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PATRIOTIC IAS

THE HINDU NEWSPAPER

DAILY CURRENT AFFAIRS

26 JUNE 2025

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26_06_2025 DAILY CURRENT AFFAIRS

TOPICS COVERED (GS Paper I: History, Society and Geography)

1. Predominant Biological Source of Crude Oil – Plankton
कच्चे तेल का प्रमुख जैविक स्रोत – प्लवक (Plankton)
2. Should the method of counting caste change?
क्या जाति गिनने की पद्धति बदलनी चाहिए?
3. Kyrgyzstan parliament passes law to prioritise Kyrgyz over Russian

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किर्गिज़स्तान की संसद ने रूसी भाषा की तुलना में किर्गिज़ भाषा को प्राथमिकता देने वाला कानून पारित किया

4. Foiled 'sinister' coup plot by senior cleric of Church, says Armenia PM

चर्च के वरिष्ठ धर्मगुरु द्वारा 'षड्यंत्रकारी' तख्तापलट की साजिश नाकाम, आर्मीनिया के प्रधानमंत्री ने कहा

faster than the top speed of a commercial jet
[GS Paper I: Geography]

Answers to June 24 quiz:

1. Predominant biological source of crude oil – **Ans: Plankton**

2. Geological period named to mean "carbon-bearing" – **Ans: Carbiniferous**

3. Source of oil used to treat trench foot – **Ans: Whales**

4. Compound of methane trapped inside ice crystals – **Ans: Methane clathrate**

5. Archipelago whose last coal mine is to close this year – **Ans: Svalbard**

Visual: **Kuwait**

catagenesis into crude oil.

ये जैविक अवशेष गाद की परतों के नीचे दबे और ऊष्मा व दबाव के संपर्क में आकर डायजेनेसिस और कैटाजेनेसिस की प्रक्रियाओं के माध्यम से पीढ़ियों में कच्चे तेल में बदल गए।

- This process, **not related to dinosaurs**, highlights the **critical role of plankton** in forming **fossil fuels**.

Predominant Biological Source of Crude Oil – Plankton

कच्चे तेल का प्रमुख जैविक स्रोत – प्लवक (Plankton)

Ancient plankton—tiny marine organisms such as algae (phytoplankton) and zooplankton—accumulated on ancient seabeds millions of years ago.

प्राचीन प्लवक — जैसे शैवाल (फाइटोप्लवक) और जूप्लवक — करोड़ों वर्ष पहले प्राचीन समुद्री तल पर जमा हो गए थे।

- These organic remains, **buried under layers of sediment** and exposed to **heat and pressure**, transformed over generations through **diagenesis and**



यह प्रक्रिया डायनासोरों से संबंधित नहीं है, और यह जीवाश्म ईंधन के निर्माण में प्लवकों की अहम भूमिका को दर्शाती है।

Plankton's Ecological Role

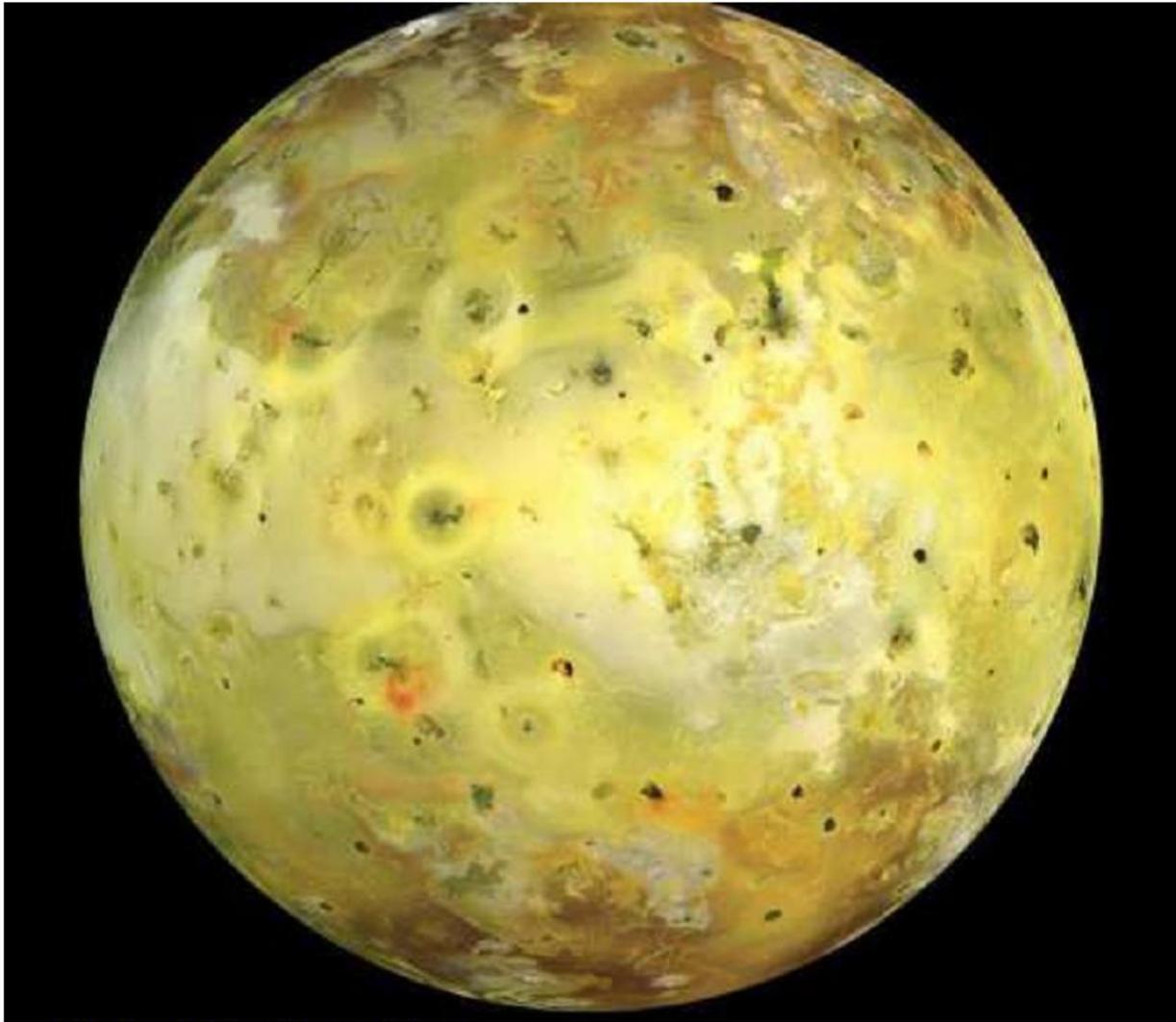
प्लवकों की पारिस्थितिकी भूमिका

- **Microscopic** but immensely **abundant organisms**.
ये सूक्ष्म लेकिन अत्यधिक प्रचुर मात्रा में पाए जाने वाले जीव होते हैं।
- **Responsible for about 50% of Earth's oxygen via photosynthesis**.
ये प्रकाश संश्लेषण के माध्यम से पृथ्वी के लगभग 50% ऑक्सीजन के लिए जिम्मेदार होते हैं।
- Serve as the **foundation of the marine food chain**.
ये समुद्री खाद्य श्रृंखला की आधारशिला होते हैं।

Geological Period Named “Carboniferous” (meaning “coal-bearing”)

भूवैज्ञानिक काल जिसका नाम “कार्बोनिफेरस” है (अर्थात ‘कोयला-धारी’)

- The **Carboniferous Period** (~ 354–290 million years ago) was marked by abundant **coal-forming forests** in swampy lowlands.
कार्बोनिफेरस काल (लगभग 354–290 मिलियन वर्ष पूर्व) में दलदली निम्नभूमियों में प्रचुर मात्रा में कोयला-निर्माण करने वाले वन पाए जाते थे।
- Its name literally means “**coal-bearing**”, highlighting **large deposits of fossil fuels** formed then.
इसका नाम शाब्दिक रूप से “कोयला-धारी” है, जो उस समय बने जीवाश्म ईंधनों के बड़े भंडारों को दर्शाता है।
- Features included **giant trees, tree ferns, and lycopods**, which created **thick peat layers** later converted into **coal under pressure**.
इस काल की विशेषताओं में विशाल वृक्ष, फर्न जैसी झाड़ियाँ और लाइकोपोड्स शामिल थे, जिन्होंने मोटे पीट की परतें बनाईं जो बाद में दबाव के तहत कोयले में परिवर्तित हो गईं।



GS Paper I: Geography

Visual: Name this Solar System moon famed for its iconic surface. It's also the most geologically active body in the system. NASA



Should the method of counting caste change?

What are the two phases of the Census? Why has caste enumeration been included in the upcoming Census, according to the Union government? What are the reforms the Census should undertake in order to facilitate data that will be helpful for bringing the marginalised to the mainstream?

GS Paper I: Society

EXPLAINER

K. Narayanan Unni

The story so far:

The Central Government has announced that the next Census would take place in 2027 and that it would collect information on castes. Can such a massive data exercise be made more useful through a restructuring of the existing Census process?

How is the Census conducted?

The first phase of the Census, called house-listing, would probably be conducted between April to September in 2026. This stage lists all the dwelling units in the country where people live, along with several characteristics of the houses and households.

The second phase called the population enumeration phase would be conducted in 2027, wherein information on several key socio-economic characteristics of the population would be collected. This is also the stage where caste would be recorded.

Why is caste being recorded?

The recording of an individual's caste was last done in the 1941 Census. However, that data could not be processed due to economic constraints of the Second World War. Thus, effectively, the last Census to provide data on caste has been the 1931 Census that has become too outdated to use for any purpose.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi is reported to have said that caste enumeration as part of the Census is a step the government is taking to bring the marginalised and those left behind in every field into the mainstream. However, given the limitations of the Census as a method of data collection as well as the design of the Census questionnaire, it is doubtful whether this objective can be fulfilled. A restructuring of the Census questionnaires could make more useful data be made easily available to further the objectives indicated by the Union government.

What are the problems with the questionnaires?

It is presumed that the questions that were included in the draft questionnaires for the 2021 Census may more or less remain the same for the 2027 Census. In the 2021 draft, the question on caste was restricted to those belonging to Scheduled Castes (SC) as in the past Censuses.

By making this question applicable to all castes, except Scheduled Tribes (ST), and with consequent changes in instructions and the software used for electronic data collection, data on castes can be collected. The practical difficulties of collecting data on castes is not within the scope of this article. Information on specific castes can be ascertained through literacy/educational levels; age at marriage; mother tongue and other languages known; status of the individual as the main worker, marginal worker or non worker; seeking/available for work; broad classification of industry/occupation of the workers; place of birth/ previous residence; and data on child birth and survival.

While the data on 'mother tongue and other languages known' may not be of much importance in assessing the socio-economic status of various castes, information on participation in economic activity and its broad classification may be of use. However, the data on



Numbering citizens: A teacher collects details from a woman as part of the State caste census at Kandi in Sangareddy district, Telangana in 2024. FILE PHOTO

unemployment derived using the response to the question "whether seeking/available for work" suffers from conceptual issues and lack of attention in data collection. For example, this question has a reference period of one year. However, it is not clearly mentioned as to how long a person should be seeking/or be available for work to be classified as unemployed. Though this question has been asked in every Census starting from 1981, it could never give useful data.

Information on 'child births and survival' collected in the Census suffers from serious quality issues. These questions, included in the Census from 1981, have outlived their utility as similar information is better collected through the National Family Health Surveys. Getting any reliable caste-wise data from these questions is almost impossible.

Information on migration may be an important aspect to assess whether people of certain castes are more prone to migration. However, data from previous Censuses seem to indicate that a large percentage of migrants are not counted or are not recorded as migrants.

Thus, the only information that would be available to classify caste are those of education, age at marriage and participation in economic activity.

While the Census does collect other information that would help in moving towards the objectives stated by the Union government for the inclusion of caste in the Census, it would need some serious restructuring of the Census questionnaires and process.

How should the Census questionnaires be restructured?

The main objective of the house listing phase is to prepare a list of all dwelling units where people are living or are likely

to be living at the time of the Census. This framework helps in carving out new enumeration blocks as required and thus helps balance the workload of the enumerators. Several questions relating to quality of housing, amenities available to households and assets owned, have been asked during this phase from the 1991 Census onwards.

However, in the 1981 Census, these questions were in the household schedule canvassed during the second phase of the census, that is the population enumeration phase.

Transferring these questions from the house-list schedule to the household schedule would help linking information on quality of housing, amenities and assets to other aspects of the population easier. As there is a time gap of six to nine months between the house-listing and population enumeration phases, linking the information on the basis of house number, name of the head of the household etc. may bring about error. Such errors may seriously impact the reliability of data, especially for small communities.

Taking the questions out of the house-listing schedule would also help enumerators to concentrate on the listing of all buildings, be it residential, partly residential or non-residential along with the number of people living in them. Improved house-lists would help in better coverage of the Census. This is very important in urban areas which have higher omission rates in most Censuses.

Such linkages or transfer of questions have not been adopted in either the 2011 Census or in the planning of the 2021 Census (which was advanced due to the COVID-19 pandemic).

Without such data in the Census, it is not possible to answer questions like, "What is the literacy rate of persons living

in kutcha house without electricity and whether this is significantly lower than that of others" or "What proportion of the workforce in urban areas live in kutcha houses?", etc.

The Census should be able to provide answers to the above questions, disaggregated by caste. Then only can the data be used for identifying marginalised communities and the extent of disparities between them. Though collecting accurate data through a Census on many of these variables is not an easy process, and though the quality of data might suffer, it is the best alternative as of now.

Should some questions be omitted?

There is a need to make the Census leaner by dropping unnecessary questions. Several questions on amenities available to the household or assets owned by them may have become redundant. For example, ownership of mobile phones or that of computers may not be as important now as it was five years ago. Similarly, questions on access of households to bank accounts might be omitted. A shorter questionnaire would help the enumerator concentrate on getting more accurate responses to the questions.

The Census has been providing caste/tribe wise data on several socio-economic variables. It is doubtful whether this data have been used to identify the most backward castes/tribes for similar exercises that could aid policy/program formulation. Hopefully, caste-wise data thrown up by the upcoming Census would be used better in policy and program formulations, and be used beyond decisions regarding the percentages for reservation.

The author is a retired officer from the Indian Statistical Service and a former Deputy Registrar General.

THE GIST

Prime Minister Narendra Modi is reported to have said that caste enumeration as part of the Census is a step the government is taking to bring the marginalised and those left behind in every field into the mainstream.

Information on migration may be an important aspect to assess whether people of certain castes are more prone to migration. However, data from previous Censuses seem to indicate that a large percentage of migrants are not counted or are not recorded as migrants.

There is a need to make the Census leaner by dropping unnecessary questions.

Should the method of counting caste change?



क्या जाति गिनने की पद्धति बदलनी चाहिए?

The Central Government has announced that the next Census would take place in 2027 and that it would collect information on castes.

केंद्र सरकार ने घोषणा की है कि अगला Census 2027 में होगा और इसमें जाति संबंधी जानकारी संरक्षित की जाएगी।

- Question: Can such a **massive data exercise** be made more useful through a **restructuring of the existing Census process**?
प्रश्न: क्या इस विशाल डेटा कार्य को मौजूदा जनगणना प्रक्रिया के पुनर्गठन के माध्यम से अधिक उपयोगी बनाया जा सकता है?

How is the Census conducted?

जनगणना कैसे की जाती है?

- The **first phase**, called **house-listing**, would be conducted between **April to September 2026**.
पहला चरण, जिसे हाउस-लिस्टिंग कहा जाता है, अप्रैल से सितंबर 2026 के बीच आयोजित किया जाएगा।
This stage **lists all dwelling units** in the country with characteristics of **houses and households**.
इस चरण में देशभर में सभी आवास इकाइयों की सूची बनाई जाती है, जिसमें घरों और परिवारों की विशेषताएँ दर्ज होती हैं।
- The **second phase**, called **population enumeration**, would be conducted in **2027**, where information on **several key socio-economic characteristics** would be collected.
दूसरा चरण, जिसे जनसंख्या सर्वेक्षण कहा जाता है, 2027 में आयोजित किया जाएगा, जिसमें कई प्रमुख सामाजिक-आर्थिक विशेषताओं की जानकारी एकत्रित की जाएगी।

This is also the stage where **caste would be recorded**.

यह वह चरण भी है जिसमें जाति रिकॉर्ड की जाएगी।

Why is caste being recorded?

जाति को क्यों रिकॉर्ड किया जा रहा है?

- The recording of an individual's caste was last done in the **1941 Census**, but data could not be processed due to **economic constraints of WWII**.
किसी व्यक्ति की जाति आखिरी बार 1941 जनगणना में दर्ज की गई थी, लेकिन यह डेटा द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध के आर्थिक प्रतिबंधों के कारण संसाधित नहीं किया जा सका।



- Effectively, the last Census to provide caste data was the **1931 Census**, now **too outdated** for any purpose.
व्यावहारिक रूप से, **1931 जनगणना** के बाद से जाति डेटा उपलब्ध नहीं है, जो अब किसी भी उद्देश्य के लिए **बहुत पुराना** हो चुका है।
- PM Narendra Modi** reportedly said caste enumeration is a step to bring the **marginalised** into the **mainstream**.
प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी के अनुसार जाति की गणना एक कदम है जिससे **शोषित** वर्गों को **मुख्यधारा** में लाया जा सके।
- However, given **limitations of Census** as a data collection method, and **questionnaire design**, this objective is **doubtful**.
हालांकि, जनगणना को डेटा संग्रह की पद्धति और प्रश्नावली के डिजाइन की **सीमाओं** को ध्यान में रखते हुए, यह उद्देश्य **संदिग्ध** है।
- A **restructuring of the Census questionnaires** could make more useful data available to further the government's stated objectives.
Census प्रश्नावली के **पुनर्गठन** से अधिक उपयोगी डेटा मिल सकता है, जो सरकार के उद्देश्यों को आगे बढ़ा सकता है।

What are the problems with the questionnaires?

प्रश्नावली में क्या समस्याएँ हैं?

- The **draft questionnaires for 2021** Census may more or less remain the same for 2027.
2021 की ड्राफ्ट प्रश्नावली 2027 के लिए लगभग वही रह सकती है।
- In 2021 draft, the **caste question** was restricted to those belonging to **Scheduled Castes (SC)** as in past Censuses.
2021 की ड्राफ्ट में **जाति प्रश्न** केवल **अनुसूचित जातियों (SC)** को लक्षित था, जैसा कि पहले हुआ करता था।
- By making this question applicable to **all castes except ST**, and modifying **instructions and software**, caste data can be collected.
इस प्रश्न को **अनुसूचित जनजाति (ST)** को छोड़कर **सभी जातियों** के लिए लागू कर, और निर्देशों व **सॉफ्टवेयर** में बदलाव करके जाति डेटा संग्रह संभव है।
- Practical difficulties** of collecting caste data are not covered here.
जाति डेटा संग्रह की **व्यावहारिक कठिनाइयाँ** इस चर्चा में शामिल नहीं हैं।
- Additional indicators** like **literacy, age at marriage, mother tongue, worker status, industry/occupation, birthplace/migration, and childbirth/survival** data can help ascertain caste information.
पढ़ाई, विवाह की आयु, मातृभाषा, कर्मचारी स्थिति, उद्योग/व्यवसाय, जन्मस्थान/प्रवास, और बाल-जन्म/जीवन जैसी **अन्य सूचकांक** जाति संबंधी जानकारी तय करने में सहायक हो सकते हैं।



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- **Birth and survival** data suffer quality issues; better captured in **National Family Health Surveys (NFHS)**.
जन्म और जीवन से संबंधित डेटा की गुणवत्ता समस्या आती है; इसे **National Family Health Surveys (NFHS)** अच्छी तरह रिकॉर्ड करती है।
- **Migration** info could reveal caste-based migration patterns, but **previous Census migration data** is incomplete.
प्रवास की जानकारी से जाति-आधारित प्रवासन पैटर्न पता चल सकता है, लेकिन **पूर्व जनगणना प्रवासन डेटा अधूरा है**।
- Thus, available **caste classification info** would rely mainly on **education, age at marriage, and economic participation**.
इस प्रकार, उपलब्ध **जाति वर्गीकरण जानकारी** अधिकतर शिक्षा, विवाह की आयु, और आर्थिक भागीदारी पर निर्भर होगी।
- While Census gathers other relevant info, it needs **serious restructuring** of questionnaires and process to meet Union government's objective.
जनगणना अन्य प्रासंगिक जानकारी इकट्ठा करती है, लेकिन इसे केंद्र सरकार के उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए प्रश्नावली एवं प्रक्रिया का **गंभीर पुनर्गठन** आवश्यक है।

How should the Census questionnaires be restructured?

जनगणना प्रश्नावली को कैसे पुनर्गठित किया जाना चाहिए?

Purpose of House-Listing Phase

हाउस-लिस्टिंग चरण का उद्देश्य

- The main objective of this phase is to prepare a **list of all dwelling units** where people live or are likely to live during the Census.
इस चरण का मुख्य उद्देश्य **सभी आवास इकाइयों** की सूची तैयार करना है, जहाँ लोग जनगणना के समय रहते हैं या रहने की संभावना है।
- This framework helps in **creating enumeration blocks** and **balancing the workload** for enumerators.
यह प्रणाली गणना ब्लॉक तैयार करने और **गणकर्मियों के कार्यभार** को संतुलित करने में मदद करती है।
- Since **1991**, several questions on **housing quality, amenities, and assets** have been included in this phase.
1991 से इस चरण में **आवास की गुणवत्ता, सुविधाएँ, और संपत्तियाँ** संबंधी कई प्रश्न शामिल किए गए हैं।

Need to Shift Questions to Population Phase

प्रश्नों को जनसंख्या गणना चरण में स्थानांतरित करने की आवश्यकता

- In the **1981 Census**, questions on amenities and assets were in the **population enumeration phase**, not house-listing.

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1981 की जनगणना में, सुविधाओं और संपत्तियों संबंधी प्रश्न जनसंख्या गणना चरण में थे, न कि हाउस-लिस्टिंग में।

- **Transferring these questions** to the household schedule would help **link housing data with population characteristics** effectively.

इन प्रश्नों को गृह-आवास अनुसूची में स्थानांतरित करने से **आवास संबंधी डेटा को जनसंख्या विशेषताओं से जोड़ना** आसान होगा।

Avoiding Data Linking Errors

डेटा लिंकिंग त्रुटियों से बचाव

- A **6–9 month gap** exists between phases, so linking based on house number or head's name may cause **errors**, especially in small communities.
दोनों चरणों के बीच **6–9 महीने** का अंतर होता है, इसलिए घर संख्या या मुखिया के नाम पर लिंक करने से विशेषकर छोटे समुदायों में **त्रुटियाँ** हो सकती हैं।
- Removing these questions from house-listing allows enumerators to focus on **listing buildings and occupancy**, improving **Census coverage**, especially in urban areas with high omission rates.
हाउस-लिस्टिंग से इन प्रश्नों को हटाने से गणकर्मियों **भवनों और उनकी आबादी** की सूची पर ध्यान केंद्रित कर सकेंगे, जिससे जनगणना का कवरेज बेहतर होगा, खासकर **शहरी क्षेत्रों** में जहाँ अधिक छूट होती है।

Policy-Relevant Data through Caste Linkage

जाति से जुड़े नीतिगत-प्रासंगिक डेटा

- With linked data, the Census could answer questions like “literacy rate of persons in kutcha houses without electricity” or “proportion of urban workforce in kutcha houses,” **disaggregated by caste**.
लिंक किए गए डेटा से ऐसे प्रश्नों का उत्तर मिल सकता है: “बिजली रहित कच्चे घरों में रहने वालों की साक्षरता दर” या “कच्चे घरों में रहने वाले शहरी कार्यबल का अनुपात,” **जाति के अनुसार विभाजित** करके।
- Such insights are essential for **identifying marginalised communities** and understanding disparities.
ये जानकारी **पीछड़े समुदायों की पहचान** और असमानताओं को समझने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है।

Streamlining Questionnaire – Omitting Redundant Questions

प्रश्नावली को सरल बनाना – अप्रासंगिक प्रश्न हटाना

- The Census needs to be **leaner** by dropping unnecessary questions on common amenities/assets like mobile phones, computers, or bank accounts.
जनगणना को **सरल** बनाने के लिए मोबाइल, कंप्यूटर या बैंक खाते जैसी सामान्य सुविधाओं/संपत्तियों पर गैर-जरूरी प्रश्नों को हटाना चाहिए।



- A shorter questionnaire would help enumerators obtain more accurate responses to critical questions.

संक्षिप्त प्रश्नावली से गणकर्मी महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों के सटीक उत्तर लेने पर अधिक ध्यान दे सकते हैं।

Better Use of Caste-Wise Data

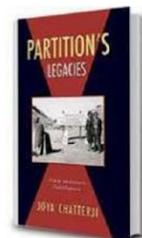
जाति-वार डेटा का बेहतर उपयोग

- Historically, caste/tribe-wise data have not been well-used for identifying backward communities or informing programs.
ऐतिहासिक रूप से, जाति/जनजाति-वार डेटा का उपयोग पीछड़े समुदायों की पहचान या कार्यक्रम डिजाइन में पर्याप्त रूप से नहीं हुआ है।
- This Census should ensure caste data are used beyond reservation placeholders, for broader policy and program formulation.
इस जनगणना में जाति डेटा का उपयोग केवल आरक्षण कोटों तक सीमित न रखकर, इसे व्यापक नीति निर्माण और कार्यक्रमों में उपयोग किया जाना चाहिए।

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Displaced lives: East Pakistan refugees from Danva Karanya at Raipur railway station waiting to go to West Bengal in April 1978. THE HINDU ARCHIVES





Voices from the margins: Dalit, women refugee accounts of the Bengal Partition

Though the writings on Partition are rightly about loss, writers are also looking at other areas. While a Dalit writer has written his experience of untouchability, another new book underscores that women refugees of Bengal played an important role in shaping the women's movement

GS Paper I: Society

Sudipta Datta

At the launch of *The Last Bench* (Ekada/Westland Books) in Kolkata last week, Adhir Biswas said his experience of untouchability as a child was painful, but also a treasure. With no one willing to play with him, and the village too boycotting his family of barbers, he had all the time to forage in the forests and discover a world of other beings, like mongooses and mynahs and a dog called Bhombol, invisible to most like he was.

However, that is small compensation for the acute caste oppression forced on him, first in an East Bengal (then East Pakistan) village (Magura), and then when his family moved to West Bengal in 1967. Bengal prides itself on being largely caste agnostic, but Biswas's Dalit and refugee memoir flies in the face of it.

Biswas did something about the societal slight – he got himself an education against all odds, began writing in magazines from the 1970s, and then launched a publishing house, Gangchil, in 2005 so that stories like his own could be told. "It's enshrined in my memory – how it feels when you have no place in society – and I wanted to write about it," he said. His heart-rending account – written as three separate slim books in Bengali – has been translated by V. Ramaswamy into English, giving it a wider readership.

His life of hardship will be unimaginable to many, and the session to launch the book at Max Mueller Bhavan

was aptly titled, 'Growing up Invisible in an Unjust World.'

Just how invisible he felt is described in his classroom travails, when he was asked to sit at the back, far away from everyone; when he wrote every word being taught on his cracked slate, but never had the privilege of being asked a question; when the teacher on day one decided he should be called a 'Paramanik' (because he hailed from a family of barbers) and not Biswas, which was their surname.

Caste violence and poverty

Read together with Manoranjan Byapari's *Interrogating My Chandal Life* (Sage), Biswas's voice from the margins is an important addition to studies and understanding of Dalit and refugee life. Byapari has written about his migration to West Bengal, caste violence and poverty, and his itinerant life in his fiction as well, particularly in the 'Chandal Jibon' trilogy, comprising *The Runaway Boy*, *The Nemesis* and *The Interloper* (Westland Books), all translated by Ramaswamy.

Scholars are now paying closer attention to the migration that happened from East Bengal/East Pakistan into West Bengal and looking at the afterlife of Partition. In the Foreword to Gargi Chakravarty's new book, *Coming Out of Partition: Refugee Women of Bengal* (Tulika Books), Tanika Sarkar writes that partition in Bengal was a very long-term process, violence was sporadic, and migration happened in a long, persistent trickle rather than in a single torrential

movement. "It is, in fact, difficult to put a definite closure on the process, which, Joya Chatterji argues [in her books on Bengal Partition] began and did not end with 1947."

Research has shown, notes Joya Chatterji in her book *Partition's Legacies* (Permanent Black), that in a myriad ways refugees drove change. "In West Bengal, where landed elites resisted reforms, refugees threw themselves behind communist agitations, propelling the communists to power in 1969. They seized and then squatted on vacant land, demanded full rehabilitation as a matter of right, pushing and stretching the vocabulary of 'rights' in India's emergent democracy," she points out.

Radical social reorientation

Chakravarty's family hailed from East Bengal, and several members had stayed back there. "Listening to those who longed for the lost homeland and to those who remained there, she came to acquire a deep sense of identification with the land that she had not seen," says Sarkar.

Her mother, the novelist Sabitri Ray, has portrayed her life in a refugee settlement in West Bengal in her novels and short stories. Too often, writes Chakravarty in the Preface, women's experience of Partition becomes a story of loss and victimhood, of violence and oppression. "While the focus is valid and deeply relevant, it does somewhat marginalise other areas of experience that are no less relevant." Chakravarty points

out that the women refugees of Bengal have not only played an important role in shaping the women's movement, but they have also been responsible for a radical reorientation of the social lives of Bengali women.

Chakravarty traces the story of migration – how and why Hindus abandoned their ancestral homes and left East Bengal; and also about the lifelong yearning for the "land of rivers" they had left behind.

In West Bengal, refugees faced enormous problems. In that backdrop, Chakravarty reviews the transition in the lives of the refugee women who came out on the streets and plunged into political activism for survival, seeking shelter, food and employment.

In due course, there were immense sociological changes in the lives of refugees living in the colonies, which Chakravarty documents.

In his Introduction to *Partition's Legacies*, David Washbrook writes that Chatterji's Bengal is no less fractured and brutalised by colonialism, Partition, and the post-colonial state. "However, it does not only stand as a field of negation and lament. [In several essays], she shows how even little people mattered, re-built their lives, challenged and re-made policies of the state, and acculturated themselves to new environments."

Chakravarty's book on the lives of refugee women and Biswas's on his own crushing childhood are an invaluable addition to books on Partition in the east.

Voices from the margins: Dalit, women refugee accounts of the Bengal Partition

सीमांतों की आवाज़ें: बंगाल विभाजन में दलित और महिला शरणार्थियों की कहानियाँ

Though the writings on Partition are rightly about loss, writers are also looking at other areas.

विभाजन पर लेखन वास्तव में हानि के बारे में है, फिर भी लेखक अन्य पहलुओं को भी देख रहे हैं।

- While a **Dalit writer** has written his experience of **untouchability**, another new book underscores that **women refugees** of Bengal played an important role in shaping the **women's movement**.



जहाँ एक दलित लेखक ने अछूतपन का अपना अनुभव लिखा है, वहीं दूसरी नई किताब इस बात पर प्रकाश डालती है कि बंगाल की महिला शरणार्थियों ने महिला आंदोलन को आकार देने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई।

The Last Bench – Adhir Biswas

द लास्ट बेंच – अधीर बिस्वास

- At the launch of *The Last Bench* (Ekada/Westland Books) in Kolkata last week, **Adhir Biswas** said his experience of **untouchability** as a child was painful, but also a **treasure**.

The Last Bench की कोलकाता में हाल की लॉन्चिंग पर अधीर बिस्वास ने कहा कि बचपन में अपनी अछूतता का अनुभव दर्दनाक था, लेकिन एक खज़ाना भी था।

- With no one willing to play with him, and the **village boycotting** his barber family, he spent time **foraging in forests discovering mongooses, mynahs, and his dog Bhombol, as invisible** to most like he was.

जब कोई उसके साथ खेलने को तैयार नहीं था, और गाँव ने उसकी नाई परिवार का बहिष्कार कर दिया, तब वह जंगल में घूमकर वेढ़र, मैना, और अपने कुत्ते भोंभोल को खोजता — जो अधिकतर लोगों की तरह ही अदृश्य थे।

- However, that is small compensation for the **acute caste oppression**, first in East Bengal (Magura) and then after **1967 migration** to West Bengal.

यह अनुभव भी तीव्र जातिगत उत्पीड़न के सामने एक छोटा मुआवजा था, पहले पूर्व बंगाल (मगुरा) में और फिर **1967 में पश्चिम बंगाल** आने के बाद।

- Bengal prides itself on being caste-agnostic, but Biswas's **Dalit and refugee memoir** flies in the face of it.

बंगाल खुद को जाति-निरपेक्ष मानता है, लेकिन बिस्वास की दलित और शरणार्थी संस्मरण ने इसे चुनौती दी।

- He **pursued education**, began writing in magazines from the **1970s**, and launched a **publishing house (Gangchil)** in **2005** to tell stories like his own.

उन्होंने शिक्षा प्राप्त की, 1970 के दशक से पत्रिकाओं में लिखना शुरू किया, और ऐसी कहानियाँ सुनाने के लिए **2005 में पब्लिशिंग हाउस (गंगचिल)** शुरू किया।

- His memoir, written in **three slim books in Bengali**, was translated by **V. Ramaswamy** into English, making it accessible to a wider audience.

उनका संस्मरण, जो **तीन पतली बंगाली पुस्तकों** में लिखा गया था, **V. रामास्वामी** द्वारा अंग्रेज़ी में अनुवादित हुआ, जिससे वह **व्यापक पाठकों** तक पहुंच सका।

- The Max Mueller Bhavan launch event was aptly titled “**Growing up Invisible in an Unjust World.**”

मैक्स मुलर भवन में लॉन्च इवेंट का उपयुक्त शीर्षक था “**अन्यायपूर्ण दुनिया में अदृश्यता में पलते हुए।**”



Caste violence and poverty – Manoranjan Byapari

जातिगत हिंसा और गरीबी – मनोरंजनन्यन व्याकुल

- Read together with Manoranjan Byapari's *Interrogating My Chandal Life* (Sage), Biswas's voice from the margins is an important addition to studies of **Dalit and refugee life**.
मनोरंजनन्यन ब्यापारी की *Interrogating My Chandal Life* (Sage) के साथ पढ़ने पर, बिस्वास की सीमांत से आई आवाज़ दलित और शरणार्थी जीवन के अध्ययन में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान देती है।
- Byapari has written about his **migration to West Bengal, caste violence, poverty**, and itinerant life in his fiction, especially in the **Chandal Jibon trilogy** (*The Runaway Boy, The Nemesis, The Interloper*), all translated by Ramaswamy.
ब्यापारी ने अपने उपन्यासों में अपनी पश्चिम बंगाल की प्रवास, जातिगत हिंसा, गरीबी, और भटकती जीवनशैली को लिखा है, विशेष रूप से **Chandal Jibon ट्रिलॉजी** (*The Runaway Boy, The Nemesis, The Interloper*), जो सभी रामास्वामी द्वारा अनूदित हैं।

Partition and refugee dynamics – Gargi Chakravartty & Joya Chatterji

विभाजन और शरणार्थी गतिशीलता – गर्गी चक्रवर्ती और जोया चटर्जी

- Scholars now pay closer attention to migration from East Bengal/East Pakistan into West Bengal and the **afterlife of Partition**.
विद्वान अब पूर्व बंगाल/पूर्व पाकिस्तान से पश्चिम बंगाल तक के प्रवास और विभाजन के दशकों बाद पर अधिक ध्यान दे रहे हैं।
- In the foreword to *Coming Out of Partition: Refugee Women of Bengal* (Tulika Books), **Tanika Sarkar** writes that partition in Bengal was a **long-term process**, with **sporadic violence**, and migration as a **persistent trickle**, not a single flood.
Coming Out of Partition: Refugee Women of Bengal (Tulika Books) में प्रस्तावना में तानिका सरकार लिखती हैं कि बंगाल में विभाजन एक दीर्घकालिक प्रक्रिया था, जिसमें बेतरतीब हिंसा थी, और प्रवास एक लगातार बहाव, एक बार में नहीं।
- "It is difficult to put a definite closure on the process, which, **Joya Chatterji** argues, began and did not end with **1947**."
"इस प्रक्रिया को एक निश्चित अंत देना मुश्किल है, जैसा कि **जोया चटर्जी** तर्क देती हैं, यह **1947** से शुरू हुआ और खत्म नहीं हुआ।"

Political impact – Refugees and Communist rise

राजनीतिक प्रभाव – शरणार्थी और कम्युनिस्ट उभराव

- In *Partition's Legacies* (Permanent Black), **Joya Chatterji** notes refugees in West Bengal, in face of **landed elite resistance**, supported **communist agitations**, helping **CPIM** come to power in 1969.



Partition's Legacies (Permanent Black) में जोया चटर्जी बताती हैं कि पश्चिम बंगाल में जर्मीदारों के विरोध के बावजूद, शरणार्थियों ने कम्युनिस्ट आंदोलनों का समर्थन किया, जिससे 1969 में CPIM सत्ता में आयी।

- They **seized and squatted on vacant land**, demanded **full rehabilitation as a right**, broadening India's emerging democratic **vocabulary of 'rights'**.
उन्होंने खाली जमीनों पर कब्जा किया और कब्जा कर लिया, और पूरा पुनर्वास एक अधिकार के रूप में माँगा, जिससे भारत के उभरते लोकतंत्र में 'अधिकारों' की शब्दावली विस्तारित हुई।

Radical Social Reorientation

समाज में क्रांतिकारी पुनर्संरक्षण

- Chakravartty's family hailed from **East Bengal**, and several members had **stayed back** there.
चक्रवर्ती का परिवार **पूर्वी बंगाल** से था और कई सदस्य वहीं रह गए थे।
- "Listening to those who longed for the **lost homeland** and to those who remained there, she came to acquire a deep sense of identification with the land that she had not seen," says **Sarkar**.
सरकार कहती हैं, "जो लोग **खोए हुए देश** के लिए तरसते थे और जो वहाँ रह गए थे, उन्हें सुनते-सुनते, उन्होंने उस भूमि से गहरा जुड़ाव महसूस किया जिसे उन्होंने कभी देखा नहीं था।"
- Her mother, the novelist **Sabitri Ray**, has portrayed their life in a **refugee settlement in West Bengal** in her novels and short stories.
उनकी माँ, उपन्यासकार **साबित्री रे**, ने अपने उपन्यासों और कहानियों में **पश्चिम बंगाल के शरणार्थी बस्तियों** में अपने जीवन का चित्रण किया है।
- Too often, writes Chakravartty in the Preface, **women's experience** of Partition becomes a story of **loss and victimhood**, of **violence and oppression**.
चक्रवर्ती भूमिका में लिखती हैं कि विभाजन में **महिलाओं के अनुभव** को अक्सर केवल **क्षति और पीड़िता** की कहानी, **हिंसा और उत्पीड़न** के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया जाता है।
- "While the focus is valid and deeply relevant, it does somewhat marginalise other areas of experience that are no less relevant."
"हालाँकि यह दृष्टिकोण उचित और महत्वपूर्ण है, फिर भी यह कुछ ऐसे अनुभवों को **हाशिए पर डाल देता** है जो कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं हैं।"
- Chakravartty points out that the **women refugees** of Bengal have not only played an **important role in shaping the women's movement**, but they have also been responsible for a **radical reorientation** of the **social lives** of Bengali women.
चक्रवर्ती कहती हैं कि बंगाल की **महिला शरणार्थियों** ने केवल **महिला आंदोलन को आकार देने** में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका नहीं निभाई, बल्कि उन्होंने बंगाली महिलाओं के **सामाजिक जीवन में क्रांतिकारी बदलाव** भी लाया।
- Chakravartty traces the story of **migration** — how and why **Hindus abandoned their ancestral homes** and left **East Bengal**; and also about the **lifelong yearning** for the



“land of rivers” they had left behind.

चक्रवर्ती प्रवास की कहानी को खोजती हैं — कि कैसे और क्यों हिंदुओं ने अपने पुश्तैनी घर छोड़े और पूर्व बंगाल छोड़ दिया; और उन्होंने उस “नदियों की धरती” के लिए जीवन भर तरस महसूस किया।

- In West Bengal, refugees faced enormous problems.

पश्चिम बंगाल में शरणार्थियों को भारी समस्याओं का सामना करना पड़ा।

- In that backdrop, Chakravarty reviews the transition in the lives of refugee women who came out on the streets and plunged into political activism for survival, seeking shelter, food and employment.

इसी पृष्ठभूमि में चक्रवर्ती शरणार्थी महिलाओं के जीवन में बदलाव की समीक्षा करती हैं, जिन्होंने सड़क पर उतर कर राजनीतिक सक्रियता के जरिए आवास, भोजन और रोज़गार की मांग की।

- In due course, there were immense sociological changes in the lives of refugees living in the colonies, which Chakravarty documents.

समय के साथ कालोनियों में रहने वाले शरणार्थियों के जीवन में गहरे समाजशास्त्रीय परिवर्तन आए, जिनका चक्रवर्ती ने दस्तावेजीकरण किया है।

Historical Context and Reconstruction – Washbrook and Chatterji

ऐतिहासिक संदर्भ और पुनर्निर्माण – वॉशब्रुक और चटर्जी

- In his Introduction to *Partition's Legacies*, David Washbrook writes that Chatterji's Bengal is no less fractured and brutalised by colonialism, Partition, and the post-colonial state.

Partition's Legacies की भूमिका में डेविड वॉशब्रुक लिखते हैं कि चटर्जी का बंगाल भी औपनिवेशिकता, विभाजन और उत्तर-औपनिवेशिक राज्य द्वारा विखंडित और क्रूरता से प्रभावित था।

- “However, it does not only stand as a field of negation and lament. [In several essays], she shows how even little people mattered, re-built their lives, challenged and re-made state policies, and acculturated themselves to new environments.”

“हालाँकि यह केवल विलाप और अस्वीकृति का क्षेत्र नहीं था। [कई निबंधों में] वह दिखाती हैं कि कैसे सामान्य लोग भी महत्वपूर्ण थे, उन्होंने अपने जीवन को फिर से बनाया, राज्य की नीतियों को चुनौती दी और बदला, और नए वातावरण में खुद को ढाला।”

- Chakravarty's book on the lives of refugee women and Biswas's on his own crushing childhood are an invaluable addition to books on Partition in the east.

शरणार्थी महिलाओं के जीवन पर चक्रवर्ती की पुस्तक और बिस्वास की अपनी कठिन बाल्यावस्था पर पुस्तक, पूर्व भारत में विभाजन पर साहित्य में बहुमूल्य योगदान हैं।



BISHKEK

Kyrgyzstan parliament passes law to prioritise Kyrgyz over Russian



GS Paper I: Mapping

AP

Kyrgyzstan's parliament passed a law to strengthen the use of the Kyrgyz language over Russian, a move that comes with Moscow's influence across Central Asia waning amid its invasion of Ukraine. Around 80% of Kyrgyzstan's seven million people speak Russian, which is commonly used for daily communication. AFP

Kyrgyzstan parliament passes law to prioritise Kyrgyz over Russian

किर्गिज़स्तान की संसद ने रूसी भाषा की तुलना में किर्गिज़ भाषा को प्राथमिकता देने वाला कानून पारित किया

• Kyrgyzstan's parliament passed a law to strengthen the use of the **Kyrgyz language over Russian**, a move that comes with **Moscow's influence across Central Asia** waning amid its **invasion of Ukraine**.

किर्गिज़स्तान की संसद ने

एक कानून पारित किया जिससे रूसी भाषा की तुलना में किर्गिज़ भाषा के उपयोग को मजबूत किया जाएगा, यह कदम यूक्रेन पर हमले के बीच मध्य एशिया में मॉस्को के प्रभाव में गिरावट के बीच उठाया गया।

- Around **80% of Kyrgyzstan's seven million people speak Russian**, which is commonly used for **daily communication**.
किर्गिज़स्तान की 7 मिलियन की आबादी में से लगभग 80% लोग रूसी भाषा बोलते हैं, जो दैनिक बातचीत में सामान्यतः प्रयुक्त होती है।



YEREVAN

Foiled 'sinister' coup plot by senior cleric of Church, says Armenia PM



GS Paper I: Mapping

AFP

Armenia's Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan said security forces foiled a coup plot involving a senior cleric. Mr. Pashinyan has been at loggerheads with the Church since its head, Catholicos Garegin II, began calling for his resignation following Armenia's 2020 defeat to arch-foe Azerbaijan over the then-disputed Karabakh region. AFP

loggerheads with the Church since its head, Catholicos Garegin II, began calling for his resignation following Armenia's 2020 defeat to arch-foe Azerbaijan over the then-disputed Karabakh region.

श्री पशिन्यान का चर्च से टकराव चल रहा है जबसे चर्च के प्रमुख कैथोलिकोस गरेगिन II ने आर्मीनिया की 2020 में अपने दुश्मन अज़रबैजान से कराबाख क्षेत्र में हार के बाद उनके इस्तीफे की मांग शुरू की थी।

TOPICS COVERED (GS Paper II: Polity, Governance, And International Relations)

1. CBSE Class 10 students to get option of two exams
सीबीएसई कक्षा 10 के छात्रों को दो परीक्षाओं का विकल्प मिलेगा



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2. Cause and effect: On human rights, citizenship cases

कारण और प्रभाव: मानवाधिकारों और नागरिकता मामलों पर

3. A lofty concept, a Governor and unwanted controversy

एक ऊँचा विचार, एक राज्यपाल और अवांछित विवाद

4. Enabling voting rights for migrants

प्रवासी मतदाताओं के लिए मतदान अधिकार सक्षम करना

5. The 'Axis of Upheaval' in the West Asia conflict

पश्चिम एशिया संघर्ष में 'अस्थिरता धुरी'

6. Iran lawmakers vote to suspend ties with UN nuclear watchdog

ईरान के सांसदों ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र परमाणु निगरानी संस्था से संबंध निलंबित करने के पक्ष में मतदान किया

7. NATO nod for hike in military spending, collective defence

सैन्य खर्च में बढ़ोतरी और सामूहिक रक्षा को लेकर नाटो की मंजूरी



CBSE Class 10 students to get option of two exams

IGS Paper II: Education
Maitri Porecha
NEW DELHI

In a bid to reduce the stress of Board exams, Class 10 students will be given the option of taking their exams twice from the academic year 2026-27, the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) said on Wednesday. This option to improve performance in up to three academic subjects will only be provided to students who pass the first examination.

CBSE Class 10 students to get option of two exams सीबीएसई कक्षा 10 के छात्रों को दो परीक्षाओं का विकल्प मिलेगा

• In a bid to **reduce the stress** of Board exams, **Class 10 students** will be given the option of **taking their exams twice** from the academic year **2026-27**, the **Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE)** said on **Wednesday**.

बोर्ड परीक्षाओं का तनाव कम करने के उद्देश्य से कक्षा 10 के छात्रों को शैक्षणिक सत्र 2026-27 से दो बार परीक्षा देने का विकल्प दिया जाएगा, यह बात बुधवार को केंद्रीय माध्यमिक शिक्षा बोर्ड (CBSE) ने कही।

• This option to **improve performance** in up to **three academic subjects** will only be provided to students who **pass the first examination**.

तीन शैक्षणिक विषयों में प्रदर्शन सुधारने का यह विकल्प केवल उन्हीं छात्रों को मिलेगा जो पहली परीक्षा पास करेंगे।

CBSE Class 10 students to get option of 2 exams

IGS Paper II: Education
Maitri Porecha
NEW DELHI

In a bid to reduce the stress of Board exams, Class 10 students will be given the option of taking their exams twice from the academic year 2026-27, the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) said on Wednesday. This option to improve performance in up to three academic subjects will only be provided to students who pass the first examination, officials said on Wednesday.

The CBSE's decision is in line with the 2020 National Education Policy recommendation to remove the "high stakes" aspect of Board exams by allowing all students to attempt the exams up to two times during any given school year if they wish to. One will be the main exam, and the other for improvement.

First exam mandatory
"While it is mandatory for students to appear in the first Board examination which will be conducted in mid-February, all students who pass the first Board ex-



The decision is in line with the National Education Policy recommendation to remove high stakes aspect of Board exams.

amination and are eligible will be allowed to improve their performance in any of the three subjects out of Science, Mathematics, Social Science and two language papers," CBSE Chairman Rahul Singh said.

"The second exam is purely optional and additional in nature," he added. The better of the two scores will be considered in the final mark sheets of students who appear in both exams.

Union Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan welcomed the move with a post on X. "Laudable and a much-needed step. This will reduce exam stress, provide more flexibility

and foster joyful learning environment. A key recommendation of NEP 2020, twice-a-year exams is a student-centric approach and also aligns with global education practices," he said.

The change is set to come in effect from the academic year of 2026-27. Almost 23.72 lakh students appeared for the CBSE's Class 10 board exams in 2025, of which 93.66% passed.

Officials explained that the results of the mandatory first examination will be declared in April. "The second exam (which will be the improvement exam) will be conducted in the month of May and its re-

sults will be declared in June. Students can choose to sit for the improvement exam in one, two or a maximum of three subjects, after reviewing their scores in the first exam," said Sanyam Bhardwaj, the CBSE's Controller of Examinations.

Since 2019, the CBSE has been offering students the chance to write an improvement exam for any two subjects, including vocational subjects. Under the new scheme, students can sit for an improvement exam only in three of the aforementioned academic subjects. "When we analysed the results database, we realised that students were already scoring decent marks in vocational subjects, and a need was felt for offering improvement exams in academic subjects. Offering an improvement exam in up to three subjects will offer students a 60% opportunity to enhance their scores," Dr. Bhardwaj said.

Officials added that if a student did not appear in three or more subjects in the first mandatory board exam, then he/she will not

be allowed to appear in the second improvement examination. "This is to ensure that students do not go opportunity shopping, and take the first mandatory board exam seriously," Mr. Singh emphasised.

Dr. Bhardwaj told *The Hindu* that students who do not appear for at least three subjects, or who fail in three or more subjects, will be placed in the 'Essential Repeat' category and can take the main exam only in the next academic year. "Whereas, students who do not appear or fail in one or two subjects will be placed in 'Compartment' category and will be allowed to appear in the second (improvement) examination," he said.

"For the academic year of 2025-26, compartment exams will happen as usual in July and results will be declared in August. However from 2026-27 onwards, the first compartment attempt exam will be merged with the newly proposed second exam (improvement exam) and will occur earlier in June," Mr. Singh said.



- In a bid to **reduce the stress** of Board exams, Class 10 students will be given the option of **taking their exams twice** from the academic year **2026-27**, the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) said on **Wednesday**.
बोर्ड परीक्षा के दबाव को कम करने के लिए, कक्षा 10 के छात्रों को **शैक्षणिक वर्ष 2026-27 से दो बार परीक्षा देने का विकल्प** मिलेगा, सीबीएसई ने **बुधवार** को कहा।
- This option to **improve performance** in up to **three academic subjects** will only be provided to **students who pass the first examination**, officials said.
प्रदर्शन सुधारने का यह विकल्प केवल **तीन अकादमिक विषयों** तक सीमित रहेगा और केवल **पहली परीक्षा पास करने वाले छात्रों** को दिया जाएगा, अधिकारियों ने बताया।
- The CBSE's decision is in line with the **2020 National Education Policy** recommendation to remove the **"high stakes"** aspect of Board exams.
सीबीएसई का यह निर्णय **राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति 2020** की सिफारिश के अनुरूप है, जिसका उद्देश्य बोर्ड परीक्षा के **"उच्च दांव"** पहलू को हटाना है।
- All students will be allowed to attempt the exams **up to two times** during any given school year if they wish to.
सभी छात्रों को किसी भी स्कूल वर्ष में **दो बार परीक्षा देने** की अनुमति होगी यदि वे चाहें।
- One will be the **main exam**, and the other for **improvement**.
एक परीक्षा **मुख्य परीक्षा** होगी और दूसरी **सुधार परीक्षा**।
- "While it is **mandatory** for students to appear in the **first Board examination** which will be conducted in **mid-February**, all students who pass it will be allowed to improve their performance," said **CBSE Chairman Rahul Singh**.
"पहली बोर्ड परीक्षा, जो फरवरी के मध्य में आयोजित की जाएगी, उसमें उपस्थित होना अनिवार्य होगा। जो छात्र पास होंगे उन्हें सुधार का विकल्प मिलेगा," सीबीएसई अध्यक्ष राहुल सिंह ने कहा।
- Students can improve performance in **any three subjects** out of **Science, Mathematics, Social Science** and **two language papers**.
छात्र **विज्ञान, गणित, सामाजिक विज्ञान और दो भाषा विषयों** में से किसी भी **तीन विषयों** में प्रदर्शन सुधार सकते हैं।
- "The **second exam is purely optional and additional in nature**," Mr. Singh added.
"दूसरी परीक्षा पूरी तरह से वैकल्पिक और अतिरिक्त है," श्री सिंह ने जोड़ा।
- The **better of the two scores** will be considered in the **final mark sheets**.
दोनों अंकों में से बेहतर को अंतिम अंकतालिका में जोड़ा जाएगा।
- **Union Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan** welcomed the move, calling it a **student-centric approach** aligned with **global education practices**.
केंद्रीय शिक्षा मंत्री धर्मेंद्र प्रधान ने इस कदम का स्वागत किया और इसे **छात्र-केंद्रित दृष्टिकोण** और **वैश्विक शिक्षा प्रथाओं** के अनुरूप बताया।
- Almost **23.72 lakh students** appeared for the **2025 Class 10 exams**, of which **93.66% passed**.
2025 की कक्षा 10 की परीक्षा में लगभग 23.72 लाख छात्र उपस्थित हुए, जिनमें से 93.66% पास हुए।
- **First exam results** will be declared in **April**, and the **second (improvement) exam** will be held in **May**, with results in **June**.



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पहली परीक्षा के परिणाम अप्रैल में घोषित होंगे, और दूसरी (सुधार) परीक्षा मई में आयोजित होगी, जिसके परिणाम जून में आएंगे।

- Students can appear in **one, two, or up to three subjects** in the improvement exam after reviewing their first exam scores.

छात्र पहली परीक्षा के परिणाम देखने के बाद, एक, दो या तीन विषयों में सुधार परीक्षा दे सकते हैं।

- Since **2019**, CBSE has allowed improvement exams in **two subjects including vocational**. Now, improvement will be allowed in **three academic subjects only**.

2019 से, सीबीएसई ने दो विषयों (व्यावसायिक समेत) में सुधार की अनुमति दी थी। अब केवल तीन अकादमिक विषयों में सुधार की अनुमति होगी।

- If a student did **not appear** in **three or more subjects** in the first exam, they will **not** be allowed to take the second exam.

यदि कोई छात्र पहली परीक्षा में तीन या अधिक विषयों में उपस्थित नहीं होता, तो उसे दूसरी परीक्षा में बैठने की अनुमति नहीं दी जाएगी।

- Students who do **not appear** or **fail in three or more subjects** will be placed in 'Essential Repeat' category and can only appear in the **next academic year**.

जो छात्र तीन या अधिक विषयों में उपस्थित नहीं होते या फेल होते हैं, उन्हें 'अनिवार्य पुनरावृत्ति' श्रेणी में रखा जाएगा और वे केवल अगले शैक्षणिक वर्ष में परीक्षा दे सकेंगे।

- Students who fail in **one or two subjects** will be placed in the 'Compartment' category and can take the **second exam**.

एक या दो विषयों में फेल होने वाले छात्रों को 'पूरक' श्रेणी में रखा जाएगा और वे दूसरी परीक्षा में बैठ सकते हैं।

- For **2025-26**, compartment exams will be held in **July** with results in **August**.

2025-26 में पूरक परीक्षा जुलाई में होगी और परिणाम अगस्त में आएंगे।

- From **2026-27**, the **first compartment attempt** will be merged with the **second improvement exam** and will take place earlier in **June**.

2026-27 से, पहली पूरक परीक्षा को दूसरी सुधार परीक्षा में मिलाकर जून में आयोजित किया जाएगा।



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GS Paper II: Citizenship

Cause and effect

Governments must uphold human rights in citizenship cases

Concerns surrounding citizenship faced by sections of society in India's border States have come to the fore again with courts stepping in to provide temporary relief to harassed individuals. The issues arising from these cases are far from settled. On June 24, the Supreme Court of India stayed the deportation of Jaynab Bibi who was labelled a "foreigner", first by the Foreigners' Tribunal in Assam, and then by the Gauhati High Court. Despite hailing from a family whose members have lived in Assam for generations, and furnishing all documents, she has had to run from pillar to post to prove that she is an Indian citizen. A Bench of Justices K.V. Viswanathan and N. Kotiswar Singh ordered the Union government not to take any coercive steps against Ms. Bibi, till the next hearing in August. In the case of Rakshanda Rashid, the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh ordered the Union Home Secretary to repatriate the 63-year-old housewife to India. She was deported to Pakistan following the crackdown against Pakistani nationals after the Pahalgam terror attack in April. Ms. Rashid, a Pakistani national, had been staying in Jammu for the past 38 years with her husband and two children, and had a long-term visa. Her application for citizenship in 1996 is yet to be processed.

In his order, High Court judge Rahul Bharti said human rights are the most sacrosanct component of a human life and that there are times when a court has to respond "SOS like" without going into the merits and demerits of a case, which can be decided on in due course of time. The lawyers for Ms. Bibi referred to *Md. Rahim Ali @ Abdur Rahim vs The State Of Assam* in 2024 in which the Supreme Court touched on the manner in which people in Assam were being randomly suspected as foreigners without any cogent evidence. "...[I]t is well settled that suspicion, however high it may be, can under no circumstances, be held to be a substitute for legal evidence," it said, laying down the due process to be followed when an individual is declared a foreigner. The Citizenship (Amendment) Act of 2019, by offering citizenship to six non-Muslim communities in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh, adopted a narrow and arbitrary view of "religious persecution". The innate violence in the rhetoric of senior Bharatiya Janata Party Chief Ministers such as Yogi Adityanath and Himanta Biswa Sarma against minorities has heightened the anxiety felt by the marginalised, poor, sometimes undocumented, communities. Governments must uphold human rights and dignity of the individual, as provided for under the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and not have to be nudged by courts.

Cause and effect: On human rights, citizenship cases

कारण और प्रभाव: मानवाधिकारों और नागरिकता मामलों पर

Governments must uphold human rights in citizenship cases.

सरकारों को नागरिकता मामलों में मानवाधिकारों की रक्षा करनी चाहिए।

Concerns surrounding citizenship faced by sections of society in India's border States have come to the fore again with courts stepping in to provide temporary relief to harassed individuals.

भारत के सीमावर्ती राज्यों में समाज के कुछ वर्गों द्वारा झेली जा रही नागरिकता से जुड़ी चिंताएं फिर से सामने आई हैं, जब न्यायालयों ने परेशान व्यक्तियों को अस्थायी राहत प्रदान की।

The issues arising from these cases are far from settled.

इन मामलों से उत्पन्न मुद्दे अभी पूरी तरह से सुलझे नहीं हैं।

On June 24, 2025, the Supreme Court of India stayed the deportation of Jaynab Bibi, who was labelled a "foreigner", first by the Foreigners' Tribunal in Assam, and then by the Gauhati High Court.

24 जून 2025 को भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने जैनब बीबी के निर्वासन पर रोक लगा दी, जिन्हें पहले असम के विदेशी न्यायाधिकरण और फिर गुवाहाटी उच्च

न्यायालय द्वारा "विदेशी" घोषित किया गया था।

Despite hailing from a family whose members have lived in Assam for generations, and furnishing all documents, she has had to run from pillar to post to prove that she is an Indian citizen.

भले ही वह एक ऐसे परिवार से हैं, जिसके सदस्य पीढ़ियों से असम में रहते आए हैं और उन्होंने सभी दस्तावेज प्रस्तुत किए हैं, फिर भी उन्हें एक भारतीय नागरिक होने का प्रमाण देने के लिए दर-दर भटकना पड़ा।

A Bench of Justices K.V. Viswanathan and N. Kotiswar Singh ordered the Union government not to take any coercive steps against Ms. Bibi, till the next hearing in August.

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न्यायमूर्ति के.वी. विश्वनाथन और एन. कोटिश्वर सिंह की पीठ ने केंद्र सरकार को अगस्त में अगली सुनवाई तक श्रीमती बीबी के खिलाफ कोई बलपूर्वक कार्रवाई न करने का आदेश दिया।

- In the case of **Rakshanda Rashid**, the **High Court of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh** ordered the **Union Home Secretary** to repatriate the **63-year-old housewife** to India.

रखशंदा राशिद के मामले में, जम्मू-कश्मीर और लद्दाख उच्च न्यायालय ने केंद्रीय गृह सचिव को 63 वर्षीय गृहिणी को भारत वापस लाने का आदेश दिया।

- She was **deported to Pakistan** following the **crackdown against Pakistani nationals** after the **Pahalgam terror attack in April**.

उन्हें अप्रैल में पहलगाम आतंकी हमले के बाद पाकिस्तानी नागरिकों के खिलाफ कार्रवाई के तहत पाकिस्तान निर्वासित कर दिया गया था।

- **Ms. Rashid, a Pakistani national**, had been staying in **Jammu for the past 38 years** with her **husband and two children**, and had a **long-term visa**.

श्रीमती राशिद, जो एक पाकिस्तानी नागरिक हैं, पिछले 38 वर्षों से जम्मू में अपने पति और दो बच्चों के साथ रह रही थीं और उनके पास एक दीर्घकालिक वीजा था।

- Her application for **citizenship in 1996** is yet to be **processed**.

उन्होंने 1996 में नागरिकता के लिए आवेदन किया था, जो अब तक प्रसंस्कृत नहीं किया गया है।

Judicial Observations on Human Rights

मानवाधिकारों पर न्यायिक टिप्पणियाँ

- In his order, **High Court judge Rahul Bharti** said **human rights** are the most **sacrosanct** component of a human life and that there are times when a court has to respond **"SOS like"** without going into the **merits and demerits** of a case, which can be decided on in due course of time.

अपने आदेश में, उच्च न्यायालय के न्यायाधीश राहुल भारती ने कहा कि मानवाधिकार मानव जीवन का सबसे पवित्र हिस्सा हैं और कुछ समय ऐसे आते हैं जब न्यायालय को "एसओएस जैसे" ढंग से बिना किसी मामले की गुण-दोष पर चर्चा किए प्रतिक्रिया देनी होती है, जिसे समय आने पर तय किया जा सकता है।

- The lawyers for Ms. Bibi referred to **Md. Rahim Ali @ Abdur Rahim vs The State Of Assam in 2024** in which the **Supreme Court** touched on the manner in which people in **Assam** were being **randomly suspected as foreigners** without any **cogent evidence**.

श्रीमती बीबी के वकीलों ने 2024 में मोहम्मद रहीम अली @ अब्दुर रहीम बनाम राज्य असम का हवाला दिया, जिसमें सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने इस बात पर ध्यान दिया कि किस तरह असम में लोगों को मनमाने ढंग से विदेशी समझा जा रहा था, बिना किसी ठोस साक्ष्य के।

- "[I]t is well settled that **suspicion**, however high it may be, can under no circumstances, be held to be a **substitute for legal evidence**," it said, laying down the **due process** to be followed when an individual is declared a **foreigner**.

"[यह] अच्छी तरह से स्थापित है कि **संदेह**, चाहे वह कितना भी गंभीर क्यों न हो, **कानूनी साक्ष्य** का



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विकल्प नहीं हो सकता," यह कहते हुए अदालत ने किसी व्यक्ति को विदेशी घोषित करने की प्रक्रिया को स्पष्ट किया।

Policy and Political Context

नीति और राजनीतिक संदर्भ

- The **Citizenship (Amendment) Act of 2019**, by offering citizenship to **six non-Muslim communities** in **Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh**, adopted a **narrow and arbitrary** view of "religious persecution".

नागरिकता (संशोधन) अधिनियम, 2019 ने अफगानिस्तान, पाकिस्तान और बांग्लादेश के छह गैर-मुस्लिम समुदायों को नागरिकता देकर "धार्मिक उत्पीड़न" की एक संकीर्ण और मनमानी व्याख्या अपनाई।

- The **innate violence** in the rhetoric of senior **Bharatiya Janata Party Chief Ministers** such as **Yogi Adityanath** and **Himanta Biswa Sarma** against **minorities** has heightened the **anxiety** felt by the **marginalised, poor, sometimes undocumented, communities**.

योगी आदित्यनाथ और हिमंत बिस्वा सरमा जैसे भारतीय जनता पार्टी के वरिष्ठ मुख्यमंत्रियों की अल्पसंख्यकों के खिलाफ उग्र बयानबाज़ी में छिपी अंतर्निहित हिंसा ने वंचित, गरीब और कभी-कभी दस्तावेज़विहीन समुदायों में चिंता बढ़ा दी है।

- **Governments must uphold human rights and dignity of the individual**, as provided for under the **United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, and not have to be **nudged by courts**.

सरकारों को मानवाधिकारों और व्यक्ति की गरिमा को बनाए रखना चाहिए, जैसा कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र के मानवाधिकारों की सार्वभौमिक घोषणा में प्रावधान है, और इसके लिए उन्हें न्यायालयों की टोकाटाकी की आवश्यकता नहीं होनी चाहिए।



A lofty concept, a Governor, and unwanted controversy एक ऊँचा विचार, एक राज्यपाल और अवांछित विवाद

A lofty concept, a Governor and unwanted controversy

IGS Paper II: State Executive

A picture of 'Bharat Mata' (Mother India) has triggered a confrontation between the Governor of Kerala and the State government. At a recent function, the Governor had placed a painting of Bharat Mata in the form of a female figure clad in a saffron colour sari with a spear in one hand and standing with a lion behind her against a backdrop of the map of India. The painting had been placed in a room where official functions are held at Raj Bhavan. A tall brass lamp was placed before this garlanded picture. Before any official function begins, the Governor bows before it, offers flowers and lights the lamp. The Chief Minister and other Ministers had raised objections on the grounds that this picture of Bharat Mata is not recognised by the Constitution or any law unlike the national anthem of India or the national flag or other national symbols. Therefore, the government seems to have taken a position that it will not participate in any official function organised by the Governor where this picture is displayed.

The slogan, 'Bharat Mata ki Jai', was the emotional cry of freedom fighters which would electrify the minds of people who were fighting for freedom from colonial rule. And, they used to raise this slogan at the highest pitch when they were subject to lathi blows. Thus, Bharat Mata is one that deeply resonated with the countless millions during India's freedom struggle.

But the question in this issue in Kerala is not whether we should pay obeisance to this image of Bharat Mata. There is no doubt that Indians have a deep and emotional bond with the concept of Bharat Mata. However, in the Kerala episode, the issue is that the Governor has used a picture of what is claimed to be Bharat Mata at the venue where official functions organised by the government are held and offers floral tributes to it as a part of the official function.

The conduct of the Governor

Since no picture of Bharat Mata in any form has been recognised by either the Constitution or any law or adopted like the national anthem, the national flag, the national emblem or even the national symbols, such a picture cannot be a part of any official function organised by the government. It may be noted here that this picture of Bharat Mata is used only by the Rashtriyai Swayamsevak Sangh and the Bharatiya Janata Party in their functions. The Governor,



P.D.T. Achary

is former Secretary General, Lok Sabha

There is a deep and emotional bond with the concept of Bharat Mata, but all constitutional authorities are bound by the framework of the Constitution

being the constitutional head of the state, is expected to conduct himself in accordance with the Constitution. The Governor cannot take independent decisions in the performance of his duties and functions but can act only in accordance with the advice of the elected government. So, if the government decides that such pictures should not be placed at the venue of official meetings organised by the government, the Governor is required to go by that decision.

The personification of Bharat Mata as a mother figure was first done by renowned Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, in his late 19th century work, *Anandamath*. But the mother symbol he created was Banga Mata (Mother of Bengal) – and not Bharat Mata – and it became the powerful symbol of Bengali nationalism.

But it was Abanindranath Tagore, the nephew of Rabindranath Tagore who first did a painting of the Banga Mata in 1905. This depiction, with four arms, in some ways resembled a Hindu goddess. It was sister Nivedita, a prominent disciple of Swami Vivekananda, who popularised this painting as Bharat Mata. Later, 'Bharat Mata ki Jai' became the most powerful slogan of the national freedom movement but without any visual representation. The national movement never adopted any picture of the Bharat Mata.

A lofty concept

No one has defined the concept of Bharat Mata as brilliantly as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He explains it in his inimitable style in his *Discovery of India*: "...sometimes as I reached a gathering a great roar of welcome would greet me: Bharat Mata ki Jai-Victory to Mother India. I would ask them unexpectedly what they meant by that cry, who was this Bharat Mata, whose victory they wanted.... The mountains and the rivers of India and the forest and the broad fields which gave us food were all dear to us, but what counted ultimately were the people of India, people like them and me who were spread out all over this vast land. Bharat Mata, Mother India, was essentially these millions of people and victory to her meant victory to these people."

It is rather unfortunate that this lofty concept of Bharat Mata has triggered an unseemly controversy involving the Governor of Kerala. Obviously the picture of a female figure in a saffron sari, with a spear in hand and a lion

behind her, cannot be a symbol of Bharat Mata. The display of such a picture is a throwback to 19th century nationalism which has no relevance in modern times. Indian nationalism under Gandhi had a strong secular core and was inclusive. Anthropomorphisation of a country is an outdated idea. The diversities, the divisions of Indian society, multiple religions, races, and different levels of cultural developments cannot be represented by such a figure.

Governor versus the government

The country has witnessed too many unseemly fights between Governors and State governments. The Supreme Court of India has intervened in some cases and tried to set things right. Nevertheless the Governor-government spats continue to occur. The Constitution and the interpretations thereon by the Supreme Court have clearly laid down the limits of a Governor's powers and functions. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had said emphatically in the Constituent Assembly, "the governor under the constitution has no functions which he can discharge by himself, no functions at all."

The Raj Bhavan Kerala controversy, deliberate or otherwise, was absolutely unnecessary. It sours the relationship between the Governor and the elected government. In official functions, symbols or logos or other visual representations used by private organisations cannot be used. Raj Bhavan does not merely consist of the private chambers of the Governor. There are rooms and halls where government functions are held such as a swearing-in ceremony as it is done in Rashtrapati Bhavan.

The Governor is bound by the advice of the government on, for example, the placing of photographs, portraits in such places and also of performing various actions in an official function such as the lighting of the lamp as in protocol approved by the government. The Governor, for example, cannot order that the picture of Bharat Mata should be placed in all government offices. It is a decision only the government can take. All constitutional authorities are bound by the disciplines of the Constitution. The government has the constitutional right to advise the Governor not to place the picture of Bharat Mata at venues used to conduct official meetings on the ground that such a picture has not been recognised by the Constitution or statutes.

There is a deep and emotional bond with the concept of Bharat Mata, but all constitutional authorities are bound by the framework of the Constitution.

भारत माता की अवधारणा के साथ एक गहरा और भावनात्मक संबंध है, लेकिन सभी संवैधानिक प्राधिकारी संविधान के ढांचे से बंधे होते हैं।

- A picture of 'Bharat Mata' (Mother India) has triggered a confrontation between the Governor of Kerala and the State government.

'भारत माता' की एक तस्वीर ने केरल के राज्यपाल और राज्य सरकार के बीच टकराव को जन्म दिया है।

- At a recent function, the Governor had placed a painting of Bharat Mata in the form of a female figure clad in saffron sari, holding a spear, standing with a lion behind her against a backdrop of the map of India.



हाल ही में एक समारोह में राज्यपाल ने भगवा साड़ी में सजी एक महिला आकृति के रूप में भारत माता की एक पेंटिंग लगाई, जिसके हाथ में भाला था और पीछे भारत के नक्शे की पृष्ठभूमि में एक सिंह खड़ा था।

- The painting had been placed in a room where official functions are held at Raj Bhavan.

यह पेंटिंग राजभवन में उस कक्ष में लगाई गई थी जहां आधिकारिक कार्यक्रम होते हैं।

- A tall brass lamp was placed before this garlanded picture.

इस माल्यार्पित चित्र के सामने एक लंबा पीतल का दीपक रखा गया था।

- Before any official function begins, the Governor bows, offers flowers, and lights the lamp.

किसी भी आधिकारिक कार्यक्रम की शुरुआत से पहले राज्यपाल नमन करते हैं, फूल अर्पित करते हैं, और दीप प्रज्वलित करते हैं।

- The Chief Minister and other Ministers had raised objections on the grounds that this picture of Bharat Mata is not recognised by the Constitution or any law, unlike the national anthem, national flag, or national symbols.

मुख्यमंत्री और अन्य मंत्रियों ने आपत्ति जताई कि यह भारत माता की तस्वीर संविधान या किसी कानून द्वारा मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं है, जैसा कि राष्ट्रीय गान, राष्ट्रीय ध्वज या अन्य राष्ट्रीय प्रतीकों को प्राप्त है।

- Therefore, the government seems to have taken a position that it will not participate in any official function organised by the Governor where this picture is displayed.

इसलिए सरकार ने ऐसा रुख अपनाया है कि वह ऐसे किसी राज्यपाल द्वारा आयोजित कार्यक्रम में भाग नहीं लेगी, जहां यह तस्वीर प्रदर्शित की जाएगी।

Historical Sentiment and Image

ऐतिहासिक भावना और छवि

- The slogan, 'Bharat Mata ki Jai', was the emotional cry of freedom fighters which would electrify the minds of people who were fighting for freedom from colonial rule.

'भारत माता की जय' का नारा स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों की भावनात्मक पुकार था जो औपनिवेशिक शासन से स्वतंत्रता के लिए लड़ने वाले लोगों के मन में उत्साह भर देता था।

- They used to raise this slogan at the highest pitch when they were subject to lathi blows.

वे इस नारे को तब उच्चतम स्वर में लगाते थे जब उन पर लाठीचार्ज किया जाता था।

- Thus, Bharat Mata is one that deeply resonated with the countless millions during India's freedom struggle.

इसलिए, भारत माता वह छवि है जो भारत के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के दौरान करोड़ों लोगों के दिलों में गूंजती रही।



The Current Issue in Kerala

केरल में वर्तमान मुद्दा

- But the question in this issue in Kerala is **not** whether we should **pay obeisance** to this image of Bharat Mata.
लेकिन केरल के इस मुद्दे में सवाल यह **नहीं** है कि क्या हमें **भारत माता की इस छवि को नमन करना चाहिए**।
- There is **no doubt** that Indians have a **deep and emotional bond** with the concept of **Bharat Mata**.
इसमें **कोई संदेह नहीं** कि भारतीयों का **भारत माता की अवधारणा के साथ एक गहरा और भावनात्मक संबंध है**।
- However, in the **Kerala episode**, the issue is that the **Governor has and uses** a picture of what is claimed to be **Bharat Mata** at the **venue** where **official functions** organised by the government are held and **offers floral tributes** to it as a part of the **official function**.
हालांकि, **केरल प्रकरण** में मुद्दा यह है कि **राज्यपाल सरकार द्वारा आयोजित आधिकारिक कार्यक्रमों के स्थल पर भारत माता की बताई गई तस्वीर का उपयोग करते हैं और उसे आधिकारिक कार्यक्रम का हिस्सा बनाते हुए फूल अर्पित करते हैं**।

The Conduct of the Governor

राज्यपाल का आचरण

- Since **no picture of Bharat Mata in any form** has been **recognised by either the Constitution or any law** or adopted like the **national anthem, the national flag, the national emblem or even national symbols**, such a picture **cannot be a part of any official function** organised by the government.
चूंकि **भारत माता की कोई भी छवि** किसी भी रूप में **संविधान या किसी कानून द्वारा मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं है और न ही उसे राष्ट्रीय गान, राष्ट्रीय ध्वज, राष्ट्रीय प्रतीक या अन्य राष्ट्रीय चिहनों की तरह स्वीकृत किया गया है**, इसलिए ऐसी तस्वीर **सरकारी आयोजनों का हिस्सा नहीं बन सकती**।
- It may be noted here that this picture of **Bharat Mata** is used only by the **Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)** and the **Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)** in their functions.
यह ध्यान देने योग्य है कि यह **भारत माता की तस्वीर** केवल **राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ (RSS)** और **भारतीय जनता पार्टी (BJP)** के कार्यक्रमों में उपयोग की जाती है।
- The **Governor**, being the **constitutional head** of the state, is expected to **conduct himself in accordance with the Constitution**.
राज्य का **संवैधानिक प्रमुख** होने के नाते **राज्यपाल** से यह अपेक्षित है कि वे **संविधान के अनुरूप आचरण करें**।
- The **Governor cannot take independent decisions** in the performance of his duties and functions but can act only in **accordance with the advice** of the **elected**



government.

राज्यपाल अपने कर्तव्यों और कार्यों के निर्वहन में स्वतंत्र निर्णय नहीं ले सकते, बल्कि उन्हें केवल निर्वाचित सरकार की सलाह के अनुसार ही कार्य करना होता है।

- So, if the **government decides** that such pictures should **not be placed** at the venue of **official meetings** organised by the government, the **Governor is required to go by that decision.**

इसलिए, यदि सरकार यह निर्णय लेती है कि ऐसी तस्वीरों को सरकारी बैठकों के स्थलों पर नहीं लगाया जाना चाहिए, तो राज्यपाल को उस निर्णय का पालन करना अनिवार्य है।

The Personification and Politics of Bharat Mata

भारत माता का मानवीकरण और राजनीति

- The personification of **Bharat Mata** as a **mother figure** was first done by **Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay** in his **late 19th century** novel **Anandamath**.
भारत माता का मां के रूप में मानवीकरण पहली बार 19वीं सदी के उत्तरार्ध में बंकिम चंद्र चट्टोपाध्याय द्वारा उनके उपन्यास **आनंदमठ** में किया गया था।
- But the mother symbol he created was **Banga Mata** (Mother of Bengal) — not Bharat Mata — and it became the **symbol of Bengali nationalism**.
लेकिन उन्होंने जो मां की छवि बनाई थी वह **भारत माता नहीं बल्कि बंग माता** थी, और वह **बंगाली राष्ट्रवाद का प्रतीक** बन गई।
- It was **Abanindranath Tagore**, **nephew of Rabindranath Tagore**, who first painted **Banga Mata** in 1905.
रवींद्रनाथ टैगोर के भतीजे **अबनिंद्रनाथ टैगोर** ने सबसे पहले 1905 में **बंग माता** की पेंटिंग बनाई थी।
- This depiction, with **four arms**, resembled a **Hindu goddess**, and was later **popularised as Bharat Mata** by **Sister Nivedita**, disciple of **Swami Vivekananda**.
यह छवि, जिसमें **चार भुजाएँ** थीं, एक **हिंदू देवी** की तरह लगती थी, और बाद में **स्वामी विवेकानंद** की शिष्या **सिस्टर निवेदिता** ने इसे **भारत माता** के रूप में प्रचारित किया।
- The slogan '**Bharat Mata ki Jai**' became the most powerful slogan of the **national freedom movement**, though without any **visual representation**.
'**भारत माता की जय**' का नारा **राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन** का सबसे शक्तिशाली नारा बन गया, हालांकि इसका कोई **दृश्य रूप** नहीं था।
- The **national movement** never adopted any **picture of Bharat Mata**.
राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन ने कभी भी **भारत माता की कोई तस्वीर** को नहीं अपनाया।

A Lofty Concept

एक ऊँचा विचार

- No one defined the concept of **Bharat Mata** more effectively than **Jawaharlal Nehru**.
भारत माता की अवधारणा को **जवाहरलाल नेहरू** से बेहतर किसी ने परिभाषित नहीं किया।



- In **The Discovery of India**, he describes Bharat Mata as the **people of India – the millions spread across the country**, not just land, rivers, or mountains.
अपनी पुस्तक **डिस्कवरी ऑफ इंडिया** में उन्होंने भारत माता को **भारत की जनता**, अर्थात् देशभर में फैले **करोड़ों लोगों** के रूप में वर्णित किया — न कि केवल भूमि, नदियों या पहाड़ों के रूप में।
- He wrote that the cry 'Bharat Mata ki Jai' meant **victory to these people**, not a **mythical female figure**.
उन्होंने लिखा कि 'भारत माता की जय' का अर्थ है इन **लाखों लोगों की विजय**, न कि किसी **काल्पनिक महिला आकृति** की।
- It is unfortunate that this **lofty concept** has now led to an **unseemly controversy** involving the **Governor of Kerala**.
यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है कि यह **उच्च विचार** अब **केरल के राज्यपाल** से जुड़ी एक **अवांछित विवाद** का कारण बन गया है।
- The image of a **saffron-clad woman** with a **spear** and a **lion** is a **throwback to 19th century nationalism**, irrelevant to **modern India**.
भाले के साथ शेर के पीछे भगवा वस्त्रधारी महिला की छवि **19वीं सदी के राष्ट्रवाद** की वापसी है, जो **आधुनिक भारत** के लिए अप्रासंगिक है।
- **Gandhian nationalism** had a **strong secular core** and was **inclusive**.
गांधीवादी राष्ट्रवाद की **धर्मनिरपेक्ष जड़ें मजबूत थीं** और यह **समावेशी** था।
- The **anthropomorphisation** of a country is an **outdated idea**, as **India's diversity cannot be represented by one figure**.
किसी देश का **मानवीकरण** एक **पुराना विचार** है, क्योंकि **भारत की विविधता** को एक छवि में नहीं दर्शाया जा सकता।

Governor versus the Government

राज्यपाल बनाम सरकार

- India has witnessed many **unseemly fights** between **Governors and State governments**.
भारत ने **राज्यपालों और राज्य सरकारों** के बीच कई **अवांछनीय झगड़े** देखे हैं।
- The **Supreme Court of India** has had to **intervene** in such matters to set limits.
ऐसे मामलों में **भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय** को **हस्तक्षेप** कर सीमाएं तय करनी पड़ी हैं।
- The **Constitution** and its **interpretation by the Supreme Court** have **clearly laid down** the limits of the **Governor's powers**.
संविधान और उसमें **सुप्रीम कोर्ट की व्याख्या** ने **राज्यपाल की शक्तियों** की सीमाएं **स्पष्ट रूप से तय** की हैं।
- **Dr. B.R. Ambedkar** stated in the **Constituent Assembly** that the **Governor has no independent functions** under the **Constitution**.
डॉ. बी.आर. अंबेडकर ने **संविधान सभा** में कहा था कि **संविधान के अंतर्गत राज्यपाल के पास कोई स्वतंत्र कार्य नहीं है**।



- The **Raj Bhavan Kerala controversy** was **completely unnecessary** and has **soured relations** between the **Governor and the elected government**.
राजभवन, केरल विवाद पूरी तरह से अनावश्यक था और इसने राज्यपाल और निर्वाचित सरकार के बीच रिश्तों को बिगाड़ा है।
- In **official functions, symbols or images** used by **private organisations** cannot be used.
सरकारी कार्यक्रमों में निजी संगठनों द्वारा उपयोग किए गए प्रतीकों या छवियों का उपयोग नहीं किया जा सकता।
- **Raj Bhavan** is not just the private space of the Governor; it hosts **government functions** like **swearing-in ceremonies** similar to **Rashtrapati Bhavan**.
राजभवन केवल राज्यपाल की निजी जगह नहीं है; वहां राष्ट्रपति भवन की तरह सरकारी शपथ ग्रहण समारोह जैसे कार्यक्रम होते हैं।
- The **Governor is bound by the advice of the elected government** on matters like **placement of photographs, portraits, and protocol actions** such as **lighting a lamp**.
तस्वीरें लगाने, चित्रों, और दीप प्रज्वलन जैसे प्रोटोकॉल कार्यों पर राज्यपाल निर्वाचित सरकार की सलाह के अधीन होते हैं।
- The **Governor cannot mandate** that **Bharat Mata's picture** be placed in all **government offices**.
राज्यपाल यह आदेश नहीं दे सकते कि भारत माता की तस्वीर को सभी सरकारी कार्यालयों में लगाया जाए।
- Only the **government has the constitutional right** to take such decisions.
केवल सरकार को यह निर्णय लेने का संवैधानिक अधिकार प्राप्त है।
- All **constitutional authorities** must act within the **disciplines of the Constitution**.
सभी संवैधानिक प्राधिकारी को संविधान की सीमाओं में रहकर कार्य करना चाहिए।
- The **government has the right** to advise the **Governor** to **not display the picture of Bharat Mata** at official venues as it is **not recognised** by the **Constitution or statutory law**.
सरकार को यह अधिकार है कि वह राज्यपाल को सलाह दे कि भारत माता की तस्वीर को आधिकारिक स्थलों पर प्रदर्शित न किया जाए, क्योंकि यह संविधान या किसी विधिक प्रावधान द्वारा मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं है।



The 'Axis of Upheaval' in the West Asia conflict

GS Paper II: West Asia

As the war between Israel and Iran has resulted in a ceasefire after being layered with America's bombing of Iran's nuclear sites, the narrative of the world being divided into power blocs like those during the Cold War era stands punctured. With Iran having suffered a political and military decapitation of leadership and capacity alike, its main partners, China and Russia, have maintained a distance. Before the conflict, Iran had been central to the narrative of the global order's perceived fracturing between palatable West-led alliances against a Moscow and Beijing-knitted axis, dubbed as the 'Axis of Upheaval' by American scholars Richard Fontaine and Andrea Kendall-Taylor.

In Russia's war against Ukraine, Iranian drone technologies have played a critical role, while Moscow and Tehran, despite certain regional differences, once joined hands to stabilise the government of the now ousted Syrian President, Bashar al-Assad. Meanwhile, as sanctions have gnawed at Iran's economic depth over the years, China has gained much by continuing to buy cheap oil from the country. This has been helpful to Beijing in powering its stagnating growth while giving Tehran much needed cash inflows in a polity and society that is starved of steady financial streams.

No treaties

However, all this balancing has strategic limitations as well. The axes, at best, are a narrative construct. There are no treaties that bind these states into military blocs, where charters can be mobilised to push the others to join a war if a partner country is attacked. The underpinnings of these partnerships nonetheless go deeper, spilling over into a reconstruction of institutions, currencies, multilateralism and how the world operates today. They want de-dollarisation, alternatives to western payments gateways such as SWIFT, and a strengthening of organisations such as BRICS and



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The narrative of the world being divided into power blocs like those during the Cold War era has been punctured

the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) as well as fundamental anti-West ecosystems. But there is no military treaty to anchor all these, which marks a critical gap in taking on western influence which is pinned using both treaties and understandings.

Russia and China, nonetheless, have made statements in favour of Iran as a way of support. Moscow has criticised those backing Israel's actions, including the ambiguity of positions taken by the International Atomic Energy Agency and attempts to manipulate international non-proliferation regimes. Russia's President Vladimir Putin in a telephone call offered mediation, which was sidelined by United States President Donald Trump. The noticeable part was this: it was not that Mr. Putin wanted to mediate, but political and diplomatic support may be the only thing Russia may be able to offer Iran at this stage.

Tehran has comprehensive strategic partnerships that it signed with Mr. Putin (2025) and China's President Xi Jinping (2021), which are almost exclusively economic in nature. While aligning with Iran as part of an axis in the long term makes sense if one considers the country's vast energy reserves (many of which remain untapped due to technology-led roadblocks aided by international sanctions), the fact is that neither Russia nor China have the intent or the bandwidth to come to Tehran's aid in a military sense even though the suitability of the current political system under Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei is critical to their own individual interests.

Where Russia stands

For Moscow, its war against Ukraine has tied down most of its political and military capabilities. The other opaque member of the axis, North Korea, is already providing soldiers to Russia to arrest its depleting military depth. This denies it any capabilities to tactically help

Tehran. Previously, with its bases and assets in Syria, providing some air power assistance could have been possible, at least theoretically. However, with the fall of the Assad regime, which has now been replaced by former al-Qaeda leader Ahmed Al Sharaa – ironically, he is prioritising relations with the West pushed by Arab partners – Moscow has lost the only military footing it had in West Asia.

China too has come out in support of Iran. While its Foreign Minister Wang Yi in a call with his Israeli counterpart highlighted how Israeli strikes were violating international law, a readout after a call between Mr. Xi and Mr. Putin interestingly demanded that the U.S. (without referencing it directly) orchestrate a de-escalation. While both Russia and China are worried about the wider implications of this conflict, it benefits their strategic postures in many ways. With the U.S. now having joined Israel in attacking Iran, a decision Mr. Trump took while keeping even his closest advisers in the dark, it would bog the White House down once again in West Asia, potentially relocating critical military assets away from the Indo-Pacific and from Ukraine. This would free-up space in both Beijing and Moscow's immediate geographies of interest while also potentially sowing self-inflicted discord within the Trump administration. For now, a brittle U.S.-backed ceasefire is holding Tehran and Tel Aviv at bay.

The outlook

For Iran, the news on any of the axes front is not good. While Russia and China may prioritise their own positions, the proverbial 'Axis of Resistance' made up of Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Houthis among others is down for the count as Iran's first line of defence and offence in the region. Finally, the future of Iran, irrespective of what kind of political reality prevails, even in a moderate system, may be shaped by the point that only nuclear power can hereon guarantee sovereignty.

The 'Axis of Upheaval' in the West Asia conflict

पश्चिम एशिया संघर्ष में 'अस्थिरता धुरी'

The world-narrative of distinct power blocs like the Cold War era is now punctured, especially in West Asia.

कोल्ड वॉर युग जैसे स्पष्ट शक्ति ब्लॉक की दुनिया-व्याख्या अब खोखली होती दिख रही है, खासकर पश्चिम एशिया में।

- Iran has suffered **political and military decapitation**, and its main partners, **China and Russia**, have **maintained a distance**.
ईरान को राजनीतिक और सैन्य नेतृत्व में क्षति हुई है, और इसके मुख्य सहयोगियों चीन और रूस ने दूरी बनाए रखी है।
- Before the conflict, Iran was central to the global narrative of **West-led alliances vs Moscow-Beijing axis**, labeled the **'Axis of Upheaval'** by scholars **Richard Fontaine and Andrea Kendall-Taylor**.



संघर्ष से पहले, ईरान पश्चिमीय गठबंधनों बनाम माँस्को-बीजिंग धुरी के वैश्विक दृष्टिकोण का केन्द्र था, जिसे विद्वानों रिचर्ड फॉटैन और आंद्रेया केंडल-टेलर ने 'अस्थिरता धुरी' कहा था।

- In Russia's war against Ukraine, **Iranian drone technologies** played a crucial role.
रूस-यूक्रेन युद्ध में **ईरानी ड्रोन तकनीक** ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई।
- Moscow and Tehran had collaborated on stabilising the government of **Syrian President Bashar al-Assad**, despite regional divergences.
माँस्को और तेहरान ने **सीरियाई राष्ट्रपति बशर अल-असद** की सरकार को स्थिर करने में सहयोग किया, हालांकि क्षेत्रीय मतभेद थे।
- Over the years of sanctions, **China has profited by buying cheap oil from Iran, supporting its stagnating growth, while providing Iran with much needed cash infows.**
वर्षों की प्रतिबंधों के प्रभाव में, **चीन** ने ईरान से **सस्ता तेल** खरीदकर अपनी **स्थिर वृद्धि** को सहारा दिया है, और ईरान को **आवश्यक नकदी प्रवाह** प्रदान किया है।

No treaties

कोई संधि नहीं

- These **axes are narrative constructs**, without any **military treaties or charters** that compel partners into war if one is attacked.
ये **धुराएँ केवल अवधारणात्मक** हैं, जिनके पास ऐसे कोई **सैन्य संधि या चार्टर** नहीं हैं जो साथी देशों को युद्ध में शामिल होने के लिए बाध्य करें।
- Instead, the **partnerships focus on institutional structures, currencies, de-dollarisation, non-SWIFT payment systems, and stronger multilateral bodies like BRICS and SCO.**
बल्कि इन साझेदारियों का ध्यान **संस्थागत संरचनाओं, मुद्राओं, डॉलर मुक्त व्यवस्था, गैर-SWIFT भुगतान प्रणाली, और मजबूत बहुपक्षीय संस्थाओं** जैसे **BRICS और SCO** पर है।
- But the absence of military alliances leaves a **critical gap** in confronting **Western influence** backed by treaties.
लेकिन सैन्य संधियों की कमी **पश्चिमी प्रभाव** से मुकाबले में एक **मूलभूत कमी** छोड़ती है।
- Still, **Russia and China have issued statements supporting Iran, criticising Israel's backers and diplomatic bodies (e.g., the IAEA) for ambiguous positions.**
इसके बावजूद, **रूस और चीन** ने ईरान का **राजनीतिक समर्थन** किया है, **इज़राइल के समर्थकों और IAEA** जैसे अंतर्राष्ट्रीय निकायों की **अस्पष्ट भूमिका** की आलोचना की है।
- **Putin offered mediation to Iran via a phone call, but this was sidelined by former US President Donald Trump.**
पुतिन ने फोन कॉल के ज़रिए ईरान को **मध्यस्थता** की पेशकश की, लेकिन इसे **पूर्व अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति डोनाल्ड ट्रम्प** द्वारा **नज़रअंदाज़** कर दिया गया।



- At this stage, **political and diplomatic support** seems to be the only tangible help Russia can offer Iran.
इस चरण में, राजनीतिक और कूटनीतिक समर्थन ही रूस द्वारा ईरान को दी जाने वाली ठोस सहायता लगती है।
- **Tehran holds comprehensive strategic partnerships: with Russia in 2025 and China in 2021**, almost **exclusively economic** in nature.
तेहरान ने संपूर्ण रणनीतिक साझेदारियाँ निभाई हैं: रूस के साथ 2025 में और चीन के साथ 2021 में, जो लगभग पूर्णतः आर्थिक प्रकृति की हैं।
- Aligning with Iran makes **long-term sense** due to its **vast energy reserves**, many untapped due to **sanctions**, but neither Russia nor China plans **military backing**.
ईरान के साथ दीर्घकालिक तालमेल समझदारी भरा है, क्योंकि इसकी विशाल ऊर्जा भंडार हैं—अधिकांश प्रतिबंधों की वजह से अविकसित—लेकिन ना रूस और ना चीन सैनिक समर्थन देने की योजना में हैं।
- They value the **political system under Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei**, which serves their **strategic interests**, but lack the **bandwidth or intent** for military intervention.
वे सुप्रीम लीडर अयातुल्लाह अली खामेनेई के अंतर्गत राजनीतिक प्रणाली को महत्व देते हैं, जो उनकी रणनीतिक हितों के अनुकूल है, लेकिन उनके पास कोई सैन्य हस्तक्षेप की क्षमता या इच्छाशक्ति नहीं है।

Where Russia Stands

रूस की स्थिति

- For **Moscow**, its **war against Ukraine** has tied down most of its **political and military capabilities**.
मॉस्को के लिए, यूक्रेन के खिलाफ युद्ध ने इसकी अधिकांश राजनीतिक और सैन्य क्षमताओं को बाँध रखा है।
- The **other opaque member of the axis, North Korea**, is already **providing soldiers to Russia to arrest its depleting military depth**.
धुरी का अन्य अस्पष्ट सदस्य उत्तर कोरिया, रूस की घटती सैन्य गहराई को संभालने के लिए पहले से ही सैनिक भेज रहा है।
- This denies it any capabilities to **tactically help Tehran**.
इससे वह तेहरान को रणनीतिक सहायता देने की क्षमता खो बैठता है।
- Previously, with its **bases and assets in Syria**, providing some **air power assistance** could have been possible, at least theoretically.
पहले, सीरिया में अपने ठिकानों और संसाधनों के साथ, कुछ वायु शक्ति सहायता देना सैद्धांतिक रूप से संभव था।
- However, with the **fall of the Assad regime**, now replaced by **former al-Qaeda leader Ahmed Al Sharaa**, **Moscow has lost the only military footing it had in West Asia**.
हालांकि, असद शासन के पतन के साथ, जिसे अब पूर्व अल-कायदा नेता अहमद अल शरा ने ले लिया है, मॉस्को ने पश्चिम एशिया में अपनी एकमात्र सैन्य पकड़ खो दी है।



- Ironically, **Al Sharaa is prioritising relations with the West pushed by Arab partners.**
विडंबना यह है कि अल शरा अब अरब सहयोगियों के प्रभाव से पश्चिम के साथ संबंधों को प्राथमिकता दे रहे हैं।

China's Role

चीन की भूमिका

- **China too has come out in support of Iran.**
चीन भी ईरान के समर्थन में सामने आया है।
- **Foreign Minister Wang Yi**, in a call with his **Israeli counterpart**, highlighted how **Israeli strikes** were violating international law.
विदेश मंत्री वांग यी ने अपने इज़राइली समकक्ष से बातचीत में बताया कि इज़राइली हमले अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कानून का उल्लंघन कर रहे हैं।
- A **readout** of a call between **Mr. Xi and Mr. Putin** demanded the **U.S.** (without naming) to **orchestrate de-escalation.**
शी जिनपिंग और पुतिन की बातचीत की रीडआउट में संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका (बिना नाम लिए) से तनाव कम करने की अपील की गई।
- **Though Russia and China are worried about wider implications** of the conflict, it also **benefits their strategic postures.**
यद्यपि रूस और चीन इस संघर्ष के व्यापक प्रभावों को लेकर चिंतित हैं, यह उनकी रणनीतिक स्थिति के लिए फायदेमंद भी है।

U.S. Involvement

अमेरिका की भूमिका

- With the **U.S. joining Israel in attacking Iran**, a decision **Mr. Trump** made secretly, it could **tie down the White House** again in **West Asia.**
संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका द्वारा इज़राइल के साथ मिलकर ईरान पर हमला करने, और वह भी ट्रम्प द्वारा गुप्त रूप से लिया गया निर्णय, से व्हाइट हाउस फिर से पश्चिम एशिया में उलझ सकता है।
- This could result in **relocation of military assets** away from the **Indo-Pacific and Ukraine.**
इससे इंडो-पैसिफिक और यूक्रेन से सैन्य संसाधनों को हटाना पड़ सकता है।
- It could **free up space** in **Beijing and Moscow's geographies** and **create discord within the Trump administration.**
इससे बीजिंग और मॉस्को के क्षेत्रों में जगह खाली हो सकती है और ट्रम्प प्रशासन के भीतर असहमति भी उत्पन्न हो सकती है।
- For now, a **brittle U.S.-backed ceasefire** is holding **Tehran and Tel Aviv** at bay.
फिलहाल, एक कमज़ोर अमेरिकी समर्थित संघर्षविराम ने तेहरान और तेल अवीव को नियंत्रण में रखा है।



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The Outlook

परिदृश्य

- For Iran, the news on **any of the axes front** is not good.
ईरान के लिए, किसी भी धुरी के मोर्चे से खबर अच्छी नहीं है।
- While **Russia and China** prioritise their own positions, the **'Axis of Resistance'** (including **Hezbollah, Hamas, Houthis**) is **down for the count**.
जब रूस और चीन अपनी प्राथमिकताओं में लगे हैं, तब ईरान की 'प्रतिरोध की धुरी' (हिज़्बुल्लाह, हमास, हौथी) पूरी तरह निष्क्रिय हो गई है।
- **This axis was Iran's first line of defence and offence in the region**.
यह धुरी ईरान की क्षेत्रीय रक्षा और आक्रमण की पहली पंक्ति थी।
- The **future of Iran**, even under a **moderate political system**, may depend on the fact that **only nuclear power can guarantee sovereignty**.
ईरान का भविष्य, भले ही एक मध्यमार्गी राजनीतिक व्यवस्था के तहत हो, अब इस बात पर निर्भर हो सकता है कि केवल परमाणु शक्ति ही संप्रभुता की गारंटी दे सकती है।



Enabling voting rights for migrants

GS Paper II: Voting Rights for Migrants

Bihar, a State with one of the largest out-migration populations in India, is going to the polls later this year. This time, again a significant proportion of the State's population will be unable to exercise their franchise.

In the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, voter turnout in Bihar was 56%, significantly lower than the national average of 66%. Since more than half the households in Bihar are exposed to migration in some form, a likely factor to have significantly influenced low voter turnout was the large migrant population, which was unable to return home to vote.

Patterns of migration

In 2021, the overall migration rate in India was 28.9%. A significant portion of migration in India is for marriage, especially among women. Around 10%, however, migrate for work. This number is significantly higher in certain northern and eastern States such as Bihar. With an ever-increasing number of migrants travelling from poorer to richer areas in search of employment, the number of those effectively disenfranchised will only increase, unless mechanisms are put in place to facilitate voting by migrants. In an attempt to solve the issue, public discussions have been held. The Election Commission of India (ECI) put forth a concrete proposal in 2024. But no single mechanism for voting for migrants has been implemented.

Different kinds of policies and mechanisms are needed to enable voting for different kinds of migrants (intra and inter-State migrants). Intra-State migrants (around 85% of migrants) working in the informal sector could be encouraged to travel relatively shorter distances to vote in their original place of residence. However, they would need a measure of support from the government. Stricter enforcement of the statutory holiday on polling



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An approach that combines several options will enable a significant share of inter- and intra-State migrants to exercise their right to vote

day would ensure that these workers are able to travel to vote without loss of wages. Special bus services could also be scheduled on the eve of and on polling day.

Different mechanisms

Inter-State migrants working in the informal sector are a large, growing and vulnerable population and need a different set of voting mechanisms. Three possibilities can be explored for this section. The first is an option designed to cater to the large population of migrants in irregular and low-paying jobs, such as in the construction sector. Workers in these jobs may not have permanent residences with address proofs. In 2023, the ECI showcased a pilot project of remote electronic voting machines (RVMS). Each of these was an EVM modified to cater to up to 72 constituencies. Political parties objected to this project. They said there was ambiguity over its functioning. They also cited issues such as problems in identification of migrants and the Code of Conduct being in place in the constituency where the migrant was residing. The project also appeared to be administratively difficult to implement at scale: when a large State with a large out-migration population goes to the polls, migrants from the State who currently reside across the country would be required to notify the ECI months in advance so that the ECI can make the necessary arrangements on polling day. If the ECI finds that in a given city, there are migrants from all 243 constituencies of Bihar, it would need to set up at least four RVMS across the city. The administrative difficulties would only be compounded during the Lok Sabha elections. As complex and challenging as the RVM proposal seems, it was the first major attempt by the ECI to facilitate voting for migrants. With more consultation and fine-tuning, this system could benefit many.

Another option is postal ballots. This system is already being

implemented by the ECI for members of the armed forces. An extension of this model could help many migrants. Here, too, the ECI would require migrants to register with the body well in advance, so the postal ballots can be issued. Operationally, this appears to be the easier form of remote voting to implement. However, the ECI would have to organise registration, issue ballot papers, and despatch these ballots to counting centres after voting – all major administrative efforts.

The last option – switching voting constituencies – is suitable for the longer term for more permanent migrants who can prove their residence in a constituency for at least six months. The argument here is that longer-term migrants of an area would likely be more concerned about the politics and policies of their current place of residence. The ECI should also take extra effort to enrol longer-term migrants of the informal sector in their current place of residence. This will empower them to pressure governments to implement more migrant-friendly policies. While this move may face significant opposition from longer-term residents of the area, it would empower one of the most vulnerable sections of the population.

Separately, as a significant number of migrant populations across the country are women who migrate after marriage, voting drives could also be carried out to enrol these women on the voter lists of their new place of residence.

A mixed approach

Each of these options has its advantages and disadvantages. Enabling voting by migrants is a complex task and is made more complex by the heterogeneity of migrants. Therefore, an approach that uses all these options will enable a significant share of both inter- and intra-State salaried and casual migrants to exercise their right to vote.

Enabling voting rights for migrants

प्रवासी मतदाताओं के लिए मतदान अधिकार सक्षम करना



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Bihar, a State with one of the largest out-migration populations in India, is going to the polls later this year.

बिहार, जो भारत में सबसे अधिक बाह्य प्रवासन वाले राज्यों में से एक है, इस वर्ष के अंत में चुनाव के लिए जा रहा है।

- This time, again, a significant proportion of the State's population will be **unable to exercise their franchise**.
इस बार फिर से राज्य की एक बड़ी आबादी अपने मताधिकार का प्रयोग करने में असमर्थ रहेगी।
- In the **2024 Lok Sabha elections**, voter turnout in Bihar was **56%**, significantly lower than the **national average of 66%**.
2024 के लोकसभा चुनावों में बिहार में मतदान प्रतिशत **56%** था, जो कि राष्ट्रीय औसत **66%** से काफी कम था।
- Since more than **half the households in Bihar** are exposed to migration in some form, a likely factor to have significantly influenced low voter turnout was the **large migrant population**, which was unable to return home to vote.
चूंकि बिहार के अधिकांश घरों में किसी न किसी रूप में प्रवासन होता है, इसलिए कम मतदान का एक संभावित कारण बड़ी प्रवासी आबादी थी, जो मतदान के लिए वापस नहीं लौट सकी।

Patterns of migration

प्रवासन के पैटर्न

- In **2021**, the overall **migration rate in India was 28.9%**.
2021 में भारत में कुल प्रवासन दर **28.9%** थी।
- A significant portion of migration in India is for **marriage**, especially among **women**.
भारत में प्रवासन का एक बड़ा हिस्सा **विवाह** के लिए होता है, विशेषकर **महिलाओं** में।
- Around **10%**, however, migrate for **work**.
हालांकि, लगभग **10%** लोग काम के लिए प्रवास करते हैं।
- This number is significantly **higher** in certain **northern and eastern States** such as **Bihar**.
यह संख्या उत्तर और पूर्वी भारत के कुछ राज्यों जैसे बिहार में काफी अधिक है।
- With an ever-increasing number of migrants travelling from **poorer to richer areas** in search of employment, the number of those **effectively disenfranchised** will only increase, unless mechanisms are put in place to **facilitate voting by migrants**.
गरीब क्षेत्रों से समृद्ध क्षेत्रों में रोजगार की तलाश में प्रवास करने वालों की संख्या लगातार बढ़ रही है, और जब तक प्रवासी मतदाताओं के लिए मतदान की सुविधा नहीं बनाई जाती, तब तक मताधिकार से वंचित लोगों की संख्या और बढ़ेगी।
- In an attempt to solve the issue, **public discussions** have been held.
इस मुद्दे को हल करने के प्रयास में **सार्वजनिक चर्चाएं** आयोजित की गई हैं।



- The Election Commission of India (ECI) put forth a concrete proposal in 2024.
भारत के चुनाव आयोग (ECI) ने 2024 में एक ठोस प्रस्ताव पेश किया।
- But no single mechanism for voting for migrants has been implemented.
लेकिन प्रवासी मतदाताओं के लिए कोई एकल प्रणाली अब तक लागू नहीं की गई है।

Different kinds of policies and mechanisms are needed

विभिन्न प्रकार की नीतियों और व्यवस्थाओं की आवश्यकता है

- Different kinds of policies and mechanisms are needed to enable voting for different kinds of migrants (intra and inter-State migrants).
विभिन्न प्रकार के प्रवासियों (राज्य के भीतर और राज्य के बाहर) के लिए मतदान की सुविधा देने हेतु विभिन्न प्रकार की नीतियों और व्यवस्थाओं की आवश्यकता है।
- Intra-State migrants (around 85% of migrants) working in the informal sector could be encouraged to travel relatively shorter distances to vote in their original place of residence.
राज्य के भीतर प्रवासी (जो लगभग 85% प्रवासी हैं) जो असूचित क्षेत्र में काम करते हैं, उन्हें अपनी मूल निवास स्थली पर वोट देने के लिए तुलनात्मक रूप से कम दूरी तय करने के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया जा सकता है।
- However, they would need a measure of support from the government.
हालांकि, इसके लिए उन्हें सरकार से कुछ सहायता की आवश्यकता होगी।
- Stricter enforcement of the statutory holiday on polling day would ensure that these workers are able to travel to vote without loss of wages.
मतदान दिवस पर वैधानिक अवकाश को कड़ाई से लागू करने से यह सुनिश्चित होगा कि ये श्रमिक बिना वेतन कटौती के मतदान के लिए यात्रा कर सकें।
- Special bus services could also be scheduled on the eve of and on polling day.
मतदान दिवस की पूर्व संध्या और मतदान के दिन पर विशेष बस सेवाएं भी चलाई जा सकती हैं।

Different mechanisms

विभिन्न तंत्र

- Inter-State migrants working in the informal sector are a large, growing, and vulnerable population and need a different set of voting mechanisms.
अंतर-राज्यीय प्रवासी, जो असंगठित क्षेत्र में कार्यरत हैं, एक बड़ी, बढ़ती हुई और संवेदनशील जनसंख्या हैं और उन्हें मतदान के लिए अलग तंत्र की आवश्यकता है।
- Three possibilities can be explored for this section.
इस वर्ग के लिए तीन संभावनाएं खोजी जा सकती हैं।
- The first is an option designed to cater to the large population of migrants in irregular and low-paying jobs, such as in the construction sector.



पहला विकल्प उन प्रवासियों के लिए है जो अनियमित और कम वेतन वाले कार्यों में कार्यरत हैं, जैसे कि निर्माण क्षेत्र में।

- Workers in these jobs may not have **permanent residences with address proof**. इन नौकरियों में लगे श्रमिकों के पास **स्थायी आवास और पते के प्रमाण** नहीं हो सकते हैं।
- In **2023**, the ECI showcased a **pilot project of remote electronic voting machines (RVMS)**.
2023 में चुनाव आयोग ने **रिमोट इलेक्ट्रॉनिक वोटिंग मशीनों (RVMS)** की एक पायलट परियोजना प्रस्तुत की।
- Each of these was an **EVM modified** to cater to up to **72 constituencies**. इनमें से प्रत्येक **ईवीएम संशोधित** थी, जो **72 विधानसभा क्षेत्रों** तक के लिए बनाई गई थी।
- Political parties objected to this project.
राजनीतिक दलों ने इस परियोजना पर **आपत्ति** जताई।
- They said there was **ambiguity** over its functioning. उन्होंने कहा कि इसके **काम करने के तरीके में अस्पष्टता** है।
- They also cited issues such as **problems in the identification** of migrants and the **Code of Conduct** being in place in the constituency where the migrant was residing. उन्होंने **प्रवासी पहचान में समस्याओं** और प्रवासी के निवास क्षेत्र में लागू **आचार संहिता** जैसे मुद्दों का भी उल्लेख किया।
- The project also appeared to be **administratively difficult** to implement at scale: when a **large State with a large out-migration population** goes to the polls, migrants from the State who currently reside across the country would be required to **notify the ECI months in advance** so that the ECI can make the necessary arrangements on polling day.
यह परियोजना **प्रशासनिक रूप से बड़े पैमाने पर लागू करना कठिन** प्रतीत होती है: जब कोई **बड़ा राज्य** जिसमें **उच्च प्रवासन** होता है, चुनाव में जाता है, तो उस राज्य के प्रवासियों को जो देशभर में रह रहे हैं, मतदान दिवस के लिए **महीनों पहले चुनाव आयोग को सूचित करना** होगा।
- If the ECI finds that in a given city, there are migrants from all **243 constituencies of Bihar**, it would need to **set up at least four RVMS** across the city.
यदि चुनाव आयोग को पता चलता है कि किसी शहर में **बिहार की सभी 243 विधानसभा सीटों** से प्रवासी हैं, तो उसे शहर में **कम से कम चार RVMS** स्थापित करनी होंगी।
- The **administrative difficulties** would only be **compounded during the Lok Sabha elections**.
लोकसभा चुनावों के दौरान ये **प्रशासनिक कठिनाइयां और अधिक बढ़ जाएंगी**।
- As complex and challenging as the RVM proposal seems, it was the **first major attempt** by the ECI to facilitate **voting for migrants**.
यह RVM प्रस्ताव चाहे जितना **जटिल और चुनौतीपूर्ण** हो, यह प्रवासियों के मतदान को **सुलभ बनाने का पहला प्रमुख प्रयास** था।
- With more **consultation and fine-tuning**, this system could **benefit many**.
अधिक **परामर्श और परिष्करण** के साथ यह प्रणाली **कई लोगों को लाभ** पहुंचा सकती है।



Another option is postal ballots

एक अन्य विकल्प है डाक मतपत्र

- This system is already being implemented by the ECI for **members of the armed forces**.
यह प्रणाली पहले से ही चुनाव आयोग द्वारा **सशस्त्र बलों के सदस्यों** के लिए लागू की जा रही है।
- An **extension** of this model could help **many migrants**.
इस मॉडल का **विस्तार कई प्रवासियों को मदद** कर सकता है।
- Here, too, the ECI would require migrants to **register with the body well in advance**, so the **postal ballots** can be issued.
यहां भी चुनाव आयोग को प्रवासियों से अपेक्षा होगी कि वे **पहले से पंजीकरण करें**, ताकि **डाक मतपत्र जारी** किए जा सकें।
- Operationally, this appears to be the **easier form of remote voting** to implement.
संचालन की दृष्टि से यह **रिमोट वोटिंग की सबसे सरल विधि** प्रतीत होती है।
- However, the ECI would have to organise **registration, issue ballot papers, and despatch these ballots to counting centres** after voting — all **major administrative efforts**.
हालांकि, चुनाव आयोग को **पंजीकरण कराना, मतपत्र जारी करना और मतदान के बाद उन्हें मतगणना केंद्रों तक पहुंचाना** होगा — ये सभी **बड़े प्रशासनिक कार्य** हैं।

The last option — switching voting constituencies

अंतिम विकल्प — मतदान क्षेत्र बदलना

- This is suitable for the **longer term** for more **permanent migrants** who can prove their **residence in a constituency for at least six months**.
यह विकल्प **लंबी अवधि** के लिए उन **स्थायी प्रवासियों** के लिए उपयुक्त है, जो यह सिद्ध कर सकें कि वे किसी निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में **कम से कम छह महीने से निवास कर रहे हैं**।
- The argument here is that **longer-term migrants** of an area would likely be more concerned about the **politics and policies** of their current place of residence.
तर्क यह है कि किसी क्षेत्र में रहने वाले **दीर्घकालिक प्रवासी** वहां की **राजनीति और नीतियों** में अधिक रुचि रखते हैं।
- The ECI should also take extra effort to **enrol longer-term migrants of the informal sector** in their **current place of residence**.
चुनाव आयोग को चाहिए कि वह **असंगठित क्षेत्र के दीर्घकालिक प्रवासियों का पंजीकरण उनके वर्तमान निवास स्थल पर करे**।
- This will empower them to **pressure governments to implement more migrant-friendly policies**.
इससे वे सरकारों पर **प्रवासी हितैषी नीतियों को लागू करने का दबाव** बना सकेंगे।



- While this move may face **significant opposition** from **longer-term residents** of the area, it would **empower one of the most vulnerable sections** of the population.
हालांकि इस कदम का स्थानीय दीर्घकालिक निवासियों द्वारा विरोध हो सकता है, यह सबसे कमजोर वर्गों में से एक को सशक्त करेगा।

Voting drives for women migrants

महिला प्रवासियों के लिए मतदान अभियान

- Separately, as a significant number of **migrant populations** across the country are **women who migrate after marriage**, **voting drives** could also be carried out to **enrol these women** on the **voter lists** of their **new place of residence**.
अलग से, चूंकि देश में प्रवासी जनसंख्या का एक बड़ा हिस्सा वे महिलाएं हैं जो विवाह के बाद प्रवास करती हैं, इसलिए उनके नए निवास स्थान पर मतदाता सूची में पंजीकरण हेतु मतदान अभियान चलाए जा सकते हैं।

A mixed approach

मिश्रित दृष्टिकोण

- Each of these options has its **advantages and disadvantages**.
इन सभी विकल्पों के अपने-अपने लाभ और हानि हैं।
- **Enabling voting by migrants** is a **complex task** and is made more complex by the **heterogeneity of migrants**.
प्रवासी मतदाताओं को मतदान की सुविधा देना एक जटिल कार्य है और प्रवासियों की विविधता के कारण और भी जटिल बन जाता है।
- Therefore, an approach that uses **all these options** will enable a **significant share** of both **inter- and intra-State salaried and casual migrants** to **exercise their right to vote**.
अतः एक ऐसा दृष्टिकोण जो इन सभी विकल्पों को अपनाए, वह राज्य और अंतर-राज्यीय वेतनभोगी एवं आकस्मिक प्रवासियों के एक महत्वपूर्ण हिस्से को अपने मतदान अधिकार का प्रयोग करने में सक्षम बनाएगा।



TEHRAN

Iran lawmakers vote to suspend ties with UN nuclear watchdog



GS Paper II: Iran IAEA

AP

Iranian lawmakers voted Wednesday in favour of suspending cooperation with the United Nations' atomic energy watchdog, state TV said, after a 12-day war that saw Israeli and US strikes on nuclear sites. The decision still requires the approval of the Guardian Council, a body empowered to vet legislation. AFP

day war that saw Israeli and US strikes on nuclear sites.

यह कदम 12 दिन के युद्ध के बाद आया जिसमें इज़राइली और अमेरिकी हमलों ने परमाणु ठिकानों को निशाना बनाया।

- The decision still requires the **approval of the Guardian Council**, a body empowered to **vet legislation**.

इस निर्णय को अब भी गार्जियन काउंसिल की मंजूरी की आवश्यकता है, जो कानूनों की समीक्षा के लिए अधिकृत निकाय है।

Iran lawmakers vote to suspend ties with UN nuclear watchdog

ईरान के सांसदों ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र परमाणु निगरानी संस्था से संबंध निलंबित करने के पक्ष में मतदान किया

- Iranian lawmakers voted **Wednesday** in favour of **suspending cooperation** with the **United Nations' atomic energy watchdog**, state TV said.

बुधवार को ईरानी सांसदों ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र की परमाणु ऊर्जा निगरानी संस्था के साथ सहयोग निलंबित करने के पक्ष में मतदान किया, राज्य टेलीविजन ने बताया।

- This move came **after a 12-**



NATO nod for hike in military spending, collective defence

ISS Paper II: Global Groupings
Associated Press
THE HAGUE

NATO leaders agreed on Wednesday on a massive hike in defence spending after pressure from U.S. President Donald Trump, and expressed their "ironclad commitment" to come to each other's aid if attacked.

The 32 leaders endorsed a final summit statement saying: "Allies commit to invest 5% of GDP annually on core defence requirements as well as defence and security-related spending by 2035 to ensure our individual and collective obligations."

Spain had already officially announced that it cannot meet the target, and others have voiced reservations, but the investment pledge includes a review of spending in 2029 — after the next U.S. presidential elections — to monitor progress and reassess

the security threat posed by Russia.

The leaders also underlined their "ironclad commitment" to NATO's collective security guarantee — "that an attack on one is an attack on all." Ahead of the summit, Mr. Trump had again raised doubts over whether the United States would defend its allies.

The show of unity vindicated NATO Secretary-General Mark Rutte's billing of the summit as "transformational," even though it papered over divisions.

"Together, allies have laid the foundations for a stronger, fairer and more lethal NATO," Mr. Rutte told reporters after chairing the meeting in The Hague. "This will fuel a quantum leap in our collective defense."

The spending hike requires each country to spend billions of dollars. It comes as the United States — NATO's biggest-spending



United front: Heads of state pose for a photo during a meeting at the NATO summit in The Hague. GETTY IMAGES

member — shifts its attention away from Europe to focus on security priorities elsewhere, notably in West Asia and Indo-Pacific.

But ahead of the meeting, Spain announced that it would not be able to reach the target by the new 2035 deadline, calling it "unreasonable." Belgium signaled that it would not get there either, and Slovakia said it reserves the right to decide its own defense spending.

Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez stood conspicuously aside from other leaders in the summit family photo.

Many European countries face major economic challenges, and Mr. Trump's global tariff war could make it even harder for America's allies to reach their targets. Some countries are already squeezing welfare and foreign aid spending to channel extra funds into their

military budgets.

On Tuesday, Mr. Trump complained that "there's a problem with Spain. Spain is not agreeing, which is very unfair to the rest of them, frankly." He has also criticised Canada as "a low payer." In 2018, a NATO summit during Mr. Trump's first term unraveled due to a dispute over defence spending.

Other countries closer to the borders of Russia and Ukraine — Poland, the three Baltic states and Nordic countries — have committed to the 5% goal, as have NATO's European heavyweights Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands.

In their statement, the leaders said they were united "in the face of profound security threats and challenges, in particular the long-term threat posed by Russia." It had been feared that Trump would object to that assessment, which European go-

vernments need to justify higher spending.

Mr. Trump has been reluctant to support Ukraine in its war against Russia's full-scale invasion. "We stand by Ukraine in its pursuit of peace and will continue to support Ukraine on its irreversible path to NATO membership," Mr. Rutte said. The Trump administration has vetoed Ukraine's bid to join NATO for the foreseeable future.

Finnish President Alexander Stubb said the agreement "is a big win, I think, for both President Trump and I think it's also a big win for Europe." He told reporters that "we're witnessing the birth of a new NATO, which means a more balanced NATO."

He said it would take nations "back to the defense expenditure levels of the Cold War." NATO countries started to cut their military budgets in safer times after the Berlin Wall collapsed in 1989.

NATO nod for hike in military spending, collective defence

सैन्य खर्च में बढ़ोतरी और सामूहिक रक्षा को लेकर नाटो की मंजूरी

NATO leaders agreed on Wednesday on a massive hike in defence spending after pressure from U.S. President Donald Trump, and expressed their "ironclad commitment" to come to each other's aid if attacked.

बुधवार को अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति डोनाल्ड ट्रंप के दबाव के बाद नाटो नेताओं ने रक्षा खर्च में भारी बढ़ोतरी पर सहमति जताई और एक-दूसरे पर हमले की स्थिति में "अटल प्रतिबद्धता" जताई।

- The **32 leaders** endorsed a final summit statement saying: "Allies commit to invest **5% of GDP annually** on core defence requirements as well as defence and security-related spending by **2035** to ensure our individual and collective obligations."
- **32 नेताओं** ने अंतिम शिखर सम्मेलन बयान को मंजूरी दी, जिसमें कहा गया: "सहयोगी देश **2035 तक** हर साल **जीडीपी का 5%** रक्षा आवश्यकताओं और सुरक्षा संबंधी खर्च पर लगाने के लिए प्रतिबद्ध हैं ताकि व्यक्तिगत और सामूहिक दायित्वों को सुनिश्चित किया जा सके।"
- **Spain** had already officially announced that it cannot meet the target, and others have voiced **reservations**, but the investment pledge includes a review of spending in **2029** — after the next U.S. presidential elections — to monitor progress and reassess the **security threat posed by Russia**.

स्पेन पहले ही आधिकारिक रूप से घोषणा कर चुका है कि वह लक्ष्य को पूरा नहीं कर सकता, और अन्य देशों ने भी आपत्तियाँ जताई हैं, लेकिन यह निवेश वादा **2029 में खर्च की समीक्षा** करने का प्रावधान करता



हैं — जो कि अगले अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति चुनावों के बाद होगा — ताकि **रूस से उत्पन्न सुरक्षा खतरे** का मूल्यांकन किया जा सके।

- The leaders also underlined their “**ironclad commitment**” to NATO’s collective security guarantee — “that an attack on one is an attack on all.”

नेताओं ने नाटो की सामूहिक सुरक्षा गारंटी पर अपनी “**अटल प्रतिबद्धता**” दोहराई — “एक पर हमला सभी पर हमला है।”

- Ahead of the summit, Mr. Trump had again raised **doubts** over whether the **United States** would defend its allies.

शिखर सम्मेलन से पहले, श्री ट्रंप ने फिर से इस पर **संदेह** जताया कि क्या **संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका** अपने सहयोगियों की रक्षा करेगा।

- The show of unity vindicated NATO Secretary-General **Mark Rutte’s** billing of the summit as “**transformational**,” even though it papered over **divisions**.

एकजुटता के इस प्रदर्शन ने नाटो महासचिव **मार्क रुटे** के इस सम्मेलन को “**परिवर्तनकारी**” कहने की पुष्टि की, भले ही यह **विभाजनों** को छिपा गया हो।

- “Together, allies have laid the foundations for a stronger, fairer and more **lethal NATO**,” Mr. Rutte told reporters after chairing the meeting in **The Hague**. “This will fuel a **quantum leap** in our collective defense.”

“मिलकर, सहयोगियों ने एक **मज़बूत, न्यायसंगत और अधिक घातक नाटो** की नींव रखी है,” हेग में बैठक की अध्यक्षता करने के बाद श्री रुटे ने पत्रकारों से कहा। “यह हमारी सामूहिक रक्षा में एक **बड़ी छलांग** को प्रेरित करेगा।”

- The spending hike requires each country to spend **billions of dollars**. It comes as the **United States** — NATO’s **biggest-spending member** — shifts its attention away from **Europe** to focus on security priorities elsewhere, notably in **West Asia** and **Indo-Pacific**.

यह खर्च वृद्धि हर देश से **अरबों डॉलर** खर्च करने की मांग करती है। यह ऐसे समय में आया है जब **संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका**, जो नाटो का **सबसे बड़ा खर्चकर्ता सदस्य** है, यूरोप से ध्यान हटाकर **पश्चिम एशिया** और **इंडो-पैसिफिक** में सुरक्षा प्राथमिकताओं पर ध्यान केंद्रित कर रहा है।

- But ahead of the meeting, **Spain** announced that it would not be able to reach the target by the new **2035 deadline**, calling it “**unreasonable**.”

लेकिन बैठक से पहले, **स्पेन** ने घोषणा की कि वह नई **2035 की समयसीमा** तक लक्ष्य तक नहीं पहुंच पाएगा और इसे “**अवास्तविक**” करार दिया।

- **Belgium** signaled that it would not get there either, and **Slovakia** said it reserves the right to decide its own **defense spending**.

बेल्जियम ने संकेत दिया कि वह भी लक्ष्य नहीं पूरा कर पाएगा, और **स्लोवाकिया** ने कहा कि वह अपने **रक्षा खर्च** का निर्णय स्वयं करने का अधिकार रखता है।

- Prime Minister **Pedro Sánchez** stood conspicuously aside from other leaders in the summit **family photo**.

प्रधानमंत्री **पेद्रो सांचेज़** शिखर सम्मेलन की **सामूहिक तस्वीर** में अन्य नेताओं से अलग खड़े नजर आए।



- Many **European countries** face major **economic challenges**, and Mr. Trump's global **tariff war** could make it even harder for America's allies to reach their targets.
कई यूरोपीय देश गंभीर आर्थिक चुनौतियों का सामना कर रहे हैं, और श्री ट्रंप के वैश्विक शुल्क युद्ध से अमेरिका के सहयोगियों के लिए अपने लक्ष्य को पाना और भी कठिन हो सकता है।
- Some countries are already squeezing **welfare and foreign aid spending** to channel extra funds into their **military budgets**.
कुछ देश पहले ही कल्याण और विदेशी सहायता खर्च में कटौती करके अतिरिक्त धन को अपने सैन्य बजट में डाल रहे हैं।
- On Tuesday, Mr. Trump complained that "there's a problem with **Spain**. Spain is not agreeing, which is **very unfair** to the rest of them, frankly."
मंगलवार को श्री ट्रंप ने शिकायत की, "स्पेन के साथ समस्या है। स्पेन सहमत नहीं हो रहा है, जो बाकियों के लिए बहुत अनुचित है।"
- He has also criticised **Canada** as "a **low payer**."
उन्होंने कनाडा की भी आलोचना की है, उसे "कम भुगतान करने वाला" कहा है।
- In **2018**, a NATO summit during Mr. Trump's **first term** unraveled due to a **dispute over defence spending**.
2018 में श्री ट्रंप के पहले कार्यकाल के दौरान एक नाटो शिखर सम्मेलन रक्षा खर्च को लेकर विवाद के कारण असफल हो गया था।
- Other countries closer to the borders of **Russia and Ukraine** — **Poland**, the **three Baltic states** and **Nordic countries** — have committed to the **5% goal**, as have NATO's European heavyweights **Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands**.
रूस और यूक्रेन की सीमाओं के पास स्थित अन्य देश — जैसे **पोलैंड, तीन बाल्टिक देश और नॉर्डिक देश** — ने **5% लक्ष्य** के लिए प्रतिबद्धता जताई है, जैसे कि नाटो के यूरोपीय दिग्गज देश **ब्रिटेन, फ्रांस, जर्मनी और नीदरलैंड** ने भी की है।
- In their statement, the leaders said they were **united "in the face of profound security threats and challenges, in particular the long-term threat posed by Russia."**
अपने बयान में नेताओं ने कहा कि वे "गंभीर सुरक्षा खतरों और चुनौतियों, विशेष रूप से रूस से उत्पन्न दीर्घकालिक खतरे" का सामना करने में एकजुट हैं।
- It had been feared that Trump would object to that **assessment**, which European governments need to justify **higher spending**.
आशंका थी कि ट्रंप इस आकलन पर आपत्ति जता सकते हैं, जिसे यूरोपीय सरकारों को अधिक खर्च को सही ठहराने के लिए आवश्यक है।
- Mr. Trump has been reluctant to support **Ukraine** in its war against **Russia's full-scale invasion**.
श्री ट्रंप रूस के पूर्ण पैमाने पर आक्रमण के खिलाफ यूक्रेन के युद्ध में समर्थन देने को लेकर अनिच्छुक रहे हैं।
- "We stand by Ukraine in its pursuit of peace and will continue to support Ukraine on its **irreversible path to NATO membership**," Mr. Rutte said.



“हम शांति की खोज में यूक्रेन के साथ खड़े हैं और उसके नाटो सदस्यता की अपरिवर्तनीय राह में समर्थन जारी रखेंगे,” श्री रुटे ने कहा।

- The Trump administration has **vetoed Ukraine's bid** to join NATO for the **foreseeable future**.
ट्रंप प्रशासन ने **निकट भविष्य के लिए यूक्रेन की नाटो सदस्यता की कोशिश को वेटो** कर दिया है।
- Finnish President **Alexander Stubb** said the agreement “is a **big win** for both President Trump and I think it's also a big win for Europe.”
फिनलैंड के राष्ट्रपति **अलेक्जेंडर स्टब** ने कहा कि यह समझौता “**राष्ट्रपति ट्रंप और यूरोप दोनों के लिए एक बड़ी जीत है।**”
- He told reporters that “we're witnessing the **birth of a new NATO**, which means a more **balanced NATO**.”
उन्होंने पत्रकारों से कहा कि “हम एक **नए नाटो का जन्म** देख रहे हैं, जिसका मतलब है एक और **संतुलित नाटो।**”
- He said it would take nations “back to the **defense expenditure levels of the Cold War**.”
उन्होंने कहा कि यह देशों को “**शीत युद्ध के रक्षा व्यय स्तरों**” पर वापस ले जाएगा।
- NATO countries started to **cut their military budgets** in safer times after the **Berlin Wall collapsed in 1989**.
नाटो देशों ने **1989 में बर्लिन दीवार गिरने के बाद सुरक्षित समय में अपने सैन्य बजटों में कटौती** शुरू की थी।

TOPICS COVERED (GS Paper III: Economy, S&T, Environment, DM, IS)

1. Indian astronaut in space after 41-year gap, on mission to ISS

41 वर्षों के अंतराल के बाद भारतीय अंतरिक्ष यात्री अंतरिक्ष में, आईएसएस मिशन पर

2. GST Council will discuss reducing items in 12% slab

जीएसटी परिषद 12% स्लैब में वस्तुओं को कम करने पर करेगी चर्चा

3. Chemotherapy drugs made by Indian companies fail quality tests: study

भारतीय कंपनियों द्वारा निर्मित कीमोथेरेपी दवाएं गुणवत्ता परीक्षण में फेल: अध्ययन



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- 4. MSMEs need an agile, secure ecosystem: Kharge**
एमएसएमई के लिए फुर्तीला और सुरक्षित इकोसिस्टम जरूरी: खर्गे
- 5. Carrying Rakesh Sharma's legacy forward, say Cong. leaders of Shukla's mission**
राकेश शर्मा की विरासत को आगे ले जाने वाले, शुक्ला के मिशन पर कांग्रेसी नेताओं की प्रतिक्रिया
- 6. Swiss glaciers show holes reminiscent of cheese**
स्विस ग्लेशियर में थे चीज़ जैसे छेद देखने को मिलते हैं
- 7. Qualified cheer: On Shubhanshu Shukla, Axiom-4 mission**
योग्य उत्साह: शुभांशु शुक्ला, एक्सिऑम-4 मिशन पर
- 8. India-U.S. Steel and Aluminium Tariff Talks**
भारत-अमेरिका स्टील और एल्युमिनियम टैरिफ वार्ता
- 9. Israel-Iran War and Oil Market Response**
इज़राइल-ईरान युद्ध और तेल बाज़ार की प्रतिक्रिया



Indian astronaut in space after 41-year gap, on mission to ISS

Start of India's human space programme, says Shubhanshu Shukla as Axiom-4 mission is launched from the Kennedy Space Center, U.S., a four-member crew will spend 14 days in orbit conducting science, outreach, and other commercial activities

IGS Paper III: S&T

Hemanth C.S.
BENGALURU

India's human space programme took off on Wednesday as Indian astronaut Shubhanshu Shukla's Axiom-4 mission (Ax-4) to the International Space Station (ISS) was launched from NASA's Kennedy Space Center in Florida, U.S., after multiple delays.

"This is not the start of my journey to the ISS but the start of India's human space programme. I want my countrymen to become part of this journey, let us join together and start India's human space programme. *Jai Hind Jai Bharat.*" Group Captain Shukla said in his first message from the mission.

Group Captain Shukla, the pilot of the Ax-4 mission, began a 28-hour journey to the orbiting labora-

Above and beyond

Group Captain Shubhanshu Shukla becomes the first Indian to reach space in 41 years after the Axiom-4 mission lifted off from the Kennedy Space Center in Florida on Wednesday



From left: Tibor Kapu (Hungary), Mission Specialist; Shubhanshu Shukla (India), Pilot; Peggy Whitson (U.S.), Commander; and Stawosz Uznański-Wiśniewski (Poland), Mission Specialist

After 40 years we have once again reached space and it was an amazing ride...This is not the start of my journey to the ISS but the start of India's human space programme

GROUP CAPTAIN SHUBHANSHU SHUKLA, Mission Pilot

tory in space along with Commander Peggy Whitson (U.S.), Mission Specialist Stawosz Uznański-Wiśniewski (Poland), and

Mission Specialist Tibor Kapu (Hungary).

The SpaceX Dragon crew capsule housing the astronauts is targeting to

International Space Station:

The SpaceX Dragon crew capsule housing the 4 astronauts is targeting to dock at the International Space Station at approximately 4.30 p.m. IST on Thursday after a 28-hour journey

1 Wednesday's mission launch comes after multiple delays from the initial launch planned on May 29

2 The crew members will spend 14 days aboard the ISS conducting science, outreach, and commercial activities

3 The Ax-4 research complement includes nearly 60 studies and activities representing 31 countries

days aboard the ISS conducting science, outreach, and other commercial activities. The Ax-4 research complement includes nearly 60 scientific activities representing 31 countries.

Upon docking, Group Captain Shukla will become the first Indian astronaut aboard the ISS, after having become the first Indian to reach space in 41 years.

Great start

The Falcon 9 rocket carrying the astronauts in a SpaceX Dragon crew capsule lifted off from Launch Complex 39A at the Kennedy Space Center at 12.01 p.m. on Wednesday. Around 10 minutes after lift-off, the Dragon capsule separated from the second stage of the rocket and its nose-cone open sequence began.

Indian astronaut in space after 41-year gap, on mission to ISS

41 वर्षों के अंतराल के बाद भारतीय अंतरिक्ष यात्री अंतरिक्ष में, आईएसएस मिशन पर

Start of India's human space programme, says Shubhanshu Shukla as Axiom-4 mission is launched from the Kennedy Space Center, U.S., a four-member crew will spend 14 days in orbit conducting science, outreach, and other commercial activities.

शुभांशु शुक्ला ने कहा कि यह भारत के मानव अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम की शुरुआत है, जब Axiom-4 मिशन



को यू.एस. के केनेडी स्पेस सेंटर से लॉन्च किया गया, जिसमें चार सदस्यीय दल 14 दिन की कक्षा में रहकर वैज्ञानिक, जन संपर्क और अन्य वाणिज्यिक गतिविधियों को अंजाम देगा।

- India's human space programme took off on **Wednesday** as Indian astronaut **Shubhanshu Shukla's Axiom-4 mission (Ax-4)** to the **International Space Station (ISS)** was launched from **NASA's Kennedy Space Center in Florida, U.S.**, after multiple delays.

बुधवार को भारत का मानव अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम शुरू हुआ जब भारतीय अंतरिक्ष यात्री शुभांशु शुक्ला का **Axiom-4 मिशन (Ax-4)** अंतरराष्ट्रीय अंतरिक्ष स्टेशन (ISS) के लिए फ्लोरिडा, यू.एस. के नासा के केनेडी स्पेस सेंटर से कई बार की देरी के बाद लॉन्च हुआ।

- "This is not the start of my journey to the ISS but the **start of India's human space programme**. I want my countrymen to become part of this journey, let us join together and start India's human space programme. **Jai Hind Jai Bharat,**" **Group Captain Shukla** said in his **first message** from the mission.

"यह मेरी ISS की यात्रा की शुरुआत नहीं है बल्कि यह भारत के मानव अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम की शुरुआत है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मेरे देशवासी इस यात्रा का हिस्सा बनें, आइए हम सब मिलकर भारत का मानव अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम शुरू करें। **जय हिंद जय भारत,**" ग्रुप कैप्टन शुक्ला ने मिशन से अपने पहले संदेश में कहा।

- **Group Captain Shukla, the pilot of the Ax-4 mission,** began a **28-hour journey** to the orbiting laboratory in space along with **Commander Peggy Whitson (U.S.), Mission Specialist Sławosz Uznański-Wiśniewski (Poland), and Mission Specialist Tibor Kapu (Hungary).**

ग्रुप कैप्टन शुक्ला, जो **Ax-4 मिशन के पायलट** हैं, ने **28 घंटे की यात्रा** शुरू की जो उन्हें अंतरिक्ष की कक्षा में स्थित प्रयोगशाला तक ले जाएगी, साथ में हैं **कमांडर पैगी व्हिटसन (अमेरिका), मिशन विशेषज्ञ स्वावोस उज़्नांस्की-विस्निएव्स्की (पोलैंड) और मिशन विशेषज्ञ टिबोर कापु (हंगरी)।**

- The **SpaceX Dragon crew capsule** housing the astronauts is targeting to **dock at the ISS** at approximately **4.30 p.m. IST on Thursday.**

स्पेसएक्स ड्रैगन क्रू कैप्सूल जिसमें अंतरिक्ष यात्री सवार हैं, का लक्ष्य है कि वह **गुरुवार को लगभग शाम 4.30 बजे IST पर आईएसएस से डॉक** करे।

- After docking, the crew members will spend **14 days aboard the ISS** conducting **science, outreach, and other commercial activities.**

डॉकिंग के बाद, चालक दल के सदस्य **14 दिन तक ISS पर रहेंगे और विज्ञान, जन संपर्क और अन्य वाणिज्यिक गतिविधियां** करेंगे।

- The **Ax-4 research complement** includes nearly **60 scientific activities** representing **31 countries.**

Ax-4 अनुसंधान कार्यक्रम में लगभग **60 वैज्ञानिक गतिविधियां** शामिल हैं जो **31 देशों** का प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं।



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- Upon docking, **Group Captain Shukla** will become the **first Indian astronaut aboard the ISS**, after having become the **first Indian to reach space in 41 years**.
डॉकिंग के बाद, ग्रुप कैप्टन शुकला ISS पर जाने वाले पहले भारतीय अंतरिक्ष यात्री बन जाएंगे, और साथ ही 41 वर्षों बाद अंतरिक्ष में पहुंचने वाले पहले भारतीय भी।

Great start

शानदार शुरुआत

- The **Falcon 9 rocket** carrying the astronauts in a **SpaceX Dragon crew capsule** lifted off from **Launch Complex 39A** at the **Kennedy Space Center** at **12.01 p.m. on Wednesday**.
स्पेसएक्स ड्रैगन क्रू कैप्सूल में सवार अंतरिक्ष यात्रियों को ले जाने वाला फाल्कन 9 रॉकेट, बुधवार दोपहर 12.01 बजे केनेडी स्पेस सेंटर के लॉन्च कॉम्प्लेक्स 39A से लॉन्च हुआ।
- Around **10 minutes after lift-off**, the **Dragon capsule separated** from the **second stage** of the rocket and its **nose-cone open sequence** began.
लॉन्च के लगभग 10 मिनट बाद, ड्रैगन कैप्सूल रॉकेट के दूसरे चरण से अलग हो गया और उसका नोज-कोन खुलने की प्रक्रिया शुरू हुई।



GST Council will discuss reducing items in 12% slab

GSS Paper III: Economy

On the cards

The GST Council meet will likely be held in July, more than six months after the previous meeting



- Council to look into minimising items in 12% slab
- Most items to be reduced to 5% but some 18% goods could enter 12%
- Removal of tax on intermediate services to be discussed
- Removal could lead to a ₹3,500-crore tax relief for service industry

T.C.A. Sharad Raghavan
NEW DELHI

The agenda for the Goods and Services Tax (GST) Council at its next meeting will include deliberations on minimising the 12% tax slab and also finalising the tax treatment on service intermediaries, which could provide the sector relief worth thousands of crores, according to informed sources.

The meeting was initially supposed to be held in June, there has been some back-and-forth between members of the Council over the location of the meeting, leading to delays. It will now likely be held in July 2025, which will be more than six months after the last meeting.

According to the rules, the GST Council is meant to meet once every quarter, or three months.

"One of the main agenda items, as part of the overall simplification and rate rationalisation effort, is what to do with the 12% slab," an official aware of the developments told *The Hindu*. "One of the internal recommendations was to minimise the slab or maybe even do away with it entirely."

Service intermediaries

The Hindu has learnt that the other major item on the agenda of the GST Council would be the taxation of service intermediaries. Currently, service intermediaries are taxed at 18% even

when they provide services to companies abroad. This is likely to be removed.

Doing away with the 12% rate would reduce the number of tax rates under GST to 0%, 5%, 18%, and 28%, not counting the specialised rates of 0.25% on diamonds and 3% on gold and silver, or the additional compensation cess on items in the 28% slab.

"It is improbable that the GST Council will completely abolish the 12% tax slab," Saurabh Agarwal, Tax Partner at EY India, explained. "Instead, they are likely to gradually reduce the number of items in this category by shifting them to the 5% slab. Additionally, some items currently taxed at 18% may be moved to the 12% slab." This adjustment would reflect a change in consumer behaviour, he said, since rising per capita income meant that many products that were once considered discretionary, such as toothpaste and soap, have become everyday necessities. Currently, toothpaste and soap are taxed at 18% and shampoo can be taxed as high as 28%.

However, other tax experts say that moving items from the 12% slab to 5% might not always be a good thing for the manufacturers. At 12%, they are eligible for input tax credit, which will likely be revoked if they are moved to 5%. This means the manufacturers would not get credit for the tax they pay on inputs.

GST Council will discuss reducing items in 12% slab

जीएसटी परिषद 12% स्लैब में वस्तुओं को कम करने पर करेगी चर्चा

The agenda for the Goods and Services Tax (GST) Council at its next meeting will include deliberations on minimising the 12% tax slab and also finalising the tax treatment on service intermediaries, which could provide the sector relief worth thousands of crores, according to informed sources.

वस्तु एवं सेवा कर (GST) परिषद की अगली बैठक के एजेंडे में 12% कर स्लैब को कम करने और सेवा मध्यस्थों पर कर नीति को अंतिम रूप देने पर विचार होगा, जिससे इस क्षेत्र को हजारों करोड़ रुपये की राहत मिल सकती है, जानकार सूत्रों के अनुसार।

- The meeting was initially supposed to be held in **June**, there has been some back-and-forth between members of the Council over the **location of the meeting**, leading to delays.

यह बैठक मूल रूप से जून में होनी थी, लेकिन बैठक के स्थान को लेकर परिषद के सदस्यों के बीच असहमति के कारण इसमें देरी हुई।

- It will now likely be held in **July 2025**, which will be more than **six months** after the last meeting.

अब यह बैठक जुलाई 2025 में होने की संभावना है, जो पिछली बैठक के छह महीने से अधिक समय बाद होगी।

- According to the rules, the **GST Council** is meant to meet once every **quarter**, or **three months**.

नियमों के अनुसार, **GST परिषद** को हर त्रैमासिक, यानी तीन महीने में एक बार बैठक करनी होती है।

- "One of the main agenda items, as part of the overall **simplification and rate rationalisation** effort, is what to do with the **12% slab**," an official aware of the developments told *The Hindu*.

एक अधिकारी ने *द हिंदू* को बताया, "सरलीकरण और दर युक्तिकरण के प्रयासों के हिस्से के रूप में, प्रमुख एजेंडा में से एक है कि **12% स्लैब** के साथ क्या किया जाए।"



- “One of the internal recommendations was to **minimise the slab** or maybe even **do away with it entirely.**”
“भीतरूनी सिफारिशों में से एक थी कि इस स्लैब को **कम** किया जाए या **पूरी तरह से समाप्त** कर दिया जाए।”

Service intermediaries

सेवा मध्यस्थ

- *The Hindu* has learnt that the other major item on the agenda of the **GST Council** would be the **taxation of service intermediaries.**
द हिंदू को जानकारी मिली है कि **GST परिषद** के एजेंडे में दूसरा बड़ा मुद्दा **सेवा मध्यस्थों पर कराधान** का होगा।
- Currently, **service intermediaries** are taxed at **18%** even when they provide services to **companies abroad.** This is likely to be removed.
वर्तमान में, **सेवा मध्यस्थों पर 18%** कर लगता है, भले ही वे **विदेशी कंपनियों** को सेवाएं प्रदान करते हों। इसे हटाया जा सकता है।
- Doing away with the **12% rate** would reduce the number of tax rates under GST to **0%, 5%, 18%, and 28%**, not counting the specialised rates of **0.25% on diamonds** and **3% on gold and silver**, or the **additional compensation cess** on items in the **28% slab.**
12% दर को समाप्त करने से जीएसटी के अंतर्गत कर दरों की संख्या घटकर **0%, 5%, 18% और 28%** हो जाएगी, जिसमें **हीरों पर 0.25%, सोने-चांदी पर 3%, और 28% स्लैब की वस्तुओं पर अतिरिक्त उपकर** शामिल नहीं हैं।
- “It is improbable that the **GST Council** will completely abolish the **12% tax slab,**” **Saurabh Agarwal**, Tax Partner at **EY India**, explained.
ईवाई इंडिया के टैक्स पार्टनर **सौरभ अग्रवाल** ने कहा, “यह संभावना नहीं है कि **GST परिषद 12% कर स्लैब** को पूरी तरह समाप्त कर देगी।”
- “Instead, they are likely to **gradually reduce** the number of items in this category by shifting them to the **5% slab.** Additionally, some items currently taxed at **18%** may be moved to the **12% slab.**”
“इसके बजाय, वे धीरे-धीरे इस श्रेणी की वस्तुओं की संख्या घटा सकते हैं और उन्हें **5% स्लैब** में स्थानांतरित कर सकते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त, कुछ वस्तुएं जो अभी **18%** पर कराधीन हैं, उन्हें **12% स्लैब** में लाया जा सकता है।”
- This adjustment would reflect a change in **consumer behaviour**, he said, since rising **per capita income** meant that many products that were once considered **discretionary**, such as **toothpaste and soap**, have become **everyday necessities.**
उन्होंने कहा कि यह बदलाव **उपभोक्ता व्यवहार** में परिवर्तन को दर्शाएगा, क्योंकि **प्रति व्यक्ति आय** में वृद्धि का मतलब है कि **टूथपेस्ट और साबुन** जैसी कई चीजें जो पहले **वैकल्पिक** मानी जाती थीं, अब **रोजमर्रा की जरूरतें** बन गई हैं।



- Currently, **toothpaste and soap** are taxed at **18%** and **shampoo** can be taxed as high as **28%**.
वर्तमान में, दूधपेस्ट और साबुन पर 18% कर लगता है और शैम्पू पर 28% तक कर लग सकता है।
- However, other tax experts say that **moving items from the 12% slab to 5%** might not always be a good thing for the **manufacturers**.
हालांकि, अन्य कर विशेषज्ञों का कहना है कि 12% स्लैब से 5% में वस्तुओं का स्थानांतरण निर्माताओं के लिए हमेशा अच्छा नहीं हो सकता।
At **12%**, they are eligible for **input tax credit**, which will likely be **revoked** if they are moved to **5%**.
12% पर उन्हें इनपुट टैक्स क्रेडिट मिल सकता है, जो संभवतः 5% में जाने पर समाप्त कर दिया जाएगा।
- This means the **manufacturers** would not get **credit for the tax** they pay on **inputs**.
इसका अर्थ यह है कि निर्माताओं को अपने इनपुट पर दिए गए टैक्स का क्रेडिट नहीं मिलेगा।

Chemotherapy drugs made by Indian companies fail quality tests: study

SS Paper III: S&T
Paul Eccles
Andjela Milivojevic
Ramu Sapkota

Vital chemotherapy drugs used around the world have failed quality tests, leaving cancer patients in more than 100 countries at risk of ineffective treatments and fatal side effects, the Bureau of Investigative Journalism (BIJ) can reveal.

The drugs in question form the backbone of treatment plans for numerous common cancers including breast and ovarian cancers and leukaemia. Over the past six years, they have been shipped to countries such as Nepal, Ethiopia, the U.S., the U.K., and Saudi Arabia.

The test findings come from a study by researchers at the University of Notre Dame in the U.S. who analysed 189 samples

of various cancer drugs. About one-fifth failed.

The worst-performing drug in the study is made by Indian manufacturer Venus Remedies. All eight samples of the company's cyclophosphamide product failed.

Venus Remedies told TBIJ that the test results were "not scientifically plausible" given the company's "validated manufacturing systems and quality controls". It said it has received no complaints or concerns about the batches in question and shared the results of its own testing that indicated they were of a good standard.

Faulty storage blamed

The manufacturer said storage conditions in the supply chain – which can impact drug quality – might have affected the re-

searchers' test results. However, the absence of similar quality issues across the entire data set suggests this is not the case.

Venus Remedies is one of three companies or regulators that queried the methodology used by the lab, saying it deviated from international standards or could give erroneous results. However, Maria Lieberman, who led the research, said her researchers' methods follow international standards as closely as possible and employ similar standards to a regulatory lab. Both the findings and methods have been scrutinised by independent academics.

Two other manufacturers whose products failed the testing, Zuvius Lifesciences and GLS Pharma, have supplied failed brands to over 40 coun-



Marya Lieberman, the Notre Dame professor who led the research, at work in her lab. UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

tries. Of the 17 companies that manufactured failed drugs, 16 are based in India.

Some drugs contained so little of their key ingredient that pharmacists said giving them to patients would be like doing nothing.

Other drugs, containing too much active ingredient, put patients at risk

of severe organ damage or even death. "Both scenarios are horrendous," said Shereen Nabhani-Gebara, vice-chair of the British Oncology Pharmacists Association.

Zuvius Lifesciences, GLS Pharma, and Zee Laboratories did not respond to multiple requests for comment.

Doctors from multiple

countries told TBIJ of the drugs in question not working as expected, leaving patients suddenly unresponsive to treatment. Other patients suffered side effects so toxic they could no longer tolerate the medicine.

The findings expose holes in the global safety nets intended to prevent profit-seeking manufacturers from cutting corners and to protect patients from bad drugs. More than two in three countries around the world are reportedly unable to ensure the quality of medicines their populations are exposed to.

Nepal was one of the biggest importers of the failed chemotherapy brands in this investigation. The country's medicines regulator does not have the capacity to test cancer drugs. Although it

can recall cancer drugs based on external evidence, it has never done so.

"Neither patients nor their families have any way of knowing the quality of these drugs," said Smriti Pokharel of the Wish Nepal Foundation. "No one seems willing to take responsibility for ensuring proper treatment for cancer patients."

Much of the global demand for cancer treatment is met by generic drugs – which the low-quality drugs found in this investigation were.

In India, the world's largest producer of generic drugs, questions have been raised over whether manufacturers are properly punished for producing such bad drugs.

"The Indian government's interest is in trying to protect the industry,"

said public health activist Dinesh Thakur.

India's drug regulator defended the oversight system, saying that failing drugs are recalled and manufacturers face "either administrative penalties or legal prosecution in court".

Thakur pointed to limitations in the World Health Organization's means of ensuring people across the world have access to safe effective drugs. The WHO did not respond to several requests for comment.

One cancer pharmacist in Ethiopia estimated that it could take over a year for a patient to save for cancer treatment. If that medicine then turns out to be faulty, they simply might not be able to afford to pay for another.

(This article is jointly published by The Hindu and TBIJ)

Chemotherapy drugs made by Indian companies fail quality tests: study भारतीय कंपनियों द्वारा निर्मित कीमोथेरेपी दवाएं गुणवत्ता परीक्षण में फेल: अध्ययन

- Vital **chemotherapy drugs** used around the world have **failed quality tests**, leaving **cancer patients** in more than **100 countries** at risk of **ineffective treatments** and **fatal side effects**, the Bureau of Investigative Journalism (BIJ) can reveal. दुनिया भर में उपयोग की जाने वाली महत्वपूर्ण कीमोथेरेपी दवाएं गुणवत्ता परीक्षण में फेल हो गई हैं, जिससे 100 से



अधिक देशों में कैंसर रोगियों के लिए अप्रभावी उपचार और घातक साइड इफेक्ट्स का खतरा पैदा हो गया है, यह ब्यूरो ऑफ इन्वेस्टिगेटिव जर्नलिज्म (TBIJ) ने उजागर किया है।

- The drugs in question form the **backbone of treatment plans** for numerous common cancers including **breast, ovarian cancers and leukaemia**. ये दवाएं ब्रेस्ट, ओवरी के कैंसर और ल्यूकीमिया जैसे आम कैंसर के इलाज की रीढ़ मानी जाती हैं।
- Over the past **six years**, they have been **shipped** to countries such as **Nepal, Ethiopia, the U.S., the U.K., and Saudi Arabia**. पिछले छह वर्षों में इन दवाओं को नेपाल, इथियोपिया, अमेरिका, ब्रिटेन और सऊदी अरब जैसे देशों में भेजा गया है।
- The test findings come from a **study by the University of Notre Dame (U.S.)**, which analysed **189 samples** of various cancer drugs. About **one-fifth failed**. यह निष्कर्ष अमेरिका की यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ नोटे डेम द्वारा किए गए अध्ययन से आए हैं, जिसमें 189 दवा सैंपल की जांच की गई, जिनमें से लगभग एक-पाँचवां फेल हो गया।
- The **worst-performing drug** in the study is made by **Indian manufacturer Venus Remedies**. **All eight samples** of its **cyclophosphamide** product failed. अध्ययन में सबसे खराब प्रदर्शन करने वाली दवा भारतीय निर्माता **Venus Remedies** द्वारा बनाई गई है। इसके सभी आठ **cyclophosphamide** सैंपल फेल हो गए।
- Venus Remedies said the results were "**not scientifically plausible**" and claimed **its own testing showed good standards**. Venus Remedies ने कहा कि यह परिणाम "वैज्ञानिक रूप से संभव नहीं" हैं और उनकी खुद की जांच में दवाएं मानक के अनुसार पाई गईं।
- The company blamed **storage conditions** in the **supply chain** for possibly affecting quality but **similar issues were not found elsewhere** in the data. कंपनी ने सप्लाय चेन में भंडारण की स्थिति को गुणवत्ता पर असर डालने वाला बताया, लेकिन अन्यत्र ऐसे कोई परिणाम नहीं मिले।
- Venus Remedies and two other companies **questioned the lab's methodology**, but **researchers defended their approach**, saying it followed **international standards**. Venus Remedies और दो अन्य कंपनियों ने प्रयोगशाला की कार्यप्रणाली पर सवाल उठाए, लेकिन शोधकर्ताओं ने अपने तरीकों का बचाव किया, जो अंतरराष्ट्रीय मानकों के अनुसार बताए गए।
- **Zuvius Lifesciences** and **GLS Pharma** were two other Indian manufacturers whose products **failed tests** and had been **supplied to over 40 countries**. **Zuvius Lifesciences** और **GLS Pharma** वे दो अन्य भारतीय निर्माता हैं जिनकी दवाएं परीक्षण में फेल हुईं और जिन्हें **40 से अधिक देशों** में आपूर्ति की गई थी।
- Of the **17 companies** with failed drugs, **16 were based in India**. **17 कंपनियों** में से जिनकी दवाएं फेल हुईं, **16 भारत में स्थित थीं**।
- Some drugs had **too little active ingredient**, rendering them **ineffective**, while others had **too much**, posing risk of **organ damage or death**. कुछ दवाओं में सक्रिय घटक की मात्रा



बहुत कम थी जिससे वे अप्रभावी हो गईं, जबकि कुछ में बहुत अधिक मात्रा थी, जिससे अंगों को नुकसान या मौत का खतरा था।

- **Zuvius Lifesciences, GLS Pharma, and Zee Laboratories did not respond** to queries. Zuvius Lifesciences, GLS Pharma और Zee Laboratories ने प्रतिक्रिया नहीं दी।
- **Doctors from multiple countries said the drugs did not work** as expected, and **patients suffered toxic side effects**. कई देशों के डॉक्टरों ने बताया कि दवाएं प्रभावी नहीं थीं, और रोगियों को विषैले साइड इफेक्ट्स झेलने पड़े।
- The findings reveal **gaps in global safety nets** meant to prevent **profit-driven negligence** and protect patients. यह निष्कर्ष वैश्विक सुरक्षा प्रणालियों की खामियों को उजागर करता है जो लाभ-प्रेरित लापरवाही को रोकने और रोगियों की सुरक्षा के लिए बनाई गई हैं।
- **Over two-thirds of countries are unable to ensure drug quality** for their populations. दुनिया के दो-तिहाई से अधिक देश अपनी जनता के लिए दवाओं की गुणवत्ता सुनिश्चित करने में असमर्थ हैं।
- **Nepal was a major importer of the failed chemotherapy brands** but lacks **testing capacity** and has **never recalled** any cancer drugs. नेपाल उन फेल कीमोथेरेपी दवाओं का बड़ा आयातक था लेकिन उसके पास परीक्षण क्षमता नहीं है और उसने कभी कोई कैंसर दवा वापस नहीं मंगाई।
- Activists say **patients and families have no way** to know drug quality and **no one takes responsibility**. कार्यकर्ताओं का कहना है कि रोगियों और उनके परिवारों के पास दवाओं की गुणवत्ता जानने का कोई तरीका नहीं है और कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं लेता।
- Much of the **global demand for cancer treatment** is met by **generic drugs**, including the **low-quality drugs** found in the study. कैंसर उपचार की वैश्विक मांग का बड़ा हिस्सा जेनेरिक दवाओं से पूरा होता है, जिसमें यह खराब गुणवत्ता वाली दवाएं भी शामिल हैं।
- In **India, the world's largest generic drug producer**, questions remain on whether **bad drug makers are punished**. भारत, जो दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा जेनेरिक दवा उत्पादक है, वहां यह सवाल है कि क्या खराब दवा बनाने वालों को सजा मिलती है।
- India's **drug regulator** said bad drugs are **recalled** and companies face **penalties or prosecution**. भारत के औषधि नियामक ने कहा कि खराब दवाएं वापस मंगाई जाती हैं और कंपनियों को जुर्माना या कानूनी कार्रवाई का सामना करना पड़ता है।
- **Public health activist Dinesh Thakur** criticized the system, saying the **government prioritizes protecting the industry**. जनस्वास्थ्य कार्यकर्ता दिनेश ठाकुर ने व्यवस्था की आलोचना करते हुए कहा कि सरकार का उद्योग को बचाने पर अधिक ध्यान है।
- The **World Health Organization (WHO)** did not respond to requests for comment. विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन (WHO) ने टिप्पणी के अनुरोधों का कोई जवाब नहीं दिया।
- In **Ethiopia**, a pharmacist said patients may **save for a year** to buy cancer drugs, and **cannot afford a second dose** if the first is faulty. इथियोपिया में एक फार्मासिस्ट ने बताया कि



मरीज एक साल तक पैसे बचाते हैं कैंसर की दवा खरीदने के लिए, और अगर वह खराब निकलती है तो दोबारा दवा खरीदना संभव नहीं होता।

MSMEs need an agile, secure ecosystem: Kharge

GS Paper III: Industries

Mini Tejaswi
BENGALURU

Micro Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) will be the growth engines of the country and sectors such as defence, space and civil aviation, which present huge opportunities, are the ones to watch out for, said Priyank Kharge, Karnataka's Rural Development and Information Technology Minister, while speaking at the MSME Growth Conclave 2025, organised by *The Hindu BusinessLine* here on Wednesday.

Addressing a packed audience of MSME entrepreneurs here, Mr. Kharge said Karnataka was trying to make all projects water-secure and energy-secure, along with a focus on sustainability. "Everybody speaks about giving incentives and subsidies, but just those things will not work. I need to ensure we create an agile and secure ecosystem for you to thrive," he added.

He also said the State was trying to create affordable infrastructure and plug-and-play facilities for SMEs and MSMEs, especially in areas beyond Bengaluru. "We are creating infrastructure in Mysuru, Hubballi, Belagavi, and Kalaburgi, where we give you facilities at affordable rates so you can experiment, innovate and invent things that can be then commercialised," he told the entrepreneurs.

Global competition

Mr. Kharge highlighted that Karnataka's competition was no longer with neighbouring States – Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, or Maharashtra – but with global manufacturing hubs such as Vietnam and China.

In a chat with Raghuvir Srinivasan, Editor of *businessline*, Srinivasagopalan Rangarajan, Chairman, and Managing Director, Data Patterns (India) said despite decades of reliance on imports, India's private defence tech sector was be-



Priyank Kharge, Karnataka Cabinet Minister, presented a book by Raghuvir Srinivasan, Editor, *The Hindu BusinessLine*. BUJO GHOSH



ginning to assert itself, with homegrown companies now building world-class systems from scratch.

Mr. Rangarajan emphasised that for MSMEs to succeed, they must focus on the core idea they start with and build deep expertise around it, rather than constantly shifting direction. "If it's not outstanding, you will be forgotten and remain just one of the other players," he cautioned.

The panel discussion on defence manufacturing further explored this momentum. Lt. Col. Velan, CEO, Elena Geo Systems, added that India must move towards global standards at a par with the EU and the U.S.

Betting high on India's global brand-building moment, Ananth Narayanan, Founder and CEO of BRND.ME (formerly Mensa Brands), said MSMEs had a critical role in this ecosystem but should be cautious against scaling at the cost of fundamentals. "Don't confuse growth and unit economics. Don't take too much capital. The more capital you take, the more you need to return," he added.

Mr. Narayanan also noted that India was entering

a decade where global consumer brands could be built from the country.

"I am incredibly bullish about being an entrepreneur in India over the next 10-20 years. The macro forces are with us," he said. "We have a young labour force, large consumer demand, manufacturing capability, digital infrastructure, and capital."

"Technology is a great, great equaliser. Technology allows for global access. Therefore, don't just think India, think global," he said, adding that global distribution had become far more democratic and affordable.

"For ₹120, you can reach 20,000 pin codes in India. For \$3, you can reach almost any pin code in the U.S.," said Mr. Narayanan, who has earlier led Myntra.

A session on MSMEs and Make in India highlighted the need for stronger public-private collaboration, better access to capital, and policy stability to enhance global competitiveness.

Vijay Peri, VP - India Industrials at Zetwerk, told M. Ramesh, Consulting Editor, *businessline*, "India isn't just an alternative to China. While China+1 gave us visibility, the current geopolitical climate is giving us urgency. Global players are actively diversifying supply chains."

Rohit Punja, Administrator, Nitte Education Trust, closed the conclave by underlining the role of MSMEs in building India's industrial future.

MSMEs need an agile, secure ecosystem: Kharge

एमएसएमई के लिए फुर्तीला और सुरक्षित इकोसिस्टम जरूरी: खर्गे

Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) will be the growth engines of the country and sectors such as defence, space and civil aviation, which present huge opportunities, are the ones to watch out for, said Priyank Kharge, Karnataka's Rural Development and IT Minister, while speaking at the MSME Growth Conclave 2025, organised by *The Hindu BusinessLine* on Wednesday.

सूक्ष्म, लघु और मध्यम उद्यम (MSMEs) देश की विकास इंजन बनेंगे और रक्षा, अंतरिक्ष और नागर विमानन जैसे क्षेत्रों में विशाल अवसर हैं, यह बात कर्नाटक के ग्रामीण विकास एवं IT मंत्री प्रियंक खर्गे ने बुधवार को MSME Growth Conclave 2025, जिसका आयोजन *The Hindu BusinessLine* द्वारा किया गया था, में कही।

• Addressing a packed audience of MSME entrepreneurs, Mr. Kharge said Karnataka was trying to make all projects **water-secure** and **energy-secure**, along with a focus on **sustainability**.

पीएमएसएमई उद्यमियों को संबोधित करते हुए, श्री खर्गे ने कहा कि कर्नाटक सभी परियोजनाओं को **जल-सुरक्षित** और **ऊर्जा-सुरक्षित** बनाने की कोशिश कर रहा है, साथ ही **स्थिरता** पर भी ध्यान दे रहा है।

• "Everybody speaks about giving **incentives and subsidies**, but just those things will not work. I need to ensure we create an **agile and secure ecosystem** for you to thrive," he added.

"हर कोई **प्रोत्साहन** और **सब्सिडी** देने की बात करता है, लेकिन



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

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सिर्फ यही पर्याप्त नहीं होगा। मुझे सुनिश्चित करना होगा कि हम आपके लिए एक **फुर्तीला और सुरक्षित इकोसिस्टम** बनाएँ,” उन्होंने कहा।

- He also said the State was trying to create **affordable infrastructure** and **plug-and-play facilities** for SMEs and MSMEs, especially in areas beyond **Bengaluru**.

उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि राज्य **बंगलुरु से बाहर** के क्षेत्रों में **किफायती अवसंरचना** और **प्लग-एंड-प्ले सुविधाओं** का निर्माण करने की कोशिश कर रहा है, विशेष रूप से SMEs और MSMEs के लिए।

- “We are creating infrastructure in **Mysuru, Hubballi, Belagavi, and Kalaburgi**, where we give you facilities at **affordable rates** so you can **experiment, innovate, and invent** things that can be then **commercialised**,” he told the entrepreneurs.

“हम **मैसूरु, हुबल्लि, बेलगावी और कलबुर्गी** में ऐसी अवसंरचना बना रहे हैं, जहाँ हम आपको **किफायती दरों** पर सुविधाएँ देंगे ताकि आप **प्रयोग, नवाचार** कर सकें और ऐसी चीज़ें **आविष्कार** कर सकें जिन्हें बाद में **व्यावसायिक रूप** दिया जा सके,” उन्होंने उद्यमियों को बताया।

Global competition

वैश्विक प्रतिस्पर्धा

- Mr. Kharge highlighted that Karnataka’s **competition** was no longer with neighbouring States — Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, or Maharashtra — but with **global manufacturing hubs** such as **Vietnam and China**.

श्री खर्गे ने बताया कि कर्नाटक की **प्रतिस्पर्धा** अब पड़ोसी राज्यों – तेलंगाना, तमिलनाडु, केरल, या महाराष्ट्र – से नहीं बल्कि **वैश्विक निर्माण हब** जैसे **वियतनाम और चीन** से है।

MSME leaders on growth

विकास पर MSME नेताओं की राय

- In a chat with **Raghuvir Srinivasan**, Editor of BusinessLine, **Srinivasagopalan Rangarajan**, CMD of **Data Patterns (India)**, said despite decades of **reliance on imports**, India’s private defence tech sector was beginning to **assert itself**, with **homegrown companies** now building **world-class systems** from scratch.

BusinessLine के संपादक **रघुवीर श्रीनिवासन** के साथ बातचीत में, **सृनिवासगोपालन रंगराजन**, **CMD Data Patterns (India)** ने कहा कि वर्षों तक **आयात निर्भरता** के बावजूद भारत का निजी रक्षा तकनीक क्षेत्र अब **खुद को स्थापित** करने लगा है, और **देशी कंपनियां** अब **दुनियाभर के स्तर की प्रणालियाँ** तैयार कर रही हैं।

- He emphasised that for MSMEs to succeed, they must focus on the **core idea** they start with and build **deep expertise**, rather than **constantly shifting direction**.

उन्होंने जोर देकर कहा कि MSMEs को सफल होने के लिए अपने **मूल विचार** पर ध्यान केंद्रित करना चाहिए और उसमें **गहरी विशेषज्ञता** विकसित करनी चाहिए, बजाय इसके कि वे **लगातार दिशा बदलते** रहें।

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- “If it’s not outstanding, you will be forgotten and remain just one of the other players,” he cautioned.
“अगर यह उल्लेखनीय नहीं है, तो आप भूल जाएँगे और केवल दूसरे खिलाड़ियों में से एक बने रहेंगे,” उन्होंने चेताया।
- In the panel discussion on **defence manufacturing**, **Lt. Col. Velan**, CEO of **Elena Geo Systems**, added that India must **move towards global standards** at a par with the **EU and the U.S.**
रक्षा निर्माण पर पैनल चर्चा में, **ल्ट. कर्नल वेलन**, CEO **Elena Geo Systems** ने कहा कि भारत को **EU और U.S. जैसी वैश्विक मानकों** की ओर बढ़ना चाहिए।
- **Ananth Narayanan**, Founder & CEO of **BRND.ME**, said MSMEs had a **critical role** in this ecosystem but should be **cautious against scaling at the cost of fundamentals**. **BRND.ME** के संस्थापक और CEO **अनंत नारायणन** ने कहा कि MSMEs की इस इकोसिस्टम में **महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका** है, लेकिन उन्हें **मूलभूत तत्वों की कीमत पर विस्तार** करने से सावधान रहना चाहिए।
 - “Don’t confuse **growth and unit economics**. Don’t take too much capital. The more capital you take, the more you need to return,” he added.
“विकास और यूनिट इकोनॉमिक्स को गलत न समझें। बहुत अधिक पूंजी न लें। जितनी पूंजी लेंगे, उतनी ही वापस करनी होगी,” उन्होंने जोड़ा।
- He also noted that India was entering a **decade** where **global consumer brands** could be built from the country, adding that **technology** is a “great equaliser” enabling **global access**.
उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि भारत एक ऐसे **दशक** में प्रवेश कर रहा है जहाँ से **वैश्विक उपभोक्ता ब्रांड्स** निर्मित किए जा सकते हैं और **प्रौद्योगिकी** एक “महान समतावाद” है जो **वैश्विक पहुंच** संभव बनाता है।
 - “For ₹120, you can reach 20,000 pin codes in India. For \$3, you can reach almost any pin code in the U.S.,” said Mr. Narayanan.
“₹120 में आप भारत के **20,000 पिन कोड** तक पहुंच सकते हैं। **\$3** में आप लगभग किसी भी **U.S. पिन कोड** तक पहुंच सकते हैं,” श्री नारायणन ने कहा।

Public-private collaboration & supply chains

सार्वजनिक-निजी सहयोग और आपूर्ति श्रृंखला

- A session on **MSMEs and Make in India** highlighted the need for **stronger public-private collaboration, better access to capital, and policy stability** to enhance **global competitiveness**.
MSMEs और मेक इन इंडिया पर एक सत्र में **मजबूत सार्वजनिक-निजी सहयोग, पूंजी तक बेहतर पहुंच, और नीति में स्थिरता** की जरूरत पर जोर दिया गया जिससे **वैश्विक प्रतिस्पर्धा क्षमता** बढ़े।
- **Vijay Peri**, VP – India Industrials at **Zetwerk**, told **M. Ramesh**, Consulting Editor, BusinessLine, “India isn’t just an alternative to China... the current geopolitical climate is giving us **urgency**. Global players are actively **diversifying supply chains**.”
Zetwerk के VP – India Industrials **विजय पेरी** ने **M. Ramesh**, Consulting Editor,



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BusinessLine को बताया, “भारत सिर्फ चीन का विकल्प नहीं है... वर्तमान भूराजनीतिक माहौल हमें आपातकाल दे रहा है। वैश्विक खिलाड़ी सक्रिय रूप से आपूर्ति श्रृंखलाओं का विविधीकरण कर रहे हैं।”

- **Rohit Punja**, Administrator, **Nitte Education Trust**, closed the conclave by underlining the role of MSMEs in building India’s **industrial future**.

Nitte Education Trust के प्रशासक **रोहित पुणजा** ने सम्मेलन का समापन करते हुए MSMEs की **भारत के औद्योगिक भविष्य निर्माण में भूमिका को रेखांकित किया।**

Carrying Rakesh Sharma’s legacy forward, say Cong. leaders of Shukla’s mission

GS Paper III: S&T

Press Trust of India
NEW DELHI

The Congress on Wednesday hailed the successful launch of the Axiom-4 space mission carrying Indian astronaut Shubhanshu Shukla and said the nation was proud of the achievement.

“Touch the Sky with Glory’. We welcome the successful launch of the space mission carrying astronauts from India, Hungary, Poland, and the US,” Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge said in a post on X. He said after Squadron Leader Rakesh Sharma in 1984, Group Captain Shukla was en route to becoming the second Indian to travel to

Kharge hails the astronaut’s achievement; an inspiration for every Indian, says Rahul

space after 41 years.

“We pray for his successful mission. The entire nation is proud of this achievement,” he said.

In a post on X, Congress leader Rahul Gandhi said, “A proud moment for every Indian as Group Captain Shubhanshu Shukla launches off on his journey to the International Space Station.”

“41 years after Squadron Leader Rakesh Sharma became the first Indian in space, he now carries for-

ward that legacy, inspiring every Indian,” he said, wishing him and the team a safe and successful return.

The Congress, on its official X handle, also said, “Historic moment! Congratulations to Group Captain Shubhanshu Shukla and the international crew on their successful space mission launch!”

“Following Squadron Leader Rakesh Sharma’s pioneering journey in 1984, Shubhanshu Shukla is the second Indian to travel to space after 41 years. We’re incredibly proud of him, representing India’s growing presence in space exploration! Wishing them a safe and successful journey to the cosmos!”

Carrying Rakesh Sharma’s legacy forward, say Cong. leaders of Shukla’s mission

राकेश शर्मा की विरासत को आगे ले जाने वाले, शुकला के मिशन पर कांग्रेसी नेताओं की प्रतिक्रिया

The Congress on Wednesday hailed the successful launch of the Axiom-4 space mission carrying Indian astronaut Shubhanshu Shukla and said the nation was proud of the achievement.

बुधवार को कांग्रेस ने भारतीय अंतरिक्ष यात्री

शुभांशु शुकला के साथ Axiom-4 मिशन की सफल लॉन्च की प्रशंसा की और कहा कि देश इस उपलब्धि पर गर्वित है।

- “Touch the Sky with Glory’. We welcome the successful launch of the space mission carrying astronauts from **India, Hungary, Poland, and the US,**” Congress president

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Mallikarjun Kharge said in a post on X.

“Touch the Sky with Glory’. हम भारत, हंगरी, पोलैंड और यूएस के अंतरिक्ष यात्रियों को लेकर मिशन की सफल लॉन्च का स्वागत करते हैं,” कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष मलिकर्जुन खड़गे ने X पर पोस्ट में कहा।

- He said after Squadron Leader Rakesh Sharma in 1984, Group Captain Shukla was en route to becoming the second Indian to travel to space after 41 years.

उन्होंने कहा कि 1984 में स्क्वाड्रन लीडर राकेश शर्मा के बाद, ग्रुप कैप्टन शुक्ला 41 वर्षों के अंतराल के बाद अंतरिक्ष में जाने वाले दूसरे भारतीय बनने की ओर हैं।

- “We pray for his successful mission. The entire nation is proud of this achievement,” he said.

“हम आपके सफल मिशन के लिए प्रार्थना करते हैं। यह पूरा देश इस उपलब्धि पर गर्वित है,” उन्होंने कहा।

- In a post on X, Congress leader Rahul Gandhi said, “A proud moment for every Indian as Group Captain Shubhanshu Shukla launches off on his journey to the International Space Station.”

X पर कांग्रेस नेता राहुल गांधी ने लिखा, “यह हर भारतीय के लिए एक गर्व का क्षण है, जब ग्रुप कैप्टन शुभांशु शुक्ला अंतर्राष्ट्रीय अंतरिक्ष स्टेशन के लिए अपनी यात्रा शुरू कर रहे हैं।”

- “41 years after Squadron Leader Rakesh Sharma became the first Indian in space, he now carries forward that legacy, inspiring every Indian,” he said, wishing him and the team a safe and successful return.

“41 साल बाद स्क्वाड्रन लीडर राकेश शर्मा भारत के पहली बार अंतरिक्ष जाने के बाद, अब वह उस विरासत को आगे बढ़ा रहे हैं, जो हर भारतीय को प्रेरित करती है,” उन्होंने उन्हें और टीम को सुरक्षित और सफल वापसी की शुभकामनाएं दीं।

- The Congress, on its official X handle, also said, “Historic moment! Congratulations to Group Captain Shubhanshu Shukla and the international crew on their successful space mission launch!”

कांग्रेस ने अपने आधिकारिक X हैंडल पर भी लिखा, “ऐतिहासिक क्षण! ग्रुप कैप्टन शुभांशु शुक्ला और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय दल को उनकी सफल अंतरिक्ष मिशन लॉन्च के लिए बधाई!”

- “Following Squadron Leader Rakesh Sharma’s pioneering journey in 1984, Shubhanshu Shukla is the second Indian to travel to space after 41 years. We’re incredibly proud of him, representing India’s growing presence in space exploration! Wishing them a safe and successful journey to the cosmos!”

“1984 में स्क्वाड्रन लीडर राकेश शर्मा की अग्रणी यात्रा के बाद, शुभांशु शुक्ला 41 वर्षों बाद दूसरा भारतीय हैं जो अंतरिक्ष में जा रहे हैं। हम उन पर बेहद गर्व करते हैं, जो भारत की बढ़ती उपस्थिति को अंतरिक्ष अनुसंधान में प्रदर्शित करते हैं! उन्हें सुरक्षित और सफल अंतरिक्ष यात्रा की शुभकामनाएं!”



Matthias Huss of ETH Zurich and glacier monitoring group GLAMOS at the Rhone Glacier near Goms, Switzerland, on June 10, 2025. AP

Swiss glaciers show holes reminiscent of cheese

IGS Paper III: Environment
Associated Press

Climate change appears to be making some of Switzerland's vaunted glaciers look like Swiss cheese: full of holes.

Matthias Huss of the glacier monitoring group GLAMOS offered a glimpse of the Rhone Glacier, which feeds the eponymous river that flows through Switzerland and France to the Mediterranean, and shared the observation as he trekked up to the icy expanse for a first "maintenance mission" of the summer to monitor its health.

Switzerland's glaciers came into stark and dramatic view of the international community last month when a mudslide from an Alpine mountain submerged the southwestern village of Blatten.

The Alps and Switzerland have seen glaciers retreat for about 170 years, but with ups and downs over time until the 1980s, Huss said. Since then, the decline has been steady, with 2022 and 2023 the worst of all.

"Now, this year also doesn't look good, so we see we have a clear acceleration trend in the melting of glaciers," said Huss, who also is a lecturer at the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, ETHZ, said in beaming sunshine and with slushy ice dripping underfoot.

A healthy glacier is considered "dynamic," by generating new ice as snow falls on it at higher elevations while melting at lower altitudes. The losses in

The lack of regeneration is the most likely process behind the holes, seemingly caused by water turbulence at the bottom of the glacier or air flows through gaps that appear inside the ice

mass at lower levels are compensated by gains above.

As a warming climate pushes up the melting to higher altitudes, such flows will slow down or even stop altogether and the glacier will essentially become "an ice patch that is just lying there," Huss said.

"This is a situation we are seeing more and more often on our glaciers: that the ice is just not dynamic anymore," he said. "It's just resting there and melting down in place."

This lack of dynamic regeneration is the most likely process behind the emergence and persistence of holes, seemingly caused by water turbulence at the bottom of the glacier or air flows through the gaps that appear inside the blocks of ice, Huss said.

"First the holes appear in the middle, and then they grow and grow, and suddenly the roof of these holes is starting to collapse," he said. "Then these holes get visible from the surface. These holes weren't known so well a few years ago, but now we are seeing them more often."

Such an affected glacier, he said, "is a Swiss cheese that is getting more holes everywhere, and these holes are collapsing – and it's not good for the glacier."

Richard Alley, a geosciences professor and glaciologist at Penn State University, noted that glacier shrinkage has consequences for agriculture, fisheries, drinking water levels, and border tensions.

"Biggest worries with mountain glaciers may be water issues. Now, the shrinking glaciers are supporting summertime (often the dry season) flows that are anomalously higher than normal, but this will be replaced as glaciers disappear with anomalously low flows," he said. For Switzerland, another possible casualty is electricity: the Alpine country gets the vast majority of its power through hydroelectric plants driven from its lakes and rivers, and wide-scale glacier melt could jeopardise that.

Swiss glaciers show holes reminiscent of cheese



स्विस ग्लेशियर में थे चीज़ जैसे छेद देखने को मिलते हैं

Climate change appears to be making some of Switzerland's vaunted glaciers look like Swiss cheese: full of holes.

जलवायु परिवर्तन से स्विट्ज़रलैंड के प्रसिद्ध ग्लेशियर अब स्विस चीज़ जैसी दिखने लगी हैं: छेदों से भरी हुई।

- **Matthias Huss** of the glacier monitoring group **GLAMOS** offered a glimpse of the **Rhone Glacier**, which feeds the eponymous river flowing through **Switzerland and France to the Mediterranean**, during the first “**maintenance mission**” of the summer. ग्लेशियर मॉनिटरिंग ग्रुप **GLAMOS** के मैथियास हुस्स ने गर्मियों के पहले “**रख-रखाव मिशन**” के दौरान **Rhone Glacier** का अवलोकन किया, जो **स्विट्ज़रलैंड और फ्रांस से होकर भूमध्य सागर तक बहने वाली** नदी Rhone को पोषित करता है।
- Switzerland's glaciers came into stark view last month when a **mudslide** from an Alpine mountain submerged the southwestern village of **Blatten**. पिछले महीने, आल्प्स की पहाड़ी से आई **कीचड़ प्रवाह** ने दक्षिण-पश्चिमी गाँव **ब्लाटन** को डूबा दिया, जिससे स्विस ग्लेशियर की भयावहता स्पष्ट हुई।
- The Alps and Switzerland have seen glaciers **retreat for about 170 years**, but with **ups and downs** until the **1980s**. आल्प्स और स्विट्ज़रलैंड के ग्लेशियर लगभग **170 वर्षों** से पीछे हट रहे हैं, लेकिन **1980 के दशक तक** इसमें **उतार-चढ़ाव** भी देखे गए थे।
- Since the **1980s**, the decline has been **steady**, with **2022 and 2023 the worst of all**. **1980 के दशक** के बाद गिरावट **निरंतर** रही, जिसमें **2022 और 2023 सबसे खराब वर्ष** थे।
- “Now, this year also doesn't look good, so we see we have a **clear acceleration trend** in the melting of glaciers,” said Huss. “इस वर्ष भी स्थिति **अच्छी नहीं लगती**, इसलिए हम ग्लेशियरों के पिघलने में **स्पष्ट तेज़ी** देख रहे हैं,” हुस्स ने कहा।
- A **healthy glacier** is **dynamic**, generating new ice higher up and melting lower down; losses at lower levels are compensated by gains above. एक **स्वस्थ ग्लेशियर गतिशील** होता है—ऊपरी इलाकों में बर्फ बनती है और निचले हिस्सों में पिघलती है; नीचे के नुकसान को ऊपर की **बढ़त** से पूरा किया जाता है।
- As warming climate pushes melting to **higher altitudes**, these flows will **slow down or even stop**, and the glacier becomes **an ice patch lying there**, said Huss. जैसे-जैसे गर्म होता जलवायु पिघलाव को **ऊंची ऊँचाइयों तक** ले जाता है, ये प्रवाह **धीमे या रुक सकते हैं**, और ग्लेशियर **बर्फ का एक टुकड़ा** बनकर रह जाता है, हुस्स ने कहा।
- This lack of **dynamic regeneration** is likely behind the emergence and persistence of **holes**, caused by water turbulence at the bottom or air flows through gaps in ice blocks.



गतिशील पुनर्जनन की कमी के कारण ही ये छेद बनते और स्थायी होते हैं, जो ग्लेशियर के तल में जल चालों या बर्फ के ब्लॉकों में वायु मार्गों से उत्पन्न होते हैं।

- “First the holes appear in the middle, and then they grow... and the roof of these holes begins to collapse... These holes weren’t known so well a few years ago, but now we are seeing them more.”

“सबसे पहले ये छेद बीच में बनते हैं, फिर बढ़ते हैं, और इन छेदों की छत गिरने लगती है... कुछ साल पहले ये छेद इतने दिखाई नहीं देते थे, लेकिन अब हम इन्हें अधिक देख रहे हैं।”

- Such an affected glacier is a **Swiss cheese** getting more holes; “and it’s not good for the glacier.”

ऐसा प्रभावित ग्लेशियर एक स्विस् चीज़ जैसे बन गया है जिसमें रोज़ नए छेद बन रहे हैं; “और यह ग्लेशियर के लिए अच्छा नहीं है।”

- **Richard Alley**, geosciences professor at Penn State, noted glacier shrinkage affects **agriculture, fisheries, drinking water, and border tensions**.

पेन स्टेट विश्वविद्यालय के भूविज्ञान प्रोफेसर रिचर्ड अली ने कहा कि ग्लेशियर सिकुड़ने से कृषि, मत्स्य पालन, पेयजल और सीमा तनाव प्रभावित होंगे।

- He warned that while shrinking glaciers now support **higher summertime flows**, eventually these will be replaced with **anomalously low flows**, impacting water availability.

उन्होंने चेतावनी दी कि सिकुड़ते ग्लेशियर फिलहाल गर्मी के मौसम में अधिक जल प्रवाह देते हैं, लेकिन अंततः ये बदलकर असामान्य रूप से कम प्रवाह हो जाएंगे, जिससे जल की उपलब्धता प्रभावित होगी।

- For Switzerland, another casualty could be **electricity**; most power is from **hydroelectric plants**, which glacier melt could jeopardise.

स्विट्ज़रलैंड के लिए एक और समस्या यह कि उसकी अधिकांश बिजली जलविद्युत संयंत्रों से आती है, और ग्लेशियर के पिघलने से यह जोखिम में पड़ सकती है।



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GS Paper III: S&T

Qualified cheer

Shukla's paid flight to ISS will provide insight on human space flight

At noon on June 25 (IST), India's Shubhanshu Shukla lifted off with three other astronauts from NASA's Florida spaceport to the International Space Station (ISS) as part of the Axiom-4 commercial mission. This is the first time an Indian has gone to orbital space since Rakesh Sharma in 1984. If the Dragon crew capsule docks successfully with the ISS on June 26, Mr. Shukla will also become the first Indian onboard the ISS. Over the next two weeks, he and the ISS crew will perform a suite of experiments carried by the Axiom-4 mission, including eight from the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO). Mr. Shukla is among the leading candidates to fly in India's maiden human space flight mission, Gaganyaan, currently slated for 2027. For now, the Department of Space has not articulated the reasons for spending ₹548 crore to buy Mr. Shukla's seat on Axiom-4. Against the backdrop of the ₹20,200-crore budget for Gaganyaan, Mr. Shukla's paid flight to the ISS, packaged along with advanced training for him and back-up crewmate Prasanth Nair, will give India considerable insight into human space flight and how it is coordinated ahead of mounting its own astronaut expeditions, regardless of the money spent. However, this does not spare the Department of Space and ISRO from communicating the rationale and extent of these benefits, which has yet to happen.

Space flight has changed considerably between Mr. Sharma's and Mr. Shukla's flights: the stakes today are multidimensional and more demanding. Axiom is a private entity contracted with NASA and SpaceX, and which sells seats to commercial missions to the ISS. But uncertainties linger over NASA's future access to the Dragon crew capsules following Elon Musk's spat with U.S. President Donald Trump. The effects of Mr. Trump's tariffs and his willingness to honour predecessor Joe Biden's commitments to India, given the major budget cuts he has proposed for 2026, are also unclear. And the ISS is set to be decommissioned by 2030. In this world, the future of India's own space programme is caught between multiple futures. NASA and private U.S. companies, including Blue Origin, have said they would like to use Gaganyaan technologies in future missions as part of strengthening U.S.-India ties in the space sector. But even as the country balances commercial with public sector needs, it needs to remain a relevant provider of space flight services. The Indian government has signalled that it is willing to take positive steps to bolster the private sector but which, thus far, have been inadequate. Thus, once Mr. Shukla returns, ISRO's to-do list will move to the next big challenge even as public expectations of it, including transparent communication, will soar.

फिलहाल, अंतरिक्ष विभाग ने श्री शुकला की Axiom-4 सीट के लिए ₹548 करोड़ खर्च करने का कारण स्पष्ट नहीं किया है।

Qualified cheer: On Shubhanshu Shukla, Axiom-4 mission

योग्य उत्साह: शुभांशु शुकला, एक्सिऑम-4 मिशन पर

At noon on June 25, 2025 (IST), India's Shubhanshu Shukla lifted off with three other astronauts from NASA's Florida spaceport to the International Space Station (ISS) as part of the Axiom-4 commercial mission.

25 जून 2025 (IST) को दोपहर में भारत के शुभांशु शुकला ने तीन अन्य अंतरिक्ष यात्रियों के साथ NASA के फ्लोरिडा स्पेसपोर्ट से अंतर्राष्ट्रीय अंतरिक्ष स्टेशन (ISS) की ओर Axiom-4 वाणिज्यिक मिशन के तहत उड़ान भरी।

• This is the **first time** an Indian has gone to **orbital space** since **Rakesh Sharma in 1984**.

यह 1984 में रakesh शर्मा के बाद पहली बार है जब कोई भारतीय कक्षा में गया है।

• If the **Dragon crew capsule** docks successfully with the ISS on **June 26**, Mr. Shukla will also become the **first Indian onboard the ISS**.

अगर 26 जून को ड्रैगन क्रू कैप्सूल सफलतापूर्वक ISS से जुड़ जाता है, तो श्री शुकला ISS पर पहुंचने वाले पहले भारतीय भी बन जाएंगे।

• Over the next **two weeks**, he and the ISS crew will perform a suite of **experiments** carried by the Axiom-4 mission, including **eight from the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO)**.

अगले दो सप्ताहों में, वह और ISS चालक दल **Axiom-4 मिशन** द्वारा लाए गए **प्रयोगों** को अंजाम देंगे, जिनमें से **आठ ISRO** द्वारा भेजे गए हैं।

• Mr. Shukla is among the leading candidates to fly in India's maiden human space flight mission, **Gaganyaan**, currently slated for **2027**.

श्री शुकला भारत के पहले मानव अंतरिक्ष उड़ान मिशन **गगनयान** (जो फिलहाल **2027** के लिए निर्धारित है) के प्रमुख उम्मीदवारों में से एक हैं।

• For now, the **Department of Space** has not articulated the reasons for spending **₹548 crore** to buy Mr. Shukla's seat on Axiom-4.

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- Against the backdrop of the ₹20,200-crore budget for **Gaganyaan**, Mr. Shukla's paid flight to the ISS, packaged along with **advanced training** for him and back-up crewmate **Prasanth Nair**, will give India considerable **insight into human space flight** and how it is coordinated.
₹20,200 करोड़ के गगनयान बजट की पृष्ठभूमि में, श्री शुकला की ISS के लिए भुगतान की गई उड़ान, उनके और बैकअप क्रूमेट प्रशांत नायर के लिए उन्नत प्रशिक्षण सहित, भारत को मानव अंतरिक्ष उड़ान और उसकी समन्वय प्रक्रिया की पर्याप्त जानकारी देगी।
- However, this does not spare the Department of Space and ISRO from **communicating the rationale** and extent of these benefits, which has yet to happen.
हालांकि, यह अंतरिक्ष विभाग और ISRO को इन लाभों की व्याख्या और औचित्य स्पष्ट करने से नहीं रोकता, जो अब तक नहीं हुआ है।

Changes in Human Space Flight Context

मानव अंतरिक्ष उड़ान के संदर्भ में बदलाव

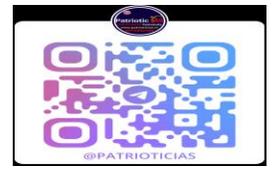
- **Space flight** has changed considerably between Mr. Sharma's and Mr. Shukla's flights: the **stakes today are multidimensional** and more **demanding**.
श्री शर्मा और श्री शुकला की उड़ानों के बीच अंतरिक्ष उड़ान में काफी बदलाव आया है: आज के समय में जोखिम बहुआयामी और अधिक जटिल हैं।
- **Axiom** is a **private entity** contracted with **NASA** and **SpaceX**, and sells seats to **commercial missions** to the ISS.
Axiom एक निजी संस्था है जो **NASA** और **SpaceX** से अनुबंधित है और **ISS** के वाणिज्यिक मिशनों के लिए सीटें बेचती है।
- But uncertainties linger over **NASA's future access to the Dragon crew capsules** following **Elon Musk's spat** with **U.S. President Donald Trump**.
लेकिन एलन मस्क और अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति डोनाल्ड ट्रंप के बीच विवाद के चलते **NASA** की ड्रैगन क्रू कैप्सूल तक भविष्य की पहुंच को लेकर अनिश्चितताएं बनी हुई हैं।
- The effects of **Mr. Trump's tariffs** and his **willingness to honour predecessor Joe Biden's commitments** to India, given the **major budget cuts proposed for 2026**, are also unclear.
2026 के लिए प्रस्तावित बड़े बजट कटौती को देखते हुए, श्री ट्रंप के शुल्क और भारत को लेकर जो बाइडेन की प्रतिबद्धताओं को निभाने की उनकी इच्छा का प्रभाव भी स्पष्ट नहीं है।
- The **ISS** is set to be **decommissioned by 2030**.
ISS को 2030 तक हटाने की योजना है।

Implications for India's Space Programme

भारत के अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम के लिए प्रभाव



- In this world, the future of India's own **space programme** is caught between **multiple futures**.
इस परिदृश्य में भारत का स्वयं का अंतरिक्ष कार्यक्रम कई संभावित भविष्यों के बीच फंसा हुआ है।
- **NASA and private U.S. companies**, including **Blue Origin**, have said they would like to use **Gaganyaan technologies** in future missions to **strengthen U.S.-India ties** in the space sector.
NASA और अमेरिकी निजी कंपनियां (जैसे ब्लू ओरिजिन) ने कहा है कि वे गगनयान प्रौद्योगिकियों का उपयोग भविष्य के मिशनों में करना चाहती हैं ताकि अंतरिक्ष क्षेत्र में **भारत-अमेरिका संबंधों को मजबूत** किया जा सके।
- But even as the country balances **commercial with public sector needs**, it needs to remain a **relevant provider of space flight services**.
लेकिन देश को वाणिज्यिक और सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की आवश्यकताओं में संतुलन बनाते हुए, अंतरिक्ष उड़ान सेवाओं का एक प्रासंगिक प्रदाता बने रहना जरूरी है।
- The **Indian government** has signalled that it is willing to take **positive steps to bolster the private sector**, but these steps have **so far been inadequate**.
भारतीय सरकार ने संकेत दिया है कि वह **निजी क्षेत्र को मजबूत करने** के लिए सकारात्मक कदम उठाने को तैयार है, लेकिन अब तक **ये प्रयास अपर्याप्त रहे हैं**।
- Thus, once Mr. Shukla returns, **ISRO's to-do list** will move to the **next big challenge** even as **public expectations**, including **transparent communication**, will **soar**.
इसलिए जब श्री शुक्ला लौटेंगे, **ISRO की कार्यसूची** अगली **बड़ी चुनौती** की ओर बढ़ेगी, वहीं **जनता की अपेक्षाएं**, जिनमें **पारदर्शी संवाद** भी शामिल है, **उच्चतम स्तर पर पहुंचेंगी**।



India may retaliate against U.S. if talks on steel, aluminium tariffs fail

GS Paper III: External Sector

Amiti Sen
NEW DELHI

India is keeping the option of retaliatory action against the U.S. open at the World Trade Organization (WTO), should the ongoing bilateral trade agreement (BTA) discussions fail to yield a favourable resolution on America's sectoral tariffs on steel and aluminium imports.

However, New Delhi is unlikely to initiate any action while the negotiations are in progress, according to a source familiar with the matter.

"It is not the right thing to impose retaliatory tariffs



U.S. doubled tariff on steel and aluminium to 50%.

right now on the U.S. while the BTA talks are on and all issues are on the table, including the sector-specific tariffs. But India wants the option of retaliation open as it does not know what the outcome of the talks

would be," a source tracking the matter told *businessline*.

When 25% tariffs on steel and 10% on aluminium were imposed in 2018 during President Donald Trump's first stint, a year later India levied reciprocal tariffs on 28 products exported by the U.S., including apples, walnuts and lentils. Most of these duties were rolled back in 2023 when the Biden administration partly lifted duty restrictions on India through quotas.

For the moment, India and the U.S. are hard at work to reach an interim trade deal by July 9, when

the 90-day pause on reciprocal tariffs announced by Mr. Trump ends.

Trade push

New Delhi is not just focussed on getting the 26% reciprocal tariffs, including the 10% baseline levies, reversed; it also wants sectoral tariffs on steel and aluminium as also on automobiles addressed, the source said.

On March 12, the U.S. applied a 25% tariff on imports of steel and aluminium products from all countries, including India; and then increased it to 50%.

(The writer is with The Hindu businessline)

India-U.S. Steel and Aluminium Tariff Talks

भारत-अमेरिका स्टील और एल्युमिनियम टैरिफ वार्ता

India is keeping the option of retaliatory action against the U.S. open at the World Trade Organization (WTO), should the ongoing bilateral trade agreement (BTA) discussions fail to yield a favourable resolution on America's sectoral tariffs on steel and aluminium imports.

भारत विश्व व्यापार संगठन (WTO) में अमेरिका के खिलाफ प्रतिकारात्मक कार्रवाई के विकल्प को खुला रख रहा है, यदि द्विपक्षीय व्यापार समझौता (BTA) वार्ता स्टील और एल्युमिनियम आयात पर अमेरिका के क्षेत्रीय टैरिफ पर अनुकूल समाधान नहीं दे पाती है।

- However, New Delhi is unlikely to initiate any action while the negotiations are in progress, according to a source familiar with the matter.

हालांकि, मामले से परिचित एक सूत्र के अनुसार, वार्ताएं जारी रहने तक नई दिल्ली किसी कार्रवाई की शुरुआत की संभावना नहीं रखता।

- "It is not the right thing to impose retaliatory tariffs right now on the U.S. while the BTA talks are on and all issues are on the table, including the sector-specific tariffs. But India wants the option of retaliation open as it does not know what the outcome of the talks



would be,” a source tracking the matter told *businessline*.

“BTA वार्ता चल रही है और सभी मुद्दे—जिसमें क्षेत्र-विशेष टैरिफ भी शामिल हैं—चर्चा में हैं, इसलिए अभी अमेरिका पर प्रतिकारात्मक टैरिफ लगाना उचित नहीं होगा। लेकिन भारत इस विकल्प को खुला रखना चाहता है क्योंकि उसे वार्ता के परिणाम का भरोसा नहीं है,” *बिजनेसलाइन* को एक सूत्र ने बताया।

- When **25% tariffs on steel** and **10% on aluminium** were imposed in **2018** during **President Donald Trump's** first stint, a year later **India levied reciprocal tariffs on 28 U.S. products**, including **apples, walnuts and lentils**.
जब **2018** में राष्ट्रपति **डोनाल्ड ट्रंप** के पहले कार्यकाल के दौरान **स्टील पर 25%** और **एल्युमिनियम पर 10%** टैरिफ लगाए गए, तो एक साल बाद भारत ने **अमेरिका के 28 उत्पादों**—जैसे **सेब, अखरोट और मसूर**—पर **पारस्परिक शुल्क** लगाया।
- Most of these duties were **rolled back in 2023** when the **Biden administration** partly lifted duty restrictions on India through **quotas**.
इन अधिकांश शुल्कों को **2023** में **वापस ले लिया गया**, जब **बाइडेन प्रशासन** ने **कोटा प्रणाली** के माध्यम से भारत पर लगाई गई **इयूटी सीमाओं में ढील दी**।
- For the moment, India and the U.S. are hard at work to reach an **interim trade deal by July 9**, when the **90-day pause** on reciprocal tariffs **announced by Mr. Trump ends**.
फिलहाल, भारत और अमेरिका एक **अंतरिम व्यापार समझौता 9 जुलाई तक** करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, जब **श्री ट्रंप द्वारा घोषित 90-दिन की रोक समाप्त हो रही है**।

Trade Push from New Delhi

नई दिल्ली की व्यापारिक पहल

- New Delhi is not just focussed on getting the **26% reciprocal tariffs**, including the **10% baseline levies**, reversed; it also wants **sectoral tariffs on steel and aluminium** as also on **automobiles** addressed, the source said.
नई दिल्ली का उद्देश्य केवल **26% पारस्परिक शुल्क** (जिसमें **10% आधारभूत लेवी** शामिल है) को हटवाना नहीं है; वह **स्टील और एल्युमिनियम** के साथ-साथ **ऑटोमोबाइल** पर लगने वाले **क्षेत्रीय टैरिफ** का समाधान भी चाहती है, सूत्र ने कहा।
- On **March 12**, the U.S. applied a **25% tariff on imports** of **steel and aluminium products** from **all countries**, including India; and then increased it to **50%**.
12 मार्च को अमेरिका ने **सभी देशों** (भारत सहित) से **स्टील और एल्युमिनियम उत्पादों** के आयात पर **25% शुल्क** लगाया; बाद में इसे **50% तक बढ़ा दिया गया**।



Israel-Iran war highlights Mideast's waning sway on oil prices

ISS Paper III: External Sector

OPINION

Ron Bousso
LONDON

The contained move in oil prices during the Israel-Iran war highlights the increasing efficiency of energy markets and fundamental changes to global crude supply, suggesting that Middle East politics will no longer be the dominant force in oil markets they once were.

The jump in oil prices following Israel's surprise attack on Iran was meaningful but relatively modest considering the high stakes involved in the conflict between the Middle East rivals. Benchmark Brent crude prices, often considered a gauge for geo-

political risk, rose from below \$70 a barrel on June 12, the day before Israel's initial attack, to a peak of \$81.40 on June 23 following the United States' strikes on Iranian nuclear facilities.

Prices, however, dropped sharply that same day after it became clear Iran's retaliation against Washington - a well-telegraphed attack on a U.S. military base in Qatar that caused limited damage - was essentially an act of de-escalation. Prices then fell to below pre-war levels at \$67 on Tuesday after U.S. President Donald Trump announced that Israel and Iran had agreed to a ceasefire.

The doomsday scenario for energy markets - Iran blocking the Strait of Hor-



Ocean of oil: A drone view shows a portion of the crude oil tank farm in Midland, Texas, U.S. REUTERS

muz, through which nearly 20% of the world's oil and gas supplies pass - did not occur. In fact, there was almost no disruption to flows out of the Middle East throughout the dura-

tion of the conflict.

So, for the time being, it looks like markets were right not to panic.

Shrinking risk premium
The moderate 15% low-to-

high swing during this conflict suggests oil traders and investors have slashed the risk premium for geopolitical tensions in the Middle East. Consider the impact on prices of pre-

vious tensions in the region. The 1973 Arab oil embargo led to a near quadrupling of oil prices. Disruption to Iranian oil output following the 1979 revolution led to a doubling of spot prices. Iraq's invasion of neighbouring Kuwait in August 1990 caused the price of Brent crude to double to \$40 a barrel by mid-October. And the start of the second Gulf war in 2003 led to a 46% surge in prices.

Market reaction

While many of these supply disruptions - with the exception of the oil embargo - ended up being brief, markets reacted violently.

One needs to be careful when comparing conflicts because each is unique, but the oil market's res-

ponse to major disruptions in the Middle East has - in percentage terms, at least - progressively diminished in recent decades.

Sense and sensibility

There are multiple potential explanations for this change in the perceived value of the Middle East risk premium.

First, markets may simply be more rational than in the past given access to better news, data and technology.

Investors have become extremely savvy in keeping tabs on near-live energy market conditions. Using satellite ship tracking and aerial images of oilfields, ports and refineries, traders can monitor oil and gas production and transportation, enabling them to

better understand supply and demand balances than was possible in previous decades.

In this latest conflict, markets certainly responded rationally. The risk of a supply disruption increased, so prices did as well, but not excessively because there were significant doubts about Iran's actual ability or willingness to disrupt maritime activity over a long period of time.

Another explanation for the limited price moves could be that producers in the region - again, rational actors - learned from previous conflicts and responded in kind by building alternative export routes and storage to limit the impact of any disruption in the Gulf.

Israel-Iran War and Oil Market Response

इज़राइल-ईरान युद्ध और तेल बाज़ार की प्रतिक्रिया

The contained move in oil prices during the Israel-Iran war highlights the increasing efficiency of energy markets and fundamental changes to global crude supply, suggesting that Middle East politics will no longer be the dominant force in oil markets they once were.

इज़राइल-ईरान युद्ध के दौरान तेल की कीमतों में सीमित बढ़ोतरी यह दर्शाती है कि ऊर्जा बाज़ार अधिक कुशल हो गए हैं और वैश्विक कच्चे तेल की आपूर्ति में मौलिक परिवर्तन हुए हैं, जिससे अब मध्य पूर्व की राजनीति पहले की तरह तेल बाजार को नियंत्रित नहीं कर पाएगी।

- The jump in **oil prices** following **Israel's surprise attack on Iran** was meaningful but relatively modest considering the **high stakes** involved in the conflict between the **Middle East rivals**.
इज़राइल द्वारा ईरान पर अचानक हमला किए जाने के बाद तेल की कीमतों में बढ़ोतरी महत्वपूर्ण थी, लेकिन मध्य पूर्व के प्रतिद्वंद्वियों के बीच उच्च जोखिम को देखते हुए यह तुलनात्मक रूप से मामूली थी।
- **Benchmark Brent crude prices**, often considered a **gauge for geopolitical risk**, rose from **below \$70 a barrel on June 12**, the day before **Israel's initial attack**, to a **peak of \$81.40 on June 23** following the **United States' strikes** on Iranian nuclear facilities.
बेंचमार्क ब्रेट कूड कीमतें, जिन्हें अक्सर भूराजनीतिक जोखिम का संकेतक माना जाता है, 12 जून को \$70 प्रति बैरल से कम से बढ़कर, 23 जून को \$81.40 तक पहुंच गई, जो कि अमेरिका द्वारा ईरानी परमाणु ठिकानों पर हमले के बाद हुआ।
- Prices, however, dropped sharply that same day after it became clear **Iran's retaliation against Washington** - a **well-telegraphed attack on a U.S. military base in Qatar** that caused **limited damage** - was essentially an **act of de-escalation**.

हालांकि, उसी दिन कीमतें तेज़ी से गिर गईं जब यह स्पष्ट हुआ कि ईरान की अमेरिका के खिलाफ



प्रतिहिंसा – जो कि कतर में अमेरिकी सैन्य अड्डे पर पहले से घोषित हमला था और जिसमें सीमित नुकसान हुआ – वास्तव में तनाव कम करने का कदम था।

- Prices then fell to **below pre-war levels at \$67 on Tuesday** after U.S. President Donald Trump announced that Israel and Iran had agreed to a ceasefire.
इसके बाद कीमतें युद्ध से पहले के स्तर से भी नीचे गिरकर मंगलवार को \$67 पर पहुंच गईं जब अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति डोनाल्ड ट्रंप ने घोषणा की कि इज़राइल और ईरान युद्धविराम पर सहमत हो गए हैं।
- The **doomsday scenario** for energy markets – Iran blocking the Strait of Hormuz, through which nearly 20% of the world's oil and gas supplies pass – did not occur.
ऊर्जा बाज़ार के लिए सबसे बड़ा खतरा – यानी ईरान द्वारा होर्मुज़ जलडमरूमध्य को अवरुद्ध करना, जहाँ से दुनिया की लगभग 20% तेल और गैस आपूर्ति गुजरती है – वास्तव में नहीं हुआ।
- In fact, there was almost **no disruption to flows out of the Middle East** throughout the duration of the conflict.
वास्तव में, संकट की पूरी अवधि के दौरान मध्य पूर्व से तेल आपूर्ति में लगभग कोई व्यवधान नहीं आया।
- So, for the time being, it looks like **markets were right not to panic**.
इसलिए, फिलहाल ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि बाज़ारों का घबराना सही नहीं था।

Shrinking Risk Premium

घटता हुआ जोखिम प्रीमियम

- The moderate **15% low-to-high swing** during this conflict suggests **oil traders and investors** have slashed the **risk premium** for **geopolitical tensions** in the Middle East.
इस संघर्ष के दौरान **15% की मामूली वृद्धि** यह दर्शाती है कि तेल व्यापारी और निवेशक मध्य पूर्व की भूराजनीतिक तनाव के लिए जोखिम प्रीमियम को कम कर चुके हैं।
- Consider the impact on prices of previous tensions in the region.
क्षेत्र में पहले के तनावों के कारण कीमतों पर प्रभाव पर ध्यान दें।
- The **1973 Arab oil embargo** led to a near **quadrupling of oil prices**.
1973 के अरब तेल प्रतिबंध से तेल की कीमतें लगभग चार गुना बढ़ गई थीं।
- **Disruption to Iranian oil output** following the **1979 revolution** led to a **doubling of spot prices**.
1979 की क्रांति के बाद ईरानी तेल उत्पादन में बाधा के कारण स्पॉट कीमतें दोगुनी हो गई थीं।
- **Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990** caused the price of **Brent crude** to **double to \$40 a barrel** by mid-October.
अगस्त 1990 में इराक द्वारा कुवैत पर आक्रमण से ब्रेंट क्रूड की कीमत मध्य अक्टूबर तक \$40 प्रति बैरल तक दोगुनी हो गई थी।
- The start of the **second Gulf war in 2003** led to a **46% surge in prices**.
2003 में दूसरे खाड़ी युद्ध की शुरुआत से कीमतों में **46% की वृद्धि** हुई थी।



Market Reaction

बाज़ार की प्रतिक्रिया

- While many of these **supply disruptions** – with the exception of the **oil embargo** – ended up being brief, **markets reacted violently**.
इन आपूर्ति व्यवधानों में से अधिकांश – तेल प्रतिबंध को छोड़कर – भले ही अल्पकालिक रहे, परंतु बाज़ारों ने तीव्र प्रतिक्रिया दी।
- One needs to be careful when comparing conflicts because **each is unique**, but the **oil market's response to major disruptions** in the **Middle East** has – in **percentage terms** – progressively **diminished in recent decades**.
संघर्षों की तुलना करते समय सावधानी आवश्यक है क्योंकि हर संघर्ष अलग होता है, लेकिन पिछले दशकों में मध्य पूर्व में बड़े व्यवधानों पर तेल बाजार की प्रतिक्रिया प्रतिशत के लिहाज से लगातार घटती गई है।

Sense and Sensibility

बुद्धिमत्ता और समझदारी

- There are multiple potential **explanations** for this change in the **perceived value** of the **Middle East risk premium**.
मध्य पूर्व जोखिम प्रीमियम की धारणा में बदलाव के कई संभावित कारण हो सकते हैं।
- First, **markets** may simply be **more rational** than in the past given access to **better news, data and technology**.
पहला कारण यह हो सकता है कि बाजार पहले की तुलना में अधिक विवेकपूर्ण हो गए हैं क्योंकि उन्हें बेहतर समाचार, डेटा और तकनीक की पहुँच है।
- **Investors** have become extremely **savvy** in keeping tabs on **near-live energy market conditions**.
निवेशक अब लगभग लाइव ऊर्जा बाजार स्थितियों पर नजर रखने में बहुत चतुर हो गए हैं।
- Using **satellite ship tracking** and **aerial images** of **oilfields, ports and refineries**, **traders** can monitor **oil and gas production and transportation**, enabling them to better understand **supply and demand balances** than was possible in previous decades.
उपग्रह जहाज ट्रैकिंग और तेल क्षेत्रों, बंदरगाहों और रिफाइनरियों की हवाई छवियों का उपयोग करके, व्यापारी तेल और गैस उत्पादन और परिवहन की निगरानी कर सकते हैं, जिससे उन्हें आपूर्ति और मांग का संतुलन समझने में पहले से बेहतर सुविधा मिलती है।
- In this **latest conflict**, **markets** certainly responded **rationally**.
इस हालिया संघर्ष में बाजारों ने निश्चित रूप से विवेकपूर्ण प्रतिक्रिया दी।
- The **risk of a supply disruption** increased, so **prices rose**, but **not excessively** because there were significant **doubts about Iran's actual ability or willingness** to disrupt **maritime activity** over a **long period**.



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आपूर्ति बाधा का जोखिम बढ़ा, जिससे कीमतें बढ़ीं, लेकिन अत्यधिक नहीं, क्योंकि ईरान की समुद्री गतिविधियों को लंबे समय तक बाधित करने की वास्तविक क्षमता या इच्छा को लेकर संदेह थे।

- Another explanation for the **limited price moves** could be that **producers in the region** – again, **rational actors** – learned from previous conflicts and responded in kind by **building alternative export routes and storage** to limit the impact of any disruption in the Gulf.

सीमित मूल्य उतार-चढ़ाव का एक और कारण यह हो सकता है कि क्षेत्र के उत्पादकों – जो फिर से विवेकशील हैं – ने पिछले संघर्षों से सीखा और गल्फ क्षेत्र में किसी भी बाधा के प्रभाव को कम करने के लिए वैकल्पिक निर्यात मार्ग और भंडारण सुविधाएं बनाईं।

TOPICS COVERED (PCS Special)

1. George Orwell

जॉर्ज ऑरवेल

2. A trip down memory lane: Celebrating V.V. Kumar @ 90

यादों की गलियों में एक यात्रा: वी.वी. कुमार @ 90 का उत्सव



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PCS

George Orwell जॉर्ज ऑरवेल

Questions and Answers to the previous day's daily quiz: 1. Orwell was born here. Ans: India

2. Orwell is best known for these two books. Ans: **Animal Farm, 1984**

3. This is a memoir of Orwell. Ans: **Homage to Catalonia**

4. The context in which 'Orwellian' is used. Ans: **It is used to describe totalitarian and authoritarian social practices**

Real name: Eric Arthur Blair, born 25 June 1903 in Motihari, India during British rule; moved to England at age one.

वास्तविक नाम Eric Arthur Blair था, जिनका जन्म 25 जून 1903 को मोतिहारी, भारत में ब्रिटिश

शासन के दौरान हुआ था; वे एक वर्ष की उम्र में इंग्लैंड चले गए।

- Father worked in the Indian Civil Service's Opium Department and mother was from Burma.
उनके पिता भारतीय सिविल सेवा के अफीम विभाग में कार्यरत थे और माता बर्मा से थीं।
- Early years spent in England; educated at St. Cyprian's, Wellington College, and Eton via scholarship.
उनके बचपन के वर्ष इंग्लैंड में बीते; शिक्षा St. Cyprian's, Wellington College और Eton में स्कॉलरशिप पर हुई।

Major Novels: Animal Farm & Nineteen Eighty-Four

प्रमुख उपन्यास: एनिमल फार्म और नाइनेटीन एटी-फोर

- Animal Farm (1945)** is a satirical allegory of Soviet communism through a farm uprising.
Animal Farm (1945), सोवियत साम्यवाद पर एक व्यंग्यात्मक रूपक है जो फार्म विद्रोह के माध्यम से प्रस्तुत किया गया है।
- Nineteen Eighty-Four (1949)** depicts a dystopian totalitarian world with themes of surveillance, thought control, and propaganda (*Big Brother, Newspeak, Thoughtcrime*).
Nineteen Eighty-Four (1949), एक विकट अधिनायकवादी दुनिया को दर्शाता है जिसमें निगरानी, विचार नियंत्रण और प्रचार (*Big Brother, Newspeak, Thoughtcrime*) जैसे विषय हैं।

Memoir: Homage to Catalonia

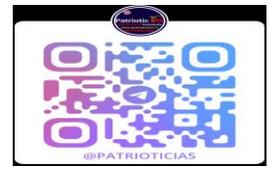
संस्मरण: Homage to Catalonia



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- Written after fighting in the **Spanish Civil War (Dec 1936–Jun 1937)** as part of **POUM militia**; published **April 1938**.
यह किताब **Spanish Civil War (दिसंबर 1936–जून 1937)** में **POUM मिलिशिया** के हिस्से के रूप में लड़ाई के बाद लिखी गई थी; प्रकाशित **अप्रैल 1938** में हुई थी।
- Offers a **firsthand, critical view** of **factionalism, Stalinist betrayal of revolution, and life in the trenches**.
इसमें **घातक अंदरूनी संघर्ष, स्टालिनवादी धोखा, और ट्रेंच में जीवन का प्रत्यक्ष और आलोचनात्मक दर्शन** है।
- Marked a shift in his **political outlook** toward **democratic socialism**.
इस किताब ने उनके राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण को **लोकतांत्रिक समाजवाद** की दिशा में मोड़ दिया।

Orwellian: Meaning & Context

“Orwellian”: अर्थ और सन्दर्भ

- The adjective “**Orwellian**” describes **totalitarian, authoritarian, or surveillant social practices** reminiscent of **Nineteen Eighty-Four**.
विशेषण “**Orwellian**” उन अधिनायकवादी, तानाशाही या निगरानीपूर्ण सामाजिक प्रथाओं का वर्णन करता है जो **Nineteen Eighty-Four** की याद दिलाती हैं।
- Examples include **government censorship, mass surveillance, propaganda, and manipulation of language to control thought**.
उदाहरण हैं: **सरकारी सेंसरशिप, दमनकारी निगरानी, प्रचार, और विचारों पर नियंत्रण के लिए भाषा में हेरफेर**।
- The concept remains **relevant today** amid debates on **privacy, surveillance states, and freedom of expression**.
यह अवधारणा आज भी प्रासंगिक है, जब **गोपनीयता, निगरानी-राज्यों, और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता** पर बहस जारी है।



A trip down memory lane: Celebrating V.V. Kumar @ 90

PCS

S. Dipak Ragav
CHENNAI

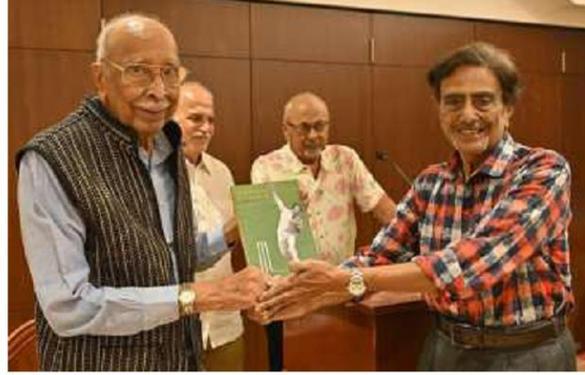
It was an evening of celebration, filled with fascinating anecdotes and a trip down memory lane during the launch of a book on former India leg-spinner V.V. Kumar to commemorate his 90th birthday.

The book titled *Celebrating V.V. Kumar @ 90* features articles from former cricketers and other eminent personalities, including G.R. Vishwanath and S. Venkataraghavan.

It was released by C.D. Gopinath, the only surviving member of India's first Test win in 1952 against England, with Kumar receiving the first copy.

"He [Kumar] and I played together for several years. He was a good team man. He was not only very popular but cheerful and made a lot of people laugh," said Gopinath.

"His bowling was phenomenal. He had so much control over his bowling that he could do anything



Extra special: Gopinath presents a commemorative book to Kumar as part of the latter's 90th birthday celebration. R. RAVINDRAN

he wanted. The way he was dropped was unfair.

"He would have been highly successful and won a lot of matches for India," Gopinath added. Kumar scalped a five-for on debut against Pakistan in New Delhi (1961) but played just one more Test, versus England in Mumbai.

N. Ram, Director, *The Hindu Group*, who has written a chapter in the book, highlighted Kumar's immense contribution to domestic cricket despite being overlooked by the selectors.

In 129 First Class matches, Kumar scalped 599 wickets and was the first to go past the 400-wicket mark in the Ranji Trophy.

Speaking on the occasion, Kumar expressed his gratitude for the friendships he had forged during his cricketing days.

"I am grateful for this emotional meeting. I owe a lot to Gopinath, who was my captain and mentor.

"I have great respect and affection for my captain, who gave me the confidence in my first game," said Kumar.



I am grateful for this emotional meeting. I owe a lot to Gopinath, who was my captain and mentor. I have great respect and affection for my captain, who gave me the confidence in my first game

V.V. KUMAR

"The next best thing that happened to me was always the company that I had during my cricketing days, whether it was in junior or State matches.

"The team moved as one, and the days were enjoyed."

The idea for the book originated from a conversation among former Tamil Nadu cricketers V. Krishnaswamy, P. Mukund, A.G. Satvinder Singh, and P.R. Ramakrishnan, and was compiled by Partab Ramchand.

A trip down memory lane: Celebrating V.V. Kumar @ 90

यादों की गलियों में एक यात्रा: वी.वी. कुमार @ 90 का उत्सव

It was an evening of celebration, filled with fascinating anecdotes and a trip down memory lane during the launch of a book on former India leg-spinner V.V. Kumar to commemorate his 90th birthday.



यह एक जश्न की शाम थी, जिसमें पूर्व भारतीय लेग-स्पिनर वी.वी. कुमार की 90वीं जयंती पर एक किताब के विमोचन के दौरान दिलचस्प किस्सों और यादों की यात्रा शामिल थी।

- The book titled **Celebrating V.V. Kumar @ 90** features articles from former cricketers and other eminent personalities, including **G.R. Vishwanath** and **S. Venkataraghavan**.
Celebrating V.V. Kumar @ 90 शीर्षक वाली इस पुस्तक में जी.आर. विश्वनाथ और एस. वेंकटराघवन सहित पूर्व क्रिकेटर्स और अन्य प्रमुख हस्तियों के लेख शामिल हैं।
- It was released by **C.D. Gopinath**, the only surviving member of India's first **Test win in 1952** against **England**, with Kumar receiving the first copy.
इसे सी.डी. गोपीनाथ ने जारी किया, जो **1952 में इंग्लैंड के खिलाफ भारत की पहली टेस्ट जीत** के एकमात्र जीवित सदस्य हैं, और कुमार को इसकी पहली प्रति मिली।
- "He [Kumar] and I played together for several years. He was a good team man. He was not only very popular but cheerful and made a lot of people laugh," said Gopinath.
गोपीनाथ ने कहा, "हमने [कुमार] और मैंने कई वर्षों तक साथ खेला। वह अच्छे टीम खिलाड़ी थे। वह न केवल **बहुत लोकप्रिय** थे बल्कि हँसमुख भी थे और लोगों को **हँसाने** में माहिर थे।"
- "His bowling was **phenomenal**. He had so much control over his bowling that he could do anything he wanted. The way he was dropped was **unfair**.
"उनकी गेंदबाज़ी **शानदार** थी। उन्हें अपनी गेंदबाज़ी पर इतनी पकड़ थी कि जो चाहें कर सकते थे। उन्हें जिस तरह से टीम से बाहर किया गया, वह **अनुचित** था।"
- "He would have been highly successful and won a lot of matches for India," Gopinath added. Kumar scalped a **five-for on debut** against **Pakistan in New Delhi (1961)** but played just one more Test, versus **England in Mumbai**.
"वह बहुत **सफल** होते और भारत के लिए कई मैच जीतते," गोपीनाथ ने जोड़ा। कुमार ने **1961 में नई दिल्ली में पाकिस्तान** के खिलाफ अपने **डेब्यू पर पांच विकेट** लिए थे लेकिन उसके बाद केवल एक और टेस्ट **मुंबई में इंग्लैंड** के खिलाफ खेला।
- **N. Ram**, Director, *The Hindu Group*, who has written a chapter in the book, highlighted Kumar's **immense contribution to domestic cricket** despite being overlooked by the selectors.
द हिंदू ग्रुप के निदेशक **एन. राम**, जिन्होंने इस पुस्तक में एक अध्याय लिखा है, ने चयनकर्ताओं द्वारा नजरअंदाज किए जाने के बावजूद कुमार के **घरेलू क्रिकेट में योगदान** को रेखांकित किया।
- In **129 First Class matches**, Kumar scalped **599 wickets** and was the first to go past the **400-wicket mark** in the **Ranji Trophy**.
129 प्रथम श्रेणी मैचों में कुमार ने **599 विकेट** लिए और वह **रणजी ट्रॉफी** में **400 विकेट पार** करने वाले पहले गेंदबाज थे।
- Speaking on the occasion, Kumar expressed his **gratitude** for the friendships he had forged during his cricketering days.
इस अवसर पर बोलते हुए कुमार ने अपने क्रिकेटिंग दिनों में बनी **दोस्तियों** के लिए **कृतज्ञता** व्यक्त की।
- "I am grateful for this **emotional meeting**. I owe a lot to **Gopinath**, who was my **captain and mentor**."



“मैं इस भावुक मुलाकात के लिए आभारी हूँ। मैं अपने कप्तान और मार्गदर्शक गोपीनाथ का बहुत आभारी हूँ।”

- “I have great respect and affection for my captain, who gave me the **confidence in my first game**,” said Kumar.

“मेरे कप्तान के लिए मेरे दिल में गहरा सम्मान और स्नेह है, जिन्होंने मुझे पहले मैच में आत्मविश्वास दिया,” कुमार ने कहा।

- “The next best thing that happened to me was always the **company** that I had during my cricketing days, whether it was in junior or State matches.

“मेरे लिए अगली सबसे अच्छी बात हमेशा वह संगति रही जो मुझे अपने क्रिकेटिंग दिनों में मिली, चाहे वह जूनियर हो या राज्य स्तरीय मैच।”

- “The team moved as one, and the days were enjoyed.”

“टीम एकजुट होकर खेलती थी, और वो दिन बहुत आनंददायक थे।”

- The idea for the book originated from a conversation among former **Tamil Nadu cricketers V. Krishnaswamy, P. Mukund, A.G. Satvinder Singh, and P.R. Ramakrishnan**, and was compiled by **Partab Ramchand**.

इस पुस्तक की परिकल्पना पूर्व तमिलनाडु क्रिकेटर्स वी. कृष्णास्वामी, पी. मुकुंद, ए.जी. सतविंदर सिंह और पी.आर. रामकृष्णन की बातचीत से हुई थी, और इसे पर्ताब रामचंद ने संकलित किया।