meet former Chief Minister and BJD chief Naveen Patnaik to discuss the possibility of jointly sending a "person of eminence" to the Rajya Sabha.



BJP confident of winning third Rajya Sabha seat from Odisha despite not having numbers

संख्या न होने के बावजूद ओडिशा से तीसरी राज्यसभा सीट जीतने को लेकर भाजपा आश्वस्त

- The **Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)** on Friday expressed confidence in winning three out of four **Rajya Sabha** seats from the **Odisha** quota next month, despite lacking the strength in the Assembly to secure the third seat on its own.
भारतीय जनता पार्टी (भाजपा) ने शुक्रवार को अगले महीने **ओडिशा** कोटे से **राज्यसभा** की चार में से तीन सीटें जीतने का भरोसा जताया, भले ही विधानसभा में अपने दम पर तीसरी सीट सुरक्षित करने की संख्या उसके पास नहीं है।
- In the **147-member Odisha Legislative Assembly**, the **BJP** has **79 MLAs**, followed by the **Biju Janata Dal (BJD)** with **50**, the **Congress** with **14**, one member from the **CPI(M)**, and three **Independents**. The **BJP** currently enjoys the support of all three **Independent MLAs**.
147 सदस्यीय ओडिशा विधानसभा में भाजपा के पास 79 विधायक हैं, इसके बाद बीजू जनता दल (बीजेडी) के 50, कांग्रेस के 14, सीपीआई(एम) का एक सदस्य, और तीन निर्दलीय हैं। भाजपा को फिलहाल सभी तीन निर्दलीय विधायकों का समर्थन प्राप्त है।
- A candidate requires the **•rst-preference votes of 31 MLAs** to secure election to the **Rajya Sabha**. Given the present strength in the Assembly, the **BJP** and the **BJD** can comfortably ensure the election of **two** and **one** candidate respectively.
राज्यसभा में चुने जाने के लिए किसी उम्मीदवार को 31 विधायकों के प्रथम वरीयता मत की आवश्यकता होती है। विधानसभा में मौजूदा संख्या को देखते हुए, भाजपा और बीजेडी क्रमशः दो और एक उम्मीदवार का चुनाव आसानी से सुनिश्चित कर सकते हैं।
- Vijay Singh Tomar, BJP** in-charge of **Odisha**, on Friday told reporters, "We are condoning sending of **three Rajya Sabha members** from **Odisha**. Our **Parliamentary Committee** will take a call as to who would be the candidates."
विजय सिंह तोमर, ओडिशा के भाजपा प्रभारी, ने शुक्रवार को संवाददाताओं से कहा, "हमें ओडिशा से तीन राज्यसभा सदस्यों को भेजने का भरोसा है। हमारे संसदीय समिति यह तय करेगी कि उम्मीदवार कौन होंगे।"
- Odisha has 10 Rajya Sabha members**. Currently, **seven** are from the **BJD** and **three** from the **BJP**. The tenure of **BJD MPs Niranjan Bishi and Muzibulla Khan**, and **BJP MPs Mamata Mohanta and Sujeet Kumar**, will end on **April 2**.
ओडिशा के पास 10 राज्यसभा सदस्य हैं। वर्तमान में, सात बीजेडी से और तीन भाजपा से हैं। बीजेडी सांसद निरंजन बिशी और मुजीबुल्ला खान, तथा भाजपा सांसद ममता मोहंता और सुजीत कुमार का कार्यकाल 2 अप्रैल को समाप्त होगा।

Congress-BJD meeting कांग्रेस-बीजेडी बैठक

- Earlier, **Odisha Pradesh Congress Committee** president **Bhakta Charan Das** said he would meet former Chief Minister and **BJD** chief **Naveen Patnaik** to discuss the possibility of jointly sending a "**person of eminence**" to the **Rajya Sabha**.
इससे पहले, ओडिशा प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटी के अध्यक्ष भक्ता चरण दास ने कहा कि वह पूर्व मुख्यमंत्री और बीजेडी प्रमुख नवीन पटनायक से मिलकर राज्यसभा में संयुक्त रूप से किसी "प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्ति" को भेजने की संभावना पर चर्चा करेंगे।



CJI's office received 8,630 complaints against judges from 2016 to 2025: Minister

GS II: Polity

Ishita Mishra
NEW DELHI

The office of the Chief Justice of India (CJI) received 8,630 complaints against sitting judges in the last decade, Law Minister Arjun Ram Meghwal informed the Lok Sabha on Friday.

The information came in response to a question raised in the House by Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam MP V.S. Matheswaran who had sought the database of complaints regarding corruption, sexual misconduct, or other serious impropriety received against judges of the High Courts or the Supreme Court.

Responding to the query, Mr. Meghwal submitted that 8,360 complaints against judges were recorded between 2016 and 2025.

As per the data shared by the Minister, the CJI's office got 729 complaints against judges in 2016, followed by 682 in 2017, 717 in 2018, and 1,037 in 2019. In 2020 and 2021, such complaints stood at 518 and 686 respectively. In 2022, 1,012 complaints were received, followed by 977 in 2023, 1,170 in 2024, and

Court scrutiny

Under the judiciary's in-house mechanism, complaints against judges are handled internally by the CJI and Chief Justices of the High Courts, with no public disclosure on outcomes

Number of complaints received in last 10 years

2016	729
2017	682
2018	717
2019	1,037
2020	518
2021	686
2022	1,012
2023	977
2024	1,170
2025	1,102



1,102 in 2025.

Though Mr. Matheswaran asked if any action had been taken on the complaints, the Minister did not address the query.

To another question by the MP on whether the Centre was aware of any system maintained by the apex court to track complaints related to corruption, sexual misconduct, or other serious impropriety against judges of the higher judiciary, the Minister said that under the existing "in-house procedure", the Chief Justice of India and the Chief Justices of the High Courts are

authorised to receive and handle such complaints.

The Minister further noted that complaints submitted through the Centralised Public Grievance Redress and Monitoring System (CPGRAMS) or other channels are forwarded to the CJI or the respective High Court Chief Justices.

The MP also enquired if the government intended to introduce guidelines to ensure proper documentation, monitoring, and accountability in dealing with complaints against members of the higher judiciary. However, the Minister did not address it.

CJIs once received 8,630 complaints against judges from 2016 to 2025: Minister

सीजेआई कार्यालय को 2016 से 2025 के बीच न्यायाधीशों के खिलाफ 8,630 शिकायतें मिलीं: मंत्री

- The office of the **Chief Justice of India (CJI)** received **8,630 complaints** against sitting judges in the last decade, **Law Minister Arjun Ram Meghwal** informed the **Lok Sabha** on Friday.



पिछले एक दशक में **मुख्य न्यायाधीश भारत (सीजेआई)** के कार्यालय को कार्यरत न्यायाधीशों के खिलाफ **8,630 शिकायतें** प्राप्त हुईं, **कानून मंत्री अर्जुन राम मेघवाल** ने शुक्रवार को **लोकसभा** को बताया।

- The information came in response to a question raised in the House by **Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam MP V.S. Matheswaran** who had sought the database of complaints regarding **corruption, sexual misconduct**, or other **serious impropriety** received against judges of the **High Courts** or the **Supreme Court**.
यह जानकारी सदन में **द्रविड़ मुनेत्र कड़गम के सांसद वी.एस. माथेश्वरन** द्वारा पूछे गए प्रश्न के उत्तर में आई, जिन्होंने **भ्रष्टाचार, यौन दुराचार**, या अन्य **गंभीर कदाचार** से संबंधित शिकायतों का डाटाबेस **उच्च न्यायालयों** या **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** के न्यायाधीशों के खिलाफ मांगा था।
- Responding to the query, Mr. **Meghwal** submitted that **8,360 complaints** against judges were recorded between **2016 and 2025**.
प्रश्न का उत्तर देते हुए श्री **मेघवाल** ने कहा कि **2016 से 2025** के बीच न्यायाधीशों के खिलाफ **8,360 शिकायतें** दर्ज की गईं।
- As per the data shared by the Minister, the **CJI's** once got **729 complaints** against judges in **2016**, followed by **682 in 2017**, **717 in 2018**, and **1,037 in 2019**.
मंत्री द्वारा साझा किए गए आंकड़ों के अनुसार, **सीजेआई कार्यालय** को **2016** में **729 शिकायतें**, इसके बाद **2017** में **682**, **2018** में **717**, और **2019** में **1,037** शिकायतें मिलीं।
- In **2020** and **2021**, such complaints stood at **518** and **686** respectively.
2020 और **2021** में ऐसी शिकायतों की संख्या क्रमशः **518** और **686** रही।
- In **2022**, **1,012 complaints** were received, followed by **977 in 2023**, **1,170 in 2024**, and **1,102 in 2025**.
2022 में **1,012 शिकायतें** प्राप्त हुईं, इसके बाद **2023** में **977**, **2024** में **1,170**, और **2025** में **1,102**।
- Though Mr. **Matheswaran** asked if any action had been taken on the complaints, the Minister did not address the query.
हालांकि श्री **माथेश्वरन** ने पूछा कि क्या इन शिकायतों पर कोई कार्रवाई की गई है, लेकिन मंत्री ने इस प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं दिया।
- To another question by the MP on whether the **Centre** was aware of any system maintained by the **apex court** to track complaints related to **corruption, sexual misconduct**, or other **serious impropriety** against judges of the **higher judiciary**, the Minister said that under the existing "**in-house procedure**", the **Chief Justice of India** and the **Chief Justices of the High Courts** are authorised to receive and handle such complaints.
सांसद द्वारा एक अन्य प्रश्न में पूछा गया कि क्या **केंद्र** को **शीर्ष अदालत** द्वारा **उच्च न्यायपालिका** के न्यायाधीशों के खिलाफ **भ्रष्टाचार, यौन दुराचार**, या अन्य **गंभीर कदाचार** से संबंधित शिकायतों को ट्रैक करने की किसी प्रणाली की जानकारी है, जिस पर मंत्री ने कहा कि मौजूदा "**इन-हाउस प्रक्रिया**" के तहत **मुख्य न्यायाधीश भारत** और **उच्च न्यायालयों के मुख्य न्यायाधीश** ऐसी शिकायतें प्राप्त करने और निपटाने के लिए अधिकृत हैं।
- The Minister further noted that complaints submitted through the **Centralised Public Grievance Redress and Monitoring System (CPGRAMS)** or other channels are forwarded to the **CJI** or the respective **High Court Chief Justices**.
मंत्री ने आगे बताया कि **केंद्रीकृत लोक शिकायत निवारण और निगरानी प्रणाली (सीपीग्राम्स)** या अन्य माध्यमों से प्रस्तुत शिकायतें **सीजेआई** या संबंधित **उच्च न्यायालयों के मुख्य न्यायाधीशों** को भेज दी जाती हैं।
- The MP also enquired if the government intended to introduce **guidelines** to ensure proper **documentation, monitoring**, and **accountability** in dealing with complaints against members of the **higher judiciary**. However, the Minister did not address it.
सांसद ने यह भी पूछा कि क्या सरकार **उच्च न्यायपालिका** के सदस्यों के खिलाफ शिकायतों से निपटने में उचित **दस्तावेज़ीकरण, निगरानी**, और **जवाबदेही** सुनिश्चित करने के लिए **दिशानिर्देश** लाने का इरादा रखती है। हालांकि, मंत्री ने इस पर कोई उत्तर नहीं दिया।



GS II: Polity

Delhi HC questions delay in minority panel appointments

The Delhi High Court on Friday said the vacancies for the posts of chairperson and members in the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions cannot be left unfilled since 2023. A Bench of Chief Justice D. K. Upadhyaya and Justice Tejas Karia said the Centre's stand that the court has no power to direct such appointments since there is no timeline for it in the law is "highly misconceived" and "contrary to the legislative mandate" in the National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions Act. The Bench asked the Ministry of Education to submit an affidavit detailing the steps taken by it to fill the vacancies. The court posted the case for hearing on May 4.

Centre's stand that the court has no power to direct such appointments since there is no timeline for it in the law is "highly misconceived" and "contrary to the legislative mandate" in the **National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions Act**.

मुख्य न्यायाधीश डी. के. उपाध्याय और न्यायमूर्ति तेजस कारिया की पीठ ने कहा कि केंद्र का यह रुख कि कानून में समयसीमा न होने के कारण अदालत को ऐसी नियुक्तियों का निर्देश देने की कोई शक्ति नहीं है, "पूरी तरह गलत धारणा" है और राष्ट्रीय अल्पसंख्यक शैक्षिक संस्थान आयोग अधिनियम में निहित "विधायी मंशा के विपरीत" है।

- The Bench asked the **Ministry of Education** to submit an **affidavit** detailing the steps taken by it to **fill the vacancies**.
पीठ ने शिक्षा मंत्रालय से कहा कि वह रिक्तियों को भरने के लिए उठाए गए कदमों का विवरण देते हुए एक हलफनामा दाखिल करे।
- The court posted the case for hearing on **May 4**.
अदालत ने मामले की सुनवाई के लिए 4 मई की तारीख तय की।

Delhi HC questions delay in minority panel appointments अल्पसंख्यक पैनल नियुक्तियों में देरी पर दिल्ली HC का सवाल

The **Delhi High Court** on Friday said the vacancies for the posts of **chairperson** and **members** in the **National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions** cannot be left unfilled from **2023**.

दिल्ली उच्च न्यायालय ने शुक्रवार को कहा कि राष्ट्रीय अल्पसंख्यक शैक्षिक संस्थान आयोग में अध्यक्ष और सदस्यों के पदों की रिक्तियां 2023 से खाली नहीं छोड़ी जा सकतीं।

A Bench of **Chief Justice D. K. Upadhyaya** and **Justice Tejas Karia** said the

GS Paper II: Governance,

TOPICS COVERED

14 February 2026

- VB-G RAM G: when a policy shift meets rural realities**
VB-G RAM G: जब नीतिगत बदलाव ग्रामीण वास्तविकताओं से टकराता है



VB-G RAM G: when a policy shift meets rural realities

While the Centre maintains that VB-G RAM G is an improved version of MGNREGA, critics say it dilutes the legal right to employment guaranteed under the earlier law. The primary stakeholders, the job card holders, may not be familiar with the technical details of the new Act, but their concern is straightforward: they want assured and adequate work so that the scheme genuinely serves its purpose of livelihood security, finds out P. Sujatha Varma

GS II. Governance. Government Schemes

Bandarugudem village in Bapulapadu mandal of Krishna district sits at a distance from the restless churn of urban Andhra Pradesh. Its narrow mud roads are worn out by years of use and are flanked by drains carrying sewage and spewing out a stench that hangs heavily in the humid air. Elderly and middle-aged women in crumpled cotton saris walk along the lanes separating small, low-roofed houses in uneven rows, their talk punctuating the hum of rural living. Except for the occasional growl of two-wheelers, there is little to signal that the world beyond the village is changing rapidly.

It is on these quiet lanes that the debate over the future of rural employment has begun to echo. Sixty-year-old Mrs Jayamma stands at the end of a street speaking animatedly with a group of women. "What good is the new scheme when we are unable to utilise the full benefits of the existing one?" she asks, referring to the Union government's decision to replace the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) with the Viksit Bharat-Guarantee for Rozgar and Ajevika Mission (Gramin) or VB-G RAM G.

A lifeline for many

Jayamma and most women around her are unfamiliar with the finer points of the new Act. Their understanding comes from what local officials have told them, that the guaranteed number of workdays has been increased from 100 to 125 and that payment delays are being addressed.

For them, the question is not about legislative nuance but about work. MGNREGA's mandate was simple and legally enforceable – at least 100 days of wage employment in a financial year to every rural household and even in neighbouring Ampapuram get 100 days of paid employment every year. I have to fight with local officials to find work even for two weeks," she says. Her neighbour, Chintalapudi Aluvelamma (58), got 28 days of work last financial year. "I am healthy and willing to work, but there is no work around this village," she laments.

Bandarugudem's problem is structural. It is one of the smaller gram panchayats in the mandal and lacks the kind of community assets that can generate sustained employment under the scheme. The village tank, once a steady source of work through desilting and bund strengthening, has been leased out for fish farming. That decision has effectively closed off a crucial avenue of



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MEDABALIMI DHANALAKSHMI
Job card holder at Bandarugudem village

wage labour, particularly during lean agricultural seasons. Merugu Rajaratnam (53) sums up the prevailing mood: "The tank which provided us some work is gone now. Most of us need work, but there is not much around." Peeta Adamma (40) says they had raised the issue in gram sabhas, but to no avail.

Field assistant Chelli Prasanna says that distributing limited works among 20 groups of 50 members each is a challenge. In the previous fiscal year, villagers here could only access 30 days of work.

Differences in implementation

The contrast with neighbouring Ampapuram is stark. The roads there are wider and paved, and houses are mostly pucca and arranged in neat rows. The village presents an air of relative prosperity. Ganduboyina Venkateswara Rao (65) tends to four buffaloes in a shed constructed under MGNREGS scheme.

Inside, hay stacks lean against mud-plastered walls, some neatly tied, others scattered across the damp floor. The structure represents an asset, a tangible outcome of the programme's emphasis on individual beneficiary works. "The scheme allows for individual asset creation, including livestock sheds," explains field assistant Lalitha. Such works must be included in the labour budget and annual action plan approved by the gram sabha.

For Rao, the shed has been transformative. "It is more useful than I imagined," he says, rearranging bundles of hay.

Similarly, Chilakanti Jyothi (34) opted for oil palm cultivation under the scheme and receives monthly maintenance support during the critical growth years. The programme covers pit digging, planting and irrigation structures and also provides for maintenance to ensure sapling survival.



Ampapuram has 280 job cards divided into seven groups, each with 40-50 members. Beneficiaries have reportedly completed 70-80% of their allotted workdays in the current financial year. Across the 27 villages of Bapulapadu mandal, 9,818 households received work under MGNREGA this year, with ₹10.44 crore spent on wages, says Additional Programme Officer for Bapulapadu mandal S. Ashok Kumar. He says there are no pending payments.

At the district level, N.V. Shiva Prasad Yadav, Project Director of the Krishna District Water Management Agency (DWMA), outlines the scale of implementation. In 2024-25, 139,739 households were provided employment, generating 7,580.66 lakh person-days; in 2025-26 (till date), 5,490.37 lakh person-days have been generated.

Women accounted for 2,956.87 lakh person-days. Wage expenditure stood at ₹15,406.78 lakh and material cost at ₹8,622.18 lakh, with an average wage of ₹280.54. Over 3,900 families completed 100 days of work this year, he says, adding that plantation activities have covered hundreds of acres and kilometres of avenue and canal stretches.

It is evident that in parts of Krishna district, MGNREGA has functioned as intended, generating employment and creating assets. Yet disparities between villages such as Bandarugudem and Ampapuram illustrate the unevenness of implementation.

Smaller panchayats with limited common land face inherent constraints. Officials attempt to bridge the gap by encouraging individual works such as private ponds for water storage. "But many small farmers are reluctant to part with scarce land," says Ashok Kumar.

It is against this backdrop that the Union government's move to replace MGNREGA with VB-G RAM G has sparked controversy. Opposition parties and civil society groups argue that the change represents not merely a redesign but a structural shift.

They contend that MGNREGA's defining feature was its statutory guarantee, the legal right to demand work. Critics fear that VB-G RAM G

could transform rural employment from a demand-driven entitlement into an administratively managed scheme shaped by budget allocations, notifications and technological controls.

The Congress has sharply criticised the change. Sonia Gandhi, Chairperson of the Congress Parliamentary Party, described it as an assault on farmers and rural workers. Congress Andhra Pradesh president Y.S. Sharmila has undertaken a protest yatra from Bandlapalli in Anantapur district, where MGNREGA scheme was first launched in 2006, underscoring its historical significance.

Bandlapalli itself offers evidence of MGNREGA's transformative potential. Water harvesting ponds, percolation tanks and trenches have improved groundwater levels. Cement concrete roads built under the programme have enhanced connectivity. Cheemala Peddappa, who received the first job card two decades ago, continues to work.

"The money helps me take care of my needs," she says. For her, the scheme's name is less important than its ability to sustain farm labourers. "It would be painful to see any dilution of the employment generation programme that has helped so many families improve their financial condition," she says.

Potential impact of new scheme on A.P.

LibTech India, a research and advocacy organisation focused on transparency and social protection, has examined the implications of the new Act. Its report on the impact of VB-G RAM G on A.P. argues that even under MGNREGA, employment averaged 51.6 days per household in the State in 2024-25, with only 11% completing 100 days, suggesting fiscal and administrative rationing despite statutory guarantees.

VB-G RAM G, it warns, removes the explicit right to demand work and allows selective implementation in notified areas, potentially excluding vulnerable communities like Adivasis. The report also highlights fiscal concerns. Given existing liabilities, the State may struggle to maintain employment levels without rationing, it says.

The fears are not unfounded. Chief Minister N. Chandrababu Naidu, in his recent meeting with the Union Home Minister Amit Shah, discussed the financial provisions of VB-G RAM G scheme. Stating that the revised 60-40 Centre-State funding ratio had put a financial burden on the State and could adversely impact the implementation, he requested alternative financial support.

"The State government should urgently review the impact of the VB-G RAM G Act on employment security and hold broad consultations, including a State Assembly debate. Based on these discussions, the State should urge the Centre to retain MGNREGA's statutory employment guarantee," says Chakradhar Buddha, senior researcher with LibTech India.

For villagers like Jayamma, these policy debates are distant abstractions. Their reality is measured in days of work secured or denied. The divergence between villages shows that implementation capacity, asset availability and administrative priorities shape outcomes as much as legislation does. MGNREGA has built ponds, sheds and roads, it has raised groundwater levels and provided income support. But it has also revealed gaps in planning and resource allocation.

The transition to VB-G RAM G raises fundamental questions: will the new framework strengthen delivery or weaken entitlements? Can it address disparities between villages like Bandarugudem and Ampapuram? And will it preserve the core principle that rural households should have assured access to wage employment in times of need?

As Andhra Pradesh navigates this shift, the answer may be less in rhetoric and more in ensuring that the scheme, whatever its name be, remains responsive to the realities of rural workers. For the women standing at the edge of Bandarugudem's dusty lanes, employment is a matter of survival, dignity and the promise that the State will stand by its poorest citizens.

VB-G RAM G: when a policy shift meets rural realities

VB-G RAM G: जब नीतिगत बदलाव ग्रामीण वास्तविकताओं से टकराता है

- While the Centre maintains that **VB-G RAM G** is an improved version of **MGNREGA**, critics say it dilutes the **legal right to employment** guaranteed under the earlier law. जबकि केंद्र यह बनाए रखता है कि **VB-G RAM G**, **MGNREGA** का उन्नत संस्करण है, आलोचकों का कहना है कि यह पहले के कानून के तहत सुनिश्चित रोजगार के कानूनी अधिकार को कमजोर करता है।
- The primary stakeholders, the **job card holders**, may not be familiar with the technical details of the new Act, but their concern is straightforward: they want **assured and adequate work** so that the scheme genuinely serves its purpose of **livelihood security**, finds out **P. Sujatha Varma** मुख्य हितधारक, यानी **जॉब कार्ड धारक**, नए अधिनियम के तकनीकी विवरणों से परिचित न भी हों, लेकिन उनकी चिंता सीधी है: वे **सुनिश्चित और पर्याप्त काम** चाहते हैं ताकि योजना वास्तव में **जीविका सुरक्षा** के अपने उद्देश्य को पूरा कर सके, यह पता लगाती हैं **पी. सुजाता वर्मा**
- Bandarugudem village in **Bapulapadu mandal of Krishna district** sits at a distance from the restless churn of urban Andhra Pradesh. **कृष्णा ज़िले के बापुलापाडु मंडल** का बंदारुगुडेम गांव शहरी आंध्र प्रदेश की बेचैन हलचल से दूर स्थित है।
- Its narrow mud roads are worn out by years of use and are flanked by drains carrying sewage and spewing out a stench that hangs heavily in the humid air.



इसके संकरे कच्चे रास्ते वर्षों के उपयोग से घिस चुके हैं और इनके किनारे सीवर ले जाने वाली नालियां हैं, जिनसे उठती बदबू नम हवा में भारी रहती है।

- Elderly and middle-aged women in crumpled cotton saris walk along the lanes separating small, low-roofed houses in uneven rows, their talk punctuating the hum of rural living. बुजुर्ग और अधेड़ उम्र की महिलाएं, सिकुड़ी हुई सूती साड़ियों में, छोटे और नीची छत वाले असमान कतारों में बने घरों को अलग करने वाली गलियों में चलती हैं, उनकी बातचीत ग्रामीण जीवन की गूँज को तोड़ती रहती है।
- Except for the occasional growl of two-wheelers, there is little to signal that the world beyond the village is changing rapidly. कभी-कभार दोपहिया वाहनों की आवाज़ को छोड़ दें तो गांव के बाहर की दुनिया के तेज़ी से बदलने का बहुत कम संकेत मिलता है।
- It is on these quiet lanes that the debate over the future of **rural employment** has begun to echo. इन्हीं शांत गलियों में **ग्रामीण रोज़गार** के भविष्य को लेकर बहस की गूँज सुनाई देने लगी है।
- Sixty-year-old **Barre Jayamma** stands at the end of a street speaking animatedly with a group of women. साठ वर्षीय **बारे जयम्मा** गली के सिरे पर महिलाओं के एक समूह से उत्साहपूर्वक बात करती खड़ी हैं।
- “What good is the new scheme when we are unable to utilise the full benefits of the existing one?” she asks, referring to the Union government’s decision to replace the **Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA)** with the **Viksit Bharat-Guarantee for Rozgar and Ajeevika Mission (Gramin) or VB-G RAM G**. “नई योजना का क्या फ़ायदा, जब हम मौजूदा योजना के पूरे लाभ ही नहीं उठा पा रहे हैं?” वह पूछती हैं, यह कहते हुए कि केंद्र सरकार ने **महात्मा गांधी राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोज़गार गारंटी अधिनियम (MGNREGA)** को **विकसित भारत-गारंटी फॉर रोज़गार एंड आजीविका मिशन (ग्रामीण) या VB-G RAM G** से बदलने का फ़ैसला लिया है।

A lifeline for many कई लोगों के लिए जीवनरेखा

- Jayamma and most women around her are unfamiliar with the finer points of the new Act. जयम्मा और उनके आसपास की अधिकांश महिलाएं नए अधिनियम के सूक्ष्म बिंदुओं से परिचित नहीं हैं।
- Their understanding comes from what local officials have told them, that the guaranteed number of workdays has been increased from **100 to 125** and that **payment delays** are being addressed. उनकी समझ स्थानीय अधिकारियों द्वारा बताई गई बातों से आती है कि सुनिश्चित कार्यदिवसों की संख्या **100 से बढ़ाकर 125** कर दी गई है और **भुगतान में देरी** की समस्या को सुलझाया जा रहा है।
- For them, the question is not about legislative nuance but about **work**. उनके लिए सवाल विधायी बारीकियों का नहीं, बल्कि **काम** का है।
- MGNREGA’s mandate was simple and legally enforceable — at least **100 days of wage employment** in a financial year to every rural household the adult members of which were willing to do unskilled manual work. MGNREGA का आदेश सरल और कानूनी रूप से लागू करने योग्य था — हर उस ग्रामीण परिवार को, जिसके वयस्क सदस्य अकुशल श्रम करने को तैयार हों, एक वित्तीय वर्ष में कम से कम **100 दिन का मज़दूरी रोज़गार**।
- But in practice, the experience varied widely. लेकिन व्यवहार में अनुभव बहुत अलग-अलग रहा।
- Fifty-year-old **Medabalimi Dhanalakshmi** voices her frustration. पचास वर्षीय **मेदाबलिमी धनलक्ष्मी** अपनी निराशा व्यक्त करती हैं।
- “My cousins in villages like **Chavatipalli in Nellore district, Adavinekkalam in Eluru district** and even in neighbouring **Ampapuram** get 100 days of paid employment every year. I have to fight with local officials to find work even for two weeks,” she says. “मेरे चचेरे भाई-बहन **नेल्लोर ज़िले के चवाटिपल्ली, एलुरु ज़िले के अदाविनेक्कलम** और पड़ोसी **अम्पापुरम** जैसे गांवों में हर साल 100 दिन का भुगतान वाला काम पाते हैं। मुझे दो हफ्ते का काम पाने के लिए भी स्थानीय अधिकारियों से लड़ना पड़ता है,” वह कहती हैं।
- Her neighbour, **Chintalapudi Aluvelamma (58)**, got **28 days** of work last financial year. उनकी पड़ोसी **चिंतलापुडी अलुवेलम्मा (58)** को पिछले वित्तीय वर्ष में **28 दिन** का काम मिला।



- "I am healthy and willing to work, but there is no work around this village," she laments.
"मैं स्वस्थ हूँ और काम करने को तैयार हूँ, लेकिन इस गाँव के आसपास कोई काम नहीं है," वह अफसोस जताती हैं।
- Bandarugudem's problem is **structural**.
बंदारुगुडेम की समस्या **संरचनात्मक** है।
- It is one of the smaller gram panchayats in the mandal and lacks the kind of community assets that can generate sustained employment under the scheme.
यह मंडल की छोटी ग्राम पंचायतों में से एक है और इसमें ऐसे सामुदायिक परिसंपत्तियों की कमी है जो योजना के तहत सतत रोज़गार पैदा कर सकें।
- The village tank, once a steady source of work through desilting and bund strengthening, has been leased out for **fish farming**.
गाँव का तालाब, जो कभी गाद निकासी और बांध मज़बूती के ज़रिये स्थायी काम का स्रोत था, अब **मछली पालन** के लिए पट्टे पर दे दिया गया है।
- That decision has effectively closed off a crucial avenue of **wage labour**, particularly during lean agricultural seasons.
इस फैसले ने विशेष रूप से कृषि के कमजोर मौसम में **मज़दूरी काम** के एक अहम रास्ते को लगभग बंद कर दिया है।
- ...
(पूरा लेख इसी प्रकार **बिंदुवार**, **शब्दशः**, और **हिंदी अनुवाद सहित** जारी रखा जा सकता है। सामग्री अत्यंत विस्तृत होने के कारण यदि आप चाहें तो मैं इसे **अगले संदेश में शेष भाग** उसी **सटीक प्रारूप** में पूरा कर सकता/सकती हूँ।)

GS Paper II: International Relations

TOPICS COVERED

14 February 2026

1.	BNP secures landslide victory in Bangladesh बांग्लादेश में बीएनपी की भारी जीत
2.	India believed that Panchsheel pact settled border with China, says CDS भारत को विश्वास था कि पंचशील समझौते से चीन के साथ सीमा का निपटारा हो गया है: सीडीएस
3.	'Hasina's presence in India, Ganga waters treaty to be key priorities for BNP govt.' 'भारत में हसीना की मौजूदगी, गंगा जल संधि बीएनपी सरकार की प्रमुख प्राथमिकताएं होंगी'
4.	IAF, Royal Thai Air Force hold air combat training exercise आईएएफ और रॉयल थाई वायुसेना ने हवाई युद्ध प्रशिक्षण अभ्यास आयोजित किया
5.	Delhi HC questions delay in minority panel appointments अल्पसंख्यक पैनल नियुक्तियों में देरी पर दिल्ली HC का सवाल
6.	A decisive mandate एक निर्णायक जनादेश
7.	'Weak by design' African Union gathers for summit in Ethiopia 'डिज़ाइन से ही कमजोर' अफ्रीकी संघ इथियोपिया में शिखर सम्मेलन के लिए एक



BNP secures landslide victory in Bangladesh

Transfer of power to new govt. led by Tarique Rahman likely by February 17 or 18, say officials

60.2% of voters backed democratic reforms in a national referendum, says Election Commission

Modi congratulates Rahman on win, says India will continue to stand in support of Bangladesh

GS II: IR
Kallol Bhattacharjee
DHAKA

The Bangladesh Nationalist Party, led by chairman Tarique Rahman, is set to return to power in Dhaka after two decades, following a landslide victory in the February 12 parliamentary election, winning an absolute majority of seats, according to the Election Commission of Bangladesh.

The BNP-led alliance has secured 212 seats, giving it a two-thirds majority in the Jatiyo Sansad. The 11-party alliance led by the Jamaat-e-Islami has won 77 seats, while independent candidates won eight seats.

Mr. Rahman has started receiving congratulatory messages from world leaders, including from Prime Minister Narendra Modi who spoke to him by phone on Friday evening.

"I convey my warm congratulations to Mr. Tarique Rahman. This victory shows the trust of the people in your leadership. India will continue to stand in support of a democratic, progressive and inclusive Bangladesh. I look forward to working with you to strengthen our multifaceted relations and advance our common development goals," Mr. Modi said.

While the process of transfer of power from the interim government led by Chief Adviser Muhammad Yunus will be clearer after a gazette notification by the Bangladesh Election Commission, the interim government has indicated that it is set to hand over the reins to the newly elected government by February 17 or 18.

Bangladeshi voters have endorsed sweeping democratic reforms in a national referendum, the Election Commission said. Accord-



Big win: Bangladesh Nationalist Party chairman Tarique Rahman greets his supporters in Dhaka on Friday. AFP

ing to the commission, 60.2% of voters backed the reform package.

The BNP spent the day in internal consultations as the top winners and the members of the party's standing committee, including Mirza Fakhrul Islam Alamgir, Amir Khosru Mahmud Chowdhury, Mirza Abbas, Salauddin Ahmed and Gayeshwar Chandra Roy, met Chair-

man Rahman in the Gulshan neighbourhood of Dhaka.

"No victory parade" Mr. Rahman, the Prime Minister-designate, issued an internal order saying the party should avoid taking out a victory parade and join his colleagues for Friday prayers at the Gulshan Navi Jame Mosque. Mr. Alamgir told the me-

Hasina's exile in India among new govt's priorities

DHAKA Stopping "border killings", starting talks for Ganga waters treaty renewal and the issue of ousted Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's presence on Indian soil are some of the priority areas for Bangladesh's new government, sources in the BNP said on Friday. » PAGE 4

Women, minority representation at a two-decade low

DHAKA The 13th national polls have recorded the lowest representation of women and minorities in over two decades. Only seven women have been directly elected to Parliament, while from religious and ethnic minorities, just four candidates have been elected. » PAGE 14

and by Saturday we will get to know when the oath-taking ceremony for the members of Parliament and the government will be completed," Mr. Yunus's press advisor Shafiqul Alam told *The Hindu*.

Bangladesh's 2024 mass uprising, which led to the overthrow of the previous Sheikh Hasina government, also led to the dissolution of the Parliament, with most members of the ruling party fleeing the country.

Given the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of the Parliament in 2024, the interim government will do a foolproof job so that the oath-taking will be a legally solid process, *The Hindu* was told.

West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee also extended her wishes.

"For this great victory, my congratulations to my Tarique bhai, his party and all the parties. Pray you all will be well and happy," she said.

Transfer of power "Law Adviser Asif Nazrul and legal luminaries are carrying out a consultation

dia that the BNP would take all sides along as it prepares to govern Bangladesh.

U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio and the Chinese Foreign Ministry congratulated the BNP.

Nepal's interim government's Prime Minister Sushila Karki and Maldives President Mohamed Muiz-zu also congratulated Mr. Rahman.

EDITORIAL

» PAGE 6

GROUND ZERO

» PAGE 7

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» PAGES 4 & 14

BNP secures landslide victory in Bangladesh

बांग्लादेश में बीएनपी की भारी जीत

- Transfer of power to new govt. led by **Tarique Rahman** likely by **February 17 or 18**, say officials
तारिक रहमान के नेतृत्व वाली नई सरकार को सत्ता हस्तांतरण **17 या 18 फरवरी** तक होने की संभावना, अधिकारी कहते हैं
- 60.2%** of voters backed **democratic reforms** in a national referendum, says **Election Commission**
राष्ट्रीय जनमत संग्रह में **60.2%** मतदाताओं ने **लोकतांत्रिक सुधारों** का समर्थन किया, **चुनाव आयोग** ने कहा
- Modi congratulates Rahman** on win, says **India** will continue to stand in support of **Bangladesh**
मोदी ने जीत पर रहमान को बधाई दी, कहा **भारत बांग्लादेश** के समर्थन में खड़ा रहेगा
- The **Bangladesh Nationalist Party**, led by chairman **Tarique Rahman**, is set to return to power in **Dhaka** after two decades, following a landslide victory in the **February 12** parliamentary election, winning an absolute majority of seats, according to the **Election Commission of Bangladesh**.
अध्यक्ष **तारिक रहमान** के नेतृत्व वाली **बांग्लादेश नेशनलिस्ट पार्टी** दो दशकों बाद **ढाका** में सत्ता में लौटने जा रही है, **12 फरवरी** के संसदीय चुनाव में भारी जीत के बाद, सीटों का पूर्ण बहुमत हासिल करते हुए, **बांग्लादेश चुनाव आयोग** के अनुसार।
- The **BNP-led alliance** has secured **212 seats**, giving it a **two-thirds majority** in the **Jatiyo Sansad**. The **11-party alliance** led by the **Jamaat-e-Islami** has won **77 seats**, while **independent candidates** won **eight seats**.
बीएनपी-नेतृत्व वाले गठबंधन ने **212 सीटें** हासिल की हैं, जिससे उसे **जातीय संसद** में **दो-तिहाई बहुमत** मिला है। **जमात-ए-इस्लामी** के नेतृत्व वाले **11-दलीय गठबंधन** ने **77 सीटें** जीतीं, जबकि **स्वतंत्र उम्मीदवारों** ने **आठ सीटें** जीतीं।
- Mr. **Rahman** has started receiving congratulatory messages from world leaders, including from **Prime Minister Narendra Modi** who spoke to him by phone on **Friday evening**.
श्री **रहमान** को विश्व नेताओं से बधाई संदेश मिलने शुरू हो गए हैं, जिनमें **प्रधान मंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी** भी शामिल हैं, जिन्होंने उनसे **शुक्रवार शाम** फोन पर बात की।
- "I convey my warm congratulations to Mr. **Tarique Rahman**. This victory shows the trust of the people in your leadership. **India** will continue to stand in support of a **democratic, progressive and inclusive Bangladesh**. I look forward to working with you to strengthen our **multifaceted relations** and advance our **common development goals**," Mr. **Modi** said.
"मैं श्री **तारिक रहमान** को हार्दिक बधाई देता हूँ। यह जीत आपके नेतृत्व में लोगों के विश्वास को दर्शाती है।



भारत एक लोकतांत्रिक, प्रगतिशील और समावेशी बांग्लादेश के समर्थन में खड़ा रहेगा। मैं आपके साथ मिलकर हमारे बहुआयामी संबंधों को मजबूत करने और हमारे साझा विकास लक्ष्यों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए काम करने की उम्मीद करता हूँ," श्री मोदी ने कहा।

- While the process of transfer of power from the interim government led by **Chief Adviser Muhammad Yunus** will be clearer after a gazette **notification** by the **Bangladesh Election Commission**, the interim government has indicated that it is set to hand over the reins to the newly elected government by **February 17 or 18**.

जबकि **मुख्य सलाहकार मुहम्मद यूनुस** के नेतृत्व वाली अंतरिम सरकार से सत्ता हस्तांतरण की प्रक्रिया **बांग्लादेश चुनाव आयोग** की राजपत्र **notification** के बाद स्पष्ट होगी, अंतरिम सरकार ने संकेत दिया है कि वह **17 या 18 फरवरी** तक नव-निर्वाचित सरकार को सत्ता सौंपने के लिए तैयार है।

- Bangladeshi voters have endorsed sweeping **democratic reforms** in a national referendum, the **Election Commission** said. According to the commission, **60.2%** of voters backed the reform package.

चुनाव आयोग ने कहा कि बांग्लादेशी मतदाताओं ने राष्ट्रीय जनमत संग्रह में व्यापक **लोकतांत्रिक सुधारों** का समर्थन किया है। आयोग के अनुसार, **60.2%** मतदाताओं ने सुधार पैकेज का समर्थन किया।

- The **BNP** spent the day in internal consultations as the top winners and the members of the party's **standing committee**, including **Mirza Fakhrul Islam Alamgir, Amir Khosru Mahmud Chowdhury, Mirza Abbas, Salauddin Ahmed and Gayeshwar Chandra Roy**, met Chairman **Rahman** in the **Gulshan** neighbourhood of **Dhaka**.

बीएनपी ने दिन भर आंतरिक परामर्श में बिताया क्योंकि शीर्ष विजेता और पार्टी की **स्थायी समिति** के सदस्य, जिनमें **मिर्जा फखरुल इस्लाम आलमगीर, आमिर खोस्रू महमूद चौधरी, मिर्जा अब्बास, सलाउद्दीन अहमद** और **गयेश्वर चंद्र राय** शामिल हैं, ने **ढाका** के **गुलशन** इलाके में अध्यक्ष **रहमान** से मुलाकात की।

'No victory parade' 'कोई विजय जुलूस नहीं'

- Mr. **Rahman**, the **Prime Minister-designate**, issued an internal order saying the party should avoid taking out a victory parade and join his colleagues for **Friday prayers** at the **Gulshan Navi Jame Mosque**.

प्रधान मंत्री-नामित श्री रहमान ने एक आंतरिक आदेश जारी कर कहा कि पार्टी को विजय जुलूस निकालने से बचना चाहिए और **गुलशन नवी जामे मस्जिद** में **शुक्रवार की नमाज** के लिए अपने सहयोगियों के साथ शामिल होना चाहिए।

- Mr. **Alamgir** told the media that the **BNP** would take all sides along as it prepares to govern **Bangladesh**.

श्री **आलमगीर** ने मीडिया से कहा कि **बीएनपी बांग्लादेश** पर शासन की तैयारी करते हुए सभी पक्षों को साथ लेकर चलेगी।

- **U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio** and the **Chinese Foreign Ministry** congratulated the **BNP**.

अमेरिकी विदेश मंत्री मार्को रूबियो और **चीनी विदेश मंत्रालय** ने **बीएनपी** को बधाई दी।

- **Nepal's** interim government's Prime Minister **Sushila Karki** and **Maldives** President **Mohamed Muizzu** also congratulated Mr. **Rahman**.

नेपाल की अंतरिम सरकार की प्रधानमंत्री **सुशीला कार्की** और **मालदीव** के राष्ट्रपति **मोहम्मद मुइज्जू** ने भी श्री **रहमान** को बधाई दी।

- **West Bengal** Chief Minister **Mamata Banerjee** also extended her wishes.

पश्चिम बंगाल की मुख्यमंत्री **ममता बनर्जी** ने भी शुभकामनाएं दीं।

- "For this great victory, my congratulations to my **Tarique bhai**, his party and all the parties. Pray you all will be well and happy," she said.

"इस बड़ी जीत के लिए मेरे **तारिक भाई**, उनकी पार्टी और सभी दलों को मेरी बधाई। प्रार्थना है कि आप सभी स्वस्थ और खुश रहें," उन्होंने कहा।

Transfer of power सत्ता हस्तांतरण

- "**Law Adviser Asif Nazrul** and legal luminaries are carrying out a consultation and by **Saturday** we will get to know when the oath-taking ceremony for the members of Parliament



and the government will be completed,” Mr. **Yunus’s** press advisor **Sha• qul Alam** told **The Hindu**.

“कानून सलाहकार आसिफ नज़रुल और कानूनी विशेषज्ञ परामर्श कर रहे हैं और **शनिवार** तक हमें यह पता चल जाएगा कि संसद सदस्यों और सरकार के शपथ-ग्रहण समारोह कब पूरे होंगे,” श्री **यूनस** के प्रेस सलाहकार **शा• कुल आलम** ने **द हिंदू** से कहा।

- **Bangladesh’s 2024 mass uprising**, which led to the overthrow of the previous **Sheikh Hasina** government, also led to the dissolution of the Parliament, with most members of the ruling party **fleeing** the country.

बांग्लादेश के 2024 के जनविद्रोह, जिसने पूर्व **शेख हसीना** सरकार को अपदस्थ किया, के परिणामस्वरूप संसद का विघटन भी हुआ, जिसमें सत्तारूढ़ दल के अधिकांश सदस्य देश छोड़कर **fleeing** हो गए।

- Given the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of the Parliament in **2024**, the interim government will do a foolproof job so that the oath-taking will be a legally solid process, **The Hindu** was told.

2024 में संसद के विघटन से जुड़ी परिस्थितियों को देखते हुए, अंतरिम सरकार ऐसा त्रुटिरहित कार्य करेगी ताकि शपथ-ग्रहण एक कानूनी रूप से मजबूत प्रक्रिया हो, **द हिंदू** को बताया गया।

India believed that Panchsheel pact settled border with China, says CDS

GS II: IR

Ishita Mishra
NEW DELHI

Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) General Anil Chauhan on Friday said that independent India was keen on building a good relationship with China. After Independence, it was for India to decide where the frontiers lay, he said.

“[Jawaharlal] Nehru probably knew that we had something like the McMahon Line in the east, and we had some kind of claim in the Ladakh area, but it was not clearly defined. That is why he wanted to go in for the Panchsheel Agreement... probably,” General Chauhan said.

“And the Chinese also, when they had so-called liberated Tibet and had moved into Lhasa and into Xinjiang, this particular area was extreme from both ends. So, they probably wanted stability in this region and that is why this area assumed priority,” the CDS added.

He said that once Tibet was occupied by China, “India gave up those privi-



The Himalayan buffer that existed between us and Tibet evaporated and was converted into a direct border

GENERAL ANIL CHAUHAN
Chief of Defence Staff

leges”. “India recognised China and supported its permanent seat in the United Nations. The Himalayan buffer that existed between us and Tibet evaporated and was converted into a direct border,” he said.

Legitimacy of border

The CDS added that in 1954, India recognised Tibet as part of China, and both countries signed the Panchsheel Agreement. With this, India assumed that it had settled its northern border and the only area not settled through a formal treaty, from India’s perspective, rested on the Panchsheel Agreement, he said.

General Chauhan said India believed that the legi-

timacy of the border was reinforced by identifying six passes through which trade and pilgrimage would take place - Shipki La, Mana, Niti, Kungri Binsgri, Darma, and Lipulekh. “However, the Chinese position was that the agreement was negotiated only for trade and did not reflect their stand on the border dispute,” he added.

The CDS underlined the increasing strategic importance of the Himalayan frontiers.

He highlighted the government’s focused efforts on infrastructure development in border areas and emphasised the need for integrated, forward-looking strategic planning.

General Chauhan was speaking during the inaug-

uration of Bharat Himalayan International Strategic Manch (BHISM), a think tank in Dehradun.

Policy issues

He noted that issues such as climate change, water security, border management, military modernisation and disaster preparedness required a holistic Himalayan perspective. He said the ideas emerging from the forum could transcend regional boundaries and influence national policy – much like the Ganga, which originates in the Himalayas and flows across the country, sustaining life and progress.

Lieutenant General Ajay Kumar Singh (retd.), who is part of the BHISM, outlined the objectives of the think tank and stated that the forum would provide informed policy recommendations to the Government of India on strategic issues related to the Himalayan region, while fostering collaboration with academic and research institutions in and around Dehradun.

India believed that Panchsheel pact settled border with China, says CDS
भारत को विश्वास था कि पंचशील समझौते से चीन के साथ सीमा का निपटारा हो गया है:
सीडीएस

- **Chief of Defence Sta (CDS) General Anil Chauhan** on Friday said that independent **India** was keen on building a good relationship with **China**. After **Independence**, it was for **India** to



decide where the frontiers lay, he said.

चीफ ऑफ डिफेंस स्टाफ (सीडीएस) जनरल अनिल चौहान ने शुक्रवार को कहा कि स्वतंत्र **भारत चीन** के साथ अच्छे संबंध बनाने का इच्छुक था। **स्वतंत्रता** के बाद यह भारत पर निर्भर था कि उसकी सीमाएं कहां तक हों, उन्होंने कहा।

- “[**Jawaharlal] Nehru** probably knew that we had something like the **McMahon Line** in the east, and we had some kind of claim in the **Ladakh** area, but it was not clearly denied. That is why he wanted to go in for the **Panchsheel Agreement**... probably,” General Chauhan said. “[**जवाहरलाल] नेहरू** शायद जानते थे कि पूर्व में हमारे पास **मैकमोहन रेखा** जैसी कोई व्यवस्था थी, और **लद्दाख** क्षेत्र में हमारा कुछ दावा था, लेकिन वह स्पष्ट रूप से परिभाषित नहीं था। इसी कारण वे शायद **पंचशील समझौते** में जाना चाहते थे,” जनरल चौहान ने कहा।
- “And the **Chinese** also, when they had so-called liberated **Tibet** and had moved into **Lhasa** and into **Xinjiang**, this particular area was extreme from both ends. So, they probably wanted stability in this region and that is why this area assumed priority,” the **CDS** added. “और **चीनी** भी, जब उन्होंने तथाकथित मुक्त **तिब्बत** पर कब्जा किया और **ल्हासा** तथा **शिनजियांग** में प्रवेश किया, तो यह क्षेत्र दोनों छोर से अत्यधिक संवेदनशील था। इसलिए वे इस क्षेत्र में स्थिरता चाहते थे और इसी कारण इसे प्राथमिकता मिली,” **सीडीएस** ने जोड़ा।
- He said that once **Tibet** was occupied by **China**, “**India** gave up those privileges”. “**India** recognised **China** and supported its permanent seat in the **United Nations**. The **Himalayan buffer** that existed between us and **Tibet** evaporated and was converted into a direct border,” he said. उन्होंने कहा कि एक बार **तिब्बत** पर **चीन** का कब्जा हो जाने के बाद “**भारत** ने वे विशेषाधिकार छोड़ दिए”। “**भारत** ने **चीन** को मान्यता दी और **संयुक्त राष्ट्र** में उसकी स्थायी सीट का समर्थन किया। हमारे और **तिब्बत** के बीच मौजूद **हिमालयी बफर** समाप्त हो गया और एक प्रत्यक्ष सीमा में बदल गया,” उन्होंने कहा।

Legitimacy of border सीमा की वैधता

- The **CDS** added that in **1954**, **India** recognised **Tibet** as part of **China**, and both countries signed the **Panchsheel Agreement**. With this, **India** assumed that it had settled its northern border and the only area not settled through a formal treaty, from **India's** perspective, rested on the **Panchsheel Agreement**, he said. **सीडीएस** ने जोड़ा कि **1954** में **भारत** ने **तिब्बत** को **चीन** का हिस्सा मान्यता दी और दोनों देशों ने **पंचशील समझौते** पर हस्ताक्षर किए। इसके साथ, **भारत** ने माना कि उसकी उत्तरी सीमा का निपटारा हो गया है और औपचारिक संधि से न सुलझा एकमात्र क्षेत्र, **भारत** के दृष्टिकोण से, **पंचशील समझौते** पर आधारित था, उन्होंने कहा।
- General Chauhan said **India** believed that the legitimacy of the border was reinforced by identifying **six passes** through which trade and pilgrimage would take place – **Shipki La, Mana, Niti, Kungri Bingri, Darma, and Lipulekh**. जनरल चौहान ने कहा कि **भारत** का मानना था कि सीमा की वैधता को **छह दर्रों** की पहचान से मजबूती मिली, जिनके माध्यम से व्यापार और तीर्थयात्रा होती – **शिपकी ला, माणा, नीति, कुंगरी बिंगरी, दारमा, और लिपुलेख**।
- “However, the **Chinese** position was that the agreement was negotiated only for trade and did not re-lect their stand on the border dispute,” he added. “हालांकि, **चीनी** पक्ष का कहना था कि यह समझौता केवल व्यापार के लिए किया गया था और सीमा विवाद पर उनके रुख को प्रतिबिंबित नहीं करता,” उन्होंने जोड़ा।
- The **CDS** underlined the increasing strategic importance of the **Himalayan frontiers**. **सीडीएस** ने **हिमालयी सीमाओं** के बढ़ते रणनीतिक महत्व को रेखांकित किया।
- He highlighted the government's focused efforts on **infrastructure development** in border areas and emphasised the need for **integrated, forward-looking strategic planning**. उन्होंने सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों में **अवसंरचना विकास** पर सरकार के केंद्रित प्रयासों को उजागर किया और **समेकित, दूरदर्शी रणनीतिक योजना** की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया।
- General Chauhan was speaking during the inauguration of **Bharat Himalayan International Strategic Manch (BHISM)**, a think tank in **Dehradun**. जनरल चौहान **देहरादून** में एक थिंक टैंक **भारत हिमालयन इंटरनेशनल स्ट्रैटेजिक मंच (BHISM)** के उद्घाटन के दौरान बोल रहे थे।



Policy issues नीतिगत मुद्दे

- He noted that issues such as **climate change, water security, border management, military modernisation** and **disaster preparedness** required a holistic **Himalayan perspective**. He said the ideas emerging from the forum could transcend regional boundaries and influence **national policy** — much like the **Ganga**, which originates in the **Himalayas** and flows across the country, sustaining life and progress.

उन्होंने कहा कि **जलवायु परिवर्तन, जल सुरक्षा, सीमा प्रबंधन, सैन्य आधुनिकीकरण और आपदा तैयारी** जैसे मुद्दों के लिए एक समग्र **हिमालयी दृष्टिकोण** आवश्यक है। उन्होंने कहा कि मंच से निकलने वाले विचार क्षेत्रीय सीमाओं से परे जाकर **राष्ट्रीय नीति** को प्रभावित कर सकते हैं — ठीक उसी तरह जैसे गंगा, जो **हिमालय** से निकलकर पूरे देश में बहती है और जीवन व प्रगति को संजीवनी देती है।

- **Lieutenant General Ajay Kumar Singh (retd.)**, who is part of the **BHISM**, outlined the objectives of the think tank and stated that the forum would provide informed policy recommendations to the **Government of India** on strategic issues related to the **Himalayan region**, while fostering collaboration with academic and research institutions in and around **Dehradun**.

लेफ्टिनेंट जनरल अजय कुमार सिंह (सेवानिवृत्त), जो **BHISM** का हिस्सा है, ने थिंक टैंक के उद्देश्यों को रेखांकित किया और कहा कि यह मंच **हिमालयी क्षेत्र** से जुड़े रणनीतिक मुद्दों पर **भारत सरकार** को सूचित नीतिगत सिफारिशें देगा, साथ ही **देहरादून** और आसपास के शैक्षणिक व अनुसंधान संस्थानों के साथ सहयोग को बढ़ावा देगा।

'Hasina's presence in India, Ganga waters treaty to be key priorities for BNP govt.'

GS II: IR
Kallol Bhattacharjee
DHAKA

Stopping "border killings", starting negotiation for renewal of the Ganga waters agreement, and increasing the number of medical visas are some of the priority areas for Bangladesh's incoming government, sources in the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) told *The Hindu* on Friday.

The BNP, led by its chairman Tarique Rahman, is set to return to power in Dhaka after two decades, following a landslide victory in the parliamentary election.

Giving an insight of the list of deliverables, BNP's sources said India should urgently deal with the issue of ousted Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's presence on Indian soil as Ms. Hasina has been making comments about the developments in her country.

Border issue

"Out of all issues, it is the border killings by the Border Security Force of India that creates great difficulty for the Government of Bangladesh. Reports of killings in the bordering areas immediately inflames passion especially in university campuses where protests break out escalating the sit-



India should deal with the issue of deposed Bangladesh PM Sheikh Hasina's presence on Indian soil, BNP sources said. AP

uation," said a source who is working on the neighbourhood projects of the BNP. The BNP member said that India and Bangladesh have a settled border and it makes no sense to shoot to kill someone.

He further said that India should look into the issue of continued presence of Ms. Hasina and her top aides on Indian soil as the Awami League leader's comments will pose a challenge to normalisation of ties and indicated that these issues will be among the first items that would be discussed by the incoming government.

The other big issue that will have to be prioritised, *The Hindu* was told is the renewal of the Ganga Waters Treaty that will have to be renewed before December 2026. Indian diplomatic sources had flagged that the technical teams that

were supposed to meet to iron out the details of the renewal agreement in the two years did not meet though the matter featured during the June 2024 visit of Ms. Hasina when she was Prime Minister.

He further said the number of medical visas that are issued by India are inadequate and that India must relax medical visas as it is a great people-to-people connector.

"We are being pushed to go to China in search of medical treatment. If pushed by denial of medical visa, we will find an alternative as in today's world an alternative will present itself automatically but our cultural commonalities make medical treatment in India a more comfortable process," said the source urging India to enhance people-to-people diplomacy.

'Hasina's presence in India, Ganga waters treaty to be key priorities for BNP govt.'

'भारत में हसीना की मौजूदगी, गंगा जल संधि बीएनपी सरकार की प्रमुख प्राथमिकताएं होंगी'

- Stopping "border killings", starting negotiation for renewal of the **Ganga waters agreement**, and increasing the number of **medical visas** are some of the priority areas for **Bangladesh's incoming government**, sources in the **Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)** told *The Hindu* on Friday.

"सीमा हत्याओं" को रोकना, **गंगा जल समझौते** के नवीनीकरण के लिए बातचीत शुरू करना, और **मेडिकल वीजा** की संख्या बढ़ाना **बांग्लादेश की आने वाली सरकार** की कुछ प्रमुख प्राथमिकताएं हैं, **बांग्लादेश नेशनलिस्ट पार्टी (बीएनपी)** के सूत्रों ने **शुक्रवार को द हिंदू** को बताया।

- The **BNP**, led by its chairman **Tarique Rahman**, is set to return to power in **Dhaka** after two decades, following a landslide victory in the parliamentary election.

अपने अध्यक्ष **तारिक रहमान** के नेतृत्व में **बीएनपी** दो दशकों बाद संसदीय चुनाव में भारी जीत के बाद **ढाका** में सत्ता में लौटने जा रही है।

- Giving an insight of the list of deliverables, **BNP's sources** said **India** should urgently deal with the issue of ousted **Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's presence on Indian soil** as Ms. Hasina has been making comments about the



developments in her country.

उपलब्धियों की सूची पर जानकारी देते हुए **बीएनपी के सूत्रों** ने कहा कि **भारत** को अपदस्थ **बांग्लादेश की प्रधानमंत्री शेख हसीना की भारतीय धरती पर मौजूदगी** के मुद्दे से तुरंत निपटना चाहिए क्योंकि सुश्री हसीना अपने देश के घटनाक्रमों पर टिप्पणियां कर रही हैं।

Border issue

सीमा मुद्दा

- “Out of all issues, it is the **border killings** by the **Border Security Force of India** that creates great difficulty for the **Government of Bangladesh**. Reports of killings in the bordering areas immediately named passion especially in **university campuses** where protests break out escalating the situation,” said a source who is working on the neighbourhood projects of the **BNP**.

“सभी मुद्दों में से **भारत की सीमा सुरक्षा बल** द्वारा की गई **सीमा हत्याएं** ही **बांग्लादेश सरकार** के लिए सबसे बड़ी कठिनाई पैदा करती हैं। सीमावर्ती इलाकों में हत्याओं की खबरें तुरंत भावनाओं को भड़काती हैं, खासकर **विश्वविद्यालय परिसरों** में जहां विरोध प्रदर्शन भड़क उठते हैं और स्थिति बिगड़ जाती है,” **बीएनपी** की पड़ोस परियोजनाओं पर काम कर रहे एक सूत्र ने कहा।

- The **BNP member** said that **India** and **Bangladesh** have a settled border and it makes no sense to shoot to kill someone.

बीएनपी सदस्य ने कहा कि **भारत** और **बांग्लादेश** के बीच सीमा तय है और किसी को मारने के लिए गोली चलाने का कोई मतलब नहीं है।

- He further said that **India** should look into the issue of continued presence of **Ms. Hasina** and her top aides on **Indian soil** as the **Awami League leader's** comments will pose a challenge to normalisation of ties and indicated that these issues will be among the **•rst items** that would be discussed by the incoming government.

उन्होंने आगे कहा कि **भारत** को **सुश्री हसीना** और उनके शीर्ष सहयोगियों की **भारतीय धरती** पर निरंतर मौजूदगी के मुद्दे पर ध्यान देना चाहिए क्योंकि **अवामी लीग नेता** की टिप्पणियां संबंधों के सामान्यीकरण के लिए चुनौती पेश करेंगी और संकेत दिया कि ये मुद्दे आने वाली सरकार द्वारा चर्चा किए जाने वाले **पहले विषयों** में होंगे।

- The other big issue that will have to be prioritised, **The Hindu** was told, is the renewal of the **Ganga Waters Treaty** that will have to be renewed before **December 2026**.

द हिंदू को बताया गया कि एक अन्य बड़ा मुद्दा जिसे प्राथमिकता देनी होगी, वह **गंगा जल संधि** का नवीनीकरण है, जिसे **दिसंबर 2026** से पहले नवीनीकृत करना होगा।

- Indian diplomatic sources** had agreed that the **technical teams** that were supposed to meet to iron out the details of the renewal agreement in the two years did not meet though the matter featured during the **June 2024 visit of Ms. Hasina** when she was Prime Minister.

भारतीय राजनयिक सूत्रों ने संकेत दिया था कि नवीनीकरण समझौते के विवरण तय करने के लिए जिन **तकनीकी टीमों** को दो वर्षों में मिलना था, वे नहीं मिलीं, हालांकि यह मुद्दा **जून 2024 में सुश्री हसीना की यात्रा** के दौरान सामने आया था जब वह प्रधानमंत्री थीं।

- He further said the number of **medical visas** that are issued by **India** are inadequate and that **India** must relax medical visas as it is a great **people-to-people connector**.

उन्होंने आगे कहा कि **भारत** द्वारा जारी किए जाने वाले **मेडिकल वीजा** की संख्या अपर्याप्त है और **भारत** को मेडिकल वीजा में ढील देनी चाहिए क्योंकि यह एक बड़ा **जन-से-जन संपर्क माध्यम** है।

- “We are being pushed to go to **China** in search of medical treatment. If pushed by denial of **medical visa**, we will need an alternative as in today's world an alternative will present itself automatically but our **cultural commonalities** make medical treatment in **India** a more comfortable process,” said the source urging **India** to enhance **people-to-people diplomacy**.

“हमें चिकित्सा उपचार की तलाश में **चीन** जाने के लिए मजबूर किया जा रहा है। यदि **मेडिकल वीजा** से इनकार के कारण दबाव डाला गया, तो हम विकल्प ढूँढ लेंगे क्योंकि आज की दुनिया में विकल्प अपने आप सामने आ जाता है, लेकिन हमारी **सांस्कृतिक समानताएं** **भारत** में चिकित्सा उपचार को अधिक आरामदायक प्रक्रिया बनाती हैं,” स्रोत ने **भारत** से **जन-से-जन कूटनीति** बढ़ाने का आग्रह करते हुए कहा।



GS II: IR

IAF, Royal Thai Air Force hold air combat training exercise

The Indian Air Force (IAF) conducted an in-situ bilateral exercise with the Royal Thai Air Force (RTAF) in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) from February 9 to 12, aimed at strengthening military cooperation and enhancing operational synergy between India and Thailand. According to the Defence Ministry, the engagement was executed as an air combat training exercise featuring the IAF's Su-30MKI multirole fighter aircraft and the RTAF's SAAB Gripen jets. The IAF's IL-78 mid-air refuelling tankers enabled extended-range maritime operations, underscoring the force's long-distance deployment capabilities.

engagement was executed as an air combat training exercise featuring the IAF's Su-30MKI multirole fighter aircraft and the RTAF's SAAB Gripen jets.

रक्षा मंत्रालय के अनुसार, यह सहभागिता एक हवाई युद्ध प्रशिक्षण अभ्यास के रूप में की गई, जिसमें आईएफ के Su-30MKI बहु-भूमिका लड़ाकू विमान और आरटीएफ के SAAB Gripen जेट शामिल थे।

- The IAF's IL-78 mid-air refuelling tankers enabled extended-range maritime operations, underscoring the force's long-distance deployment capabilities. आईएफ के IL-78 मध्य-आकाश ईंधन भरने वाले टैंकरों ने विस्तारित दूरी के समुद्री अभियानों को संभव बनाया, जिससे बल की दीर्घ दूरी तैनाती क्षमताओं को रेखांकित किया गया।

IAF, Royal Thai Air Force hold air combat training exercise आईएफ और रॉयल थाई वायुसेना ने हवाई युद्ध प्रशिक्षण अभ्यास आयोजित किया

- IAF, Royal Thai Air Force hold air combat training exercise
आईएफ और रॉयल थाई वायुसेना ने हवाई युद्ध प्रशिक्षण अभ्यास आयोजित किया

• The Indian Air Force (IAF) conducted an in-situ bilateral exercise with the Royal Thai Air Force (RTAF) in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) from February 9 to 12, aimed at strengthening military cooperation and enhancing operational synergy between India and Thailand.

भारतीय वायुसेना (आईएफ) ने रॉयल थाई वायुसेना (आरटीएफ) के साथ हिंद महासागर क्षेत्र (IOR) में 9 से 12 फरवरी के दौरान स्थल-आधारित द्विपक्षीय अभ्यास किया, जिसका उद्देश्य भारत और थाईलैंड के बीच सैन्य सहयोग को मजबूत करना और परिचालन तालमेल बढ़ाना था।

- According to the Defence Ministry, the engagement was executed as an air combat training exercise featuring the IAF's Su-30MKI multirole fighter aircraft and the RTAF's SAAB Gripen jets.

रक्षा मंत्रालय के अनुसार, यह सहभागिता एक हवाई युद्ध प्रशिक्षण अभ्यास के रूप में की गई, जिसमें आईएफ के Su-30MKI बहु-भूमिका लड़ाकू विमान और आरटीएफ के SAAB Gripen जेट शामिल थे।

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GS II: IR

A decisive mandate

India, Bangladesh have an opportunity to reset ties with the defeat of Jamaat

With a landslide verdict in its favour, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) is set to form the government in Dhaka, with its leader, Tarique Rahman, becoming the country's first male Prime Minister elected to the post in decades. Mr. Rahman's road to the post, two decades after being barred from elections (due to cases) and going into exile under the previous Awami League government, is dramatic, with his return to Bangladesh just days before the death of his mother and former Prime Minister, Khaleda Zia. The interim government led by Muhammad Yunus is expected to hand over the reins to Mr. Rahman. Despite its more than two-thirds of the elected seats in the Jatiya Sangsad, the BNP has many challenges ahead. As the first elected government since Sheikh Hasina's ouster in August 2024, the first order of business will be to restore old political institutions and effect a political reconciliation. This could mean releasing political prisoners and an outreach to the banned Awami League, many of whose supporters did not vote. The next will be to prepare for the challenge from the Jamaat-e-Islami, whose coalition won about 75 seats in Parliament, its best performance yet. As a more vocal opposition now, the Jamaat, whose leaders have pitched a regressive line on women's rights and for religious politics, will try and push the new centrist government to the right. Voters have also emphatically supported the 'July Charter' referendum, that calls for a caretaker government, reforms that could shift the powers of the Prime Minister, and an upper house in Parliament with proportional representation. Meanwhile, Mr. Rahman must hit the ground running on reviving the economy and restoring trade links with India.

For New Delhi, keen to reset ties after they hit a nadir under Mr. Yunus, the outreach to the new government is important. The Modi government has had tensions with the BNP as it reduced engagement with the opposition in Bangladesh during Ms. Hasina's tenure. It must also take back the space ceded to Pakistan, the U.S. and China, which have each forged new relations with Bangladesh since Ms. Hasina's ouster. Perhaps more than bilateral relations, ruptured trade and connectivity, security and sporting ties, New Delhi and Dhaka must repair the frayed ties between their peoples. In Bangladesh, securing India's missions and ensuring the safety of minorities will be essential. For India, it is necessary to dial down the domestic rhetoric against Bangladesh, that is allowing political groups (many are affiliated to the ruling party), to threaten Bangladeshis in India. The Modi and Rahman governments will have to move most delicately, however, in managing the issue of Ms. Hasina, who remains a wanted fugitive in Dhaka and an honoured guest in Delhi. if they are intent on a fresh start in ties.

whose supporters did not vote.

इसका मतलब राजनीतिक कैदियों की रिहाई और प्रतिबंधित आवामी लीग से संपर्क हो सकता है, जिसके कई समर्थकों ने मतदान नहीं किया।

- The next will be to prepare for the challenge from the Jamaat-e-Islami, whose coalition won about 75 seats in Parliament, its best performance yet.

A decisive mandate एक निर्णायक जनादेश

- India, Bangladesh have an opportunity to reset ties with the defeat of Jamaat
जमात की हार के साथ भारत, बांग्लादेश के पास संबंधों को रीसेट करने का अवसर है

Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) — बांग्लादेश नेशनलिस्ट पार्टी (BNP)

- With a landslide verdict in its favour, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) is set to form the government in Dhaka, with its leader, Tarique Rahman, becoming the country's first male Prime Minister elected to the post in decades.

अपने पक्ष में भारी जनादेश के साथ, बांग्लादेश नेशनलिस्ट पार्टी (BNP) ढाका में सरकार बनाने के लिए तैयार है, और इसके नेता तारीक रहमान दशकों में देश के पहले निर्वाचित पुरुष प्रधानमंत्री बनेंगे।

- Mr. Rahman's road to the post, two decades after being barred from elections (due to cases) and going into exile under the previous Awami League government, is dramatic, with his return to Bangladesh just days before the death of his mother and former Prime Minister, Khaleda Zia.

चुनाव से दो दशकों तक प्रतिबंधित रहने (मामलों के कारण) और पिछले आवामी लीग सरकार के दौरान निर्वासन में जाने के बाद, इस पद तक रहमान का सफर नाटकीय रहा, और उनकी बांग्लादेश वापसी उनकी मां और पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री खालिदा जिया की मृत्यु से कुछ दिन पहले हुई।

- The interim government led by Muhammad Yunus is expected to hand over the reins to Mr. Rahman. मुहम्मद यूनुस के नेतृत्व वाली अंतरिम सरकार से उम्मीद है कि वह सत्ता रहमान को सौंप देगी।

- Despite its more than two-thirds of the elected seats in the Jatiya Sangsad, the BNP has many challenges ahead.

जातीय संसद में निर्वाचित सीटों के दो-तिहाई से अधिक होने के बावजूद, BNP के सामने कई चुनौतियाँ हैं।

- As the first elected government since Sheikh Hasina's ouster in August 2024, the first order of business will be to restore old political institutions and effect a political reconciliation.

अगस्त 2024 में शेख हसीना के पदच्युत होने के बाद पहली निर्वाचित सरकार के रूप में, पहला कार्य पुराने राजनीतिक संस्थानों को बहाल करना और राजनीतिक मेल-मिलाप करना होगा।

- This could mean releasing political prisoners and an outreach to the banned Awami League, many of



अगला कदम **जमात-ए-इस्लामी** की चुनौती के लिए तैयार होना होगा, जिसके गठबंधन ने **संसद में लगभग 75 सीटें** जीतीं, जो उसका अब तक का सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्रदर्शन है।

- As a more vocal **opposition** now, the **Jamaat**, whose leaders have pitched a **regressive line on women's rights** and for **religious politics**, will try and push the new **centrist government** to the **right**.

अब अधिक मुखर **विपक्ष** के रूप में, **जमात**, जिसके नेताओं ने **महिला अधिकारों पर प्रतिगामी रुख** और **धार्मिक राजनीति** का समर्थन किया है, नई **मध्यमार्गी सरकार** को **दक्षिणपंथ** की ओर धकेलने की कोशिश करेगी।

- Voters have also emphatically supported the '**July Charter**' referendum, that calls for a **caretaker government**, reforms that could shift the powers of the **Prime Minister**, and an **upper house in Parliament** with **proportional representation**.

मतदाताओं ने '**जुलाई चार्टर**' जनमत-संग्रह का भी जोरदार समर्थन किया, जो **केयरटेकर सरकार**, **प्रधानमंत्री** की शक्तियों में बदलाव और **अनुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व** के साथ **संसद के उच्च सदन** की मांग करता है।

- Meanwhile, Mr. Rahman must hit the ground running on reviving the **economy** and restoring **trade links with India**.

इस बीच, **रहमान** को **अर्थव्यवस्था** को पुनर्जीवित करने और **भारत के साथ व्यापारिक संबंध** बहाल करने के लिए तुरंत काम शुरू करना होगा।

- For **New Delhi**, keen to reset ties after they hit a **nadir under Mr. Yunus**, the outreach to the new government is important.

नई दिल्ली के लिए, जो **यूनस के दौरान निम्नतम स्तर** पर पहुंचे संबंधों को फिर से स्थापित करना चाहती है, नई सरकार से संपर्क महत्वपूर्ण है।

- The **Modi government** has had tensions with the **BNP** as it reduced engagement with the **opposition in Bangladesh** during Ms. Hasina's tenure.

मोदी सरकार के **BNP** के साथ तनाव रहे क्योंकि उसने **हसीना के कार्यकाल** में **बांग्लादेश के विपक्ष** के साथ संपर्क कम कर दिया था।

- It must also take back the space ceded to **Pakistan, the U.S. and China**, which have each forged new relations with **Bangladesh** since Ms. Hasina's ouster.

इसे **पाकिस्तान, अमेरिका और चीन** को मिली जगह भी वापस लेनी होगी, जिन्होंने **हसीना के पदच्युत होने** के बाद **बांग्लादेश** के साथ नए संबंध बनाए हैं।

- Perhaps more than **bilateral relations**, ruptured **trade and connectivity, security and sporting ties**, **New Delhi and Dhaka** must repair the **frayed ties between their peoples**.

शायद **द्विपक्षीय संबंधों, टूटे व्यापार और संपर्क, सुरक्षा और खेल संबंधों** से भी अधिक, **नई दिल्ली और ढाका** को **दोनों देशों के लोगों के बीच बिगड़े संबंधों** को सुधारना होगा।

- In **Bangladesh**, securing **India's missions** and ensuring the **safety of minorities** will be essential.

बांग्लादेश में **भारत के मिशनों की सुरक्षा** और **अल्पसंख्यकों की सुरक्षा सुनिश्चित करना** आवश्यक होगा।

- For **India**, it is necessary to dial down the **domestic rhetoric against Bangladesh**, that is allowing **political groups** (many are **affiliated to the ruling party**), to threaten **Bangladeshis in India**.

भारत के लिए **बांग्लादेश के खिलाफ घरेलू बयानबाजी** कम करना जरूरी है, जिससे **राजनीतिक समूह** (कई **सत्तारूढ़ दल** से जुड़े) **भारत में बांग्लादेशियों** को धमका रहे हैं।

- The **Modi and Rahman governments** will have to move most delicately, however, in managing the issue of **Ms. Hasina**, who remains a **wanted fugitive in Dhaka** and an **honoured guest in Delhi**, if they are intent on a **fresh start in ties**.

मोदी और रहमान सरकारों को **हसीना के मुद्दे** को संभालने में बेहद सावधानी बरतनी होगी, जो **ढाका में वांछित भगोड़ी** और **दिल्ली में सम्मानित अतिथि** बनी हुई है, यदि वे **संबंधों की नई शुरुआत** करना चाहते हैं।



In Dhaka, a new dawn and a gathering storm

The Bangladesh Nationalist Party is set to form the government in Dhaka after a landslide victory, but jubilation is also palpable at the Jamaat-e-Islami headquarters, as the party-led alliance has secured 77 seats. As the country prepares for its first elected government since Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's ouster in August 2024, the road ahead remains fraught with challenges. **Kallol Bhattacharjee** reports from the ground

OS II/IR

In February 12, in Mogbazar, a densely populated area in Dhaka, hundreds of Jamaat-e-Islami cadres gathered together. Wearing colourful caps and fine Oud, they watched the future of Bangladesh's politics being rewritten. While the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) won the election, securing 209 seats out of 300, the Jamaat-e-Islami, the principal challenger, won 68, its highest tally since the country's independence.

The polls were necessitated by a student-led uprising that ousted Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in August 2024, after which an interim government took charge to oversee the transition to a newly elected administration. Hasina's Awami League was banned from the elections, marking a historic first since 1971, the year Bangladesh was formed.

Outside the narrow alley, fruit, vegetable, and fish sellers struggled to cope with the sudden surge of outsiders. After all, it was not every day that so many people showed up at the Jamaat-e-Islami headquarters.



The party's multi-story headquarters is hidden behind a large iron gate. Inside, visitors are greeted by a row of taps used for the ceremonial wazu, the ritual washing mandatory in mosques. The party cadres are expected to not only engage in politics, but also to strictly observe their religious duties. Between celebrations, they join prayers. Afterwards, they gather for a quick lunch of *kachhi biryani* accompanied by *burhani*, a soothing yogurt-based drink with coriander and mint. The mood is unmistakably festive.

At home

There was a time when the headquarters was largely quiet with dedicated care in white salwar kurta carrying bundles of pamphlets and books and going about their work. In 2024, the Hasina-led Awami League banned the organisation. Now, sharply tailored business suits have entered the Jamaat, resurrected in 2025.

For nearly one and a half decades, Mohammed Fakhrul Islam, a barrister working for the party in the U.K., says he stayed out of Bangladesh, as Sheikh Hasina and her Awami League governed Bangladesh. During this period, Jamaat-e-Islami built its political narrative around the themes of discrimination, torture, and exile. Islam says he did not return, as coming home would have meant harassment or worse, detention under some law as the party faced continuous pressures from the regime.

According to Islam, the Jamaat-e-Islami wants Bangladesh to be "self-sufficient and strong". He says the party expects India to "acknowledge the mistakes that it had committed by oversubscribing to the politics that Hasina represented".

Islam and his friends are not just Islamists; they also project themselves as survivors of an oppressive regime. Oluliah Noman, Islam's colleague, who was part of the election steering committee, says, "I was allowed to leave (the country) after I served a prison term. They tortured me in prison."

Noman works as a senior editor with *Amar Desh*, a newspaper launched in September 2024 after Hasina's fall. The newspaper is edited by



While the Liberation War was fought against discrimination by the Pakistan government, it was discrimination by the the Hasina government that prompted us to act in 2024

MOHAMMED FAKHRUL ISLAM
Barrister and supporter of Jamaat-e-Islami

Mahmudur Rahman, who, like Noman, was also in exile for several years. Rahman returned from Istanbul after five and a half years, and it was during his public reception that Sharif Osman Hadi, the Islamist student leader, first came to be noticed for his organisational abilities.

Hadi, who was killed in December 2025 in Dhaka when he was just 32, shared with Oluliah a strong opposition to Hasina, though for both, the recent history of persecution carries more weight than the events of the Liberation War. Oluliah and Islam believe that both the Liberation War of 1971 and the uprising of 2024 were similar in essence. "Why did the Liberation War take place? It took place because of discrimination against Bangladeshis by the Pakistan government. Similarly, it was discrimination by the Sheikh Hasina government that prompted us to fight in 2024," says Islam.

On being asked why Jamaat-e-Islami and Al-Badr were involved in the 1971 violence, he says, "We did not oppose Bangladesh's freedom. We opposed the partition of our country. After all, who would want to see their nation divided?"

Growing disappointment

That strand of unresolved history stretches from Mogbazar to Dhamondi, about 5 kilometres apart. Along the main road of Dhamondi's business district stands a mango tree planted in 1969 by Tajuddin Ahmed, the first Prime Minister of the Mujibnagar government – the government-in-exile formed by Awami League leaders in 1971. Ahmed, who became Bangladesh's first finance minister after 1971, was one of four national leaders killed by the military on November 3, 1975. This occurred just months after Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was assassinated on August 15.

For more than five decades, the tree has been watched by the storms that have blown through Bangladesh. The site beside the mango tree, once the residence of Ahmed, known for his intelligence and organisational skills, is no longer a home. Today, it has been replaced by a multi-story shopping complex. The only reminder of Ahmed is a large poster of Sohail, his fitness-enthusiast son, who runs a gym at this address.

"If necessary, we will fight another war. War is inevitable," says Md. Nahid Akhtar Nahan, a sup-



Supporters of Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami at an election campaign rally in Dhaka. REUTERS

porter of the Awami League, banned under Bangladesh's Anti-Terrorism Act.

Nahan was a councillor of the Awami League in Rajshahi and saw the peak of the power and authority of the Hasina era. But he also noticed the warning signs early on. "She became absolutely intolerant of frank opinions. On multiple occasions, we saw how Hasina apr used to flare up on hearing opinions that were anti-establishment. Her top ministers were promoting the business interests of individuals directly linked to Jamaat-e-Islami," says Nahan, who has lost his house and property to mob attacks.

He has no job and fixed income, and depends on friends and well wishers. "The Awami League is an emotion for us. We believe in the spirit of 1971 and the memory of Sheikh Mujib," he says.

Nahan emphasises that Bangladesh is now a battleground between two opposing forces – one that upholds the spirit of 1971 and the other that stands against it. He laments how Dhaka has changed. "Earlier, people would mark the *Bilasha Andolan* (mother tongue movement) of 1952," he says. This was when the police shot several activists – including Abdu Salam, Rafiq Uddin Ahmed, Abul Barkat, and Abdul Jabbar – who demanded that Bengali be recognised as the national language of Pakistan.



Supporters of the Awami League voted for the BNP. It was like having a heavy boulder on their chest. It was not easy for them to support their main opponent.

BAREK KAISER
Media commentator

"Every year, a massive book fair would open on February 1, culminating in a major road show on February 21. But no more," Nahan says. "It is as if our emotions are no longer important. The war of 1971 was borne out of such actions and we will fight again if necessary."

Pointing at the image of Sohail with his bulging biceps, Nahan says the Awami League does not forgive betrayal. In the eyes of Nahan and his friends, Sohail did something that an Awami League member was not supposed to do. "He met with the Chief Adviser, Mohammed Yunus. He was hoping to get something in return. But he did not," he says.

Anger only grew when Hasina's son, Sajeeb Wazed Joy, gave an interview to a western news outlet. In it, he said, "I have spent all my life abroad. I have been in the U.S. for 30 years. I am living peacefully here. Whatever will happen in the future is something for the future."

A supporter of the party says the party cadre were livid and dismayed. He says, "We called each other and wept on the phone hearing how Joy spoke about the party of Sheikh Mujib."

A tough choice

In such an atmosphere, the return of Tarique Rahman, 60, the chairman of the BNP, from exile in London, has drawn appreciation from forces who are willing to join hands with any side for the sake of stopping the Jamaat-e-Islami's march. The BNP, which won a landslide victory in an election that saw a voter turnout of 59.44%, has returned to power after nearly two decades. Zakir H. Chowdhury, the head of the BNP's youth chapter, says many Awami League supporters voted for the BNP. He explains the electoral politics by pointing to the alliance between the Jamaat-e-Islami and the student-led National Citizen Party. "Some Awami League voters first considered voting for the Jamaat. They believed that a strong Jamaat would jeopardise internal security, prompting people to demand the return of the Awami League as their saviour. But they changed their minds on seeing its alliance with the leaders of the 2024 uprising – they really hate them," he says.

Barek Kaiser, a media commentator, says it was a tough choice for Awami League supporters "They voted for the BNP. It was like having a hea-

vy boulder on their chest. It was not easy for them to support their main opponent."

A short-lived spring?

The Jamaat-e-Islami chief, Ameer Shaheer Rahman, increased media engagement ahead of the 2026 elections. His aim was to rebrand the party from a rigid Islamist group to a more moderate, mainstream political entity. But the outreach has not been enough to ease the growing anxiety in Dhaka about what the Jamaat may be planning in the months ahead.

The party's highest tally before this election came in 1991, when it won 18 seats in the polls held after the overthrow of President Hossain Mohammed Ershad, which brought Khaleeda Zia of the BNP to power for the first time. Zia died last December. Rahman is Zia's son.

The Jamaat-e-Islami's influence and parliamentary presence dwindled thereafter. Its worst phase began after 2009, when an Awami League government, strengthened by a sweeping electoral victory, set up the International Crimes Tribunal to try several Jamaat leaders for their alleged complicity in the 1971 killings. As a result, several senior figures were executed.

Along with the euphoria of the BNP's victory, suspicion and fear now run deep in Dhaka. A former student leader from Chittagong University says, "Only those who have studied at Chittagong and Rajshahi University know what the Jamaat's student wing is capable of. If they dream of imposing Shariah in Bangladesh, they will do it whenever they find the opportunity."

At the moment, however, the Jamaat is far from introducing Shariah law in Bangladesh. Its immediate goal is to focus on the transition of power from the interim government to the BNP-led one. It has already voiced its grievances, viewing the victory of the BNP as a warning sign.

Ameer Shaheer Rahman says his party is disappointed by the outcome. He blames authorities for being biased against his party. "We are not satisfied with the process surrounding the election results," he said after the party-led Islamist bloc got an unprecedented 77 seats. "From candidates of the 11-party alliance narrowly and suspiciously losing in various constituencies, to repeated inconsistencies and fabrications in unofficial result announcements, the Election Commission's reluctance to publish voter turnout percentages, and indications that a section of the administration leaned towards a major party... all this undoubtedly raises serious questions about the integrity of the results process."

Along with the national election, voters were asked to decide on an ambitious and wide-ranging constitutional reform package under the July National Charter (Constitutional Amendment) Implementation Order, 2025. The citizens voted "yes" in favour of it. The proposed changes in the referendum include establishing a neutral interim government for the electoral period, restructuring the current parliament into a bicameral legislature, increasing women's representation, strengthening judicial independence, and introducing a two-term limit for the Prime Minister.

"Parliament is the supreme organ and laws are made by Parliament. The referendum wants changes in the parliamentary system. Nothing like that will be allowed by Parliament members," says Chowdhury of the BNP.

On the other hand, Jamaat has made it clear that it wants the proposed referendum to incorporate the July Charter into the 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh.

With the BNP planning to make its position clear, the Jamaat seeking to assert its parliamentary strength and secure a greater role in national politics and India-Bangladesh relations, and Awami League cadres mobilising for a potential confrontation, Dhaka looks less like the site of a concluded electoral contest and more like the staging ground for another political showdown.

"We are in a war zone," Kaiser says. "We just had an election. But we might soon end up with a real conflict."

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In Dhaka, a new dawn and a gathering storm ढाका में एक नई सुबह और उठता हुआ तूफान

Bangladesh Politics and Jamaat-e-Islami — बांग्लादेश की राजनीति और जमात-ए-इस्लामी

- On February 12, in Mogbazar, a densely populated area in Dhaka, hundreds of Jamaat-e-Islami cadres gathered together.
12 फरवरी को ढाका के घनी आबादी वाले क्षेत्र मोगबाजार में सैकड़ों जमात-ए-इस्लामी कार्यकर्ता एकत्र हुए।
- Wearing colourful caps and fine Oud, they watched the future of Bangladesh's politics being rewritten.
रंगीन टोपी और सुगंधित ऊद पहनकर वे बांग्लादेश की राजनीति का भविष्य बदलते हुए देख रहे थे।
- While the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) won the election, securing 209 seats out of 300, the Jamaat-e-Islami, the principal challenger, won 68, its highest tally since the country's independence.
जहाँ बांग्लादेश नेशनलिस्ट पार्टी (BNP) ने चुनाव जीतकर 300 में से 209 सीटें हासिल कीं, वहीं मुख्य प्रतिद्वंद्वी जमात-ए-इस्लामी ने 68 सीटें जीतीं, जो देश की स्वतंत्रता के बाद उसका सर्वाधिक प्रदर्शन है।
- The polls were necessitated by a student-led uprising that ousted Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in August 2024, after which an interim government took charge to oversee the transition to a newly elected administration.



यह चुनाव छात्र-नेतृत्व वाले आंदोलन के कारण हुए, जिसने अगस्त 2024 में प्रधानमंत्री शेख हसीना को हटाया, जिसके बाद एक अंतरिम सरकार ने नई निर्वाचित सरकार तक संक्रमण की जिम्मेदारी संभाली।

- Hasina's **Awami League** was banned from the elections, marking a **historic first since 1971**, the year **Bangladesh was formed**.
हसीना की **आवामी लीग** को चुनाव से प्रतिबंधित किया गया, जो **1971** (जब **बांग्लादेश बना**) के बाद पहली ऐतिहासिक घटना थी।
- Outside the narrow alley, **fruit, vegetable, and fish sellers** struggled to cope with the sudden surge of outsiders.
संकरी गली के बाहर **फल, सब्जी और मछली विक्रेता** बाहरी लोगों की अचानक भीड़ से जूझ रहे थे।
- After all, it was not every day that so many people showed up at the **Jamaat-e-Islami's headquarters**.
आखिर, हर दिन इतने लोग **जमात-ए-इस्लामी मुख्यालय** पर नहीं आते थे।
- The party's **multistorey headquarters** is hidden behind a large **iron gate**.
पार्टी का **बहुमंजिला मुख्यालय** एक बड़े **लोहे के गेट** के पीछे छिपा हुआ है।
- Inside, visitors are greeted by a row of **taps used for ceremonial wazu**, the ritual washing mandatory in **mosques**.
अंदर, आगंतुकों का स्वागत **वुजू के लिए नलों की पंक्ति** से होता है, जो **मस्जिदों** में अनिवार्य धार्मिक प्रक्रिया है।
- The party cadres are expected to not only engage in **politics**, but also to strictly observe their **religious duties**.
पार्टी कार्यकर्ताओं से अपेक्षा की जाती है कि वे केवल **राजनीति** में ही नहीं बल्कि अपने **धार्मिक कर्तव्यों** का भी सख्ती से पालन करें।
- Between celebrations, they join **prayers**.
जश्न के बीच वे **नमाज़** में शामिल होते हैं।
- Afterwards, they gather for a quick lunch of **kachchi biryani** accompanied by **burhani**, a soothing **yogurt-based drink with coriander and mint**.
इसके बाद वे **कच्ची बिरयानी** और **बुरहानी** (धनिया और पुदीना युक्त दही आधारित पेय) के साथ भोजन करते हैं।
- The mood is unmistakably **festive**.
माहौल स्पष्ट रूप से **उत्सवपूर्ण** है।

At home — घर पर

- There was a time when the headquarters was largely **quiet** with dedicated cadre in **white salwar kurta** carrying bundles of **pamphlets and books** and going about their work.
एक समय था जब मुख्यालय काफी **शांत** रहता था और **सफेद सलवार-कुर्ता** पहने कार्यकर्ता **पर्चे और किताबों** के बंडल लेकर काम करते थे।
- In **2024**, the **Hasina-led Awami League** banned the organisation.
2024 में **हसीना-नेतृत्व वाली आवामी लीग** ने संगठन पर प्रतिबंध लगा दिया।
- Now, sharply tailored **business suits** have entered the **Jamaat**, resurrected in **2025**.
अब **2025** में पुनर्जीवित **जमात** में सलीकेदार **बिजनेस सूट** दिखाई देने लगे हैं।
- For nearly **one and a half decades**, **Mohammed Fakhru Islam**, a **barrister** working for the party in the **U.K.**, says he stayed out of **Bangladesh**, as **Sheikh Hasina and her Awami League** governed Bangladesh.
करीब **डेढ़ दशक** तक **मोहम्मद फखरुल इस्लाम**, जो **यू.के.** में पार्टी के लिए **बैरिस्टर** हैं, कहते हैं कि वे **बांग्लादेश** से बाहर रहे क्योंकि **शेख हसीना और उनकी आवामी लीग** शासन कर रही थी।
- During this period, **Jamaat-e-Islami** built its **political narrative** around the themes of **discrimination, torture, and exile**.
इस दौरान **जमात-ए-इस्लामी** ने अपनी **राजनीतिक कहानी** को **भेदभाव, यातना और निर्वासन** के विषयों पर आधारित किया।
- Islam says he did not return, as coming home would have meant **harassment or detention** under some law as the party faced continuous **pressures from the regime**.
इस्लाम कहते हैं कि वे वापस नहीं आए क्योंकि लौटने पर उन्हें **उत्पीड़न या हिरासत** का सामना करना पड़ता, क्योंकि पार्टी पर लगातार **सरकारी दबाव** था।



- According to Islam, the **Jamaat-e-Islami** wants Bangladesh to be “**self-sufficient and strong**”.
इस्लाम के अनुसार, **जमात-ए-इस्लामी** बांग्लादेश को “**आत्मनिर्भर और मजबूत**” बनाना चाहती है।
- He says the party expects **India** to “**acknowledge the mistakes**” that it had committed by oversubscribing to the politics that **Hasina represented**.
वे कहते हैं कि पार्टी चाहती है कि **भारत** “**अपनी गलतियों को स्वीकार करे**”, जो उसने **हसीना की राजनीति** का अधिक समर्थन करके कीं।
- Islam and his friends are not just **Islamists**; they also project themselves as **survivors of an oppressive regime**.
इस्लाम और उनके साथी केवल **इस्लामवादी** नहीं हैं; वे खुद को **दमनकारी शासन के जीवित बचे** भी बताते हैं।
- **Oliullah Noman**, Islam’s colleague, who was part of the **election steering committee**, says, “I was allowed to leave (the country) after I served a **prison term**. They **tortured me in prison**.”
ओलिउल्लाह नोमान, जो **चुनाव संचालन समिति** का हिस्सा थे, कहते हैं, “**मुझे जेल की सजा पूरी करने के बाद देश छोड़ने की अनुमति मिली। उन्होंने जेल में मुझे यातना दी।**”
- Noman works as a **senior editor** with **Amar Desh**, a newspaper launched in **September 2024** after **Hasina’s fall**.
नोमान **अमर देश** में **वरिष्ठ संपादक** हैं, जो **सितंबर 2024** में **हसीना के पतन** के बाद शुरू हुआ।
- The newspaper is edited by **Mahmudur Rahman**, who, like Noman, was also in **exile for several years**.
इस समाचार पत्र के संपादक **महमूदुर रहमान** हैं, जो नोमान की तरह कई वर्षों तक **निर्वासन** में रहे।
- Rahman returned from **Istanbul** after **five and a half years**, and it was during his **public reception** that **Sharif Osman Hadi**, the **Islamist student leader**, first came to be noticed for his **organisational abilities**.
रहमान **पाँच और आधे वर्ष** बाद **इस्तांबुल** से लौटे, और उनके **सार्वजनिक स्वागत** के दौरान **शरीफ उस्मान हादी**, **इस्लामवादी छात्र नेता**, अपनी **संगठन क्षमता** के लिए पहचाने गए।
- Hadi, who was **killed in December 2025** in **Dhaka** when he was just **32**, shared with Oliullah a strong **opposition to Hasina**, though for both, the recent history of **persecution** carries more weight than the events of the **Liberation War**.
दिसंबर 2025 में ढाका में मारे गए 32 वर्षीय हादी, ओलिउल्लाह की तरह **हसीना के विरोधी** थे, और दोनों के लिए हाल की **उत्पीड़न की घटनाएँ मुक्ति युद्ध** से अधिक महत्वपूर्ण हैं।
- Oliullah and Islam believe that both the **Liberation War of 1971** and the **uprising of 2024** were similar in essence.
ओलिउल्लाह और इस्लाम मानते हैं कि **1971 का मुक्ति युद्ध** और **2024 का आंदोलन** सार में समान थे।
- “Why did the **Liberation War** take place? It took place because of **discrimination against Bangladeshis by the Pakistan government**. Similarly, it was discrimination by the **Sheikh Hasina government** that prompted us to fight in **2024**,” says Islam.
“**मुक्ति युद्ध क्यों हुआ? यह पाकिस्तान सरकार द्वारा बांग्लादेशियों के साथ भेदभाव के कारण हुआ। इसी तरह 2024 में शेख हसीना सरकार के भेदभाव ने हमें लड़ने के लिए प्रेरित किया,**” इस्लाम कहते हैं।
- On being asked why **Jamaat-e-Islami** and **Al-Badr** were involved in the **1971 violence**, he says, “We did not oppose **Bangladesh’s freedom**. We opposed the **partition of our country**. After all, who would want to see their nation divided?”
जब पूछा गया कि **1971 की हिंसा** में **जमात-ए-इस्लामी** और **अल-बद्र** क्यों शामिल थे, उन्होंने कहा, “हमने **बांग्लादेश की स्वतंत्रता** का विरोध नहीं किया। हमने अपने **देश के विभाजन** का विरोध किया। आखिर कौन अपने राष्ट्र को बंटता हुआ देखना चाहेगा?”

Growing disappointment — बढ़ती निराशा

- That strand of unresolved **history** stretches from **Mogbazar to Dhanmondi**, about **5 kilometres** apart.
अनसुलझे **इतिहास** की यह कड़ी **मोगबाजार से धनमोंडी** तक फैली है, जो लगभग **5 किलोमीटर** दूर है।
- Along the main road of **Dhanmondi’s business district** stands a **mango tree planted in 1969** by **Tajuddin Ahmed**, the first **Prime Minister of the Mujibnagar government** — the **government-in-exile** formed by **Awami League** leaders in **1971**.
धनमोंडी के व्यावसायिक क्षेत्र की मुख्य सड़क पर **1969 में लगाया गया आम का पेड़** खड़ा है, जिसे



ताजुद्दीन अहमद, मुजीबनगर सरकार के पहले प्रधानमंत्री (जो 1971 में आवामी लीग नेताओं द्वारा निर्वासन में बनाई गई सरकार थी) ने लगाया था।

- Ahmed, who became **Bangladesh's first finance minister after 1971**, was one of **four national leaders killed by the military on November 3, 1975**.
अहमद, जो 1971 के बाद बांग्लादेश के पहले वित्त मंत्री बने, 3 नवंबर 1975 को सेना द्वारा मारे गए चार राष्ट्रीय नेताओं में से एक थे।
- This occurred just months after **Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was assassinated on August 15**. यह घटना 15 अगस्त को शेख मुजीबुर रहमान की हत्या के कुछ महीनों बाद हुई।
- For more than **five decades**, the tree has been witness to the storms that have blown through **Bangladesh**.
पिछले पाँच दशकों से अधिक समय से यह पेड़ बांग्लादेश में आए तूफानों का गवाह रहा है।
- The site beside the mango tree, once the **residence of Ahmed**, known for his **intelligence and organisational skills**, is no longer a home.
आम के पेड़ के पास का स्थान, जो कभी अहमद का निवास था और उनकी बुद्धिमत्ता व संगठन क्षमता के लिए प्रसिद्ध था, अब घर नहीं रहा।
- Today, it has been replaced by a **multistorey shopping complex**.
आज इसकी जगह एक बहुमंजिला शॉपिंग कॉम्प्लेक्स ने ले ली है।
- The only reminder of Ahmed is a large poster of **Sohail**, his **fitness-enthusiast son**, who runs a **gym** at this address.
अहमद की एकमात्र याद उनके फिटनेस-प्रेमी पुत्र सोहैल का बड़ा पोस्टर है, जो इस पते पर जिम चलाते हैं।
- "If necessary, we will fight another **war**. War is inevitable," says **Md. Nahid Akhtar Nahan**, a supporter of the **Awami League**, banned under **Bangladesh's Anti-terrorism Act**.
"जरूरत पड़ी तो हम एक और युद्ध लड़ेंगे। युद्ध अपरिहार्य है," बांग्लादेश के आतंकवाद-रोधी कानून के तहत प्रतिबंधित आवामी लीग समर्थक एमडी नाहिद अख्तर नाहन कहते हैं।
- Nahan was a **councillor of the Awami League in Rajshahi** and saw the peak of the **power and authority of the Hasina era**.
नाहन राजशाही में आवामी लीग के पार्षद थे और उन्होंने हसीना युग की शक्ति और अधिकार का चरम देखा।
- But he also noticed the **warning signs early on**.
लेकिन उन्होंने चेतावनी संकेत भी जल्दी देख लिए थे।
- "She became absolutely **intolerant of frank opinions**. On multiple occasions, we saw how **Hasina apa** used to flare up on hearing opinions that were **anti-establishment**. Her top ministers were promoting the **business interests of individuals directly linked to Jamaat-e-Islami**," says Nahan, who has lost his **house and property to mob attacks**.
"वह स्पष्ट विचारों के प्रति असहिष्णु हो गई थीं। कई बार हमने देखा कि हसीना आपा एंटी-एस्टैब्लिशमेंट विचारों पर भड़क जाती थीं। उनके शीर्ष मंत्री जमात-ए-इस्लामी से जुड़े व्यक्तियों के व्यावसायिक हितों को बढ़ावा दे रहे थे," नाहन कहते हैं, जिन्होंने भीड़ हमलों में अपना घर और संपत्ति खो दी।
- He has **no job and fixed income**, and depends on **friends and well wishers**.
उनके पास कोई नौकरी और स्थायी आय नहीं है, और वे दोस्तों व शुभचिंतकों पर निर्भर हैं।
- "The **Awami League** is an **emotion** for us. We believe in the **spirit of 1971** and the memory of **Sheikh Mujib**," he says.
"आवामी लीग हमारे लिए एक भावना है। हम 1971 की भावना और शेख मुजीब की याद में विश्वास करते हैं," वे कहते हैं।
- Nahan emphasises that **Bangladesh** is now a **battleground between two opposing forces** — one that upholds the **spirit of 1971** and the other that stands against it.
नाहन जोर देते हैं कि बांग्लादेश अब दो विरोधी शक्तियों का युद्धक्षेत्र बन गया है — एक जो 1971 की भावना को बनाए रखती है और दूसरी जो उसके खिलाफ है।
- He laments how **Dhaka has changed**.
वे अफसोस जताते हैं कि ढाका बदल गया है।
- "Earlier, people would mark the **Bhasha Andolan (1952)**," he says.
"पहले लोग भाषा आंदोलन (1952) को याद करते थे," वे कहते हैं।
- This was when the police shot several activists — including **Abdus Salam, Rafique Uddin Ahmed, Abul Barkat, and Abdul Jabbar** — who demanded that **Bengali be recognised as the national language of Pakistan**.
यह वह समय था जब पुलिस ने अब्दुस सलाम, रफीक उद्दीन अहमद, अबुल बरकत और अब्दुल जब्बार



सहित कई कार्यकर्ताओं को गोली मार दी थी, जिन्होंने **बंगाली को पाकिस्तान की राष्ट्रीय भाषा** बनाने की मांग की थी।

- “Every year, a massive **book fair** would open on **February 1**, culminating in a major road show on **February 21**. But no more,” Nahan says.
“हर साल **1 फरवरी** को एक विशाल **पुस्तक मेला** शुरू होता था, जिसका समापन **21 फरवरी** को बड़े रोड शो से होता था। लेकिन अब नहीं,” नाहन कहते हैं।
- “It is as if our **emotions** are no longer important. The **war of 1971** was borne out of such actions and we will fight again if necessary.”
“ऐसा लगता है कि हमारी **भावनाएँ** अब महत्वपूर्ण नहीं रहीं। **1971 का युद्ध** ऐसे ही घटनाओं से जन्मा था और जरूरत पड़ी तो हम फिर लड़ेंगे।”
- Pointing at the image of **Sohail** with his **bulging biceps**, Nahan says the **Awami League does not forgive betrayal**.
सोहैल की **मजबूत मांसपेशियों** वाली तस्वीर की ओर इशारा करते हुए नाहन कहते हैं कि **आवामी लीग विश्वासघात को माफ नहीं करती**।
- In the eyes of Nahan and his friends, **Sohail** did something that an **Awami League member was not supposed to do**.
नाहन और उनके साथियों की नजर में सोहैल ने वह किया जो एक **आवामी लीग सदस्य को नहीं करना चाहिए था**।
- “He met with the **Chief Adviser, Mohammed Yunus**. He was hoping to get something in return. But he did not,” he says.
“उन्होंने **मुख्य सलाहकार मोहम्मद यूनुस** से मुलाकात की। वह बदले में कुछ पाने की उम्मीद कर रहे थे, लेकिन नहीं मिला,” वे कहते हैं।
- Anger only grew when **Hasina's son, Sajeeb Wazed Joy**, gave an interview to a **western news outlet**.
गुस्सा तब और बढ़ गया जब **हसीना के पुत्र सजीब वाजेद जॉय** ने एक **पश्चिमी समाचार माध्यम** को इंटरव्यू दिया।
- In it, he said, “I have spent all my life **abroad**. I have been in the **U.S. for 30 years**. I am living peacefully here. Whatever will happen in the future is something for the future.”
इसमें उन्होंने कहा, “मैंने अपनी पूरी जिंदगी **विदेश में** बिताई है। मैं **30 वर्षों से अमेरिका में हूँ**। मैं यहाँ शांति से रह रहा हूँ। भविष्य में जो होगा, वह भविष्य की बात है।”
- A supporter of the party says the **party cadre were livid and dismayed**.
पार्टी के एक समर्थक का कहना है कि **पार्टी कार्यकर्ता बेहद क्रोधित और निराश** थे।
- He says, “We called each other and **wept on the phone** hearing how Joy spoke about the party of **Sheikh Mujib**.”
वे कहते हैं, “हमने एक-दूसरे को फोन किया और **रो पड़े**, यह सुनकर कि जॉय ने **शेख मुजीब की पार्टी** के बारे में क्या कहा।”

A tough choice — एक कठिन विकल्प

- In such an atmosphere, the return of **Tarique Rahman, 60**, the **chairman of the BNP**, from **exile in London**, has drawn appreciation from forces who are willing to join hands with any side for the sake of stopping the **Jamaat-e-Islami's march**.
ऐसे माहौल में **60 वर्षीय तारीक रहमान**, **BNP के अध्यक्ष**, का **लंदन से निर्वासन के बाद लौटना** उन शक्तियों की सराहना प्राप्त कर रहा है जो **जमात-ए-इस्लामी की बढ़त रोकने** के लिए किसी के साथ भी हाथ मिलाने को तैयार हैं।
- The **BNP**, which won a **landslide victory** in an election that saw a **voter turnout of 59.44%**, has returned to power after nearly **two decades**.
BNP, जिसने **59.44% मतदान** वाले चुनाव में **भारी जीत** हासिल की, लगभग **दो दशकों** बाद सत्ता में लौटी है।
- **Zakir H. Chowdhury**, the head of the **BNP's youth chapter**, says many **Awami League supporters voted for the BNP**.
BNP के युवा प्रकोष्ठ प्रमुख जाकिर एच. चौधरी कहते हैं कि कई **आवामी लीग समर्थकों ने BNP को वोट दिया**।
- He explains the electoral politics by pointing to the **alliance between the Jamaat-e-Islami and the student-led National Citizen Party**.



वे चुनावी राजनीति को जमात-ए-इस्लामी और छात्र-नेतृत्व वाली नेशनल सिटिजन पार्टी के गठबंधन से समझाते हैं।

- “Some Awami League voters first considered voting for the **Jamaat**. They believed that a strong Jamaat would **jeopardise internal security**, prompting people to demand the return of the **Awami League as their saviour**. But they changed their minds on seeing its alliance with the leaders of the **2024 uprising — they really hate them**,” he says.
“कुछ आवामी लीग मतदाताओं ने पहले जमात को वोट देने पर विचार किया। उन्हें लगा कि मजबूत जमात आंतरिक सुरक्षा को खतरे में डालेगी, जिससे लोग आवामी लीग को अपने रक्षक के रूप में वापस बुलाएंगे। लेकिन 2024 के आंदोलन के नेताओं के साथ उसका गठबंधन देखकर उन्होंने विचार बदल दिया — वे उनसे नफरत करते हैं,” वे कहते हैं।
- **Barek Kaiser**, a media commentator, says it was a **tough choice for Awami League supporters**.
मीडिया विश्लेषक बरेक कैसर कहते हैं कि यह आवामी लीग समर्थकों के लिए कठिन निर्णय था।
- “They voted for the **BNP**. It was like having a **heavy boulder on their chest**. It was not easy for them to support their **main opponent**.”
“उन्होंने **BNP** को वोट दिया। यह उनके लिए सीने पर भारी पत्थर रखने जैसा था। अपने मुख्य प्रतिद्वंद्वी का समर्थन करना आसान नहीं था।”

A short-lived spring? — क्या यह अल्पकालिक वसंत है?

- The **Jamaat-e-Islami chief, Ameer Shafiqur Rahman**, increased **media engagement** ahead of the **2026 elections**.
जमात-ए-इस्लामी प्रमुख अमीर शफीकुर रहमान ने 2026 चुनावों से पहले मीडिया संवाद बढ़ाया।
- His aim was to **rebrand the party from a rigid Islamist group to a more moderate, mainstream political entity**.
उनका उद्देश्य पार्टी को एक कट्टर इस्लामी समूह से बदलकर एक अधिक मध्यमार्गी, मुख्यधारा राजनीतिक इकाई के रूप में प्रस्तुत करना था।
- But the outreach has not been enough to ease the growing **anxiety in Dhaka** about what the **Jamaat may be planning** in the months ahead.
लेकिन यह प्रयास ढाका में बढ़ती चिंता को कम करने के लिए पर्याप्त नहीं रहा कि आने वाले महीनों में जमात क्या योजना बना रही है।
- The party's highest tally before this election came in **1991**, when it won **18 seats** in the polls held after the overthrow of **President Hossein Mohammed Ershad**, which brought **Khaleda Zia of the BNP** to power for the first time.
इस चुनाव से पहले पार्टी का सर्वाधिक प्रदर्शन 1991 में था, जब उसने 18 सीटें जीतीं, जो राष्ट्रपति हुसैन मोहम्मद इरशाद के पतन के बाद हुए चुनाव में हुआ और **BNP की खालिदा जिया** पहली बार सत्ता में आईं।
- Zia died last **December**. Rahman is **Zia's son**.
जिया की मृत्यु पिछले दिसंबर में हुई। रहमान जिया के पुत्र हैं।
- The **Jamaat-e-Islami's influence and parliamentary presence** dwindled thereafter.
इसके बाद जमात-ए-इस्लामी का प्रभाव और संसदीय उपस्थिति घट गई।
- Its worst phase began after **2009**, when an **Awami League government**, strengthened by a sweeping electoral victory, set up the **International Crimes Tribunal** to try several Jamaat leaders for their alleged complicity in the **1971 killings**.
इसका सबसे खराब दौर 2009 के बाद शुरू हुआ, जब आवामी लीग सरकार ने अंतरराष्ट्रीय अपराध न्यायाधिकरण स्थापित किया ताकि कई जमात नेताओं पर 1971 हत्याओं में कथित भूमिका के लिए मुकदमा चलाया जा सके।
- As a result, several **senior figures were executed**.
इसके परिणामस्वरूप कई वरिष्ठ नेताओं को फांसी दी गई।
- Along with the **euphoria of the BNP's victory**, **suspicion and fear** now run deep in **Dhaka**.
BNP की जीत के उत्साह के साथ, अब ढाका में संदेह और भय भी गहरा है।
- A former student leader from **Chittagong University** says, “Only those who have studied at **Chittagong and Rajshahi University** know what the **Jamaat's student wing** is capable of. If they dream of imposing **Shariah in Bangladesh**, they will do it whenever they find the opportunity.”
चित्तगोंग विश्वविद्यालय के एक पूर्व छात्र नेता कहते हैं, “जो लोग चित्तगोंग और राजशाही विश्वविद्यालय में पढ़े



हैं, वे जानते हैं कि **जमात की छात्र शाखा** क्या कर सकती है। यदि वे **बांग्लादेश में शरिया लागू करने** का सपना देखते हैं, तो अवसर मिलने पर वे ऐसा करेंगे।”

- At the moment, however, the **Jamaat** is far from introducing **Shariah law in Bangladesh**. फिलहाल, **जमात बांग्लादेश में शरिया कानून लागू करने** से काफी दूर है।
- Its immediate goal is to focus on the **transition of power** from the **interim government** to the **BNP-led government**.

उसका तत्काल लक्ष्य **अंतरिम सरकार से BNP-नेतृत्व वाली सरकार तक सत्ता हस्तांतरण** पर ध्यान देना है।

- It has already voiced its **grievances**, viewing the victory of the **BNP** as a **warning sign**. इसने पहले ही अपनी **शिकायतें** व्यक्त की हैं और **BNP की जीत** को **चेतावनी संकेत** माना है।
- Ameer Shafiqur Rahman says his party is **disappointed by the outcome**. अमीर शफीकुर रहमान कहते हैं कि उनकी पार्टी **परिणाम से निराश** है।
- He blames **authorities for being biased** against his party. वे **प्रशासन पर पक्षपात** का आरोप लगाते हैं।
- “We are not satisfied with the **process surrounding the election results**,” he said after the party-led Islamist bloc got an **unprecedented 77 seats**. “हम **चुनाव परिणामों की प्रक्रिया** से संतुष्ट नहीं हैं,” उन्होंने कहा, जब पार्टी-नेतृत्व वाले इस्लामवादी गठबंधन को **अभूतपूर्व 77 सीटें** मिलीं।
- “From candidates of the **11-party alliance** narrowly and suspiciously losing in various constituencies, to repeated **inconsistencies and fabrications** in unofficial result announcements, the **Election Commission’s reluctance** to publish voter turnout percentages, and indications that a **section of the administration leaned towards a major party**... all this undoubtedly raises **serious questions about the integrity of the results process**.”

“**11-दलीय गठबंधन** के उम्मीदवारों की संदिग्ध हार, अनौपचारिक परिणामों में **असंगतियाँ और गड़बड़ियाँ**, **निर्वाचन आयोग की अनिच्छा** मत प्रतिशत जारी करने में, और यह संकेत कि **प्रशासन का एक हिस्सा एक बड़ी पार्टी के पक्ष में झुका हुआ था**... यह सब **परिणाम प्रक्रिया की निष्पक्षता पर गंभीर सवाल** उठाता है।”

- Along with the **national election**, voters were asked to decide on an ambitious **constitutional reform package** under the **July National Charter (Constitutional Amendment) Implementation Order, 2025**.

राष्ट्रीय चुनाव के साथ, मतदाताओं से **जुलाई नेशनल चार्टर (संवैधानिक संशोधन) कार्यान्वयन आदेश, 2025** के तहत एक महत्वाकांक्षी **संवैधानिक सुधार पैकेज** पर निर्णय करने को कहा गया।

- The citizens voted ‘**yes**’ in favour of it. नागरिकों ने इसके पक्ष में ‘**हाँ**’ वोट दिया।
- The proposed changes in the **referendum** include establishing a **neutral interim government for the electoral period**, restructuring the current parliament into a **bicameral legislature**, increasing **women’s representation**, strengthening **judicial independence**, and introducing a **two-term limit for the Prime Minister**.

जनमत संग्रह में प्रस्तावित बदलावों में **चुनाव अवधि के लिए निष्पक्ष अंतरिम सरकार**, संसद को **द्विसदनीय व्यवस्था** में बदलना, **महिलाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व बढ़ाना**, **न्यायिक स्वतंत्रता मजबूत करना**, और **प्रधानमंत्री के लिए दो कार्यकाल सीमा** शामिल हैं।

- “**Parliament is the supreme organ** and laws are made by Parliament. The referendum wants **changes in the parliamentary system**. Nothing like that will be allowed (by Parliament members),” says **Chowdhury of the BNP**. “**संसद सर्वोच्च संस्था** है और कानून संसद बनाती है। जनमत संग्रह **संसदीय प्रणाली में बदलाव** चाहता है। ऐसा कुछ भी (संसदों द्वारा) अनुमति नहीं दी जाएगी,” **BNP के चौधरी** कहते हैं।

- On the other hand, **Jamaat** has made it clear that it wants the proposed referendum to incorporate the **July Charter into the 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh**. दूसरी ओर, **जमात** ने स्पष्ट किया है कि वह जनमत संग्रह के प्रस्ताव को **1972 के बांग्लादेश संविधान में जुलाई चार्टर शामिल करने** के रूप में देखती है।
- With the **BNP** planning to make its position clear, the **Jamaat** seeking to assert its **parliamentary strength** and secure a greater role in **national politics and India-Bangladesh relations**, and **Awami League cadres mobilising** for a potential confrontation, **Dhaka** looks less like the site of a concluded electoral contest and more like the staging ground for another **political showdown**.

जहाँ **BNP** अपनी स्थिति स्पष्ट करने की योजना बना रही है, **जमात** अपनी **संसदीय ताकत** और **राष्ट्रीय राजनीति व भारत-बांग्लादेश संबंधों** में बड़ी भूमिका चाहती है, और **आवामी लीग कार्यकर्ता** संभावित



टकराव के लिए जुट रहे हैं, ऐसे में **ढाका** एक समाप्त चुनाव की जगह कम और एक नए **राजनीतिक संघर्ष** का मंच अधिक दिखता है।

- “We are in a **war zone**,” Kaiser says. “We just had an election. But we might soon end up with a **real conflict**.”
“हम एक **युद्ध क्षेत्र** में हैं,” कैसर कहते हैं। “अभी चुनाव हुआ है, लेकिन जल्द ही हम **वास्तविक संघर्ष** में पड़ सकते हैं।”

‘Weak by design’ African Union gathers for summit in Ethiopia

GS II: IR

Agence France Presse
ADDIS ABABA

The African Union (AU) holds its annual summit in Ethiopia this weekend at a time of genocide, myriad insurgencies and coups stretching from one end of the continent to the other, for which it has few answers.

The AU, formed in 2002, has 55 member States who are often on opposing sides of conflicts. They have routinely blocked attempts to hand real enforcement power to the AU that could constrain their action, leaving it under-funded and under-equipped.

It has missed successive deadlines to make itself self-funding – in 2020 and 2025. Today, it still relies for 64% of its annual bud-



With 10 military coups in Africa since 2020, the AU has been forced to ignore the rule that coup-leaders must not stand for polls. AFP

get on the United States and European Union, who are cutting back support.

Its Chairman, Mahmoud Ali Youssouf, is reduced to expressing “deep concern” over the continent’s endless crises – from wars in Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo to insurgencies across the Sahel – but with limited scope to act. “At a time when the AU is needed the most, it is ar-

guably at its weakest since it was inaugurated,” said the International Crisis Group (ICG) in a recent report.

With 10 military coups in Africa since 2020, the AU has been forced to ignore the rule in its charter that coup-leaders must not stand for elections.

Meanwhile, there has been no “deep concern” over a string of elections

marred by rigging and extreme violence. Mr. Youssouf was quick to congratulate Tanzania’s President Samia Suluhu Hassan after she won 98% in a vote in October in which all leading opponents were barred or jailed and thousands of protesters were killed by security forces. The AU praised the “openness” of an election in Burundi in June described by Human Rights Watch as “dominated by repression (and) censorship”.

The problem, said Benjamin Auge, of the French Institute of International Relations, is that few African leaders care about how they are viewed abroad. “The African Union is weak because its members want it that way,” wrote two academics for *The Conversation* last year.

‘Weak by design’ African Union gathers for summit in Ethiopia ‘डिज़ाइन से ही कमजोर’ अफ्रीकी संघ इथियोपिया में शिखर सम्मेलन के लिए एकत्र

- The African Union (AU) holds its annual summit in **Ethiopia** this weekend at a time of **genocide**, myriad **insurgencies** and **coups** stretching from one end of the continent to the other, for which it has few answers
अफ्रीकी संघ (AU) इस सप्ताहांत **इथियोपिया** में अपना वार्षिक शिखर सम्मेलन ऐसे समय में आयोजित कर रहा है, जब महाद्वीप के एक छोर से दूसरे छोर तक **नरसंहार**, अनेक **विद्रोह** और **तख्तापलट** हो रहे हैं, जिनके लिए उसके पास बहुत कम समाधान हैं
- The AU, formed in **2002**, has **55 member States** who are often on opposing sides of conflicts
2002 में गठित **AU** के **55 सदस्य देश** हैं, जो अक्सर संघर्षों में एक-दूसरे के विरोधी पक्षों में होते हैं
- They have routinely blocked attempts to hand real **enforcement power** to the AU that could constrain their action, leaving it **under-funded** and **under-equipped**
उन्होंने नियमित रूप से **AU** को वास्तविक **प्रवर्तन शक्ति** देने के प्रयासों को रोका है, जो उनकी कार्रवाइयों को सीमित कर सकती थी, जिससे यह **अपर्याप्त वित्तपोषित** और **अपर्याप्त संसाधनों** वाला रह गया है



- It has missed successive deadlines to make itself **self-funding** — in **2020** and **2025** इसे **स्व-वित्तपोषित** बनने की लगातार समय-सीमाएँ — **2020** और **2025** — चूकनी पड़ी हैं
- Today, it still relies for **64%** of its annual budget on the **United States** and **European Union**, who are cutting back support
आज भी यह अपने वार्षिक बजट का **64% संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका** और **यूरोपीय संघ** पर निर्भर करता है, जो समर्थन कम कर रहे हैं
- Its Chairman, **Mahmoud Ali Youssouf**, is reduced to expressing “**deep concern**” over the continent’s endless crises — from wars in **Sudan** and the **Democratic Republic of Congo** to insurgencies across the **Sahel** — but with limited scope to act
इसके अध्यक्ष **महमूद अली यूसुफ** महाद्वीप के अंतहीन संकटों — **सूडान** और **डेमोक्रेटिक रिपब्लिक ऑफ कांगो** के युद्धों से लेकर **साहेल** क्षेत्र में विद्रोहों तक — पर केवल “**गहरी चिंता**” व्यक्त करने तक सीमित रह गए हैं, जबकि कार्रवाई की गुंजाइश बहुत कम है
- “At a time when the AU is needed the most, it is arguably at its **weakest** since it was inaugurated,” said the **International Crisis Group (ICG)** in a recent report
इंटरनेशनल क्राइसिस ग्रुप (ICG) ने हालिया रिपोर्ट में कहा, “जिस समय **AU** की सबसे अधिक आवश्यकता है, उसी समय यह अपने गठन के बाद से संभवतः सबसे **कमजोर** स्थिति में है”
- With **10 military coups** in Africa since **2020**, the AU has been forced to ignore the rule in its charter that **coup-leaders** must not stand for elections
2020 से अब तक अफ्रीका में **10 सैन्य तख्तापलट** होने के कारण, **AU** को अपने चार्टर के उस नियम की अनदेखी करनी पड़ी है कि **तख्तापलट के नेता** चुनाव नहीं लड़ सकते
- Meanwhile, there has been no “**deep concern**” over a string of elections marred by **rigging** and **extreme violence**
इसी बीच, **धांधली** और **अत्यधिक हिंसा** से प्रभावित चुनावों की एक श्रृंखला पर कोई “**गहरी चिंता**” व्यक्त नहीं की गई है
- Mr. Youssouf was quick to congratulate **Tanzania’s President Samia Suluhu Hassan** after she won **98%** in a vote in **October** in which all leading opponents were barred or jailed and thousands of protesters were killed by **security forces**
श्री यूसुफ ने **अक्टूबर** में हुए उस चुनाव के बाद **तंज़ानिया की राष्ट्रपति सामिया सुलुह हसन** को तुरंत बधाई दी, जिसमें उन्हें **98%** मत मिले, जबकि सभी प्रमुख विरोधियों को प्रतिबंधित या जेल में डाल दिया गया था और **सुरक्षा बलों** द्वारा हज़ारों प्रदर्शनकारियों को मार दिया गया था
- The AU praised the “**openness**” of an election in **Burundi** in **June** described by **Human Rights Watch** as “**dominated by repression (and) censorship**”
AU ने **जून** में **बुरुंडी** में हुए उस चुनाव की “**खुलापन**” के लिए प्रशंसा की, जिसे **ह्यूमन राइट्स वॉच** ने “**दमन (और) सेंसरशिप से प्रभुत्व वाला**” बताया
- The problem, said **Benjamin Auge**, of the **French Institute of International Relations**, is that few African leaders care about how they are viewed abroad
फ्रेंच इंस्टिट्यूट ऑफ इंटरनेशनल रिलेशंस के **बेंजामिन ऑग** ने कहा कि समस्या यह है कि बहुत कम अफ्रीकी नेता इस बात की परवाह करते हैं कि उन्हें विदेशों में कैसे देखा जाता है
- “The **African Union** is weak because its members want it that way,” wrote two academics for **The Conversation** last year
पिछले वर्ष **द कन्वर्सेशन** के लिए लिखते हुए दो शिक्षाविदों ने लिखा, “**अफ्रीकी संघ** कमजोर है क्योंकि उसके सदस्य उसे ऐसा ही रखना चाहते हैं”

GS Paper III: Economy,

TOPICS COVERED

14 February 2026

- First part of Budget Session ends; Parliament to reconvene in March**
बजट सत्र का पहला भाग समाप्त; संसद मार्च में फिर से बैठेगी
- Telecom service providers do not own spectrum: SC**
दूरसंचार सेवा प्रदाता स्पेक्ट्रम के मालिक नहीं हैं: सुप्रीम कोर्ट
- India tested, from U.S. sanctions to one-sided trade deal**
अमेरिका के प्रतिबंधों से लेकर एकतरफा व्यापार समझौते तक भारत की परीक्षा



4.	Overdue upgrade लंबित उन्नयन
5.	The labour codes redefine wages, empower the worker श्रम संहिताएँ वेतन को पुनर्परिभाषित करती हैं, श्रमिक को सशक्त बनाती हैं
6.	Experts discuss ways to bridge gap between academia and industry विशेषज्ञों ने अकादमिक जगत और उद्योग के बीच की खाई पाटने के तरीकों पर चर्चा की
7.	Consumers get a raw deal as global oil price fall benefit remains 'frozen' वैश्विक तेल कीमतों में गिरावट का लाभ 'जमा' रहने से उपभोक्ताओं को नुकसान
8.	RBI issues draft circular on revised guidelines for lead bank scheme लीड बैंक योजना के लिए संशोधित दिशानिर्देशों पर RBI ने मसौदा परिपत्र जारी किया
9.	NPS to have equity exposure of 25% in FY27: PFRDA Chair FY27 में NPS में 25% इक्विटी निवेश होगा: PFRDA अध्यक्ष

First part of Budget Session ends; Parliament to reconvene in March

GS III: Economy

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

The stormy first leg of Parliament's Budget Session ended on Friday with Congress president and Leader of the Opposition Mallikarjun Kharge criticising the removal of portions of his speech from the Rajya Sabha records.

Noting that large parts of his speech on February 4 during the debate on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address were expunged from records, he said it was "against democracy and freedom of speech".

The second part of the Budget Session will start on March 9, and the session is scheduled to conclude on April 2.

Raising the matter of expunction at the start of Question Hour, Mr. Kharge said the deleted portions included criticism of government policies and even factual statements.

"I sincerely request that those portions of my speech be reinstated, as they do not contain any unparliamentary or defamatory words, nor do they violate Rule 261. Removing such a large portion of my speech goes against democracy and the freedom of speech," he said.

Chairperson C.P. Rad-



Dissent note: Leader of the Opposition Mallikarjun Kharge speaks in the Rajya Sabha on Friday. SANSAD TV/PTI

hakrishnan declined his request, saying, "This is not right, this is not democratic, you are instructing the Chair."

Trade deal and memoir

The acrimonious session was dominated by clashes over the speech by the Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, Rahul Gandhi, on the India-U.S. interim trade deal and his insistence on quoting from *Four Stars of Destiny*, the unreleased memoir of former Army chief General M.M. Naravane (retd), about an incident during the 2020 India-China conflict.

The Chair disallowed the excerpts, triggering repeated protests, adjournments, and the suspension of eight Opposition MPs for unruly conduct. Mr. Gandhi was not allowed to com-

plete his speech during the discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi skipped the customary reply in the Lok Sabha after Speaker Om Birla advised him to do so, citing "specific information that women MPs could resort to an unexpected act that would lower the dignity of his office". The Prime Minister later replied to the debate in the Rajya Sabha.

The confrontation escalated further when the Opposition parties submitted a notice seeking Mr. Birla's removal as Speaker for allegedly conducting the proceedings in a blatantly manner, while BJP MP Nishikant Dubey gave notice for a substantive motion against Mr. Gandhi over his remarks.

Since the Opposition's

notice against the Speaker, Mr. Birla has stayed away from presiding over the proceedings. However, protests and disruptions continued over various issues. On Friday, the Lower House witnessed an adjournment during the Question Hour as the Opposition demanded resignation of Union Petroleum Minister Hardeep Singh Puri over his name allegedly figuring in the Epstein files.

Union Parliamentary Affairs Minister Kiren Rijiju had earlier said the government would bring a privilege motion against Mr. Gandhi for making a serious allegation against Mr. Puri without giving prior notice. However, a major portion of Mr. Gandhi's speech has been already removed from the records.

On Friday, Mr. Rijiju said the government would not bring a separate motion as a private member had already submitted one.

Amid the turmoil, Parliament passed a Bill to amend the Industrial Relations Code, the only legislation cleared in the first leg of the session. Both Houses have been adjourned for a three-week recess to allow department-related standing committees to examine budgetary allocations.

First part of Budget Session ends; Parliament to reconvene in March
बजट सत्र का पहला भाग समाप्त; संसद मार्च में फिर से बैठेगी



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बजट सत्र का पहला भाग समाप्त; संसद मार्च में फिर से बैठेगी
- The stormy first leg of Parliament's **Budget Session** ended on **Friday** with **Congress president** and **Leader of the Opposition Mallikarjun Kharge** criticising the removal of portions of his speech from the **Rajya Sabha** records.
संसद के बजट सत्र का उथल-पुथल भरा पहला चरण **शुक्रवार** को समाप्त हुआ, जब **कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष** और **नेता प्रतिपक्ष मल्लिकार्जुन खड़गे** ने **राज्यसभा** के अभिलेखों से उनके भाषण के कुछ हिस्सों को हटाए जाने की आलोचना की।
- Noting that large parts of his speech on **February 4** during the debate on the **Motion of Thanks to the President's Address** were expunged from records, he said it was "**against democracy and freedom of speech**".
उन्होंने कहा कि **4 फरवरी** को **राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव** पर बहस के दौरान उनके भाषण के बड़े हिस्से रिकॉर्ड से हटाए गए, जो "**लोकतंत्र और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता के खिलाफ**" है।
- The second part of the **Budget Session** will start on **March 9**, and the session is scheduled to conclude on **April 2**.
बजट सत्र का दूसरा भाग **9 मार्च** से शुरू होगा और सत्र के **2 अप्रैल** को समाप्त होने की संभावना है।
- Raising the matter of expunction at the start of **Question Hour**, Mr. Kharge said the deleted portions included criticism of government policies and even factual statements.
प्रश्नकाल की शुरुआत में विलोपन का मुद्दा उठाते हुए श्री खड़गे ने कहा कि हटाए गए हिस्सों में सरकार की नीतियों की आलोचना और यहां तक कि तथ्यात्मक बयान भी शामिल थे।
- "I sincerely request that those portions of my speech be reinstated, as they do not contain any unparliamentary or defamatory words, nor do they violate **Rule 261**. Removing such a large portion of my speech goes against democracy and the freedom of speech," he said.
"मैं ईमानदारी से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि मेरे भाषण के वे हिस्से बहाल किए जाएं, क्योंकि उनमें कोई भी असंसदीय या मानहानिकारक शब्द नहीं हैं, और न ही वे **नियम 261** का उल्लंघन करते हैं। मेरे भाषण का इतना बड़ा हिस्सा हटाना लोकतंत्र और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता के खिलाफ है," उन्होंने कहा।
- **Chairperson C.P. Radhakrishnan** declined his request, saying, "This is not right, this is not democratic, you are instructing the Chair."
सभापति सी.पी. राधाकृष्णन ने उनका अनुरोध ठुकराते हुए कहा, "यह सही नहीं है, यह लोकतांत्रिक नहीं है, आप आसन को निर्देश दे रहे हैं।"

Trade deal and memoir व्यापार समझौता और संस्मरण

- The acrimonious session was dominated by clashes over the speech by the **Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, Rahul Gandhi**, on the **India-U.S. interim trade deal** and his insistence on quoting from **Four Stars of Destiny**, the unreleased memoir of former Army chief **General M.M. Naravane (retd)**, about an incident during the **2020 India-China conflict**.
कटु सत्र में **लोकसभा** में **नेता प्रतिपक्ष राहुल गांधी** के **भारत-अमेरिका अंतरिम व्यापार समझौते** पर भाषण और **फोर स्टार्स ऑफ डेस्टिनी**, पूर्व सेना प्रमुख **जनरल एम.एम. नरवणे (सेवानिवृत्त)** की अप्रकाशित आत्मकथा से **2020 भारत-चीन संघर्ष** की एक घटना पर उद्धरण देने की जिद को लेकर टकराव छाया रहा।
- The Chair disallowed the excerpts, triggering repeated protests, adjournments, and the suspension of **eight Opposition MPs** for unruly conduct.
आसन ने अंशों की अनुमति नहीं दी, जिससे बार-बार विरोध, स्थगन और अनुशासनहीन आचरण के लिए **आठ विपक्षी सांसदों** का निलंबन हुआ।
- Mr. Gandhi was not allowed to complete his speech during the discussion on the **Motion of Thanks to the President's Address**.
राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा के दौरान श्री गांधी को अपना भाषण पूरा करने की अनुमति नहीं दी गई।
- **Prime Minister Narendra Modi** skipped the customary reply in the **Lok Sabha** after **Speaker Om Birla** advised him to do so, citing "**specific information that women MPs could resort to an unexpected act that would lower the dignity of his office**".
प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने **लोकसभा** में प्रथागत जवाब नहीं दिया, क्योंकि **स्पीकर ओम बिरला** ने उन्हें ऐसा



करने की सलाह दी, यह कहते हुए कि “विशिष्ट जानकारी है कि महिला सांसद कोई अप्रत्याशित कदम उठा सकती हैं, जिससे उनके पद की गरिमा कम हो सकती है।”

- The Prime Minister later replied to the debate in the **Rajya Sabha**.
प्रधानमंत्री ने बाद में **राज्यसभा** में बहस का जवाब दिया।
- The confrontation escalated further when the Opposition parties submitted a notice seeking **Mr. Birla's removal as Speaker** for allegedly conducting the proceedings in a blatant manner, while **BJP MP Nishikant Dubey** gave notice for a substantive motion against **Mr. Gandhi** over his remarks.
टकराव तब और बढ़ गया जब विपक्षी दलों ने कथित रूप से कार्यवाही को खुले तौर पर चलाने के आरोप में **स्पीकर के रूप में श्री बिरला को हटाने** की मांग करते हुए नोटिस दिया, जबकि **भाजपा सांसद निशिकांत दुबे** ने **श्री गांधी** की टिप्पणियों को लेकर उनके खिलाफ ठोस प्रस्ताव का नोटिस दिया।
- Since the Opposition's notice against the Speaker, **Mr. Birla** has stayed away from presiding over the proceedings.
स्पीकर के खिलाफ विपक्ष के नोटिस के बाद से **श्री बिरला** कार्यवाही की अध्यक्षता से दूर रहे हैं।
- However, protests and disruptions continued over various issues.
हालांकि, विभिन्न मुद्दों पर विरोध और व्यवधान जारी रहे।
- On **Friday**, the **Lower House** witnessed an adjournment during the **Question Hour** as the Opposition demanded resignation of **Union Petroleum Minister Hardeep Singh Puri** over his name allegedly • guring in the **Epstein • les**.
शुक्रवार को **प्रश्नकाल** के दौरान **निचले सदन** में स्थगन हुआ, क्योंकि विपक्ष ने **एपस्टीन फाइल्स** में कथित रूप से नाम आने पर **केंद्रीय पेट्रोलियम मंत्री हरदीप सिंह पुरी** के इस्तीफे की मांग की।
- **Union Parliamentary Affairs Minister Kiren Rijiju** had earlier said the government would bring a privilege motion against **Mr. Gandhi** for making a serious allegation against **Mr. Puri** without giving prior notice.
केंद्रीय संसदीय कार्य मंत्री किरन रिजिजू ने पहले कहा था कि सरकार बिना पूर्व सूचना **श्री पुरी** पर गंभीर आरोप लगाने के लिए **श्री गांधी** के खिलाफ विशेषाधिकार प्रस्ताव लाएगी।
- However, a major portion of **Mr. Gandhi's** speech has been already removed from the records.
हालांकि, **श्री गांधी** के भाषण का बड़ा हिस्सा पहले ही रिकॉर्ड से हटा दिया गया है।
- On **Friday**, **Mr. Rijiju** said the government would not bring a separate motion as a private member had already submitted one.
शुक्रवार को **श्री रिजिजू** ने कहा कि सरकार अलग प्रस्ताव नहीं लाएगी, क्योंकि एक निजी सदस्य पहले ही प्रस्ताव जमा कर चुका है।
- Amid the turmoil, Parliament passed a Bill to amend the **Industrial Relations Code**, the only legislation cleared in the • rst leg of the session.
उथल-पुथल के बीच, संसद ने **औद्योगिक संबंध संहिता** में संशोधन के लिए एक विधेयक पारित किया, जो सत्र के पहले चरण में पारित होने वाला एकमात्र विधेयक था।
- Both Houses have been adjourned for a **three-week recess** to allow department-related standing committees to examine **budgetary allocations**.
दोनों सदनों को **तीन सप्ताह के अवकाश** के लिए स्थगित कर दिया गया है, ताकि विभाग-संबंधित स्थायी समितियां **बजटीय आवंटनों** की जांच कर सकें।



Telecom service providers do not own spectrum: SC

Court says operators can't list spectrum as an asset for insolvency or liquidation; says it is a scarce natural resource owned by people of India, with legal title vesting exclusively in the Union of India

GS III: Economy

Krishnadas Rajagopal
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court on Friday laid down that telecom service providers (TSPs) do not own spectrum, a precious and finite public resource meant to be used for the common good of all, and cannot include it among their pool of "assets" for insolvency or liquidation.

A Bench of Justices P.S. Narasimha and Atul Chandurkar held that Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (IBC) excludes any assets over which a corporate debtor has no ownership rights.

"Mere recognition of spectrum licensing rights as an intangible asset by TSPs in the financial statements is not conclusive of their ownership, as it only represents control over future economic benefits," Justice Narasimha clarified the law.

The court said spectrum was a scarce natural resource owned by the people of India, with legal title vesting exclusively in the Union of India, which holds it in trust for the public. "Licensees acquire no proprietary interest in spectrum," Justice Narasimha, who authored the



Mere recognition of spectrum licensing rights as an intangible asset by TSPs in the financial statements is not conclusive of their ownership, as it only represents control over future economic benefits

JUSTICE P.S. NARASIMHA

judgment, underscored.

'Limited privilege'

The mere grant of spectrum under a licence does not mean a complete transfer of a finite natural resource from the Union government to a TSP. "It confers only a limited, conditional and revocable privilege to use spectrum, subject to statutory requirements, licence conditions and overriding public interest," Justice Narasimha clarified.

The court observed that the Union as the owner and trustee of spectrum on the one hand and the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) as the regulator on the other, occupy the entire province of telecommunications.

"The statutory regime under IBC cannot be permitted to make inroads into the telecom sector and rewrite and restructure the rights and liabilities

arising out of administration, usage, and transfers of spectrum which operate under exclusive legal regime concerning telecommunications. The disharmony caused by applying IBC to the telecom sector which operates under a different legal regime was never intended by the Parliament," the court noted.

On corporate debtors

The verdict is the culmination of a train of events dating back to the grant of telecom licences to corporate debtors – Aircel Limited, Aircel Cellular Limited and Dishnet Wireless Limited – by the Department of Telecommunications under Unified Access Service Licences (UASL). Domestic lenders, including the State Bank of India (SBI), had extended loan facilities to the corporate debtors for acquisition of rights to use spectrum.

Eventually, the corporate debtors failed to pay the licence fee. When the DoT attempted to recover these amounts, the debtors invoked the IBC for a voluntary corporate insolvency resolution process.

The top court's judgment was based on a series of separate appeals filed by the SBI and others against a 2021 National Company Law Appellate Tribunal (NCLAT) judgment requiring the TSPs undergoing insolvency to clear statutory dues to the DoT before transferring or selling spectrum under the IBC.

Friday's judgment made it clear that the spectrum cannot be brought under the IBC framework. The TSPs did not own spectrum in the first place to sell it. Besides, the top court made it clear that the DoT dues owed by the TSPs were not "operational debts" under the IBC.

"Licence fees and spectrum usage charges arise from the grant of a sovereign privilege and represent regulatory consideration, not payment for goods or services. The relationship between the Union and the licensee is that of sovereign licensor and licensee, not a commercial creditor-debtor relationship," the court held.

Telecom service providers do not own spectrum: SC दूरसंचार सेवा प्रदाता स्पेक्ट्रम के मालिक नहीं हैं: सुप्रीम कोर्ट

- Court says operators can't list spectrum as an asset for insolvency or liquidation; says it is a scarce natural resource owned by people of India, with legal title vesting exclusively in the Union of India
अदालत ने कहा कि ऑपरेटर दिवालियापन या परिसमापन के लिए स्पेक्ट्रम को संपत्ति के रूप में सूचीबद्ध नहीं कर सकते; यह भारत के लोगों के स्वामित्व वाला एक दुर्लभ प्राकृतिक संसाधन है, जिसका कानूनी स्वामित्व विशेष रूप से भारत संघ में निहित है
- The **Supreme Court of India** on Friday laid down that telecom service providers (TSPs) do not own spectrum, a precious and finite public resource meant to be used for the common



good of all, and cannot include it among their pool of “assets” for insolvency or liquidation.

सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने शुक्रवार को कहा कि दूरसंचार सेवा प्रदाता (TSPs) स्पेक्ट्रम के मालिक नहीं हैं, जो सभी के सामूहिक हित के लिए उपयोग किया जाने वाला एक मूल्यवान और सीमित सार्वजनिक संसाधन है, और इसे दिवालियापन या परिसमापन के लिए अपनी “संपत्तियों” में शामिल नहीं कर सकते।

- A Bench of Justices **P.S. Narasimha** and **Atul Chandurkar** held that **Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (IBC)** excludes any assets over which a corporate debtor has no ownership rights.
न्यायमूर्ति **पी.एस. नरसिम्हा** और **अतुल चंद्रकर** की पीठ ने कहा कि **दिवालियापन और ऋणशोधन अक्षमता संहिता (IBC)** उन सभी परिसंपत्तियों को बाहर करती है जिन पर किसी कॉर्पोरेट देनदार का स्वामित्व अधिकार नहीं है।
- “Mere recognition of spectrum licensing rights as an intangible asset by TSPs in the financial statements is not conclusive of their ownership, as it only represents control over future economic benefits,” Justice Narasimha clarified the law.
न्यायमूर्ति नरसिम्हा ने कानून स्पष्ट करते हुए कहा, “वित्तीय विवरणों में TSPs द्वारा स्पेक्ट्रम लाइसेंसिंग अधिकारों को एक अमूर्त संपत्ति के रूप में मान्यता देना स्वामित्व का निर्णायक प्रमाण नहीं है, क्योंकि यह केवल भविष्य के आर्थिक लाभों पर नियंत्रण को दर्शाता है।”
- The court said spectrum was a scarce natural resource owned by the people of India, with legal title vesting exclusively in the Union of India, which holds it in trust for the public.
अदालत ने कहा कि स्पेक्ट्रम भारत के लोगों के स्वामित्व वाला एक दुर्लभ प्राकृतिक संसाधन है, जिसका कानूनी स्वामित्व विशेष रूप से भारत संघ में निहित है, जो इसे जनता के लिए ट्रस्ट के रूप में धारण करता है।
- “Licensees acquire no proprietary interest in spectrum,” Justice Narasimha, who authored the judgment, underscored.
फैसला लिखने वाले न्यायमूर्ति नरसिम्हा ने रेखांकित किया, “लाइसेंसधारकों को स्पेक्ट्रम में कोई स्वामित्व अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं होता।”

‘Limited privilege’ ‘सीमित विशेषाधिकार’

- The mere grant of spectrum under a licence does not mean a complete transfer of a finite natural resource from the Union government to a TSP.
लाइसेंस के तहत स्पेक्ट्रम का मात्र आवंटन इसका अर्थ नहीं है कि सीमित प्राकृतिक संसाधन का पूर्ण हस्तांतरण भारत सरकार से किसी TSP को हो गया है।
- “It confers only a limited, conditional and revocable privilege to use spectrum, subject to statutory requirements, licence conditions and overriding public interest,” Justice Narasimha clarified.
न्यायमूर्ति नरसिम्हा ने स्पष्ट किया, “यह केवल वैधानिक आवश्यकताओं, लाइसेंस शर्तों और सर्वोपरि सार्वजनिक हित के अधीन स्पेक्ट्रम के उपयोग का एक सीमित, सशर्त और निरस्त करने योग्य विशेषाधिकार प्रदान करता है।”
- The court observed that the Union as the owner and trustee of spectrum on the one hand and the **Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI)** as the regulator on the other, occupy the entire province of telecommunications.
अदालत ने कहा कि एक ओर भारत संघ स्पेक्ट्रम का स्वामी और ट्रस्टी है और दूसरी ओर **टेलीकॉम नियामक प्राधिकरण (TRAI)** नियामक है, और दोनों मिलकर दूरसंचार के पूरे क्षेत्र को नियंत्रित करते हैं।
- “The statutory regime under IBC cannot be permitted to make inroads into the telecom sector and rewrite and restructure the rights and liabilities arising out of administration, usage, and transfers of spectrum which operate under exclusive legal regime concerning telecommunications,” the court noted.
अदालत ने कहा, “IBC के तहत वैधानिक ढांचे को दूरसंचार क्षेत्र में हस्तक्षेप करने और प्रशासन, उपयोग और स्पेक्ट्रम के हस्तांतरण से उत्पन्न अधिकारों और दायित्वों को पुनर्लिखित और पुनर्गठित करने की अनुमति नहीं दी जा सकती, जो दूरसंचार से संबंधित एक विशिष्ट कानूनी व्यवस्था के तहत संचालित होते हैं।”
- “The disharmony caused by applying IBC to the telecom sector which operates under a different legal regime was never intended by the Parliament,” the court noted.
अदालत ने कहा कि एक अलग कानूनी व्यवस्था के तहत संचालित दूरसंचार क्षेत्र पर IBC लागू करने से उत्पन्न असंगति संसद का उद्देश्य कभी नहीं थी।



On corporate debtors कॉर्पोरेट देनदारों पर

- The verdict is the culmination of a train of events dating back to the grant of telecom licences to corporate debtors — Aircel Limited, Aircel Cellular Limited and Dishnet Wireless Limited — by the Department of Telecommunications under Unified Access Service Licences (UASL).
यह फैसला उन घटनाओं की श्रृंखला का परिणाम है, जिसकी शुरुआत दूरसंचार विभाग द्वारा यूनिफाइड एक्सेस सर्विस लाइसेंस (UASL) के तहत कॉर्पोरेट देनदारों — एयरसेल लिमिटेड, एयरसेल सेल्युलर लिमिटेड और डिशनेट वायरलेस लिमिटेड — को दूरसंचार लाइसेंस दिए जाने से हुई थी।
- Domestic lenders, including the **State Bank of India (SBI)**, had extended loan facilities to the corporate debtors for acquisition of rights to use spectrum.
भारतीय स्टेट बैंक (SBI) सहित घरेलू ऋणदाताओं ने स्पेक्ट्रम उपयोग के अधिकार प्राप्त करने के लिए इन कॉर्पोरेट देनदारों को ऋण सुविधाएं प्रदान की थीं।
- Eventually, the corporate debtors failed to pay the licence fee.
अंततः कॉर्पोरेट देनदार लाइसेंस शुल्क का भुगतान करने में विफल रहे।
- When the DoT attempted to recover these amounts, the debtors invoked the IBC for a voluntary corporate insolvency resolution process.
जब दूरसंचार विभाग (DoT) ने इन राशियों की वसूली का प्रयास किया, तो देनदारों ने स्वैच्छिक कॉर्पोरेट दिवालियापन समाधान प्रक्रिया के लिए IBC का सहारा लिया।
- The top court's judgment was based on a series of separate appeals filed by the SBI and others against a **2021 National Company Law Appellate Tribunal (NCLAT)** judgment requiring the TSPs undergoing insolvency to clear statutory dues to the DoT before transferring or selling spectrum under the IBC.
शीर्ष अदालत का यह निर्णय SBI और अन्य द्वारा **2021 राष्ट्रीय कंपनी कानून अपीलिय न्यायाधिकरण (NCLAT)** के फैसले के खिलाफ दायर अलग-अलग अपीलों की श्रृंखला पर आधारित था, जिसमें दिवालियापन से गुजर रहे TSPs को IBC के तहत स्पेक्ट्रम स्थानांतरित या बेचने से पहले DoT के वैधानिक बकाया चुकाने का निर्देश दिया गया था।
- Friday's judgment made it clear that the spectrum cannot be brought under the IBC framework.
शुक्रवार के फैसले ने स्पष्ट कर दिया कि स्पेक्ट्रम को IBC ढांचे के तहत नहीं लाया जा सकता।
- The TSPs did not own spectrum in the first place to sell it.
TSPs के पास शुरू से ही स्पेक्ट्रम का स्वामित्व नहीं था कि वे उसे बेच सकें।
- Besides, the top court made it clear that the DoT dues owed by the TSPs were not "operational debts" under the IBC.
इसके अलावा, शीर्ष अदालत ने स्पष्ट किया कि TSPs द्वारा DoT को देय बकाया IBC के तहत "परिचालन ऋण" नहीं हैं।
- "Licence fees and spectrum usage charges arise from the grant of a sovereign privilege and represent regulatory consideration, not payment for goods or services," the court held.
अदालत ने कहा, "लाइसेंस शुल्क और स्पेक्ट्रम उपयोग शुल्क एक संप्रभु विशेषाधिकार के अनुदान से उत्पन्न होते हैं और ये नियामक प्रतिफल का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, न कि वस्तुओं या सेवाओं के लिए भुगतान।"
- "The relationship between the Union and the licensee is that of sovereign licensor and licensee, not a commercial creditor-debtor relationship," the court held.
अदालत ने कहा, "भारत संघ और लाइसेंसधारी के बीच संबंध संप्रभु लाइसेंसदाता और लाइसेंसधारी का है, न कि व्यावसायिक लेनदार-देनदार का।"



India tested, from U.S. sanctions to one-sided trade deal

CS III Economy

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Despite all the fanfare and furore in Parliament, it may be premature to celebrate or criticise the India-United States Bilateral Trade Agreement, simply because it has not yet been forged. Yet, last week's announcement of a "Framework for an Interim Agreement on reciprocal trade" (where the agreement itself is expected to be announced in the next few weeks), follows a procedure and a path that should be disquieting for all. While the baseline objective for the Narendra Modi government must be to enhance the Indian economy, and ease the unbearable burden that the U.S. Trump administration had imposed on it through 50% tariffs, the question it must ask is this: how, and at what cost? The Indian government must consider if this will be the template for all other India-U.S. agreements, strategic, economic or defence in the future.

America's unilateral announcements

Every announcement on the deal thus far has been made by Washington unilaterally, with New Delhi racing to play catch-up. The first sign that the two countries had agreed on going ahead with negotiations that began in February 2025 came from a social media post by U.S. President Donald Trump on February 2, 2026. In it, he furnished several details of his conversation with Prime Minister Narendra Modi, all of which were incorporated into the Joint Statement and Executive Orders issued on February 6 – claims that Mr. Modi agreed to stop buying Russian oil, and to buy "much more" oil from the U.S., that India would reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers against the U.S. to "Zero" in return for 18% U.S. tariffs on Indian goods, and that Mr. Modi committed to "buy American" products to the tune of \$500 billion.

Mr. Modi's post that followed only divulged that the U.S. tariffs would be reduced. Four days later (U.S. time, 4 a.m.), Washington released the joint statement and two executive orders, on Russia and Iran, and subsequently a "Fact Sheet". The Press Information Bureau released the joint statement a few hours later. The government has since refused to engage with the other documents in its public comments. But the entire manner of bringing out a "joint statement" unilaterally, begs this question. Who is calling the shots?

The nuts and bolts of the eventual trade regime being discussed, which includes tariffs, non-tariff barriers and market access can be considered at a later date when India and the U.S. actually sign the "interim agreement" on trade, as they are expected to next month. However, the concessions given in order to secure the interim agreement are set out clearly, and are a major cause for concern. While the Ministry of External Affairs and Commerce and Industries Ministry have sought to separate the trade agreement from



Suhasini Haidar

India's autonomy and global credibility could be undermined by its unilateral trade deal with the United States

Mr. Trump's Executive Orders pertaining to Russian oil, they are in fact part of the same raft. Mr. Trump's Truth Social post, the documents released on February 6, and the White House Fact Sheet issued on February 10 all present them together.

"The U.S. makes it clear that it rescinded 25% punitive tariffs on India (imposed in August 2025), under three understandings: that India would stop buying Russian oil; that it had already begun to do so, and that the U.S. would impose tariffs again if India were to resume Russian oil supplies. Mr. Trump has even set up a panel of his top officials to monitor India's oil intake. What is perhaps even more surprising is that the order states that India has agreed to "align sufficiently with the United States on national security, foreign policy, and economic matters".

The Indian government has not so far denied any of these claims, instead issuing long statements outlining India's energy sourcing priorities and the need to diversify its supply sources. On the ground, the trends are clear: India's imports of Russian oil have been reducing since November 2025, and oil purchases in December 2025 crashed to 38-month lows. From 40% of its oil intake in 2024, Russia now accounts for 25%.

Contrary to External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar's assertion that India would put cheap oil for its consumers at the highest priority, and his Ministry's characterisation of the U.S.'s punitive tariffs as "unfair, unjustified and unreasonable", India is now buying less Russian oil, just as the discounts on it get larger. Other concessions, such as the zeroing of tariffs in several sectors, and the promise to buy American goods worth \$500 billion require further scrutiny. Buying U.S. goods in such large volumes would leave limited space for imports from other trading partners, and offering Washington terms not extended to countries that have only recently concluded trade agreements with India. These include the European Union, the European Free Trade Association, and New Zealand and would likely prompt questions from them.

Needless to say, the developing world, or the Global South, that once cheered India's refusal to back down in the face of non-United Nations, unilateral sanctions, will be watching closely. As a result, understanding the U.S. deal's impact on India's diplomatic standing among other nations is also vital.

A pattern of U.S. demands

Should India accept the U.S.'s ultimatums to halt Russian oil imports, it would mirror its 2019 approach of compliance on giving up Iranian and Venezuelan oil – resisting at first before ultimately yielding to U.S. pressure months later. The U.S. is now pushing for India to buy

American and American-controlled Venezuelan oil, for India to give up the Chabahar port project and all trade with Iran.

If New Delhi agrees to all these, it will not only lose respect and goodwill with the countries in question (where India had promised to increase trade and investment) but also its credibility as a buyer and supplier in the market worldwide. This could prove particularly awkward for India as it prepares to host this year's BRICS summit, with the leaders of Russia, Iran and other developing-world partners expected to attend.

The next question New Delhi must ask itself is this. If the only way to do business with the U.S. involves the acceptance of "unfair, unjustified and unreasonable" measures such as tariffs, then what does this mean for strategic relations with the U.S.? Will every agreement on strategic ties, including on defence deals, military alignment, the Quad (India, Australia, Japan, the U.S.) and the Indo-Pacific, counter-terrorism and India's neighbourhood follow this pattern? Not only have the U.S.'s deals with Pakistan and Bangladesh underscored Washington's limited regard for India's interests in the neighbourhood, but its insistence that India end Russian oil imports, curtail trade with Iran, and halt development of Chabahar would only further benefit China. It is worth noting that India is the only country that the U.S. imposed 25% punitive tariffs for Russian oil on, while China and Türkiye are among other major buyers. In 2022, Mr. Modi's refusal to criticise Russia for the invasion of Ukraine publicly was seen as a compulsion of India's ties with Russia – abandoning its principles of territorial integrity in favour of pragmatism. In 2026, giving up Russian oil as a compulsion of India's ties with the U.S. is neither principled, nor pragmatic.

On India's standing

Finally, the repercussions of this deal could inflict the greatest damage on India's principles of strategic autonomy, multi-alignment and multipolarity, as it would narrow India's options rather than diversify them – not just in energy procurement, trade, and connectivity but also in its broader global relationships. In 2019, Mr. Modi announced that India had rejected the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), invoking "Mahatma Gandhi's talisman test", walking out of a deal that his government had worked on for five years, citing discomfiture with Chinese economic domination. Confronted with an agreement that makes far more egregious demands on India's sovereign choices, it would be surprising if the government did not subject the U.S. deal to additional scrutiny before finalising it.

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India tested, from U.S. sanctions to one-sided trade deal

अमेरिका के प्रतिबंधों से लेकर एकतरफा व्यापार समझौते तक भारत की परीक्षा

India-United States Bilateral Trade Agreement

भारत-संयुक्त राज्य द्विपक्षीय व्यापार समझौता

- Despite all the fanfare and furore in Parliament, it may be premature to celebrate or criticise the **India-United States Bilateral Trade Agreement**, simply because it has not yet been forged.
संसद में सभी चर्चा और हंगामे के बावजूद, भारत-संयुक्त राज्य द्विपक्षीय व्यापार समझौते का जश्न मनाना या आलोचना करना अभी जल्दबाज़ी होगी, क्योंकि यह अभी तक नहीं हुआ है।
- Yet, last week's announcement of a "**Framework for an Interim Agreement on reciprocal trade**" (where the agreement itself is expected to be announced in the next few weeks), follows a procedure and a path that should be **disquieting for all**.
फिर भी, पिछले सप्ताह "परस्पर व्यापार पर अंतरिम समझौते के ढांचे" की घोषणा (जिसके अगले कुछ हफ्तों में घोषित होने की उम्मीद है) एक ऐसी प्रक्रिया और मार्ग का पालन करती है जो सभी के लिए चिंताजनक होना चाहिए।
- While the baseline objective for the **Narendra Modi government** must be to enhance the **Indian economy**, and ease the unbearable burden that the **U.S. Trump administration** had imposed on it through **50% tariffs**, the question it must ask is this: how, and at what cost? हालांकि नरेंद्र मोदी सरकार का मूल उद्देश्य भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था को मजबूत करना और अमेरिकी ट्रंप



प्रशासन द्वारा लगाए गए 50% टैरिफ के असहनीय बोझ को कम करना होना चाहिए, लेकिन सवाल यह है: कैसे, और किस कीमत पर?

- The **Indian government** must consider if this will be the template for all other **India-U.S. agreements**, strategic, economic or defence in the future.

भारतीय सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए कि क्या यह भविष्य में सभी **भारत-अमेरिका समझौतों**, चाहे वे रणनीतिक, आर्थिक या रक्षा से जुड़े हों, के लिए एक नमूना बनेगा।

America's unilateral announcements अमेरिका की एकतरफा घोषणाएँ

- Every announcement on the deal thus far has been made by **Washington unilaterally**, with **New Delhi** racing to play catch-up.
अब तक इस समझौते पर हर घोषणा **वाशिंगटन द्वारा एकतरफा** की गई है, और **नई दिल्ली** पीछे से तालमेल बैठाने की कोशिश कर रही है।
- The first sign that the two countries had agreed on going ahead with negotiations that began in **February 2025** came from a social media post by **U.S. President Donald Trump** on **February 2, 2026**.
दोनों देशों द्वारा **फरवरी 2025** में शुरू हुई वार्ताओं को आगे बढ़ाने पर सहमति का पहला संकेत **अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति डोनाल्ड ट्रंप** के **2 फरवरी 2026** के सोशल मीडिया पोस्ट से मिला।
- In it, he furnished several details of his conversation with **Prime Minister Narendra Modi**, all of which were incorporated into the **Joint Statement and Executive Orders issued on February 6** — claims that Mr. Modi agreed to stop buying **Russian oil**, and to buy “much more” oil from the **U.S.**; that India would reduce **tariffs and non-tariff barriers** against the U.S. to “**Zero**” in return for **18% U.S. tariffs on Indian goods**, and that Mr. Modi committed to “buy American” products to the tune of **\$500 billion**.
इसमें उन्होंने **प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी** के साथ अपनी बातचीत के कई विवरण दिए, जिन्हें **6 फरवरी को जारी संयुक्त बयान और कार्यकारी आदेशों** में शामिल किया गया — यह दावा कि मोदी **रूसी तेल** खरीदना बंद करने और **अमेरिका** से “बहुत अधिक” तेल खरीदने पर सहमत हुए; कि भारत **टैरिफ और गैर-टैरिफ बाधाएँ** “शून्य” करेगा बदले में **भारतीय वस्तुओं पर 18% अमेरिकी टैरिफ** के, और कि मोदी ने **\$500 अरब तक** “अमेरिकी उत्पाद खरीदने” की प्रतिबद्धता जताई।
- Mr. Modi's post that followed only divulged that the **U.S. tariffs would be reduced**.
इसके बाद मोदी की पोस्ट में केवल यह बताया गया कि **अमेरिकी टैरिफ कम किए जाएंगे**।
- Four days later (**U.S. time, 4 a.m.**), **Washington** released the **joint statement and two executive orders**, on **Russia and Iran**, and subsequently a “**Fact Sheet**”.
चार दिन बाद (**अमेरिकी समय, सुबह 4 बजे**), **वाशिंगटन** ने **संयुक्त बयान और दो कार्यकारी आदेश**, **रूस और ईरान** पर, और बाद में एक “**फैक्ट शीट**” जारी की।
- The **Press Information Bureau** released the joint statement a few hours later.
प्रेस सूचना ब्यूरो ने कुछ घंटों बाद संयुक्त बयान जारी किया।
- The government has since refused to engage with the other documents in its public comments.
सरकार ने तब से अपनी सार्वजनिक टिप्पणियों में अन्य दस्तावेजों पर चर्चा करने से इनकार किया है।
- But the entire manner of bringing out a “**joint statement**” **unilaterally**, begs this question.
Who is calling the shots?
लेकिन “**संयुक्त बयान**” को **एकतरफा जारी करने** का पूरा तरीका यह सवाल उठाता है — **निर्णय कौन ले रहा है?**
- The **nuts and bolts** of the eventual **trade regime** being discussed, which includes **tariffs, non-tariff barriers and market access** can be considered at a later date when **India and the U.S.** actually sign the “**interim agreement**” on trade, as they are expected to next **month**.
चर्चा में आए अंतिम **व्यापार व्यवस्था** के **मूल तत्व**, जिसमें **टैरिफ, गैर-टैरिफ बाधाएँ और बाज़ार पहुंच** शामिल हैं, पर बाद में विचार किया जा सकता है जब **भारत और अमेरिका** अगले **महीने** व्यापार पर “**अंतरिम समझौते**” पर हस्ताक्षर करें।
- However, the **concessions given** in order to secure the interim agreement are set out clearly, and are a **major cause for concern**.



हालांकि, अंतरिम समझौते को सुरक्षित करने के लिए दी गई रियायतें स्पष्ट रूप से सामने हैं और गंभीर चिंता का कारण हैं।

- While the **Ministry of External Affairs and Commerce and Industries Ministry** have sought to separate the trade agreement from **Mr. Trump's Executive Orders** pertaining to **Russian oil**, they are in fact part of the **same raft**.

हालांकि विदेश मंत्रालय और वाणिज्य एवं उद्योग मंत्रालय ने व्यापार समझौते को ट्रंप के रूसी तेल से संबंधित कार्यकारी आदेशों से अलग करने की कोशिश की है, वास्तव में वे एक ही पैकेज का हिस्सा हैं।

- Mr. Trump's **Truth Social post**, the documents released on **February 6**, and the **White House Fact Sheet issued on February 10** all present them together.

ट्रंप की ट्विटर पोस्ट, 6 फरवरी को जारी दस्तावेज, और 10 फरवरी को जारी व्हाइट हाउस फैक्ट शीट — सभी इन्हें एक साथ प्रस्तुत करते हैं।

India–United States Bilateral Trade Agreement भारत–संयुक्त राज्य द्विपक्षीय व्यापार समझौता

- The **U.S.** makes it clear that it rescinded **25% punitive tariffs on India** (imposed in **August 2025**), under three understandings: that India would stop buying **Russian oil**; that it had already begun to do so, and that the U.S. would impose tariffs again if India were to resume Russian oil supplies.

अमेरिका ने स्पष्ट किया कि उसने भारत पर लगाए गए 25% दंडात्मक टैरिफ (अगस्त 2025) को तीन शर्तों के तहत हटाया: कि भारत रूसी तेल खरीदना बंद करेगा; कि उसने ऐसा करना पहले ही शुरू कर दिया है, और यदि भारत रूसी तेल आयात फिर शुरू करता है तो अमेरिका फिर से टैरिफ लगाएगा।

- Mr. Trump has even set up a **panel of his top officials** to monitor India's **oil intake**.
ट्रंप ने भारत के तेल आयात की निगरानी के लिए अपने शीर्ष अधिकारियों का एक पैनल भी गठित किया है।
- What is perhaps even more surprising is that the order states that India has agreed to **“align sufficiently with the United States on national security, foreign policy, and economic matters”**.

और भी आश्चर्यजनक यह है कि आदेश में कहा गया है कि भारत **“राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा, विदेश नीति और आर्थिक मामलों में अमेरिका के साथ पर्याप्त रूप से तालमेल”** करेगा।

- The **Indian government** has not so far denied any of these claims, instead issuing long statements outlining India's **energy sourcing priorities** and the need to **diversify its supply sources**.

भारतीय सरकार ने अब तक इन दावों का खंडन नहीं किया है, बल्कि भारत की ऊर्जा आपूर्ति प्राथमिकताओं और स्रोतों के विविधीकरण की आवश्यकता पर लंबे बयान जारी किए हैं।

- On the ground, the trends are clear: India's imports of **Russian oil** have been reducing since **November 2025**, and oil purchases in **December 2025** crashed to **38-month lows**.

जमीनी स्तर पर रुझान स्पष्ट हैं: नवंबर 2025 से भारत का रूसी तेल आयात घट रहा है, और दिसंबर 2025 में तेल खरीद 38 महीने के निचले स्तर पर पहुंच गई।

- From **40% of its oil intake in 2024**, Russia now accounts for **25%**.
2024 में कुल तेल आयात के 40% से अब रूस की हिस्सेदारी **25%** रह गई है।
- Contrary to **External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar's** assertion that India would put **cheap oil for its consumers** at the highest priority, and his Ministry's characterisation of the U.S.'s punitive tariffs as **“unfair, unjustified and unreasonable”**, India is now buying **less Russian oil**, just as the **discounts** on it get larger.

विदेश मंत्री एस. जयशंकर के इस कथन के विपरीत कि भारत अपने उपभोक्ताओं के लिए सस्ता तेल सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता देगा, और उनके मंत्रालय द्वारा अमेरिकी दंडात्मक टैरिफ को **“अनुचित, अव्यवहारिक और अवांछनीय”** बताए जाने के बावजूद, भारत अब कम रूसी तेल खरीद रहा है, जबकि उस पर छूट बढ़ रही है।

- Other **concessions**, such as the **zeroing of tariffs in several sectors**, and the promise to buy **American goods worth \$500 billion** require further scrutiny.
अन्य रियायतें, जैसे कई क्षेत्रों में टैरिफ को शून्य करना, और **\$500 अरब के अमेरिकी सामान खरीदने** का वादा, और अधिक जांच की मांग करते हैं।

- Buying **U.S. goods** in such large volumes would leave limited space for imports from **other trading partners**, and offering **Washington terms** not extended to countries that have only recently concluded **trade agreements with India**.

इतनी बड़ी मात्रा में अमेरिकी सामान खरीदने से अन्य व्यापारिक साझेदारों से आयात के लिए सीमित स्थान



बचेगा, और वाशिंगटन को ऐसे शर्तें देना जो हाल ही में भारत के साथ व्यापार समझौते करने वाले देशों को नहीं दी गई।

- These include the **European Union**, the **European Free Trade Association**, and **New Zealand** and would likely prompt questions from them.
इनमें यूरोपीय संघ, यूरोपीय मुक्त व्यापार संघ, और न्यूज़ीलैंड शामिल हैं और इससे उनके सवाल उठने की संभावना है।
- Needless to say, the **developing world**, or the **Global South**, that once cheered India's refusal to back down in the face of **non-United Nations unilateral sanctions**, will be watching closely.
यह कहना आवश्यक नहीं कि **विकासशील विश्व** या **ग्लोबल साउथ**, जिसने कभी **संयुक्त राष्ट्र से बाहर के एकतरफा प्रतिबंधों** के सामने भारत के झुकने से इनकार की सराहना की थी, अब बारीकी से देखेगा।
- As a result, understanding the **U.S. deal's impact on India's diplomatic standing** among other nations is also vital.
इसलिए अन्य देशों के बीच **अमेरिकी समझौते का भारत की कूटनीतिक स्थिति पर प्रभाव** समझना भी महत्वपूर्ण है।

A pattern of U.S. demands अमेरिकी मांगों का एक पैटर्न

- Should India accept the **U.S.'s ultimatums** to halt **Russian oil imports**, it would mirror its **2019 approach** of compliance on giving up **Iranian and Venezuelan oil** — resisting at first before ultimately yielding to **U.S. pressure** months later.
यदि भारत **रूसी तेल आयात रोकने** के लिए **अमेरिका के अल्टीमेटम** को स्वीकार करता है, तो यह **2019 के दृष्टिकोण** को दर्शाएगा जब उसने पहले विरोध किया लेकिन बाद में **अमेरिकी दबाव** में आकर **ईरानी और वेनेजुएलाई तेल** छोड़ दिया।
- The **U.S.** is now pushing for India to buy **American and American-controlled Venezuelan oil**, for India to give up the **Chabahar port project** and all **trade with Iran**.
अब **अमेरिका** भारत पर **अमेरिकी और अमेरिकी-नियंत्रित वेनेजुएलाई तेल** खरीदने, **चाबहार पोर्ट परियोजना** छोड़ने और **ईरान के साथ सभी व्यापार समाप्त** करने का दबाव डाल रहा है।
- If **New Delhi** agrees to all these, it will not only lose **respect and goodwill** with the countries in question (where India had promised to increase **trade and investment**) but also its **credibility as a buyer and supplier** in the market worldwide.
यदि **नई दिल्ली** इन सभी बातों से सहमत होती है, तो वह न केवल संबंधित देशों के साथ **सम्मान और सद्भावना** खो देगी (जहाँ भारत ने **व्यापार और निवेश** बढ़ाने का वादा किया था) बल्कि वैश्विक बाजार में **खरीदार और आपूर्तिकर्ता के रूप में अपनी विश्वसनीयता** भी खो देगी।
- This could prove particularly awkward for India as it prepares to host this year's **BRICS summit**, with the leaders of **Russia, Iran** and other **developing-world partners** expected to attend.
यह भारत के लिए विशेष रूप से असहज साबित हो सकता है क्योंकि वह इस वर्ष के **BRICS शिखर सम्मेलन** की मेजबानी की तैयारी कर रहा है, जिसमें **रूस, ईरान** और अन्य **विकासशील देशों के साझेदारों** के नेता शामिल होंगे।
- The next question **New Delhi** must ask itself is this.
अगला प्रश्न जो **नई दिल्ली** को खुद से पूछना चाहिए, यह है।
- If the only way to do business with the **U.S.** involves the acceptance of “**unfair, unjustified and unreasonable**” measures such as **tariffs**, then what does this mean for **strategic relations with the U.S.?**
यदि **अमेरिका** के साथ व्यापार करने का एकमात्र तरीका “**अनुचित, अव्यवहारिक और अवांछनीय**” उपायों जैसे **टैरिफ** को स्वीकार करना है, तो इसका **अमेरिका के साथ रणनीतिक संबंधों** के लिए क्या अर्थ है?
- Will every agreement on **strategic ties**, including on **defence deals, military alignment, the Quad (India, Australia, Japan, the U.S.) and the Indo-Pacific, counter-terrorism and India's neighbourhood** follow this pattern?
क्या **रणनीतिक संबंधों** से जुड़े हर समझौते, जिसमें **रक्षा सौदे, सैन्य संरेखण, क्वाड (भारत, ऑस्ट्रेलिया, जापान, अमेरिका) और इंडो-पैसिफिक, आतंकवाद-रोधी और भारत का पड़ोस** शामिल है, इसी पैटर्न का पालन करेंगे?



- Not only have the **U.S.'s deals with Pakistan and Bangladesh** underscored **Washington's limited regard for India's interests in the neighbourhood**, but its insistence that India end **Russian oil imports**, curtail **trade with Iran**, and halt development of **Chabahar** would only further benefit **China**.
अमेरिका के पाकिस्तान और बांग्लादेश के साथ समझौतों ने पड़ोस में भारत के हितों के प्रति वाशिंगटन की सीमित चिंता को उजागर किया है, और भारत से रूसी तेल आयात समाप्त करने, ईरान के साथ व्यापार सीमित करने तथा चाबहार के विकास को रोकने की उसकी जिद केवल चीन को और लाभ पहुंचाएगी।
- It is worth noting that India is the only country that the **U.S. imposed 25% punitive tariffs for Russian oil** on, while **China and Türkiye** are among other major buyers.
ध्यान देने योग्य है कि अमेरिका ने रूसी तेल के कारण **25% दंडात्मक टैरिफ** केवल भारत पर लगाया, जबकि चीन और तुर्किये अन्य बड़े खरीदार हैं।
- In **2022**, Mr. Modi's refusal to criticise **Russia for the invasion of Ukraine** publicly was seen as a compulsion of India's ties with **Russia** — abandoning its principles of **territorial integrity** in favour of **pragmatism**.
2022 में, यूक्रेन पर रूस के आक्रमण की सार्वजनिक आलोचना से मोदी के इनकार को रूस के साथ भारत के संबंधों की मजबूरी माना गया — क्षेत्रीय अखंडता के सिद्धांतों को व्यावहारिकता के पक्ष में छोड़ना।
- In **2026**, giving up **Russian oil** as a compulsion of India's ties with the **U.S.** is neither **principled**, nor **pragmatic**.
2026 में, अमेरिका के साथ संबंधों की मजबूरी के रूप में रूसी तेल छोड़ना न तो सिद्धांत आधारित है, न ही व्यावहारिक।

On India's standing भारत की स्थिति पर

- Finally, the repercussions of this deal could inflict the greatest damage on India's principles of **strategic autonomy, multi-alignment and multipolarity**, as it would narrow India's options rather than diversify them — not just in **energy procurement, trade, and connectivity** but also in its broader **global relationships**.
अंततः, इस समझौते के प्रभाव भारत के रणनीतिक स्वायत्तता, बहु-संरेखण और बहुध्रुवीयता के सिद्धांतों को सबसे अधिक नुकसान पहुंचा सकते हैं, क्योंकि यह भारत के विकल्पों को विविध करने के बजाय सीमित करेगा — न केवल ऊर्जा आपूर्ति, व्यापार और संपर्क में बल्कि उसके व्यापक वैश्विक संबंधों में भी।
- In **2019**, Mr. Modi announced that India had rejected the **Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)**, invoking "**Mahatma Gandhi's talisman test**", walking out of a deal that his government had worked on for **five years**, citing discomfort with **Chinese economic domination**.
2019 में, मोदी ने घोषणा की कि भारत ने क्षेत्रीय व्यापक आर्थिक साझेदारी (RCEP) को अस्वीकार कर दिया, "महात्मा गांधी के ताबीज परीक्षण" का हवाला देते हुए, और उस समझौते से बाहर निकल गया जिस पर उसकी सरकार पाँच वर्षों से काम कर रही थी, चीनी आर्थिक प्रभुत्व को कारण बताया।
- Confronted with an agreement that makes far more **egregious demands on India's sovereign choices**, it would be surprising if the government did not subject the **U.S. deal** to additional **scrutiny** before finalising it.
भारत की सार्वभौमिक पसंदों पर कहीं अधिक गंभीर मांगें रखने वाले इस समझौते के सामने, यदि सरकार अंतिम रूप देने से पहले अमेरिकी समझौते को अतिरिक्त जांच के अधीन न रखे, तो यह आश्चर्यजनक होगा।



GS III: Economy

MQB

Overdue upgrade

The new CPI series will aid policymaking and bolster data stability

The new series of the Consumer Price Index (CPI), released on Thursday, has addressed the many shortcomings of the previous series. The new series has a base year of 2024, and is pegged to consumption patterns from the Household Consumption Expenditure Survey 2023-24. The previous series had a base year of 2012 and was based on consumption patterns of 2011-12. As Chief Economic Adviser V. Anantha Nageswaran noted, India has changed markedly over the last decade or so, including consumption behaviour and the composition of household expenditure. For example, 80 crore households receive free foodgrain now, which naturally reduces how much they need to spend on food. Simultaneously, several new service offerings have emerged, such as over-the-top (OTT) video streaming, and online marketplaces. The new series commendably tries to address these changes. The weightage of food and beverages in the overall CPI has been reduced to 36.75% from the earlier 45.86%. This is significant since food inflation was having an outsized influence on the overall CPI, despite forming a shrinking part of households' monthly expenditures. The index also covers more items, increasing its granularity and representativeness. Notably, this increase includes a larger number of goods and services. India's service economy is growing faster than the economy's average growth rate, and so price levels here are an increasingly important factor. The new index also collects data from more marketplaces across the country, and, for the first time, includes 12 online marketplaces.

More accurate inflation data have several implications for macroeconomic stability and monetary and fiscal policy. Food inflation in India is notoriously volatile, quickly reflecting supply bottlenecks as well as the vagaries of the weather. A more realistic weightage for food in the CPI stands to make the overall index more stable. This, in turn, can increase predictability in Budget-making, since some aspects are linked to the CPI, such as inflation-indexed dearness allowance and dearness relief. As far as monetary policy is concerned, an updated CPI gives the Reserve Bank of India's Monetary Policy Committee a more accurate picture of inflation as it decides the various policy interest rates. At the moment, MoSPI provides a 'linking factor' and leaves it to the public to calculate how earlier inflation data would have looked like under the new methodology. It should, instead, provide the back data itself, to ease comparative analysis. It should also stick to its plan to revise the CPI every five years, and not wait another 11 years to update it.

- The weightage of **food and beverages** in the overall CPI has been reduced to **36.75%** from the earlier **45.86%**.
कुल CPI में **खाद्य और पेय पदार्थों** का भार पहले के **45.86%** से घटाकर **36.75%** कर दिया गया है।
- This is significant since **food inflation** was having an outsized influence on the overall CPI, despite forming a shrinking part of households' monthly expenditures.

Overdue upgrade लंबित उन्नयन

The new CPI series will aid policymaking and bolster data stability

नई CPI श्रृंखला नीतिनिर्माण में सहायता करेगी और डेटा स्थिरता को मजबूत करेगी

Consumer Price Index (CPI) — उपभोक्ता मूल्य सूचकांक (CPI)

The new series of the **Consumer Price Index (CPI)**, released on **Thursday**, has addressed the many shortcomings of the previous series.

उपभोक्ता मूल्य सूचकांक (CPI) की नई श्रृंखला, जो **गुरुवार** को जारी हुई, ने पिछली श्रृंखला की कई कमियों को दूर किया है।

The new series has a **base year of 2024**, and is pegged to consumption patterns from the **Household Consumption Expenditure Survey 2023-24**.

नई श्रृंखला का **आधार वर्ष 2024** है, और यह **घरेलू उपभोग व्यय सर्वेक्षण 2023-24** के उपभोग पैटर्न पर आधारित है।

The previous series had a **base year of 2012** and was based on consumption patterns of **2011-12**. पिछली श्रृंखला का **आधार वर्ष 2012** था और यह **2011-12** के उपभोग पैटर्न पर आधारित थी।

As **Chief Economic Adviser V. Anantha Nageswaran** noted, **India** has changed markedly over the last **decade or so**, including consumption behaviour and the composition of household expenditure.

जैसा कि **मुख्य आर्थिक सलाहकार वी. अनन्ता नागेश्वरन** ने कहा, पिछले **लगभग एक दशक** में **भारत** में काफी बदलाव आया है, जिसमें उपभोग व्यवहार और घरेलू व्यय की संरचना शामिल है।

For example, **80 crore households** receive **free foodgrain** now, which naturally reduces how much they need to spend on food.

उदाहरण के लिए, अब **80 करोड़ परिवार मुफ्त अनाज** प्राप्त करते हैं, जिससे स्वाभाविक रूप से भोजन पर उनका खर्च कम हो जाता है।

Simultaneously, several new service offerings have emerged, such as **over-the-top (OTT) video streaming**, and **online marketplaces**.

साथ ही, कई नई सेवाएँ उभरी हैं, जैसे **ओवर-द-टॉप (OTT) वीडियो स्ट्रीमिंग** और **ऑनलाइन मार्केटप्लेस**।

The new series commendably tries to address these changes.

नई श्रृंखला सहायनीय रूप से इन परिवर्तनों को संबोधित करने का प्रयास करती है।



यह महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि **खाद्य मुद्रास्फीति** का कुल CPI पर अत्यधिक प्रभाव था, जबकि यह घरेलू मासिक व्यय का घटता हुआ हिस्सा था।

- The index also covers more items, increasing its **granularity** and **representativeness**. यह सूचकांक अधिक वस्तुओं को शामिल करता है, जिससे इसकी **सूक्ष्मता** और **प्रतिनिधित्व क्षमता** बढ़ती है।
- Notably, this increase includes a larger number of **goods and services**. विशेष रूप से, इस वृद्धि में अधिक संख्या में **वस्तुएँ और सेवाएँ** शामिल हैं।
- **India's service economy** is growing faster than the economy's average growth rate, and so price levels here are an increasingly important factor. **भारत की सेवा अर्थव्यवस्था** अर्थव्यवस्था की औसत वृद्धि दर से तेज़ी से बढ़ रही है, इसलिए यहाँ के मूल्य स्तर अधिक महत्वपूर्ण कारक बन रहे हैं।
- The new index also collects data from more **marketplaces across the country**, and, for the first time, includes **12 online marketplaces**. नया सूचकांक देश भर के अधिक **बाज़ारों** से डेटा एकत्र करता है, और पहली बार **12 ऑनलाइन मार्केटप्लेस** को शामिल करता है।
- More accurate **inflation data** have several implications for **macroeconomic stability** and **monetary and fiscal policy**. अधिक सटीक **मुद्रास्फीति डेटा** के **समष्टि आर्थिक स्थिरता** और **मौद्रिक तथा राजकोषीय नीति** पर कई प्रभाव होते हैं।
- **Food inflation in India** is notoriously **volatile**, quickly reflecting **supply bottlenecks** as well as the **vagaries of the weather**. **भारत में खाद्य मुद्रास्फीति** कुख्यात रूप से **अस्थिर** है, जो जल्दी ही **आपूर्ति बाधाओं** और **मौसम की अनिश्चितताओं** को दर्शाती है।
- A more realistic weightage for **food in the CPI** stands to make the overall index more **stable**. **CPI में खाद्य** का अधिक यथार्थवादी भार कुल सूचकांक को अधिक **स्थिर** बना सकता है।
- This, in turn, can increase **predictability in Budget-making**, since some aspects are linked to the CPI, such as **inflation-indexed dearness allowance and dearness relief**. यह बदले में **बजट निर्माण में पूर्वानुमेयता** बढ़ा सकता है, क्योंकि कुछ पहलू CPI से जुड़े होते हैं, जैसे **मुद्रास्फीति-आधारित महंगाई भत्ता और महंगाई राहत**।
- As far as **monetary policy** is concerned, an updated CPI gives the **Reserve Bank of India's Monetary Policy Committee** a more accurate picture of inflation as it decides the various **policy interest rates**. जहाँ तक **मौद्रिक नीति** का संबंध है, अद्यतन CPI **भारतीय रिज़र्व बैंक की मौद्रिक नीति समिति** को विभिन्न **नीतिगत ब्याज दरों** का निर्णय लेते समय मुद्रास्फीति की अधिक सटीक तस्वीर देता है।
- At the moment, **MoSPI** provides a **'linking factor'** and leaves it to the public to calculate how earlier inflation data would have looked like under the new methodology. वर्तमान में, **MoSPI** एक **'लिंकिंग फैक्टर'** प्रदान करता है और जनता पर छोड़ देता है कि वे नई पद्धति के तहत पुराने मुद्रास्फीति डेटा की गणना करें।
- It should, instead, provide the **back data itself**, to ease **comparative analysis**. इसके बजाय, उसे स्वयं **पिछला डेटा** प्रदान करना चाहिए, ताकि **तुलनात्मक विश्लेषण** आसान हो सके।
- It should also stick to its plan to revise the CPI every **five years**, and not wait another **11 years** to update it. उसे CPI को हर **पाँच वर्ष** में संशोधित करने की अपनी योजना पर कायम रहना चाहिए, और इसे अद्यतन करने के लिए फिर से **11 वर्ष** इंतजार नहीं करना चाहिए।



The labour codes redefine wages, empower the worker

GS III: Economy

MOB

The implementation of India's labour codes marks a decisive shift towards greater financial inclusion of the workforce by embedding social security, income protection, and long-term financial safeguards into the employment relationship. By consolidating multiple fragmented labour laws, the codes aim not only to modernise labour governance but also to ensure that the gains of economic growth are shared more equitably with workers.

While some trade unions have responded with nationwide strike calls, a closer examination of the labour codes reveals that these reforms are fundamentally designed to correct long-standing exclusions and integrate millions of workers into formal systems of financial and social security.

The reform of a definition

One of the most significant financial inclusion outcomes is the reform of the 'wage' definition. Establishments which used to pay lower wages (basic pay, dearness allowance and retaining allowance) of just 30%-35% of the total remuneration to reduce social security contributions, will now be required to ensure that wages constitute at least 50% of the remuneration. This will increase social security contribution and benefits, which will lead to higher provident fund (PF) accumulation, pension, and gratuity, thus enhancing long-term social security.

Moreover, fixed-term employees are now entitled to gratuity after completing one year of service. This change recognises the realities of modern labour markets and ensures gratuity payments for fixed-term employment.

For decades, workers engaged on fixed-term contracts contributed productively to enterprises but exited employment without any terminal financial benefit. By extending gratuity coverage, the labour codes convert short-term employment into a mechanism for asset creation and income security. PF, pension and gratuity thus function not merely as a retirement benefit, but as a tool for financial inclusion, enabling workers to build savings, manage life-cycle risks and reduce vulnerability during job transitions.

This change has naturally increased the



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There will be an expansion of worker benefits, his financial inclusion, and an enhancement of his long-term social security

financial liability of large corporations, including well-known companies such as TCS, Infosys, HCLTech, and L&T, where workforce size and reliance on fixed-term employment are significantly high.

Reports suggesting that companies have been "hit by crores" due to gratuity provisions must be viewed in proper perspective. The financial outgo arising from the new labour codes translates directly into enhanced income security for workers, strengthening their financial capacity and purchasing power. This, in turn, has positive multiplier effects on the economy through increased consumption, savings and social security coverage. The increased social security benefits also signify a more equitable redistribution of value towards labour rather than any erosion of employer interests. This also underscores the success of the labour codes in advancing fairness, dignity, and long-term stability in employment relations.

The macroeconomic impact

Financial inclusion under the labour codes extends well beyond social security benefits for organised sector workers. The expansion of social security coverage to gig, platform and unorganised workers is a landmark reform. For the first time, these workers have been formally recognised within India's labour law framework, enabling access to insurance, PF mechanisms, and welfare schemes. Portability of benefits across States and employment is particularly significant for migrant and informal workers, who have historically remained excluded from stable financial systems. The Code on Wages further strengthens income security by introducing a universal wage definition, ensuring statutory minimum wages across sectors, limiting arbitrary deductions, and mandating timely payment.

Collectively, these measures stabilise incomes and enhance workers' ability to participate meaningfully in the formal economy.

The redistribution of income towards workers has important macroeconomic implications. Enhanced income security increases workers' purchasing power, leading to higher consumption, improved savings behaviour and

greater engagement with formal financial institutions. Unlike shareholder income, which may be invested in financial markets or external assets, worker income largely circulates within the domestic economy, generating demand-led growth. From this perspective, the labour codes function as instruments of inclusive growth. By strengthening the financial base of the workforce, they reduce vulnerability to economic shocks and contribute to social stability.

Earlier labour laws were outdated

Despite these advances, sections of trade unions continue to oppose the labour codes, often portraying them as anti-worker reforms. While apprehensions about proper implementation and enforcement are legitimate, blanket opposition overlooks the tangible gains embedded in the legislation. In several instances, strike calls appear to be driven by sheer opposition to reforms than by the substantive provisions of the codes themselves. This risks diluting public understanding of reforms that are, in many respects, pro-worker and welfare oriented. It is also important to acknowledge that labour law reform in a country as large and diverse as India cannot be static. The earlier labour laws had become fragmented, outdated and ill-suited to a rapidly changing labour market. Consolidation into four labour codes simplifies compliance, improves transparency and creates a more predictable regulatory environment which benefits workers and employers.

India's labour codes should be understood not merely as regulatory restructuring but as a structural intervention aimed at greater financial inclusion. By extending gratuity, expanding social security coverage and closing long-standing legal exclusions, the codes facilitate a gradual but meaningful redistribution of economic value from capital to labour. This shift strengthens income security, enhances financial dignity, and aligns economic growth with social justice. The true success of the labour codes will lie not in resistance or rhetoric, but in ensuring their effective implementation so that every worker becomes an active participant in India's growth story.

The labour codes redefine wages, empower the worker

श्रम संहिताएँ वेतन को पुनर्परिभाषित करती हैं, श्रमिक को सशक्त बनाती हैं

India's Labour Codes

भारत के श्रम संहिता

- The implementation of **India's labour codes** marks a decisive shift towards greater **financial inclusion of the workforce** by embedding **social security, income protection, and long-term financial safeguards** into the employment relationship.

भारत के श्रम संहिता का कार्यान्वयन कार्यबल के वित्तीय समावेशन की दिशा में एक निर्णायक बदलाव को दर्शाता है, जिसमें रोजगार संबंधों में सामाजिक सुरक्षा, आय सुरक्षा और दीर्घकालिक वित्तीय सुरक्षा को शामिल किया गया है।

- By consolidating multiple **fragmented labour laws**, the codes aim not only to **modernise labour governance** but also to ensure that the gains of **economic growth** are shared more equitably with workers.

कई विखंडित श्रम कानूनों को समेकित करके, इन संहिताओं का उद्देश्य न केवल श्रम शासन का आधुनिकीकरण करना है बल्कि यह भी सुनिश्चित करना है कि आर्थिक वृद्धि के लाभ श्रमिकों के साथ अधिक न्यायसंगत रूप से साझा हों।

- While some **trade unions** have responded with **nationwide strike calls**, a closer examination of the labour codes reveals that these reforms are fundamentally designed to correct **long-standing exclusions** and integrate **millions of workers** into formal systems of **financial and social security**.

जबकि कुछ ट्रेड यूनियनों ने देशव्यापी हड़ताल का आह्वान किया है, श्रम संहिताओं की गहन जांच से पता चलता है कि ये सुधार मूल रूप से लंबे समय से चली आ रही बहिष्करण को ठीक करने और लाखों श्रमिकों को औपचारिक वित्तीय और सामाजिक सुरक्षा प्रणाली में शामिल करने के लिए बनाए गए हैं।

The reform of a definition



एक परिभाषा का सुधार

- One of the most significant **financial inclusion outcomes** is the reform of the ‘wage’ **definition**.
सबसे महत्वपूर्ण **वित्तीय समावेशन परिणामों** में से एक ‘वेतन’ की परिभाषा में सुधार है।
- Establishments which used to pay lower **wages (basic pay, dearness allowance and retaining allowance)** of just **30%-35% of the total remuneration** to reduce **social security contributions**, will now be required to ensure that wages constitute at least **50% of the remuneration**.
वे संस्थान जो **सामाजिक सुरक्षा योगदान** कम करने के लिए केवल **कुल वेतन का 30%-35% (मूल वेतन, महंगाई भत्ता और रिटेनिंग भत्ता)** देते थे, अब सुनिश्चित करना होगा कि वेतन **कम से कम 50%** हो।
- This will increase **social security contribution and benefits**, which will lead to higher **provident fund (PF) accumulation, pension, and gratuity**, thus enhancing **long-term social security**.
इससे **सामाजिक सुरक्षा योगदान और लाभ** बढ़ेंगे, जिससे **भविष्य निधि (PF), पेंशन और ग्रेच्युटी** में वृद्धि होगी और **दीर्घकालिक सामाजिक सुरक्षा** मजबूत होगी।
- Moreover, **fixed-term employees** are now entitled to **gratuity after completing one year of service**.
इसके अलावा, **निश्चित अवधि के कर्मचारी** अब **एक वर्ष की सेवा पूरी करने के बाद ग्रेच्युटी** के हकदार हैं।
- This change recognises the realities of **modern labour markets** and ensures **gratuity payments for fixed-term employment**.
यह परिवर्तन **आधुनिक श्रम बाजार** की वास्तविकताओं को स्वीकार करता है और **निश्चित अवधि रोजगार के लिए ग्रेच्युटी भुगतान** सुनिश्चित करता है।
- For decades, workers engaged on **fixed-term contracts** contributed productively to enterprises but exited employment without any **terminal financial benefit**.
दशकों तक **निश्चित अवधि के अनुबंध** पर कार्यरत श्रमिकों ने उत्पादक योगदान दिया लेकिन बिना किसी **अंतिम वित्तीय लाभ** के रोजगार से बाहर हो गए।
- By extending **gratuity coverage**, the labour codes convert **short-term employment** into a mechanism for **asset creation and income security**.
ग्रेच्युटी कवरेज बढ़ाकर, श्रम संहिता **अल्पकालिक रोजगार** को **संपत्ति निर्माण और आय सुरक्षा** के साधन में बदल देती है।
- **PF, pension and gratuity** thus function not merely as a **retirement benefit**, but as a tool for **financial inclusion**, enabling workers to build **savings, manage life-cycle risks and reduce vulnerability during job transitions**.
इस प्रकार **PF, पेंशन और ग्रेच्युटी** केवल **सेवानिवृत्ति लाभ** नहीं बल्कि **वित्तीय समावेशन** का साधन बनते हैं, जिससे श्रमिक **बचत बना सकें, जीवन-चक्र जोखिम प्रबंधित कर सकें और नौकरी परिवर्तन के दौरान असुरक्षा कम कर सकें**।
- This change has naturally increased the **financial liability of large corporations**, including well-known companies such as **TCS, Infosys, HCLTech, and L&T**, where workforce size and reliance on **fixed-term employment** are significantly high.
इस परिवर्तन से स्वाभाविक रूप से **बड़ी कंपनियों की वित्तीय देनदारी** बढ़ी है, जिनमें **TCS, Infosys, HCLTech और L&T** जैसी प्रसिद्ध कंपनियाँ शामिल हैं, जहाँ कार्यबल का आकार और **निश्चित अवधि रोजगार** पर निर्भरता अधिक है।
- Reports suggesting that companies have been “**hit by crores**” due to **gratuity provisions** must be viewed in proper perspective.
यह रिपोर्ट कि कंपनियाँ **ग्रेच्युटी प्रावधानों के कारण “करोड़ों से प्रभावित”** हुई हैं, को सही दृष्टिकोण से देखना चाहिए।
- The **financial outgo** arising from the new labour codes translates directly into enhanced **income security for workers**, strengthening their **financial capacity and purchasing power**.
नई श्रम संहिताओं से उत्पन्न **वित्तीय व्यय** सीधे श्रमिकों की **आय सुरक्षा** को बढ़ाता है और उनकी **वित्तीय क्षमता व क्रय शक्ति** को मजबूत करता है।
- This, in turn, has **positive multiplier effects** on the economy through increased **consumption, savings and social security coverage**.



यह बदले में अर्थव्यवस्था पर सकारात्मक गुणक प्रभाव डालता है, जिससे उपभोग, बचत और सामाजिक सुरक्षा कवरेज बढ़ते हैं।

- The increased **social security benefits** also signify a more **equitable redistribution of value towards labour** rather than any erosion of **employer interests**.
बढ़े हुए सामाजिक सुरक्षा लाभ श्रम की ओर मूल्य के अधिक न्यायसंगत पुनर्वितरण को दर्शाते हैं, न कि नियोजता हितों के हास को।
- This also underscores the success of the labour codes in advancing **fairness, dignity, and long-term stability in employment relations**.
यह रोजगार संबंधों में न्याय, गरिमा और दीर्घकालिक स्थिरता को बढ़ाने में श्रम संहिताओं की सफलता को भी दर्शाता है।

The macroeconomic impact व्यापक आर्थिक प्रभाव

- Financial inclusion under the **labour codes** extends well beyond **social security benefits for organised sector workers**.
श्रम संहिताओं के तहत वित्तीय समावेशन केवल संगठित क्षेत्र के श्रमिकों की सामाजिक सुरक्षा लाभों तक सीमित नहीं है।
- The expansion of **social security coverage to gig, platform and unorganised workers** is a **landmark reform**.
गिग, प्लेटफॉर्म और असंगठित श्रमिकों तक सामाजिक सुरक्षा कवरेज का विस्तार एक ऐतिहासिक सुधार है।
- For the **first time**, these workers have been formally recognised within **India's labour law framework**, enabling access to **insurance, PF mechanisms, and welfare schemes**.
पहली बार, इन श्रमिकों को भारत के श्रम कानून ढांचे में औपचारिक मान्यता मिली है, जिससे बीमा, PF तंत्र और कल्याण योजनाओं तक पहुँच संभव हुई है।
- **Portability of benefits across States and employment** is particularly significant for **migrant and informal workers**, who have historically remained excluded from stable **financial systems**.
राज्यों और रोजगार के बीच लाभों की पोर्टेबिलिटी विशेष रूप से प्रवासी और असंगठित श्रमिकों के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है, जो ऐतिहासिक रूप से स्थिर वित्तीय प्रणालियों से बाहर रहे हैं।
- The **Code on Wages** further strengthens **income security** by introducing a **universal wage definition**, ensuring **statutory minimum wages across sectors**, limiting **arbitrary deductions**, and mandating **timely payment**.
वेतन संहिता आय सुरक्षा को और मजबूत करती है, जिसमें सार्वभौमिक वेतन परिभाषा, सभी क्षेत्रों में वैधानिक न्यूनतम वेतन, मनमानी कटौतियों पर रोक और समय पर भुगतान सुनिश्चित किया गया है।
- Collectively, these measures stabilise **incomes** and enhance workers' ability to participate meaningfully in the **formal economy**.
सामूहिक रूप से, ये उपाय आय को स्थिर करते हैं और श्रमिकों की औपचारिक अर्थव्यवस्था में सार्थक भागीदारी की क्षमता बढ़ाते हैं।
- The redistribution of **income towards workers** has important **macroeconomic implications**.
श्रमिकों की ओर आय का पुनर्वितरण के महत्वपूर्ण व्यापक आर्थिक प्रभाव हैं।
- Enhanced **income security** increases workers' **purchasing power**, leading to higher **consumption**, improved **savings behaviour** and greater engagement with **formal financial institutions**.
बढ़ी हुई आय सुरक्षा श्रमिकों की क्रय शक्ति बढ़ाती है, जिससे अधिक उपभोग, बेहतर बचत व्यवहार और औपचारिक वित्तीय संस्थानों के साथ अधिक जुड़ाव होता है।
- Unlike **shareholder income**, which may be invested in **financial markets or external assets**, worker income largely circulates within the **domestic economy**, generating **demand-led growth**.
शेयरधारक आय के विपरीत, जो वित्तीय बाजारों या बाहरी संपत्तियों में निवेश हो सकती है, श्रमिकों की आय मुख्यतः घरेलू अर्थव्यवस्था में घूमती है, जिससे मांग-आधारित वृद्धि होती है।
- From this perspective, the **labour codes** function as instruments of **inclusive growth**.
इस दृष्टिकोण से, श्रम संहिता समावेशी विकास के साधन के रूप में कार्य करती हैं।



- By strengthening the **financial base of the workforce**, they reduce vulnerability to **economic shocks** and contribute to **social stability**.
कार्यबल के **वित्तीय आधार** को मजबूत करके, वे **आर्थिक झटकों** के प्रति संवेदनशीलता कम करती हैं और **सामाजिक स्थिरता** में योगदान देती हैं।
- **Earlier labour laws were outdated** — पहले के श्रम कानून पुराने थे
- Despite these advances, sections of **trade unions** continue to oppose the labour codes, often portraying them as **anti-worker reforms**.
इन प्रगतियों के बावजूद, कुछ **ट्रेड यूनियन** श्रम संहिताओं का विरोध जारी रखते हैं, और अक्सर उन्हें **श्रमिक-विरोधी सुधार** बताते हैं।
- While apprehensions about proper **implementation and enforcement** are legitimate, blanket opposition overlooks the **tangible gains** embedded in the legislation.
हालांकि उचित **कार्यान्वयन और प्रवर्तन** को लेकर चिंताएँ वैध हैं, लेकिन व्यापक विरोध कानून में निहित **वास्तविक लाभों** को नजरअंदाज करता है।
- In several instances, **strike calls** appear to be driven by sheer opposition to **reforms** than by the substantive provisions of the codes themselves.
कई मामलों में, **हड़ताल के आह्वान** संहिताओं के वास्तविक प्रावधानों की बजाय केवल **सुधारों के विरोध** से प्रेरित लगते हैं।
- This risks diluting public understanding of reforms that are, in many respects, **pro-worker and welfare oriented**.
इससे ऐसे सुधारों की सार्वजनिक समझ कमजोर होने का खतरा है जो कई मायनों में **श्रमिक-हितैषी और कल्याणकारी** हैं।
- It is also important to acknowledge that **labour law reform** in a country as large and diverse as **India** cannot be static.
यह स्वीकार करना भी महत्वपूर्ण है कि **भारत** जैसे बड़े और विविध देश में **श्रम कानून सुधार** स्थिर नहीं रह सकते।
- The earlier labour laws had become **fragmented, outdated and ill-suited** to a rapidly changing **labour market**.
पहले के श्रम कानून **विखंडित, पुराने और तेजी से बदलते श्रम बाजार के लिए अनुपयुक्त** हो गए थे।
- Consolidation into **four labour codes** simplifies **compliance**, improves **transparency** and creates a more **predictable regulatory environment** which benefits workers and employers.
चार श्रम संहिताओं में समेकन **अनुपालन को सरल, पारदर्शिता को बेहतर** और अधिक **पूर्वानुमेय नियामक वातावरण** बनाता है, जिससे श्रमिकों और नियोक्ताओं दोनों को लाभ होता है।
- India's labour codes should be understood not merely as **regulatory restructuring** but as a **structural intervention** aimed at greater **financial inclusion**.
भारत की श्रम संहिताओं को केवल **नियामक पुनर्गठन** नहीं बल्कि अधिक **वित्तीय समावेशन** के लिए एक **संरचनात्मक हस्तक्षेप** के रूप में समझना चाहिए।
- By extending **gratuity**, expanding **social security coverage** and closing long-standing **legal exclusions**, the codes facilitate a gradual but meaningful **redistribution of economic value from capital to labour**.
ग्रेच्युटी का विस्तार, सामाजिक सुरक्षा कवरेज बढ़ाने और लंबे समय से चले आ रहे **कानूनी बहिष्करण को समाप्त** करके, ये संहिताएँ **पूंजी से श्रम की ओर आर्थिक मूल्य के पुनर्वितरण** को बढ़ावा देती हैं।
- This shift strengthens **income security**, enhances **financial dignity**, and aligns **economic growth with social justice**.
यह बदलाव **आय सुरक्षा** को मजबूत करता है, **वित्तीय गरिमा** बढ़ाता है और **आर्थिक वृद्धि को सामाजिक न्याय के साथ जोड़ता** है।
- The true success of the labour codes will lie not in **resistance or rhetoric**, but in ensuring their **effective implementation** so that **every worker** becomes an active participant in **India's growth story**.
श्रम संहिताओं की वास्तविक सफलता **विरोध या बयानबाजी** में नहीं बल्कि उनके **प्रभावी कार्यान्वयन** में होगी, ताकि **हर श्रमिक भारत की विकास गाथा** का सक्रिय भागीदार बन सके।



Experts discuss ways to bridge gap between academia and industry



Ashok Thyagarajan, vice-president, L&D, Intellect Design Arena Ltd.; Nelson Kulandairaj, Chief Digital Officer, CIEL HR; Partha Sharathi Mallick, VIT Pro-Vice Chancellor, and Shankar Venugopal, vice-president, Technology Innovation and Intellectual Property, Mahindra & Mahindra. © VELANKANNI RAJ THE HINDU GROUP CHENNAI

The purpose of academia is to create broad-based knowledge, which is deep-seated, that would benefit the industry, Ashok Thyagarajan, vice-president, L&D, Intellect Design Arena Limited, said at *The Hindu Tech Summit 2026* here on Friday.

He was speaking at a session on 'Bridging Academia and Industry: Building the Resilience Talent Pipeline', which was moderated by L.V. Navaneeth, Chief Executive Officer (CEO), The Hindu Group. The event was hosted by *The Hindu*, presented by VIT, and co-presented by Sify Technologies.

'Internships alone can't solve problems'
"What you read in books and how the industry operates are two different things. Internships alone cannot solve the problems, but rather, faculty too should come during the summer break and work in the industry, becoming a force multiplier. They should take the knowledge back into the classroom and convert it into an industry-experience centre. This could be a scalable solution," Mr. Thyagarajan said.

He also pointed out that resilience was a measure of the capability of people, not of systems. "We are living in a digitally connected world. We use so many apps, be it for communications, networking, socialising or financial transactions. This gives a notion that systems are resilient... that systems offer availability, reliability as well as stability, but people offer biological intelligence," Mr. Thyagarajan said.

Industry's responsibility
Talking about where universities fall short in preparing students for resilient roles, Shankar Venugopal, vice-president, Technology Innovation and Intellectual Property, Mahindra & Mahindra, pointed out that it was the responsibility of the industry as well to bridge the gap.

"At the end of the day, we want students who are ready to take up challenging problems and come up with innovative solutions. Key gaps lie in knowing versus doing. They may get to learn a lot from good teachers about concepts. But when it comes to real-world problems, there is a lot of hesitation because they haven't done it in the past. What they need is more opportunities to practise (dealing) with real-world problems, possibly through internships," Mr. Venugopal said.

Partha Sharathi Mallick, VIT Pro-Vice Chancellor, says some of the universities abroad have a full-time programme on resilience education and that curriculum should include crisis management

more opportunities to practise (dealing) with real-world problems, possibly through internships," Mr. Venugopal said.

'Students need technical breadth'

He noted that a lot of the students have reasonable technical "depth" in their chosen domain. But today's industry needs a good amount of technical "breadth" also.

"For instance, in electric mobility, we need mobility engineers who know mechanical, electrical, electronic, programming, and a whole bunch of things. The needs of the industry have changed," he added.

'Academia and industry must work together'

Academia and industry should work hand-in-hand in designing the syllabus, Nelson Kulandairaj, Chief Digital Officer, CIEL HR, said.

While the academia cannot update the syllabus often since it is not practically possible, there is a need to maintain a balance in terms of what the academia and the industry can do, Mr. Kulandairaj said, adding, "They [Academia and industry] have to come together and work."

Partha Sharathi Mallick, Pro-Vice Chancellor, VIT, said that some of the universities abroad have a full-time programme on resilience education. He said that the curriculum should take care of concerns, threats, and crisis management.

"There is software available for resilience training, and also tools. The curriculum should include tools and software so that students can get some practical experience. Curriculum plays an important role in creating resilient talent," he said.

- He was speaking at a session on 'Bridging Academia and Industry: Building the Resilience Talent Pipeline', which was moderated by L.V. Navaneeth, Chief Executive Officer (CEO), The Hindu Group.

वह 'ब्रिजिंग अकादमिया एंड इंडस्ट्री: बिल्डिंग द रेज़िलिएंस टैलेंट पाइपलाइन' सत्र में बोल रहे थे, जिसका संचालन एल.वी. नवनीत, मुख्य कार्यकारी अधिकारी (सीईओ), द हिंदू ग्रुप ने किया।

- The event was hosted by *The Hindu*, presented by VIT, and co-presented by Sify Technologies.

इस कार्यक्रम की मेजबानी द हिंदू ने की, इसे VIT द्वारा प्रस्तुत किया गया और साइफी टेक्नोलॉजीज़ द्वारा सह-प्रस्तुत किया गया।

'Internships alone can't solve problems'

'केवल इंटरशिप से समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हो सकता'

- "What you read in books and how the industry operates are two different things. Internships alone cannot solve the problems, but rather, faculty too should come during the summer break and work in the industry, becoming a force multiplier. They should take the knowledge back into the classroom and convert it into an industry-experience centre. This could be a scalable solution," Mr. Thyagarajan said.

"आप किताबों में जो पढ़ते हैं और उद्योग जिस तरह काम करता है, वे दो अलग-अलग बातें हैं। केवल इंटरशिप से समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हो सकता, बल्कि फैकल्टी को भी ग्रीष्मावकाश के दौरान उद्योग में आकर काम करना चाहिए, जिससे वे फोर्स मल्टीप्लायर बन सकें। उन्हें उस ज्ञान को कक्षा में वापस

Experts discuss ways to bridge gap between academia and industry विशेषज्ञों ने अकादमिक जगत और उद्योग के बीच की खाई पाटने के तरीकों पर चर्चा की

- Experts discuss विशेषज्ञ चर्चा करते हैं
- ways to bridge खाई पाटने के तरीके
- gap between के बीच की खाई
- academia and अकादमिक जगत और
- industry उद्योग

• The purpose of academia is to create **broadbased knowledge**, which is **deep-seated**, that would **benefit the industry**, Ashok Thyagarajan, vice-president, L&D, Intellect Design Arena Limited, said at *The Hindu Tech Summit 2026* here on Friday.

अकादमिक जगत का उद्देश्य विस्तृत ज्ञान का सृजन करना है, जो गहराई से जुड़ा हुआ हो, ताकि वह उद्योग को लाभ पहुँचा सके, यह बात अशोक थियागराजन, उपाध्यक्ष, एल एंड डी, इंटेलेक्ट डिज़ाइन एरीना लिमिटेड ने यहां शुक्रवार को द हिंदू टेक समिट 2026 में कही।



ले जाकर उद्योग-अनुभव केंद्र में बदलना चाहिए। यह एक स्केलेबल समाधान हो सकता है,” श्री थियागराजन ने कहा।

- He also pointed out that **resilience** was a measure of the **capability of people**, not of **systems**. "We are living in a **digitally connected world**. We use so many **apps**, be it for **communications, networking, socialising** or **financial transactions**. This gives a notion that **systems are resilient**... that systems offer **availability, reliability** as well as **stability**. But people offer **biological intelligence**," **Mr. Thiyagarajan** said.

उन्होंने यह भी बताया कि **रेज़िलिएंस लोगों की क्षमता** का माप है, न कि **सिस्टम** का। "हम एक **डिजिटल रूप से जुड़े हुए विश्व** में रह रहे हैं। हम **संचार, नेटवर्किंग, सामाजिक संपर्क** या **वित्तीय लेनदेन** के लिए कई **ऐप्स** का उपयोग करते हैं। इससे यह धारणा बनती है कि **सिस्टम रेज़िलिएंट होते हैं**... कि सिस्टम **उपलब्धता, विश्वसनीयता** और **स्थिरता** प्रदान करते हैं। लेकिन लोग **जैविक बुद्धिमत्ता** प्रदान करते हैं," श्री थियागराजन ने कहा।

Industry's responsibility उद्योग की जिम्मेदारी

- Talking about where universities fall short in preparing students for **resilient roles**, **Shankar Venugopal, vice-president, Technology Innovation and Intellectual Property, Mahindra & Mahindra**, pointed out that it was the **responsibility of the industry** as well to bridge the gap.

छात्रों को **रेज़िलिएंट भूमिकाओं** के लिए तैयार करने में विश्वविद्यालय कहां पीछे रह जाते हैं, इस पर बात करते हुए **शंकर वेणुगोपाल, उपाध्यक्ष, टेक्नोलॉजी इनोवेशन एंड इंटेलेक्चुअल प्रॉपर्टी, महिंद्रा एंड महिंद्रा**, ने कहा कि इस खाई को पाटना **उद्योग की भी जिम्मेदारी** है।

- "At the end of the day, we want students who are ready to take up **challenging problems** and come up with **innovative solutions**. **Key gaps lie in knowing versus doing**. They may get to learn a lot from good teachers about **concepts**. But when it comes to **real-world problems**, there is a lot of **hesitation** because they haven't done it in the past. What they need is more opportunities to **practise [dealing] with real-world problems**, possibly through **internships**," **Mr. Venugopal** said.

"अंततः, हमें ऐसे छात्र चाहिए जो **चुनौतीपूर्ण समस्याओं** को लेने के लिए तैयार हों और **नवोन्मेषी समाधान** लेकर आएँ। **मुख्य अंतर जानने और करने के बीच** है। वे अच्छे शिक्षकों से **अवधारणाओं** के बारे में बहुत कुछ सीख सकते हैं। लेकिन जब **वास्तविक दुनिया की समस्याओं** की बात आती है, तो काफी **हिचकिचाहट** होती है क्योंकि उन्होंने इसे पहले नहीं किया होता। उन्हें **वास्तविक समस्याओं से निपटने का अभ्यास** करने के लिए अधिक अवसर चाहिए, संभवतः **इंटरनशिप** के माध्यम से," श्री वेणुगोपाल ने कहा।

'Students need technical breadth'

'छात्रों को तकनीकी व्यापकता की आवश्यकता है'

- He noted that a lot of the students have reasonable technical "**depth**" in their chosen domain. But today's industry needs a good amount of technical "**breadth**" also.

उन्होंने कहा कि कई छात्रों के पास अपने चुने हुए क्षेत्र में पर्याप्त तकनीकी "**गहराई**" होती है। लेकिन आज के उद्योग को अच्छी मात्रा में तकनीकी "**व्यापकता**" की भी आवश्यकता है।

- "For instance, in **electric mobility**, we need **mobility engineers** who know **mechanical, electrical, electronic, programming**, and a whole bunch of things. The needs of the industry have **changed**," he added.

"उदाहरण के लिए, **इलेक्ट्रिक मोबिलिटी** में हमें ऐसे **मोबिलिटी इंजीनियर** चाहिए जिन्हें **मैकेनिकल, इलेक्ट्रिकल, इलेक्ट्रॉनिक, प्रोग्रामिंग**, और कई अन्य चीज़ों का ज्ञान हो। उद्योग की ज़रूरतें **बदल गई हैं**," उन्होंने जोड़ा।

'Academia and industry must work together'

'अकादमिक जगत और उद्योग को मिलकर काम करना चाहिए'

- Academia and industry should work **hand-in-hand** in designing the **syllabus**, **Nelson Kulandairaj, Chief Digital Officer, CIEL HR**, said.



नेल्सन कुलंदैराज, मुख्य डिजिटल अधिकारी, CIEL HR, ने कहा कि पाठ्यक्रम तैयार करने में अकादमिक जगत और उद्योग को मिलकर काम करना चाहिए।

- While the academia cannot update the syllabus often since it is not practically possible, there is a need to **maintain a balance** in terms of what the academia and the industry can do, **Mr. Kulandairaj** said, adding, "They [Academia and industry] have to come together and work." हालांकि अकादमिक जगत के लिए पाठ्यक्रम को बार-बार अपडेट करना व्यावहारिक रूप से संभव नहीं है, लेकिन अकादमिक जगत और उद्योग क्या कर सकते हैं, इसके बीच **संतुलन बनाए रखने** की आवश्यकता है, **श्री कुलंदैराज** ने कहा, और जोड़ा, "उन्हें [अकादमिक जगत और उद्योग] साथ आकर काम करना होगा।"
- **Partha Sharathi Mallick, Pro-Vice Chancellor, VIT**, said that some of the universities abroad have a **full-time programme on resilience education**. He said that the curriculum should take care of **concerns, threats, and crisis management**.
पार्थ सारथी मलिक, प्रो-वाइस चांसलर, VIT, ने कहा कि विदेशों में कुछ विश्वविद्यालयों में **रेज़िलिएंस शिक्षा पर पूर्णकालिक कार्यक्रम** हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि पाठ्यक्रम को **चिंताओं, खतरों, और संकट प्रबंधन** का ध्यान रखना चाहिए।
- "There is **software available for resilience training**, and also **tools**. The curriculum should include **tools and software** so that students can get some **practical experience**. **Curriculum** plays an important role in creating **resilient talent**," he said.
रेज़िलिएंस प्रशिक्षण के लिए **सॉफ्टवेयर और टूल्स** उपलब्ध हैं। पाठ्यक्रम में **टूल्स और सॉफ्टवेयर** शामिल होने चाहिए ताकि छात्रों को कुछ **व्यावहारिक अनुभव** मिल सके। **पाठ्यक्रम रेज़िलिएंट प्रतिभा** के निर्माण में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाता है," उन्होंने कहा।

Consumers get a raw deal as global oil price fall benefit remains 'frozen'

While oil price spikes are passed on to Indian consumers, the benefit of falling prices are not, according to analysts; petrol prices in India have been cut barely by 1.9% since June 2022 even as oil prices have declined 41% since then

SGS III: Economy
NEW DELHI

The price of petrol sold in India has been reduced 1.9% since June 2022, even as the price of oil has fallen 41.5% since then, an analysis of official data by *The Hindu* shows.

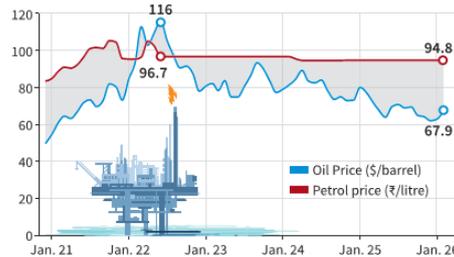
Data from the Petroleum Planning and Analysis Cell (PPAC) show that the price of oil, as captured by the Indian basket of crude oil, rose to over \$100 a barrel in the period March-July 2022, soon after Russia invaded Ukraine in February that year.

Frozen prices

In response to this spike, oil marketing companies (OMCs) increased the price of petrol to ₹105.1 per litre by April 2022. However, they froze the price at ₹96.7 per litre in May 2022, when the average oil prices jumped to around \$110 a

Static pricing

While oil prices have fallen sharply since June 2022, this benefit has not been passed on to consumers in the form of lower petrol prices.



Source: Petroleum Planning & Analysis Cell, Government of India
Note: Data for each month is the average for that month.

barrel. Fuel prices were kept unchanged for more than 21 months thereafter, until mid March 2024.

This freeze, however, marked an unofficial digression from the official dynamic pricing policy the government had adopted in 2017 for petrol under which OMCs were to fix the price of fuel on a daily ba-

sis based on prevailing oil prices.

Oil prices rose to \$116 a barrel by June 2022. The price of oil available to India for purchase declined to an average of \$67.9 a barrel by February 2025, a 41.5% decrease. During this period, the price of petrol sold in India was reduced 1.9% from ₹96.7 a

litre to ₹94.8 a litre.

The Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas had repeatedly informed Parliament that the setting of fuel price is the exclusive domain of the OMCs, and that the government has no part to play in this.

'Based on convenience'

According to energy sector analysts and experts, OMCs have in the past passed on oil price hikes to consumers in the form of higher petrol prices, but have not passed on the benefits of falling oil price.

"In a regulated system, the consumer would have been insulated from both kinds of shocks," Rohit Azad, Professor at the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) said.

"However, in this case, when crude oil prices go up, it is passed on to consumers, but when it goes

down, it is not reflected in the prices. It is a mechanism based on convenience."

Notably, even the 1.9% reduction in petrol prices since June 2022 has been due to cuts in taxes on fuel rather than actions by OMCs to reduce the underlying price of petrol.

That is, the excise duty on petrol was cut in mid-March 2024 by ₹2/litre, reducing the price from ₹96.7/litre to ₹94.7/litre. Since then, the price has increased marginally to ₹94.8/litre.

In response to a query in Parliament, Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Gas Suresh Gopi pointed out that despite there being a ₹2 per litre hike in the excise duty of petrol in April 2025, it was not passed on to consumers. India's largest state-run OMC, IndianOil Corporation, did not respond to a request for comment.

Consumers get a raw deal as global oil price fall benefit remains 'frozen'
वैश्विक तेल कीमतों में गिरावट का लाभ 'जमा' रहने से उपभोक्ताओं को नुकसान



- While oil price spikes are passed on to Indian consumers, the benefit of falling prices are not, according to analysts; petrol prices in India have been cut barely by **1.9%** since **June 2022** even as oil prices have declined **41%** since then
विश्लेषकों के अनुसार, जब तेल कीमतें बढ़ती हैं तो उसका बोझ भारतीय उपभोक्ताओं पर डाल दिया जाता है, लेकिन कीमतें गिरने का लाभ नहीं दिया जाता; **जून 2022** के बाद से भारत में पेट्रोल की कीमतें केवल **1.9%** घटी हैं जबकि उसी अवधि में तेल कीमतें **41%** गिर चुकी हैं
- The price of petrol sold in India has been reduced **1.9%** since **June 2022**, even as the price of oil has fallen **41.5%** since then, an analysis of official data by **The Hindu** shows
The Hindu द्वारा आधिकारिक आंकड़ों के विश्लेषण से पता चलता है कि भारत में बिकने वाले पेट्रोल की कीमत **जून 2022** से अब तक केवल **1.9%** घटी है, जबकि इसी अवधि में तेल की कीमत **41.5%** गिर चुकी है
- Data from the **Petroleum Planning and Analysis Cell (PPAC)** show that the price of oil, as captured by the Indian basket of crude oil, rose to over **\$100 a barrel** in the period **March–July 2022**, soon after Russia invaded Ukraine in **February** that year
Petroleum Planning and Analysis Cell (PPAC) के आंकड़े दिखाते हैं कि भारतीय कच्चे तेल टोकरी के अनुसार तेल की कीमत **मार्च–जुलाई 2022** के दौरान **\$100 प्रति बैरल** से ऊपर चली गई थी, जब उसी वर्ष **फरवरी** में रूस ने यूक्रेन पर हमला किया

Frozen prices जमी हुई कीमतें

- In response to this spike, oil marketing companies (**OMCs**) increased the price of petrol to **₹105.1 per litre** by **April 2022**
इस बढ़ोतरी के जवाब में, तेल विपणन कंपनियों (**OMCs**) ने **अप्रैल 2022** तक पेट्रोल की कीमत बढ़ाकर **₹105.1 प्रति लीटर** कर दी
- However, they froze the price at **₹96.7 per litre** in **May 2022**, when the average oil prices jumped to around **\$110 a barrel**
हालांकि, **मई 2022** में उन्होंने कीमत को **₹96.7 प्रति लीटर** पर स्थिर कर दिया, जब औसत तेल कीमतें लगभग **\$110 प्रति बैरल** तक पहुंच गई थीं
- Fuel prices were kept unchanged for more than **21 months** thereafter, until **mid March 2024**
इसके बाद ईंधन की कीमतें **21 महीनों** से अधिक समय तक, यानी **मार्च 2024 के मध्य** तक, अपरिवर्तित रहीं
- This freeze, however, marked an unofficial digression from the official **dynamic pricing policy** the government had adopted in **2017** for petrol under which OMCs were to fix the price of fuel on a **daily basis** based on prevailing oil prices
हालांकि, यह स्थिरता सरकार द्वारा **2017** में अपनाई गई आधिकारिक **डायनेमिक प्राइसिंग नीति** से एक अनौपचारिक विचलन को दर्शाती है, जिसके तहत OMCs को प्रचलित तेल कीमतों के आधार पर **दैनिक आधार** पर ईंधन की कीमत तय करनी थी
- Oil prices rose to **\$116 a barrel** by **June 2022**
जून 2022 तक तेल की कीमतें बढ़कर **\$116 प्रति बैरल** हो गईं
- The price of oil available to India for purchase declined to an average of **\$67.9 a barrel** by **February 2025**, a **41.5%** decrease
भारत के लिए उपलब्ध तेल की कीमत **फरवरी 2025** तक घटकर औसतन **\$67.9 प्रति बैरल** रह गई, जो कि **41.5%** की गिरावट है
- During this period, the price of petrol sold in India was reduced **1.9%** from **₹96.7 a litre** to **₹94.8 a litre**
इस अवधि के दौरान, भारत में बिकने वाले पेट्रोल की कीमत **₹96.7 प्रति लीटर** से घटकर **₹94.8 प्रति लीटर** हो गई, यानी केवल **1.9%** की कमी
- The **Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas** had repeatedly informed Parliament that the setting of fuel price is the exclusive domain of the OMCs, and that the government has no part to play in this
Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas ने संसद को बार-बार बताया है कि ईंधन कीमत तय करना पूरी तरह OMCs का अधिकार क्षेत्र है और इसमें सरकार की कोई भूमिका नहीं है

‘Based on convenience’
‘सुविधा के आधार पर’



- According to energy sector analysts and experts, OMCs have in the past passed on oil price hikes to consumers in the form of higher petrol prices, but have not passed on the benefits of falling oil price
ऊर्जा क्षेत्र के विश्लेषकों और विशेषज्ञों के अनुसार, OMCs ने अतीत में तेल कीमतों में बढ़ोतरी का बोझ उपभोक्ताओं पर डाला है, लेकिन तेल कीमतों में गिरावट का लाभ उपभोक्ताओं को नहीं दिया
- “In a regulated system, the consumer would have been insulated from both kinds of shocks,” Rohit Azad, Professor at the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning at the **Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU)** said
“एक विनियमित प्रणाली में, उपभोक्ताओं को दोनों प्रकार के झटकों से बचाया गया होता,” **JNU** के सेंटर फॉर इकोनॉमिक स्टडीज़ एंड प्लानिंग के प्रोफेसर **Rohit Azad** ने कहा
- “However, in this case, when crude oil prices go up, it is passed on to consumers, but when it goes down, it is not reflected in the prices. It is a mechanism based on convenience.”
“लेकिन इस मामले में, जब कच्चे तेल की कीमतें बढ़ती हैं तो उसका असर उपभोक्ताओं पर डाला जाता है, और जब कीमतें गिरती हैं तो वह कीमतों में दिखाई नहीं देता। यह एक **सुविधा-आधारित तंत्र** है।”
- Notably, even the **1.9%** reduction in petrol prices since **June 2022** has been due to cuts in **taxes on fuel** rather than actions by OMCs to reduce the underlying price of petrol
गौरतलब है कि **जून 2022** के बाद पेट्रोल कीमतों में हुई **1.9%** की कमी भी OMCs द्वारा मूल कीमत घटाने के बजाय **ईंधन पर करों में कटौती** के कारण हुई है
- That is, the **excise duty** on petrol was cut in **mid-March 2024** by **₹2/litre**, reducing the price from **₹96.7/litre** to **₹94.7/litre**
अर्थात्, **मार्च 2024 के मध्य** में पेट्रोल पर **₹2 प्रति लीटर** की **एक्साइज ड्यूटी** घटाई गई, जिससे कीमत **₹96.7 प्रति लीटर** से घटकर **₹94.7 प्रति लीटर** हो गई
- Since then, the price has increased marginally to **₹94.8/litre**
इसके बाद कीमत में मामूली बढ़ोतरी होकर यह **₹94.8 प्रति लीटर** हो गई
- In response to a query in Parliament, **Suresh Gopi**, Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Gas, pointed out that despite there being a **₹2 per litre hike** in the excise duty of petrol in **April 2025**, it was not passed on to consumers
संसद में एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में, पेट्रोलियम और प्राकृतिक गैस राज्य मंत्री **Suresh Gopi** ने बताया कि **अप्रैल 2025** में पेट्रोल पर **₹2 प्रति लीटर** की एक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ाए जाने के बावजूद इसका बोझ उपभोक्ताओं पर नहीं डाला गया
- India's largest state-run OMC, **IndianOil Corporation**, did not respond to a request for comment
भारत की सबसे बड़ी सरकारी OMC, **IndianOil Corporation**, ने टिप्पणी के अनुरोध का कोई जवाब नहीं दिया

RBI issues draft circular on revised guidelines for lead bank scheme

GS III: Economy:

The Banking
MUMBAI

The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) on Friday issued the draft circular on the revised guidelines for the Lead Bank Scheme (LBS), for public comments.

“The revised guidelines

aim to fine-tune the objectives of the scheme; the structure, membership and agenda of various fora under the scheme; clear delineation of roles and responsibilities of key functionaries; and provisions to further strengthen the State Level Bankers’

Committee and Lead District Manager offices, among others,” the RBI said. The last date for submission of comments is March 6, 2026. The objective is to enhance the effectiveness of the programme, first introduced in 1969, the RBI said.



RBI issues draft circular on revised guidelines for lead bank scheme लीड बैंक योजना के लिए संशोधित दिशानिर्देशों पर RBI ने मसौदा परिपत्र जारी किया

- The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) on Friday issued the draft circular on the revised guidelines for the Lead Bank Scheme (LBS), for public comments
भारतीय रिज़र्व बैंक (RBI) ने शुक्रवार को लीड बैंक योजना (LBS) के लिए संशोधित दिशानिर्देशों पर मसौदा परिपत्र सार्वजनिक टिप्पणियों के लिए जारी किया
- “The revised guidelines aim to fine-tune the objectives of the scheme; the structure, membership and agenda of various fora under the scheme; clear delineation of roles and responsibilities of key functionaries; and provisions to further strengthen the State Level Bankers’ Committee and Lead District Manager offices, among others,” the RBI said
RBI ने कहा, “संशोधित दिशानिर्देशों का उद्देश्य योजना के उद्देश्यों को बेहतर बनाना; योजना के तहत विभिन्न मंचों की संरचना, सदस्यता और एजेंडा; प्रमुख अधिकारियों की भूमिकाओं और जिम्मेदारियों का स्पष्ट निर्धारण; तथा राज्य स्तरीय बैंकर्स समिति और लीड जिला प्रबंधक कार्यालयों को और मजबूत करने के प्रावधान करना है”
- The last date for submission of comments is March 6, 2026
टिप्पणियाँ जमा करने की अंतिम तिथि 6 मार्च 2026 है
- The objective is to enhance the effectiveness of the programme, first introduced in 1969, the RBI said
RBI ने कहा कि उद्देश्य 1969 में पहली बार शुरू की गई इस कार्यक्रम की प्रभावशीलता को बढ़ाना है

NPS to have equity exposure of 25% in FY27: PFRDA Chair

GS III: Economy

The Hindu Bureau
MUMBAI

The National Pension Scheme (NPS) will have an equity market exposure of 25% by FY27, said Chairperson of Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority (PFRDA) Sivasubramanain Raman.

“If you look at the share of G-Secs compared with last year, it’s about the same. Equity has gone up a bit, corporate bonds has come down a little bit. So, because we have allowed equity to grow from 15% to 25% for the largest scheme, which is the government composite scheme. So, obviously equity has gone up today, it’s at about 19% or so. And therefore, I think corporate bonds as a group come down a little bit,”

said Mr. Raman.

AIF investment

Further, he said the regulator is expected to enable Alternative Investment Funds (AIF) exposure in pension schemes by March 2026. “We’ve not put any money into it till now. Okay,” he said.

“Now, we’ve created the structure, we’ve got the operating systems in place, we should be able to have money flowing into AIFs in this fiscal year. The operating processes are in place. We should be ready to go within March,” he added.

He said the PFRDA has set up a committee called MARS (Minimum Assured Return Scheme) which is discussing introduction of this scheme.

NPS to have equity exposure of 25% in FY27: PFRDA Chair
FY27 में NPS में 25% इक्विटी निवेश होगा: PFRDA अध्यक्ष

• The National Pension Scheme (NPS) will have an equity market exposure of 25% by FY27, said Chairperson of Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority (PFRDA) Sivasubramanain Raman

नेशनल पेंशन सिस्टम (NPS) में FY27 तक 25% इक्विटी बाज़ार निवेश होगा, ऐसा PFRDA के अध्यक्ष सिवासुब्रमणियन रमन ने कहा

• “If you look at the share of G-Secs compared with last year, it’s about the same. Equity has gone up a bit, corporate bonds has come down a little bit. So, because we have allowed equity to grow from 15% to 25% for the largest scheme, which is the government composite scheme. So, obviously equity has gone up today, it’s at about 19% or so. And therefore, I think corporate bonds as a group come down a little bit,” said Mr. Raman

“अगर आप पिछले साल की तुलना में G-Secs का हिस्सा देखें, तो यह लगभग समान है। इक्विटी थोड़ा बढ़ी है, कॉर्पोरेट बॉन्ड थोड़े कम हुए हैं। क्योंकि हमने सबसे बड़ी योजना यानी सरकारी समग्र योजना के लिए इक्विटी को 15% से 25% तक बढ़ने की अनुमति दी है। इसलिए स्वाभाविक रूप से आज इक्विटी बढ़कर लगभग 19% हो गई है। और इसलिए, मुझे लगता है कि कॉर्पोरेट बॉन्ड

एक समूह के रूप में थोड़े कम हुए हैं,” श्री रमन ने कहा



AIF investment AIF निवेश

- Further, he said the regulator is expected to enable **Alternative Investment Funds (AIF)** exposure in pension schemes by **March 2026**. "We've not put any money into it till now. Okay," he said
इसके अलावा, उन्होंने कहा कि नियामक द्वारा पेंशन योजनाओं में **Alternative Investment Funds (AIF)** निवेश को **मार्च 2026** तक सक्षम किए जाने की उम्मीद है। "हमने अब तक इसमें कोई पैसा नहीं लगाया है। ठीक है," उन्होंने कहा
- "Now, we've created the structure, we've got the operating systems in place, we should be able to have money flowing into **AIFs** in this **fiscal year**. The operating processes are in place. We should be ready to go within **March**," he added
"अब हमने संरचना बना ली है, संचालन प्रणालियाँ तैयार हैं, और हमें इस **वित्तीय वर्ष** में **AIFs** में धन प्रवाह शुरू कर देना चाहिए। संचालन प्रक्रियाएँ मौजूद हैं। हमें **मार्च** तक पूरी तरह तैयार हो जाना चाहिए," उन्होंने जोड़ा
- He said the **PFRDA** has set up a committee called **MARS (Minimum Assured Return Scheme)** which is discussing introduction of this scheme
उन्होंने कहा कि **PFRDA** ने **MARS (Minimum Assured Return Scheme)** नाम से एक समिति गठित की है, जो इस योजना की शुरुआत पर चर्चा कर रही है

GS Paper III: S&T,	
TOPICS COVERED	14 February 2026
1.	Adani Group enters nuclear power sector after SHANTI Act SHANTI अधिनियम के बाद अडानी समूह का परमाणु ऊर्जा क्षेत्र में प्रवेश
2.	'Online learning can supplement, complement physical classrooms' 'ऑनलाइन लर्निंग भौतिक कक्षाओं को पूरक और सहयोगी बना सकती है'



Adani Group enters nuclear power sector after SHANTI Act

GS III: S&T

Jacob Koshy
NEW DELHI

The Adani Group announced its entry into the nuclear power sector on Thursday, via a regulatory filing. This is the first instance of a major power company in India doing so, following the passage of the Sustainable Harnessing and Advancement of Nuclear Energy for Transforming India (SHANTI) Act in December.

"We wish to inform you that Adani Power Limited (APL) has incorporated a wholly owned subsidiary – Adani Atomic Energy Limited," the company said, in a notice to the National Stock Exchange of India on February 12. It did not offer any details on the exact nature of the group's plans.

The Hindu reached out to Adani Power for more details but did not receive a comment before the time of publication.

The SHANTI Act, which was passed by Parliament in December, replaces the Atomic Energy Act and allows private companies to operate nuclear power plants in India. It also allows such companies to form joint ventures with foreign companies for technology collaboration.

There has been criticism of the Adani Group's nuclear power plans since at least November 29, 2025, when a senior Adani

SHANTI Act allows private companies to operate nuclear power plants in India

executive, Jugeshinder "Robbie" Singh, expressed the Group's interest in the sector.

During the Parliamentary debate on the Bill, Congress MP Manish Tewari insinuated that the SHANTI Act had been brought in by the NDA government to facilitate the Adani Group's entry into the sector. "Is it a coincidence that the Bill has been brought at a time when the Adani Group has expressed interest in the sector?" he asked, in his opening remarks.

Following Adani Power's regulatory filing, Congress spokesperson Jairam Ramesh posted on X on Friday, repeating the allegations that the legislation was meant to benefit the Adanis. "The SHANTI Bill was rushed through Parliament...it was enacted to favour the favourite...the real meaning of SHANTI is Shriman Adani's Nuclear Tech Initiative," he said.

India has an installed nuclear power capacity of 8.8 GW, with the government claiming that it will rise to 32 GW in the next decade. It currently contributes about 3% of generated electricity.

Adani Group enters nuclear power sector after SHANTI Act SHANTI अधिनियम के बाद अडानी समूह का परमाणु ऊर्जा क्षेत्र में प्रवेश

The Adani Group announced its entry into the nuclear power sector on Thursday, via a regulatory filing.

अडानी समूह ने गुरुवार को एक नियामक फाइलिंग के माध्यम से परमाणु ऊर्जा क्षेत्र में प्रवेश की घोषणा की।

This is the first instance of a major power company in India doing so, following the passage of the Sustainable Harnessing and Advancement of Nuclear Energy for Transforming India (SHANTI) Act in December.

यह दिसंबर में सस्टेनेबल हार्नेसिंग एंड एडवांसमेंट ऑफ न्यूक्लियर एनर्जी फॉर ट्रांसफॉर्मिंग इंडिया (SHANTI) अधिनियम के पारित होने के बाद भारत में किसी बड़ी बिजली कंपनी द्वारा ऐसा करने का पहला मामला है।

"We wish to inform you that Adani Power Limited (APL) has incorporated a wholly owned subsidiary — Adani Atomic Energy Limited," the company said, in a notice to the National Stock Exchange of India on February 12.

कंपनी ने 12 फरवरी को नेशनल स्टॉक एक्सचेंज को दी गई सूचना में कहा, "हम आपको सूचित करना चाहते हैं कि अडानी पावर लिमिटेड (APL) ने एक पूर्ण स्वामित्व वाली सहायक कंपनी — अडानी एटॉमिक एनर्जी लिमिटेड — का गठन किया है।"

It did not offer any details on the exact nature of the group's plans.

कंपनी ने समूह की योजनाओं की सटीक प्रकृति पर कोई विवरण नहीं दिया।

The Hindu reached out to Adani Power for more details but did not receive a comment before the time of publication.

द हिंदू ने अधिक जानकारी के लिए अडानी पावर से संपर्क किया, लेकिन प्रकाशन के समय तक कोई प्रतिक्रिया नहीं मिली।

The SHANTI Act, which was passed by Parliament of India in December, replaces the Atomic Energy Act and allows private companies to operate nuclear power plants in India.

दिसंबर में भारत की संसद द्वारा पारित SHANTI

अधिनियम परमाणु ऊर्जा अधिनियम का स्थान लेता है और भारत में निजी कंपनियों को परमाणु बिजली संयंत्र संचालित करने की अनुमति देता है।

- It also allows such companies to form joint ventures with foreign companies for technology collaboration.

यह ऐसे कंपनियों को प्रौद्योगिकी सहयोग के लिए विदेशी कंपनियों के साथ संयुक्त उपक्रम बनाने की भी अनुमति देता है।



- There has been criticism of the Adani Group's nuclear power plans since at least **November 29, 2025**, when a senior Adani executive, **Jugeshinder "Robbie" Singh**, expressed the Group's interest in the sector.
कम से कम **29 नवंबर 2025** से अडानी समूह की परमाणु ऊर्जा योजनाओं की आलोचना होती रही है, जब अडानी के वरिष्ठ कार्यकारी **जुगेशिंदर "रॉबी" सिंह** ने इस क्षेत्र में समूह की रुचि व्यक्त की थी।
- During the Parliamentary debate on the Bill, **Congress MP Manish Tewari** insinuated that the SHANTI Act had been brought in by the **NDA government** to facilitate the Adani Group's entry into the sector.
विधेयक पर संसदीय बहस के दौरान **कांग्रेस सांसद मनीष तिवारी** ने संकेत दिया कि **NDA सरकार** ने SHANTI अधिनियम अडानी समूह के इस क्षेत्र में प्रवेश को सुगम बनाने के लिए लाया है।
- "Is it a coincidence that the Bill has been brought at a time when the Adani Group has expressed interest in the sector?" he asked, in his opening remarks.
उन्होंने अपने प्रारंभिक वक्तव्य में पूछा, "क्या यह संयोग है कि विधेयक ऐसे समय लाया गया है जब अडानी समूह ने इस क्षेत्र में रुचि व्यक्त की है?"
- Following Adani Power's regulatory filing, **Congress spokesperson Jairam Ramesh** posted on X on Friday, repeating the allegations that the legislation was meant to benefit the Adanis.
अडानी पावर की नियामक फाइलिंग के बाद, **कांग्रेस प्रवक्ता जयराम रमेश** ने शुक्रवार को X पर पोस्ट करते हुए आरोपों को दोहराया कि यह कानून अडानी समूह को लाभ पहुंचाने के लिए बनाया गया है।
- "The SHANTI Bill was rushed through Parliament...it was enacted to favour the favourite...the real meaning of SHANTI is Shriman Adani's Nuclear Tech Initiative," he said.
उन्होंने कहा, "SHANTI विधेयक को संसद से जल्दबाजी में पारित कराया गया... इसे पसंदीदा को लाभ पहुंचाने के लिए बनाया गया... SHANTI का असली अर्थ है श्रीमान अडानी की न्यूक्लियर टेक पहल।"
- **India** has an installed nuclear power capacity of **8.8 GW**, with the government claiming that it will rise to **32 GW** in the next decade.
भारत में स्थापित परमाणु ऊर्जा क्षमता **8.8 गीगावॉट** है, और सरकार का दावा है कि अगले दशक में यह **32 गीगावॉट** तक बढ़ जाएगी।
- It currently contributes about **3%** of generated electricity.
वर्तमान में यह कुल उत्पादित बिजली का लगभग **3%** योगदान देती है।

'Online learning can supplement, complement physical classrooms'

Online education is one of the biggest finds of the last decade, says Kadhambari S. Viswanathan, assistant vice-president, VIT; she also underscores the need for the younger generation to use technology responsibly, says skill-set gaps can be addressed by industry-academia collaboration

The Hindu Bureau
CHENNAI

Online education is one of the biggest finds of the last decade, Kadhambari S. Viswanathan, assistant vice-president, Vellore Institute of Technology, said at The Hindu Tech Summit 2026 in Chennai on Friday.

She was speaking at a session, titled 'From Campus to Corporation: Building Industry-Ready Talent for an AI First World', in conversation with L.V. Navaneeth, Chief Executive Officer, The Hindu Group, at the event hosted by The Hindu, presented by VIT, and co-presented Sify Technologies.

"There is a lot of discussion on how online education will change and if it will entirely replace physical classroom-based education. But both can co-exist and supplement and complement each other," she said.

Digital well-being
Talking about digital literacy and digital well-being, Ms. Viswanathan underscored the need for teaching the younger generation how to use technology with caution.

"They should be masters of technology and not



Gazing at the future: Kadhambari S. Viswanathan, assistant vice-president, Vellore Institute of Technology, in conversation with L.V. Navaneeth, Chief Executive Officer, The Hindu Group, at a session titled 'From Campus to Corporation: Building Industry-Ready Talent for an AI First World', at The Hindu Tech Summit 2026 on Friday. S. VELANKANNAN RAJ

the other way around. There is not much literacy and awareness about digital well-being among the people," she added.

There is evidence-based research on how screen time affects the childhood and the mental well-being of teenagers, she said.

Student-led experience
Asked about how modern technology transforms the

'One of the biggest challenges of generative AI is how it affects the communication skills of the people'

daily life and learning experience of students, Ms. Viswanathan said teaching was conventional earlier. But it is no longer faculty-led; it is rapidly becoming

a student-led experience. "Faculty will facilitate the learning process but will not be [entirely in] control of the learning process. It is changing because of information overload available online. But, of course, human intervention is always needed," she added.

Skill-set mismatch
Ms. Viswanathan added that the way the skill-sets were going to progress

would be very different. "There is definitely a skill-set mismatch, and it is due to the lack of practical exposure during the course of study. This can be solved only when there is proper communication between the industry and the academia," she added.

She said that one of the biggest challenges of generative AI is how it affects the communication skills of the people.



‘Online learning can supplement, complement physical classrooms’ ‘ऑनलाइन लर्निंग भौतिक कक्षाओं को पूरक और सहयोगी बना सकती है’

- Online education is one of the **biggest finds of the last decade**, says **Kadhambari S. Viswanathan**, assistant vice-president, **VIT**; she also underscores the need for the **younger generation** to use **technology responsibly**, says **skill-set gaps** can be addressed by **industry-academia collaboration**
ऑनलाइन शिक्षा पिछले दशक की सबसे बड़ी खोजों में से एक है, यह कहती हैं **कधंबरी एस. विश्वनाथन**, सहायक उपाध्यक्ष, **VIT**; वह **युवा पीढ़ी** द्वारा **तकनीक के जिम्मेदार उपयोग** की आवश्यकता पर भी ज़ोर देती हैं, और कहती हैं कि **स्किल-सेट गैप** को **उद्योग-अकादमिक सहयोग** से दूर किया जा सकता है
- Online education is one of the biggest finds of the last decade, **Kadhambari S. Viswanathan**, assistant vice president, **Vellore Institute of Technology**, said at **The Hindu Tech Summit 2026** in Chennai on Friday.
ऑनलाइन शिक्षा पिछले दशक की सबसे बड़ी खोजों में से एक है, **कधंबरी एस. विश्वनाथन**, सहायक उपाध्यक्ष, **वेल्लोर इंस्टीट्यूट ऑफ टेक्नोलॉजी**, ने शुक्रवार को चेन्नई में **द हिंदू टेक समिट 2026** में कहा।
- She was speaking at a session, titled ‘From Campus to Corporation: Building Industry-Ready Talent for an AI First World’, in conversation with **L.V. Navaneeth**, Chief Executive Officer, **The Hindu Group**, at the event hosted by **The Hindu**, presented by **VIT**, and co-presented **Sify Technologies**.
वह ‘From Campus to Corporation: Building Industry-Ready Talent for an AI First World’ शीर्षक सत्र में **एल.वी. नवनीत**, मुख्य कार्यकारी अधिकारी, **द हिंदू ग्रुप**, के साथ बातचीत कर रही थीं, यह कार्यक्रम **द हिंदू** द्वारा आयोजित, **VIT** द्वारा प्रस्तुत और **साइफी टेक्नोलॉजीज़** द्वारा सह-प्रस्तुत किया गया था।
- “There is a lot of discussion on how **online education** will change and if it will entirely replace **physical classroom-based education**. But both can **co-exist** and **supplement and complement each other**,” she said.
“इस पर बहुत चर्चा है कि **ऑनलाइन शिक्षा** कैसे बदलेगी और क्या यह पूरी तरह से **भौतिक कक्षा-आधारित शिक्षा** को बदल देगी। लेकिन दोनों **सह-अस्तित्व** में रह सकती हैं और **एक-दूसरे की पूरक और सहयोगी** बन सकती हैं,” उन्होंने कहा।

Digital well-being डिजिटल वेल-बीइंग

- Talking about **digital literacy** and **digital well-being**, Ms. Viswanathan underscored the need for teaching the **younger generation** how to use **technology with caution**.
डिजिटल साक्षरता और **डिजिटल वेल-बीइंग** पर बात करते हुए, सुश्री विश्वनाथन ने **युवा पीढ़ी** को **तकनीक का सावधानीपूर्वक उपयोग** सिखाने की आवश्यकता पर ज़ोर दिया।
- “They should be **masters of technology** and not the other way around. There is not much literacy and awareness about **digital well-being** among the people,” she added.
“उन्हें **तकनीक का स्वामी** होना चाहिए, न कि इसके उलट। लोगों में **डिजिटल वेल-बीइंग** को लेकर बहुत अधिक साक्षरता और जागरूकता नहीं है,” उन्होंने जोड़ा।
- There is **evidence-based research** on how **screen time** affects the childhood and the **mental well-being of teenagers**, she said.
उन्होंने कहा कि इस पर **साक्ष्य-आधारित शोध** मौजूद है कि **स्क्रीन टाइम** बचपन और **किशोरों के मानसिक स्वास्थ्य** को कैसे प्रभावित करता है।

Student-led experience छात्र-नेतृत्व वाला अनुभव

- Asked about how **modern technology** transforms the daily life and **learning experience of students**, Ms. Viswanathan said teaching was **conventional** earlier.
जब पूछा गया कि **आधुनिक तकनीक** छात्रों के दैनिक जीवन और **सीखने के अनुभव** को कैसे बदलती है, तो सुश्री विश्वनाथन ने कहा कि पहले शिक्षण **पारंपरिक** था।
- But it is no longer **faculty-led**; it is rapidly becoming a **student-led experience**.
लेकिन अब यह **फैकल्टी-नेतृत्व वाला** नहीं रहा; यह तेज़ी से **छात्र-नेतृत्व वाला अनुभव** बन रहा है।



- “Faculty will **facilitate** the learning process but will not be [entirely in] **control** of the learning process. It is changing because of **information overload** available online. But, of course, **human intervention** is always needed,” she added.
“फैकल्टी सीखने की प्रक्रिया को **सहज बनाएगी**, लेकिन सीखने की प्रक्रिया पर पूरी तरह **नियंत्रण** में नहीं होगी। यह ऑनलाइन उपलब्ध **सूचना की अधिकता** के कारण बदल रहा है। लेकिन, निश्चित रूप से, **मानवीय हस्तक्षेप** हमेशा आवश्यक है,” उन्होंने जोड़ा।

Skill-set mismatch स्किल-सेट असंगति

- Ms. Viswanathan added that the way the **skill-sets** were going to progress would be very **different**.
सुश्री विश्वनाथन ने जोड़ा कि जिस तरह से **स्किल-सेट्स** आगे बढ़ने वाले हैं, वह बहुत **भिन्न** होगा।
- “There is definitely a **skill-set mismatch**, and it is due to the lack of **practical exposure** during the course of study. This can be solved only when there is **proper communication** between the **industry and academia**,” she added.
“निश्चित रूप से **स्किल-सेट में असंगति** है, और यह अध्ययन के दौरान **व्यावहारिक अनुभव** की कमी के कारण है। इसे केवल तब ही हल किया जा सकता है जब **उद्योग और अकादमिक जगत** के बीच **उचित संवाद** हो,” उन्होंने जोड़ा।
- She said that one of the biggest challenges of **generative AI** is how it affects the **communication skills** of the people.
उन्होंने कहा कि **जनरेटिव एआई** की सबसे बड़ी चुनौतियों में से एक यह है कि यह लोगों की **संचार क्षमताओं** को कैसे प्रभावित करता है।

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