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19_03_2025 DAILY CURRENT AFFAIRS

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

1. Factors influencing women's political participation
महिलाओं की राजनीतिक भागीदारी को प्रभावित करने वाले कारक

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What factors influence women's political participation?

While discussions on women's participation often highlight the social and cultural biases that hinder their electoral success, less attention is given to how everyday women engage with the electoral process

GS Paper I: Society
Rebecca Rose Varghese

Deshpande R., 'Shaping of the Woman Constituency in Indian Elections: Evidence from the NES Data', Studies in Indian Politics, Vol 12 Issue No. 2, 303-317, November 16, 2024

The participation of women in Indian politics has been a subject of extensive discourse among scholars, especially given the paradox that while India has produced several influential women leaders, overall political engagement among women remains poor. Unlike many countries where the gender gap in political participation began narrowing in the 1990s, India saw this shift only in the 2010s.

While discussions on women's participation often highlight the social and cultural biases that hinder their electoral success, less attention is given to how everyday women engage with the electoral process when opportunities arise. Their voting patterns, choices, and agency in shaping election outcomes remain under-explored. And, though political parties and women's movements frequently celebrate women voters during elections, this recognition often treats them as a homogenous group, overlooking the intersections of caste, class, religion, and region that shape their political behaviour. Women's support for Donald Trump in the 2016 U.S. elections, and their participation in the riots of the 1990s in India illustrate how women's political engagement is far more complex and requires in-depth understanding.

It is within this context that Rajeshwari Deshpande's study, 'Shaping of the Woman Constituency in Indian Elections: Evidence from the NES Data', becomes significant. Her analysis of National Election Studies (NES) data sheds light on the increasing voter turnout among women and their growing participation in the political sphere. By examining how women vote and whether their choices are influenced primarily by gender or by other social identities, her research provides a nuanced understanding of the evolving role of women in Indian elections. Her findings help to understand whether we are closer to shaping a women's constituency in Indian elections. This study offers critical insights into the gendered dimensions of Indian elections, highlighting key patterns, contradictions, and challenges in women's political agency and its broader socio-political implications.

Mere beneficiaries or active agents?
As mentioned earlier, it was only in 2010 that there was a significant increase in the share of women who voted, and all political parties sought to capitalise on this shift by introducing policies and schemes specifically targeting women. However, these policies often frame women as passive beneficiaries rather than political agents. Welfare programs like Ujjwala and the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana were pivotal to the Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) victory in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, while schemes like 'Ladli Behna' and 'Ladli Laxmi' were credited for the party's success in Madhya Pradesh. These initiatives reinforce the



Women voters after casting their vote in the Lok Sabha elections in Prayagraj, on May 25, 2024. AP

notion of women as dependents, with political leaders positioned as benevolent providers rather than recognising women as autonomous decision-makers.

Deshpande argues that high voter turnout does not necessarily translate to real political power. For years, women were considered marginal participants in politics, with efforts made to carve out a 'non-political' political constituency for them. Despite their growing presence at the polls, political parties and media continue to frame their votes as driven by welfare benefits. Analysing NES data helps assess whether the rise in women voters signals real political agency or mere surface-level inclusion.

Beyond voting
While the increasing turnout of women voters in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections is noteworthy, voting is not the only form of political participation. Participation in rallies, campaigns, political affiliations, and policy advocacy also indicates political involvement. In these areas, women still lag behind men. Only 14% of women report seeking advice from their spouses on voting decisions – indicating growing agency – but this remains significantly higher than men's. This

suggests that despite increased voter participation, deeper political engagement faces social and structural barriers.

One explanation scholars offer for the increased turnout of women is the self-empowerment hypothesis, which suggests that rising literacy rates and employment opportunities have empowered women to vote independently. Efforts by the Election Commission to ensure women's voter registration could also be attributed to the increased turnout.

However, the author challenges this explanation, pointing out two critical contradictions: women's overall workforce participation remains low, weakening the argument that economic independence is driving higher turnout. Additionally, the proportion of registered female voters compared to male voters remains imbalanced, indicating that fewer women are being registered.

An alternative explanation for the increased women voter turnout could be the large-scale male migration of men contributing to higher turnout among women in States traditionally considered socially and economically 'backward'. These trends highlight that while

turnout has increased, broader political participation remains limited.

Other identities

Women's voting behaviour in India is not driven solely by gender identity but is also deeply shaped by regional, caste, and class dynamics. The NES data highlight that State-specific political and social contexts significantly influence electoral choices, undermining the idea of a unified, pan-Indian women's voting bloc. Instead, women's voting preferences are molded within the broader framework of their community identities.

State-level variations demonstrate this complexity. For instance, in States such as Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and West Bengal, where electoral politics have historically been shaped by strong regional parties, women's preferences are often aligned with regional political movements rather than national gender-based voting trends. Caste and class divisions further complicate this narrative. The BJP's voter base has traditionally been skewed toward urban, upper-class, and upper-caste groups, while Congress has drawn more support from the urban poor and marginalised communities. However, this alignment is also not absolute – many women, particularly from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, continue to vote based on the interests of their communities rather than on a broader gender-based agenda.

Women's support for different parties

NES data indicate that Congress has historically maintained a gender advantage, consistently receiving more female support than male. This trend continued in 2024, except in 2014, when the party suffered a nationwide decline. Left parties also had a gender advantage, but their declining influence has diminished this effect on the national stage. The BJP, in contrast, has faced a gender disadvantage, with fewer women voting for the party compared to men. However, this gap has been narrowing. Previously, the gender gap in BJP support exceeded 20%, whereas in 2024, it reduced to approximately 7%. The BJP's targeted outreach to women has contributed to this shift, though much of its support still comes only from welfare beneficiaries. Even within this group, men support the BJP more than women.

Region-specific variations further complicate women's support for the BJP. In some non-BJP-ruled States, more women than men voted for the party, despite a lack of increased female voter turnout. Conversely, in other States, women showed a stronger preference for opposition parties, creating an uneven gender gap. This suggests that while the BJP has made inroads among female voters, gender alone does not define women's electoral choices – other intersecting identities and political contexts remain crucial.

The data from past elections highlight three key trends in women's political participation in India. First, while women's voter turnout has steadily increased, their overall political engagement beyond voting remains lower than men's. Second, women's voting patterns and political involvement are not just shaped by gender identity; factors such as caste, class, and regional influences also play a significant role. Third, despite targeted outreach, the BJP has historically faced a gender disadvantage, with more men than women supporting the party. These developments indicate that we are still far from the formation of a distinct women's constituency in Indian politics, as their electoral choices remain intertwined with broader socio-political factors.

Rebecca Rose Varghese is a freelance journalist.

Factors influencing women's political participation

महिलाओं की राजनीतिक भागीदारी को प्रभावित करने वाले कारक



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Discussions on women's political participation often focus on social and cultural biases that hinder their electoral success.

महिलाओं की राजनीतिक भागीदारी पर चर्चा अक्सर सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक पूर्वाग्रहों पर केंद्रित होती है, जो उनकी चुनावी सफलता में बाधा डालते हैं।

- Less attention is given to how everyday women engage with the electoral process when given the opportunity.
इस पर कम ध्यान दिया जाता है कि सामान्य महिलाएँ चुनावी प्रक्रिया में कैसे भाग लेती हैं जब उन्हें अवसर मिलता है।
- Their **voting patterns, choices, and agency** in shaping election outcomes remain **under-explored**.
उनके मतदान पैटर्न, चुनाव और चुनावी परिणामों को प्रभावित करने की क्षमता को अभी तक पर्याप्त रूप से नहीं समझा गया है।
- **Political parties and women's movements** celebrate women voters but often **treat them as a homogenous group**, ignoring **caste, class, religion, and region**.
राजनीतिक दल और महिला आंदोलन महिला मतदाताओं का उत्सव मनाते हैं, लेकिन अक्सर उन्हें एक समान समूह मान लेते हैं, और जाति, वर्ग, धर्म, और क्षेत्रीय कारकों की अनदेखी करते हैं।
- **Examples of women's complex political engagement:**
 - Women's support for Donald Trump in the 2016 U.S. elections.
2016 के अमेरिकी चुनावों में डोनाल्ड ट्रम्प को महिलाओं का समर्थन।
 - Women's participation in the 1990s riots in India.
भारत में 1990 के दशक के दंगों में महिलाओं की भागीदारी।

Rajeshwari Deshpande's study on women in Indian elections

भारतीय चुनावों में महिलाओं पर राजेश्वरी देशपांडे का अध्ययन

- The study, 'Shaping of the Woman Constituency in Indian Elections', analyses **National Election Studies (NES)** data.
अध्ययन 'भारतीय चुनावों में महिला निर्वाचन क्षेत्र का गठन' नेशनल इलेक्शन स्टडीज (NES) डेटा का विश्लेषण करता है।
- **Key findings:**
 - Increasing voter turnout among women.
महिलाओं के मतदान प्रतिशत में वृद्धि।
 - Growing participation in the political sphere.
राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में बढ़ती भागीदारी।
 - Examines whether women vote based on gender or other social identities.
महिलाएँ लिंग के आधार पर वोट देती हैं या अन्य सामाजिक पहचानें महत्वपूर्ण होती हैं।
- The study helps to assess whether **India is moving towards a distinct "women's constituency"** in elections.

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यह अध्ययन यह समझने में मदद करता है कि क्या भारत एक स्पष्ट "महिला निर्वाचन क्षेत्र" की ओर बढ़ रहा है।

Mere beneficiaries or active agents?

सिर्फ लाभार्थी या सक्रिय एजेंट?

- **Women's voter turnout increased significantly after 2010, prompting political parties to introduce women-centric policies.**
2010 के बाद महिला मतदाताओं की भागीदारी में उल्लेखनीय वृद्धि हुई, जिससे राजनीतिक दलों ने महिलाओं पर केंद्रित योजनाएँ लागू कीं।
- **Examples of women-focused welfare schemes:**
 - **Ujjwala Yojana and Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana** helped BJP in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections.
 - उज्ज्वला योजना और प्रधानमंत्री आवास योजना ने 2019 के लोकसभा चुनावों में भाजपा की जीत में मदद की।
 - **'Ladli Behna' and 'Ladli Laxmi' schemes** played a crucial role in BJP's victory in Madhya Pradesh.
 - 'लाइली बहना' और 'लाइली लक्ष्मी' योजनाएँ मध्य प्रदेश में भाजपा की जीत में महत्वपूर्ण रहीं।
- These programs often **frame women as dependents**, with **political leaders seen as benevolent providers** rather than recognizing women as **autonomous decision-makers**.
ये योजनाएँ अक्सर महिलाओं को आश्रित मानती हैं, और नेताओं को दयालु संरक्षक के रूप में प्रस्तुत करती हैं, बजाय इसके कि महिलाओं को स्वतंत्र निर्णय लेने वाली इकाई के रूप में देखा जाए।
- **Rajeshwari Deshpande argues:**
 - High voter turnout does not necessarily translate into real political power.
 - उच्च मतदान प्रतिशत का अर्थ वास्तविक राजनीतिक शक्ति नहीं होता।
 - Women were traditionally seen as marginal participants in politics.
 - महिलाओं को परंपरागत रूप से राजनीति में हाशिए पर रखा गया।
 - **Political parties and media frame women's votes as welfare-driven rather than politically motivated.**
 - राजनीतिक दल और मीडिया महिलाओं के वोटों को कल्याणकारी योजनाओं से प्रेरित मानते हैं, न कि राजनीतिक सोच से।
- **The NES data analysis helps determine whether the rise in women voters signifies genuine political agency or just surface-level inclusion.**
NES डेटा विश्लेषण यह समझने में मदद करता है कि महिलाओं के बढ़ते मतदान का अर्थ वास्तविक राजनीतिक शक्ति है या सिर्फ सांख्यिकीय वृद्धि।
Beyond voting
मतदान से परे



- While the **increasing turnout of women voters in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections** is noteworthy, voting is **not the only form of political participation**.
2024 के लोकसभा चुनावों में महिला मतदाताओं की बढ़ती संख्या उल्लेखनीय है, लेकिन मतदान राजनीतिक भागीदारी का एकमात्र रूप नहीं है।
- **Participation in rallies, campaigns, political affiliations, and policy advocacy** also indicates political involvement. However, in these areas, **women still lag behind men**.
रैलियों, अभियानों, राजनीतिक संबद्धताओं और नीति वकालत में भागीदारी भी राजनीतिक जुड़ाव को दर्शाती है। लेकिन इन क्षेत्रों में, महिलाएँ अभी भी पुरुषों से पीछे हैं।
- **Only 14% of women report seeking advice from their spouses on voting decisions**, indicating growing agency, but this is **still significantly higher than men's**.
सिर्फ 14% महिलाएँ मतदान निर्णयों पर अपने पति से सलाह लेने की बात स्वीकार करती हैं, जो उनकी स्वायत्तता के बढ़ने का संकेत देती है, लेकिन यह फिर भी पुरुषों की तुलना में अधिक है।
- Despite **increased voter participation**, deeper political engagement faces **social and structural barriers**.
भले ही मतदान में महिलाओं की भागीदारी बढ़ी है, लेकिन गहरे राजनीतिक जुड़ाव को सामाजिक और संरचनात्मक बाधाओं का सामना करना पड़ता है।

Explaining increased turnout

बढ़े हुए मतदान का विश्लेषण

- One explanation is the **self-empowerment hypothesis**, which suggests that **rising literacy rates and employment opportunities have empowered women to vote independently**.
एक व्याख्या स्वयं-सशक्तिकरण परिकल्पना है, जो यह बताती है कि साक्षरता दर और रोजगार के अवसरों में वृद्धि ने महिलाओं को स्वतंत्र रूप से मतदान करने के लिए सशक्त बनाया है।
- The **Election Commission's efforts to increase women's voter registration** may also have contributed to higher turnout.
महिलाओं के मतदाता पंजीकरण बढ़ाने के लिए चुनाव आयोग के प्रयासों ने भी मतदान बढ़ाने में योगदान दिया हो सकता है।
- However, the author challenges this view, citing two contradictions:
 - **Women's workforce participation remains low**, weakening the argument that **economic independence is driving higher turnout**.
 - महिलाओं की कार्यबल भागीदारी कम बनी हुई है, जिससे यह तर्क कमजोर हो जाता है कि आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता मतदान बढ़ाने में प्रमुख भूमिका निभा रही है।
 - **The proportion of registered female voters remains imbalanced compared to male voters**, indicating **fewer women are being registered**.
 - पंजीकृत महिला मतदाताओं की संख्या पुरुष मतदाताओं की तुलना में असंतुलित बनी हुई है, जो यह दर्शाता है कि कम महिलाओं का पंजीकरण हो रहा है।



- An alternative explanation could be **large-scale male migration**, leading to **higher turnout among women in socially and economically backward States**.
एक अन्य व्याख्या बड़े पैमाने पर पुरुषों के प्रवासन की हो सकती है, जिससे सामाजिक और आर्थिक रूप से पिछड़े राज्यों में महिला मतदाताओं की संख्या अधिक हो गई है।

Other identities influencing women's voting behavior

महिलाओं के मतदान व्यवहार को प्रभावित करने वाली अन्य पहचानें

- Women's voting patterns in India are **not solely driven by gender identity** but are shaped by **regional, caste, and class dynamics**.
भारत में महिलाओं का मतदान व्यवहार केवल लैंगिक पहचान से प्रेरित नहीं होता, बल्कि यह क्षेत्रीय, जातिगत और वर्गीय गतिशीलता से प्रभावित होता है।
- NES data highlight that **State-specific political and social contexts** influence electoral choices, **undermining the idea of a unified, pan-Indian women's voting bloc**.
NES डेटा बताता है कि राज्य-विशिष्ट राजनीतिक और सामाजिक संदर्भ चुनावी पसंद को प्रभावित करते हैं, जिससे एकीकृत, अखिल भारतीय महिला मतदाता समूह की धारणा कमजोर होती है।
- Examples of State-level variations:
 - **Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and West Bengal**: Women's preferences align with **regional political movements** rather than national gender-based trends.
 - तमिलनाडु, केरल और पश्चिम बंगाल: यहाँ महिलाओं की पसंद राष्ट्रीय स्तर के लिंग-आधारित रुझानों की तुलना में क्षेत्रीय राजनीतिक आंदोलनों के अनुरूप अधिक होती है।
- **Caste and class divisions complicate voting patterns**.
जाति और वर्ग विभाजन मतदान पैटर्न को जटिल बनाते हैं।
 - BJP's voter base is traditionally urban, upper-class, and upper-caste.
 - बीजेपी का मतदाता आधार परंपरागत रूप से शहरी, उच्च वर्ग और उच्च जाति का रहा है।
 - Congress has traditionally drawn support from the urban poor and marginalized communities.
 - कांग्रेस को परंपरागत रूप से शहरी गरीब और हाशिए पर रहने वाले समुदायों से समर्थन मिला है।
 - However, many women from lower socio-economic backgrounds vote based on community interests rather than gender identity.
 - हालांकि, निम्न सामाजिक-आर्थिक पृष्ठभूमि की कई महिलाएँ लिंग पहचान के बजाय समुदाय के हितों के आधार पर मतदान करती हैं।

Women's support for different parties

विभिन्न पार्टियों के लिए महिलाओं का समर्थन

- NES data show that **Congress has historically received more female support than male**.
NES डेटा दर्शाता है कि इतिहास में कांग्रेस को पुरुषों की तुलना में महिलाओं का अधिक समर्थन मिला है।



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- In contrast, the **BJP has traditionally faced a gender disadvantage, with fewer women voting for the party compared to men.**
इसके विपरीत, बीजेपी को ऐतिहासिक रूप से लैंगिक नुकसान झेलना पड़ा है, क्योंकि पुरुषों की तुलना में कम महिलाओं ने पार्टी को वोट दिया है।
- However, this **gender gap has narrowed over time:**
 - In 2014, the gender gap in BJP support exceeded 20%.
 - 2014 में, बीजेपी के समर्थन में लैंगिक अंतर 20% से अधिक था।
 - In 2024, this gap reduced to approximately 7% due to **targeted outreach to women.**
 - 2024 में, यह अंतर घटकर लगभग 7% रह गया, जिसका कारण महिलाओं पर केंद्रित अभियान रहा।
- Despite BJP's efforts, much of its **support from women comes from welfare beneficiaries.**
बीजेपी के प्रयासों के बावजूद, महिला समर्थन मुख्य रूप से कल्याणकारी लाभार्थियों से आता है।
- **Regional variations:**
 - In **some non-BJP-ruled States**, more women than men voted for the party, despite no increase in female voter turnout.
 - कुछ गैर-बीजेपी शासित राज्यों में, महिलाओं ने पुरुषों की तुलना में बीजेपी को अधिक वोट दिया, भले ही महिला मतदाता प्रतिशत न बढ़ा हो।
 - In **other States**, women preferred **opposition parties**, creating an **uneven gender gap.**
 - अन्य राज्यों में, महिलाओं ने विपक्षी दलों को अधिक समर्थन दिया, जिससे असमान लैंगिक अंतर बना।

Key trends in women's political participation

महिलाओं की राजनीतिक भागीदारी में मुख्य प्रवृत्तियाँ

1. **Women's voter turnout has increased, but their overall political engagement remains lower than men's.**
2. महिलाओं का मतदान प्रतिशत बढ़ा है, लेकिन उनकी समग्र राजनीतिक भागीदारी पुरुषों की तुलना में कम बनी हुई है।
3. **Women's voting behavior is influenced by multiple factors including caste, class, and regional dynamics.**
4. महिलाओं के मतदान व्यवहार को कई कारक प्रभावित करते हैं, जैसे जाति, वर्ग, और क्षेत्रीय गतिशीलता।



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

- 1. EC relents, to hear pleas to upload booth-wise turnout**
ईसी ने बूथ-वार मतदान प्रतिशत अपलोड करने की याचिकाओं पर सुनवाई करने के लिए रजामंदी दी
- 2. Supreme Court to see if Lokpal has powers over judges**
सुप्रीम कोर्ट यह जांच करेगा कि क्या लोकपाल को न्यायाधीशों पर अधिकार प्राप्त हैं
- 3. Karnataka Assembly tables Bill to provide 4% quota for Muslims in public contracts; BJP opposes it**
कर्नाटक विधानसभा में सार्वजनिक ठेके में मुसलमानों को 4% कोटा देने वाला विधेयक पेश; भाजपा ने किया विरोध
- 4. BSNL has been dialling the wrong consultant**
बीएसएनएल गलत सलाहकार से परामर्श कर रहा है
- 5. What is happening in Balochistan?**
बलूचिस्तान में क्या हो रहा है?
- 6. ED searches entities linked to Soros for FEMA violations**
सोरोस से जुड़े संस्थानों पर ईडी की छापेमारी: फेमा उल्लंघन का आरोप
- 7. America First' doesn't mean 'America alone': Gabbard**
'अमेरिका फर्स्ट' का मतलब 'अकेला अमेरिका' नहीं: गैबार्ड



EC relents, to hear pleas to upload booth-wise turnout

Supreme Court Bench directs petitioners to make representation before poll panel in 10 days; they have sought authenticated, scanned, legible account of votes after each phase of polling

GS Paper II: Elections

Krishnadas Rajagopal

NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court on Tuesday asked the Election Commission to meet petitioners and hear their demand to upload on its official website authenticated, scanned, and legible account of votes recorded booth-wise after each phase of polling.

A Bench headed by Chief Justice Sanjiv Khanna directed Lok Sabha member Mahua Moitra and representatives of the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) to make their representation before the EC in 10 days. The panel agreed to grant the petitioners a hearing to resolve the issues.

The panel's willingness to do so signalled a mellow-

Case file

The demand for EC to publish booth-level voter turnout data follows other attempts to make the poll process more transparent. Here are the two sides:

Petitioners' stance

- Delay in publishing voter turnout data followed by a sharp spike in figures from polling percentages in the 2024 Lok Sabha election
- 'Wide discrepancy' between the count of voters at poll booths and the voter turnout published later on
- Suspicions of switching of electronic voting machines

EC affidavit in May 2024

- There was no 'legal mandate' to provide the data to any person other than candidates or their polling agents
- Form 17C to be shared only with candidates and their agents



- Turnout is being released through a voter turnout app, website, and press releases

ing of its stance with a new Chief Election Commissioner, Gyanesh Kumar, at its helm. An affidavit filed by the EC in the Supreme Court in May 2024 had taken an uncompromising position against the public

disclosure of turnout data. It had argued there was no such "legal mandate" to provide the data to any person other than candidates or polling agents.

The ADR had primarily sought the uploading of

EC begins steps to link voter ID with Aadhaar

NEW DELHI

The Election Commission (EC) on Tuesday set the ball rolling for linking Aadhaar with elector photo identity card (EPIC) numbers. The commission said that it would soon begin technical consultations with the UIDAI on the issue. The decision was made after a high-level meeting led by Chief Election Commissioner Gyanesh Kumar. » **PAGE 11**

scanned copies of Form 17C (account of votes recorded) after every phase of polling in the 2024 Lok Sabha polls.

CONTINUED ON
» **PAGE 10**

EC relents, to hear pleas to upload booth-wise turnout

ईसी ने बूथ-वार मतदान प्रतिशत अपलोड करने की याचिकाओं पर सुनवाई करने के लिए रजामंदी दी

The Supreme Court on Tuesday asked the Election Commission to meet petitioners and hear their demand to **upload on its official website authenticated, scanned, and legible account of votes recorded booth-wise after each phase of polling.**

सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने मंगलवार को निर्वाचन आयोग से याचिकाकर्ताओं से मिलने और उनकी



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मांग सुनने के लिए कहा कि प्रत्येक मतदान चरण के बाद ऑथेंटिकेटेड, स्कैन की गई और स्पष्ट रूप से पढ़ी जा सकने वाली वोटों की बूथ-वार जानकारी आयोग की आधिकारिक वेबसाइट पर अपलोड की जाए।

- A Bench headed by Chief Justice Sanjiv Khanna directed Lok Sabha member Mahua Moitra and representatives of the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) to make their representation before the EC in 10 days.
मुख्य न्यायाधीश संजीव खन्ना की अध्यक्षता वाली बेंच ने लोकसभा सदस्य महुआ मोइत्रा और लोकतांत्रिक सुधार संघ (ADR) के प्रतिनिधियों को 10 दिनों के भीतर निर्वाचन आयोग के सामने अपनी प्रतिनिधि प्रस्तुति देने का निर्देश दिया।
- The panel agreed to grant the petitioners a hearing to resolve the issues.
पैनल ने याचिकाकर्ताओं को मुद्दों के समाधान के लिए सुनवाई देने पर सहमति जताई।
- The panel's willingness to do so signalled a mellowing of its stance with a new Chief Election Commissioner, Gyanesh Kumar, at its helm.
पैनल की इस बात को स्वीकार करने की तत्परता ने संकेत दिया कि मुख्य चुनाव आयुक्त, ज्ञानेश कुमार के नेतृत्व में उनके रुख में नरमी आई है।
- An affidavit filed by the EC in the Supreme Court in May 2024 had taken an uncompromising position against the public disclosure of turnout data.
निर्वाचन आयोग द्वारा मई 2024 में सुप्रीम कोर्ट में दायर एक शपथ पत्र में मतदान प्रतिशत डेटा के सार्वजनिक खुलासे के खिलाफ एक कठोर रुख अपनाया गया था।
- It had argued there was no such "legal mandate" to provide the data to any person other than candidates or polling agents.
इसमें यह तर्क दिया गया था कि "कानूनी आदेश" नहीं था जो मतदान प्रतिशत डेटा को उम्मीदवारों या मतदान एजेंटों के अलावा किसी अन्य व्यक्ति को प्रदान करने के लिए।
- The ADR had primarily sought the uploading of scanned copies of Form 17C (account of votes recorded) after every phase of polling in the 2024 Lok Sabha polls.
ADR ने मुख्य रूप से 2024 लोकसभा चुनावों में प्रत्येक मतदान चरण के बाद फॉर्म 17C (वोटों का लेखा-जोखा) की स्कैन की गई प्रतियों को अपलोड करने की मांग की थी।



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Supreme Court to see if Lokpal has powers over judges

GS Paper II: Lokpal

Krishnadas Rajagopal

NEW DELHI

A Bench of the Supreme Court's senior-most judges headed by Justice B.R. Gavai on Tuesday decided to examine in detail if judges of constitutional courts come within the jurisdiction of the country's top ombudsman, Lokpal, as public functionaries including the Prime Minister, Union Ministers, Members of Parliament and Central government officials.

"We will consider the issue of the jurisdiction of

the Lokpal," Justice Gavai addressed the courtroom.

The court was hearing a *suo motu* case initiated after the Lokpal, through a January 27 order, assumed jurisdiction to investigate complaints against serving High Court judges. The ombudsman classified High Court judges as public servants who came within the ambit of the Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act, 2013 as Ministers and government officials.

CONTINUED ON

» PAGE 10

Supreme Court to see if Lokpal has powers over judges

सुप्रीम कोर्ट यह जांच करेगा कि क्या लोकपाल को न्यायाधीशों पर अधिकार प्राप्त हैं

A Bench of the Supreme Court's senior-most judges, headed by Justice B.R. Gavai, on Tuesday decided to examine in detail if judges of constitutional courts come within the jurisdiction of the country's top ombudsman, Lokpal, as public functionaries including the Prime Minister, Union

Ministers, Members of Parliament, and Central government officials.

सुप्रीम कोर्ट के वरिष्ठतम न्यायाधीशों की एक बेंच, जिसकी अध्यक्षता न्यायमूर्ति बी.आर. गवई कर रहे हैं, ने मंगलवार को यह विस्तार से जांचने का निर्णय लिया कि क्या संवैधानिक न्यायालयों के न्यायाधीश देश के शीर्ष लोकपाल लोकपाल के अधिकार क्षेत्र में आते हैं, जैसे कि प्रधानमंत्री, केंद्रीय मंत्री, सांसद और केंद्र सरकार के अधिकारी।

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- "We will consider the issue of the jurisdiction of the Lokpal," Justice Gavai addressed the courtroom.
"हम लोकपाल के अधिकार क्षेत्र के मुद्दे पर विचार करेंगे," न्यायमूर्ति गवई ने अदालत में कहा।
- The court was hearing a **suo motu case** initiated after the Lokpal, through a **January 27 order**, **assumed jurisdiction to investigate complaints against serving High Court judges**.
अदालत एक स्वतः संज्ञान (suo motu) मामला सुन रही थी, जो लोकपाल द्वारा 27 जनवरी के आदेश के बाद शुरू हुआ, जिसमें उसने सेवारत उच्च न्यायालय के न्यायाधीशों के खिलाफ शिकायतों की जांच करने का अधिकार लिया।
- The **ombudsman classified High Court judges as public servants who came within the ambit of the Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act, 2013, like Ministers and government officials**.
लोकपाल ने उच्च न्यायालय के न्यायाधीशों को लोक सेवक के रूप में वर्गीकृत किया, जो लोकपाल और लोकायुक्त अधिनियम, 2013 के अंतर्गत आते हैं, जैसे कि मंत्री और सरकारी अधिकारी।

Lokpal is India's anti-corruption authority, established to investigate corruption cases involving public officials. It has jurisdiction over:

- The **Prime Minister, Union Ministers, and Members of Parliament**
- **Group A, B, C, and D officers** of the central government
- Officials of **boards, corporations, societies, trusts, and autonomous bodies** funded by the government
- Entities receiving **foreign contributions above ₹10 lakh**

Formation & History:

- The term "**Lokpal**" was coined by **Dr. L.M. Singhvi** in 1963.
- First proposed in Parliament by **Law Minister Ashoke Kumar Sen** in the 1960s.
- The **first Lokpal Bill** was introduced in 1968 but failed to pass in Rajya Sabha.
- Several unsuccessful attempts were made from **1968 to 2008**.
- The movement for a stronger Lokpal gained momentum with **Anna Hazare's Jan Lokpal Movement (2010)**.
- The **Lokpal and Lokayuktas Act** was finally passed on **18 December 2013** and came into effect on **1 January 2014**.
- The **first Lokpal of India, Pinaki Chandra Ghose**, was appointed in **March 2019**.

Composition & Qualifications:

- **Chairperson** (Retired Chief Justice or Supreme Court Judge)
- **Maximum 8 Members** (4 judicial + 4 non-judicial)
 - **Judicial Members:** Retired Supreme Court Judges or High Court Chief Justices

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- **Non-Judicial Members:** Experts in anti-corruption policy, administration, vigilance, finance, law, or management
- **50% members** must belong to **SC/ST/OBC/Minorities/Women**

Current Chairperson:

- As of now, **Ajay Manikrao Khanwilkar** is the Lokpal Chairperson.

Karnataka Assembly tables Bill to provide 4% quota for Muslims in public contracts; BJP opposes it

GS Paper II: Article 15

The Hindu Bureau
BENGALURU

The Karnataka Transparency in Public Procurement (Amendment) Bill, 2025, was tabled in the Assembly on Tuesday to introduce 4% reservation for Muslims in public contracts.

On March 14, the State Cabinet approved an amendment to the Karnataka Transparency in Public Procurement (KTPP) Act, reserving 4% of contracts for Muslims in civil works valued up to ₹2 crore, and goods and services contracts up to ₹1 crore.

Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs H.K. Patil tabled the Bill, which



Parliamentary Affairs Minister H.K. Patil tabling the Bill in the Assembly on Tuesday.

is likely to come up for discussion on Wednesday. The Bill proposes to amend the KTPP Act, 1999, to implement the proposal outlined in the 2025-26 Budget.

The proposal was announced by Chief Minister

Siddaramaiah in the Budget presented on March 7.

At present, Karnataka provides 24% reservation in civil works contracts for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST), 4% for Other Backward Classes (OBC) Category 1, and 15% for OBC Category 2A. There had been demands to include Muslims under Category 2B of the OBCs with a 4% quota.

'Appeasement politics'
The principal Opposition BJP termed the government's move to provide 4% reservation for Muslims an "unconstitutional misadventure" and "appeasement politics", and decided to oppose it, including challenging it in court.

Karnataka Assembly tables Bill to provide 4% quota for Muslims in public contracts; BJP opposes it

कर्नाटक विधानसभा में सार्वजनिक ठेके में मुसलमानों को 4% कोटा देने वाला विधेयक पेश; भाजपा ने किया विरोध

The Karnataka

Transparency in Public Procurement (Amendment) Bill, 2025, was tabled in the Assembly on Tuesday to introduce 4% reservation for



Muslims in public contracts.

कर्नाटक पारदर्शिता सार्वजनिक खरीद (संशोधन) विधेयक, 2025 को मंगलवार को विधानसभा में पेश किया गया ताकि सार्वजनिक ठेकों में मुसलमानों को 4% आरक्षण दिया जा सके।

- On March 14, the State Cabinet approved an amendment to the Karnataka Transparency in Public Procurement (KTPP) Act, reserving 4% of contracts for Muslims in civil works valued up to ₹2 crore and goods and services contracts up to ₹1 crore.
14 मार्च को राज्य कैबिनेट ने कर्नाटक पारदर्शिता सार्वजनिक खरीद (KTPP) अधिनियम में संशोधन को मंजूरी दी, जिससे ₹2 करोड़ तक के सिविल वर्क्स ठेके और ₹1 करोड़ तक के वस्तुओं व सेवाओं के ठेकों में मुसलमानों के लिए 4% आरक्षण लागू किया जाएगा।
- Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs H.K. Patil tabled the Bill, which is likely to come up for discussion on Wednesday.
कानून और संसदीय कार्य मंत्री एच.के. पाटिल ने यह विधेयक पेश किया, जिसे बुधवार को चर्चा के लिए लाए जाने की संभावना है।
- The Bill proposes to amend the KTPP Act, 1999, to implement the proposal outlined in the 2025-26 Budget.
यह विधेयक KTPP अधिनियम, 1999 में संशोधन का प्रस्ताव करता है ताकि 2025-26 के बजट में प्रस्तुत योजना को लागू किया जा सके।
- The proposal was announced by Chief Minister Siddaramaiah in the Budget presented on March 7.
इस प्रस्ताव की घोषणा मुख्यमंत्री सिद्धारमैया ने 7 मार्च को पेश किए गए बजट में की थी।
- At present, Karnataka provides 24% reservation in civil works contracts for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST), 4% for Other Backward Classes (OBC) Category 1, and 15% for OBC Category 2A.
वर्तमान में, कर्नाटक में सिविल वर्क्स ठेकों में 24% आरक्षण अनुसूचित जाति (SC) और अनुसूचित जनजाति (ST) के लिए, 4% अन्य पिछड़ा वर्ग (OBC) की श्रेणी 1 के लिए, और 15% OBC की श्रेणी 2A के लिए दिया जाता है।
- There had been demands to include Muslims under Category 2B of the OBCs with a 4% quota.
OBC की श्रेणी 2B के तहत मुसलमानों को शामिल करने और उन्हें 4% कोटा देने की मांग की जा रही थी।

'Appeasement politics'

'तृष्ठीकरण की राजनीति'



- The principal Opposition BJP termed the government's move to provide 4% reservation for Muslims an "unconstitutional misadventure" and "appeasement politics", and decided to oppose it, including challenging it in court.

मुख्य विपक्षी दल भाजपा ने सरकार के मुसलमानों के लिए 4% आरक्षण देने के फैसले को "असंवैधानिक दुस्साहस" और "तुष्टीकरण की राजनीति" बताया, और इसे अदालत में चुनौती देने सहित विरोध करने का निर्णय लिया।

BSNL has been dialling the wrong consultant

GS Paper II: Governance

In May 2024, a report that the American consultancy group, Boston Consulting Group (BCG), was to be involved in the revival strategy of state-owned Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) and that BSNL was to pay BCG ₹132 crore for the consultancy drew much attention. BCG has reportedly recommended reducing the workforce among other major steps. While this became a much-talked about news item, this is not a one-off event. In recent years, the public sector's reliance on the services of external consultancy firms has increased exponentially – and not just in India but also worldwide. While the overall spending of the government is not available for India, there is some data available for other countries. For instance, France spent over €1 billion on intellectual services provided by consultancies in 2021, while the Australian government spent A\$21 billion on external labour hire in 2021-22.

Need for scrutiny

The case of BSNL has once again drawn attention to the contentious issue of the growing influence of consultancy firms within the public sector. It raises important questions about the efficacy and the implications of outsourcing strategic decision-making in the public sector. Given the increased involvement of external consultancies, there is a need that this is scrutinised.

The central critique by most people is rooted in their lack of "skin in the game". Consultancy firms are given projects and contracts to provide strategic advice but bear no responsibility for the outcomes of their recommendations. Like in this case, for example, if BSNL's fortunes fail to improve despite the implementation of BCG's strategies, the consultancy faces no consequences. This lack of accountability creates a troubling misalignment of incentives. The consultants are rewarded handsomely regardless of the results, while BSNL – and by extension, the Indian taxpayer – will bear the full brunt of any failure.

Moreover, such an arrangement undermines the very purpose of hiring external expertise: to deliver tangible improvements and long-term viability. Also, if you are paying someone to solve



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your problems without any major accountability, there will always be some problems left to be solved.

In addition, the over-reliance on consultancies erodes the capacity of the state to innovate and manage its enterprises effectively. Over time, this dependence on external expertise creates a vicious cycle. Instead of building internal capabilities, they become perpetually reliant on external advice – and this does not come cheap.

Impact on state capacity, conflict of interest

This kind of dependency has much broader implications for the state capacity. The skills and the knowledge learned by the consultancies on these projects are not transferred to the public officials. In effect, this sets up a negative feedback loop, where public sector employees lose skills and institutional knowledge, meaning, the next project or piece of work will still need external inputs.

The proliferation of consultancy contracts reflects a deeper crisis of confidence in the public sector's ability to govern itself as well, by implicitly undermining their own legitimacy. This outsourcing of expertise not only weakens public institutions but also creates an unaccountable parallel bureaucracy of consultants who wield significant influence over public policy and resource allocation without subject to the same democratic oversight or accountability as public officials or political leaders.

Consultancy firms often serve multiple clients across industries, including competitors and regulators, which can create conflicts of interest. Their advice may be influenced by these overlapping relationships, raising questions about the impartiality and the integrity of their recommendations. The conflict of interest has recently been much debated in most countries leading to major consultancy firms considering breaking their various functions.

An additional problem is that the objectives of public sector enterprises are often very different from those of the private sector. Consultancy firms often approach problems from a profit-maximisation perspective, emphasising cost-cutting, efficiency, and market

competitiveness. While these strategies might yield short-term gains, they may not align with the broader public service mandate of organisations. For instance, BSNL, as a public sector enterprise, has historically played a vital role in India's telecommunications landscape, particularly in bridging the digital divide and bringing telecommunication services to rural and underserved areas. The aggressive cost-cutting measures might compromise the quality of service in rural areas, where BSNL's presence is crucial in providing affordable telecommunications access. Overall, a purely market-driven strategy could divert the public enterprise's focus from its social responsibilities, which will essentially undermine its role as a public goods provider.

What will work better

A better alternative, as Mariana Mazzucato and Rosie Collington, the authors of the book, *The Big Con: How the Consulting Industry Weakens our Businesses, Infantilizes our Governments and Warps our Economies*, suggest would be to invest in strengthening the internal capabilities of the public sector institutions. This could involve recruiting and training top talent, fostering a culture of innovation, and empowering employees to take ownership of the company's strategic direction. They write, "Because knowledge is not cultivated within state workforces and institutions, a dependency on the 'expertise' of consultancies spirals." By building internal expertise, these organisations could develop strategies that are not only effective but also aligned with their long-term goals and public service mandate. This will help them reclaim their strategic autonomy as well – which gets compromised with too much reliance on outside the system.

The case of BSNL and BCG serves as a microcosm of the broader debate about the role of consultancy firms in public sector governance, state capacity and accountability. There is a need for governments across the world to rethink this model of governance.

The views expressed are personal

The case of BSNL's revival strategy has again drawn attention to the contentious issue of the growing influence of consultancy firms within the public sector

BSNL has been dialling the wrong consultant

बीएसएनएल गलत सलाहकार से परामर्श कर रहा है

In May 2024, a report revealed that Boston Consulting Group (BCG) was involved in the revival strategy of BSNL, with the company



paying ₹132 crore for the consultancy.

मई 2024 में एक रिपोर्ट सामने आई कि बोस्टन कंसल्टिंग ग्रुप (BCG) को बीएसएनएल के पुनरुद्धार रणनीति में शामिल किया गया था, और इसके लिए कंपनी को ₹132 करोड़ का भुगतान किया गया।

- BCG has reportedly **recommended workforce reduction**, among other major steps.
BCG ने कर्मचारियों की संख्या कम करने सहित कई बड़े कदमों की सिफारिश की है।
- The **reliance on external consultancy firms in the public sector** has increased exponentially, both in India and worldwide.
सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में बाहरी परामर्श कंपनियों पर निर्भरता भारत और दुनिया भर में अत्यधिक बढ़ गई है।
- France spent over €1 billion on consultancy services in 2021, while Australia spent A\$21 billion on external labour hire in 2021-22.
फ्रांस ने 2021 में परामर्श सेवाओं पर €1 बिलियन से अधिक खर्च किया, जबकि ऑस्ट्रेलिया ने 2021-22 में बाहरी श्रम पर A\$21 बिलियन खर्च किए।

Need for scrutiny

समीक्षा की आवश्यकता

- The **BSNL case highlights concerns** over the **growing influence of consultancy firms in the public sector**.
बीएसएनएल का मामला सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में परामर्श कंपनियों के बढ़ते प्रभाव को लेकर चिंताओं को उजागर करता है।
- It raises questions about **outsourcing strategic decision-making** in government enterprises.
यह सरकारी उद्यमों में रणनीतिक निर्णय लेने की आउटसोर्सिंग पर सवाल उठाता है।
- Consultancy firms **bear no responsibility for the outcomes** of their recommendations.
परामर्श कंपनियां अपनी सिफारिशों के परिणामों के लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं होती हैं।
- If **BSNL fails despite implementing BCG's strategies**, BCG faces no consequences, while the Indian taxpayer bears the loss.
यदि बीएसएनएल BCG की रणनीतियों को अपनाने के बावजूद असफल रहता है, तो BCG को कोई नुकसान नहीं होगा, जबकि भारतीय करदाता को नुकसान उठाना पड़ेगा।
- The **lack of accountability** creates a **misalignment of incentives**, where consultants profit regardless of results.
जवाबदेही की कमी एक गलत प्रोत्साहन प्रणाली बनाती है, जहां परामर्शदाता बिना किसी परिणाम की परवाह किए मुनाफा कमाते हैं।
- Over-reliance on consultancies **erodes state capacity to innovate and manage enterprises effectively**.



परामर्श कंपनियों पर अत्यधिक निर्भरता राज्य की नवाचार और प्रभावी प्रबंधन क्षमता को कमजोर कर देती है।

- This creates a vicious cycle where organizations become perpetually dependent on external advice.

यह एक दुष्चक्र बनाता है जहां संगठन हमेशा बाहरी परामर्श पर निर्भर हो जाते हैं।

Impact on state capacity, conflict of interest

राज्य की क्षमता पर प्रभाव और हितों का टकराव

- Consultancies gain knowledge and expertise from public sector projects, but this knowledge is not transferred to government officials.

परामर्श कंपनियां सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की परियोजनाओं से ज्ञान और विशेषज्ञता प्राप्त करती हैं, लेकिन यह ज्ञान सरकारी अधिकारियों को हस्तांतरित नहीं किया जाता।

- This results in a negative feedback loop, where public sector employees lose skills and institutional knowledge, making them further reliant on external consultants.

इससे नकारात्मक प्रतिक्रिया चक्र बनता है, जहां सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के कर्मचारी अपनी क्षमताएं और संस्थागत ज्ञान खो देते हैं, जिससे वे और अधिक बाहरी परामर्श पर निर्भर हो जाते हैं।

The proliferation of consultancy contracts

परामर्श अनुबंधों का बढ़ता चलन

- The increasing reliance on consultancy firms reflects a deeper crisis of confidence in the public sector's ability to govern itself.

परामर्श कंपनियों पर बढ़ती निर्भरता सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की आत्म-शासन करने की क्षमता में गहरे विश्वास संकट को दर्शाती है।

- This outsourcing of expertise weakens public institutions and creates an unaccountable parallel bureaucracy of consultants.

यह विशेषज्ञता की आउटसोर्सिंग सार्वजनिक संस्थानों को कमजोर करती है और बिना जवाबदेही वाली समानांतर नौकरशाही बनाती है।

- These consultants influence public policy and resource allocation without the same democratic oversight as public officials or political leaders.

ये सलाहकार सार्वजनिक नीति और संसाधन आवंटन को प्रभावित करते हैं, लेकिन उन्हें सरकारी अधिकारियों या राजनीतिक नेताओं की तरह लोकतांत्रिक निगरानी का सामना नहीं करना पड़ता।

- Consultancy firms work with multiple clients, including competitors and regulators, leading to conflicts of interest.

परामर्श कंपनियां कई ग्राहकों के साथ काम करती हैं, जिनमें प्रतियोगी और नियामक संस्थाएं शामिल हैं, जिससे हितों का टकराव पैदा होता है।



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- Their advice may be influenced by overlapping relationships, raising concerns about impartiality and integrity.
उनकी सलाह परस्पर जुड़े संबंधों से प्रभावित हो सकती है, जिससे निष्पक्षता और ईमानदारी पर सवाल उठते हैं।
- Major consultancy firms are now considering breaking their various functions to address this issue.
बड़ी परामर्श कंपनियां अब अपने विभिन्न कार्यों को अलग करने पर विचार कर रही हैं ताकि इस समस्या का समाधान किया जा सके।

The public vs. private sector approach

सार्वजनिक बनाम निजी क्षेत्र की रणनीति

- **Public sector enterprises have different objectives** compared to private firms.
सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उद्यमों के लक्ष्य निजी कंपनियों से अलग होते हैं।
- **Consultancy firms prioritize profit-maximization, emphasizing cost-cutting, efficiency, and market competitiveness.**
परामर्श कंपनियां लाभ अधिकतम करने को प्राथमिकता देती हैं, और लागत कटौती, दक्षता, और बाजार प्रतिस्पर्धा पर ध्यान केंद्रित करती हैं।
- While these strategies may yield short-term gains, they may not align with the public service mandate.
हालांकि, ये रणनीतियां अल्पकालिक लाभ दे सकती हैं, लेकिन वे सार्वजनिक सेवा के उद्देश्यों से मेल नहीं खातीं।
- **BSNL plays a vital role in India's telecommunications sector, especially in bridging the digital divide and serving rural areas.**
बीएसएनएल भारत के दूरसंचार क्षेत्र में एक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाता है, विशेष रूप से डिजिटल खाई को पाटने और ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों को सेवाएं प्रदान करने में।
- **Aggressive cost-cutting could compromise service quality** in these underserved regions.
अत्यधिक लागत कटौती से इन पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में सेवा की गुणवत्ता प्रभावित हो सकती है।
- **A market-driven approach could divert BSNL's focus from its social responsibilities, undermining its role as a public goods provider.**
बाजार-आधारित रणनीति बीएसएनएल के सामाजिक दायित्वों से ध्यान भटका सकती है, जिससे यह सार्वजनिक सेवा प्रदाता के रूप में अपनी भूमिका खो सकता है।

What will work better

बेहतर समाधान क्या होगा

- Mariana Mazzucato and Rosie Collington, authors of *The Big Con*, suggest investing in strengthening public sector institutions instead of over-relying on consultants.



द बिग कॉन की लेखिकाएं मैरियाना माजुकाटो और रोसी कॉलिंगटन सुझाव देती हैं कि परामर्श कंपनियों पर अधिक निर्भर होने के बजाय सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की संस्थाओं को मजबूत करने में निवेश करना चाहिए।

- **This includes:**
 - Recruiting and training top talent.
 - सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्रतिभाओं की भर्ती और प्रशिक्षण।
 - Fostering a culture of innovation.
 - नवाचार की संस्कृति को बढ़ावा देना।
 - Empowering employees to take ownership of strategic decisions.
 - कर्मचारियों को रणनीतिक निर्णय लेने की जिम्मेदारी सौंपना।
- They argue, "**Knowledge is not cultivated within state institutions, leading to dependency on consultants.**"
वे तर्क देते हैं, "राज्य संस्थानों के भीतर ज्ञान विकसित नहीं किया जाता, जिससे परामर्शदाताओं पर निर्भरता बढ़ती है।"
- **By building internal expertise**, public enterprises can **develop effective strategies aligned with long-term goals.**
आंतरिक विशेषज्ञता विकसित करके, सार्वजनिक उद्यम लंबी अवधि के लक्ष्यों के अनुरूप प्रभावी रणनीतियां तैयार कर सकते हैं।
- This would help them **reclaim strategic autonomy** and reduce **over-reliance on external consultants.**
इससे वे रणनीतिक स्वायत्तता वापस प्राप्त कर सकते हैं और बाहरी परामर्शदाताओं पर निर्भरता कम कर सकते हैं।
- **The BSNL-BCG case is a reflection of the broader debate on consultancy firms' role in governance, state capacity, and accountability.**
बीएसएनएल-BCG मामला व्यापक बहस का एक हिस्सा है, जो परामर्श कंपनियों की सरकारी शासन, राज्य की क्षमता और जवाबदेही में भूमिका पर प्रकाश डालता है।
- **Governments worldwide need to rethink the governance model that over-relies on external consultancy firms.**
दुनियाभर की सरकारों को इस शासन मॉडल पर पुनर्विचार करने की आवश्यकता है, जो बाहरी परामर्श कंपनियों पर अत्यधिक निर्भर करता है।



What is happening in Balochistan?

Pakistan's domestic politics will broadly define the trajectory of unrest in Balochistan. However, considering the lack of legitimacy and confidence in Pakistan's military and government, serious negotiations between the insurgents and the military-civilian leadership seem to be out of the picture

GS Paper II: India-Pakistan

WORLD INSIGHT

Sanjay Pulipaka

In March 11, militants of the **Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA)** hijacked a train with approximately 400 passengers in the mountainous region between **Quetta and Sibi in Pakistan**. After releasing the women and children, the BLA militants demanded the release of their compatriots from prison in exchange for the remaining passengers. The government of Pakistan refused to negotiate and launched a military operation to free the passengers, which lasted for well over 24 hours. Pakistan's Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) official stated that there were 21 civilian fatalities and that four Frontier Corps personnel lost their lives in the operation. However, various media outlets have hinted that the Pakistani forces may have incurred further significant losses. Subsequently, **Pakistan's security forces came under heavy attack in different parts of Balochistan.**

A united insurgency

Before the train hijacking, there were growing concerns about the deteriorating security situation in Balochistan. During a discussion in Pakistan's National Assembly, some members expressed anxiety that parts of Balochistan may secede from Pakistan. However, intelligence agencies failed to detect a large operation in the making.

The train hijack has demonstrated that insurgents have acquired operational capabilities to launch massive attacks on Pakistan's security forces and that they can withstand the firepower of special forces for well over 24 hours. Notably, during the stand-off, the militants also deployed effective social media strategies to convey their narrative to the wider world, which is indicative of the insurgents' increasing tactical sophistication. The episode also shows that there seems to be improved coordination between various Baloch insurgent groups.

As society in Balochistan is structured along tribal loyalties, numerous organisations and armed groups have emerged to articulate the grievances of the Baloch people. While tribal loyalties continue to endure, there seems to be a gradual shift in the composition of armed groups, with middle-class and educated youngsters joining them. The BLA is the most formidable group and has been declared a terrorist organisation by Pakistan and the U.S. While the Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) is reportedly more popular among the younger population in southern regions of the province, the Baloch Republican Guards (BRG) is active in areas such as Bolan, Quetta, Sibi, and Naseerabad. A few years ago, these armed groups along with the Sindhu Revolutionary Army (SRA) decided to collaborate under the banner of Baloch Raji Aajoi Sangar (BRAS). The objective of the BRAS is to launch coordinated attacks on Pakistan's military infrastructure and its intelligence apparatus with greater ferocity.

Concerns of the Baloch people

The current insurgency in Balochistan is not the first of its kind. In fact, the province has witnessed multiple insurgencies, such as the ones in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and mid-2000s.

It is important to note that, alongside armed insurgency, there exists a people's movement advocating for improved



Lingering tensions: Pakistan army soldiers stand at the tunnel where the train was attacked by militants, in Bolan, Balochistan, Pakistan on March 15. REUTERS

access to basic necessities such as drinking water, tackling the rising costs of essential commodities like petrol and medicine, regulating the presence of Chinese fishing trawlers, and ensuring unhindered access to the sea for fishermen. Last year, Balochistan witnessed massive protests led by women who demanded the cessation of custodial killings and fake encounters. The defence forces have often deployed coercive measures such as increased detentions/abductions.

Over the years, the Pakistani government has attempted to portray the discontent in Balochistan as a consequence of power contestations involving a few tribal chieftains in the province. However, there is no denying that Balochistan was subjected to political and socio-economic neglect. Many in Balochistan complain that their province was forcefully incorporated into Pakistan in 1948. Furthermore, the people of Balochistan rarely experienced political empowerment because of decades of military rule and centralised governance. The province has numerous natural resources, such as coal, copper, gold, and natural gas. However, the exploitation of these resources has not improved local people's livelihoods.

To compound such miseries of the local population, massive infrastructure projects (such as the Gwadar Port) and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) were operationalised without adequate stakeholder consultation. The construction of these projects resulted in people migrating to Balochistan from different parts of the country, prompting concerns about demographic shifts that would adversely impact the interests of the local Baloch population.

Insurgent groups have often articulated their protest against the CPEC and have called upon China to withdraw from the province. Sadly, there were instances – such as the suicide bombing at Karachi University and the bombing of a bus near the Dasu hydropower project – in which

Chinese civilians were killed. There is, therefore, growing concern in Beijing about the Pakistan army's ability to provide security to Chinese personnel working on various CPEC projects. There are reports that China may consider a proactive approach, such as deploying private security companies, to protect its civilians and interests. While China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) was criticised for pushing countries into debt traps, in Pakistan, which is Beijing's most valued strategic partner, the CPEC, a critical component of the BRI, has come under sustained physical attacks.

Regional complexities

The geopolitical context, thus far, has not been conducive to the success of the Baloch insurgent movement. While the province accounts for 4.4% of the country's landmass, it has approximately 5% of the country's population. It may be easy for security forces to contain the separatist movement, as they constitute a very small percentage of the population.

Additionally, the Balochistan independence movement has not received significant international support. The province is not geographically contiguous to India, and therefore, India is not in a position to provide material support to Baloch armed groups. The Baloch nationalist imagination also incorporates the Sistan province of Iran, which consequently makes Iran reluctant to support the Baloch separatist movement. Further, with the deterioration of the security environment in Pakistan, Tehran is worried that anti-Iranian groups are finding a haven in the neighbouring Balochistan province. Last year, Iran conducted missile and drone strikes targeting 'Iranian terrorists' in Balochistan.

The U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan brought about significant geopolitical shifts in the region. There is a growing rift between the Taliban and the Pakistan army, with occasional skirmishes on the borders. Taliban representatives have often made statements which suggest that

they would not recognise the Durand line that delineates the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. The Taliban has also, despite many demands from the Pakistan Army, refused to contain the presence of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). There has been a significant uptick in the activities of TTP in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in Pakistan. Many in Pakistan's security establishment perceive growing coordination between the TTP and the BLA. Pakistan's official statements that "terrorists were in direct communications with Afghanistan-based planners" suggest that all is not well between Pakistan and various armed groups in Afghanistan. The TTP, with its Pashtun cadres and the BLA, with its Baloch cadres, constitute a significant threat on Pakistan's western border. On the other hand, Pakistan has invested considerable security resources on its eastern borders with India. The India-Pakistan bilateral relationship continues to remain cold, and Islamabad's Kashmir policy has yet to factor-in different ground realities. It is unclear how the new Trump administration would respond to the unrest in Pakistan.

Lack of popular support

Pakistan's domestic politics will broadly define the trajectory of unrest in Balochistan. Pakistan's military lost considerable respect because of its crude handling of a popular leader like Imran Khan. The current civilian leadership's hold on power is attributed to its closeness to the military rather than to its popularity among the masses. Given the legitimacy crisis of the military-civilian leadership, it is unlikely they would indulge in serious negotiations. It would be prudent of Pakistan's military-civilian leadership to decentralise power and share revenues from resource extraction with the people of Balochistan. Otherwise, the turmoil in Balochistan will continue to endure.

Sanjay Pulipaka is the Chairperson of the Politeia Research Foundation. The views expressed here are personal.

THE GIST

▼ The current insurgency in Balochistan is not the first of its kind. In fact, the province has witnessed multiple insurgencies, such as the ones in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and mid-2000s.

▼ Over the years, the Pakistani government has attempted to portray the discontent in Balochistan as a consequence of power contestations involving a few tribal chieftains in the province. However, there is no denying that Balochistan was subjected to political and socio-economic neglect.

▼ The Balochistan independence movement has not received significant international support. The province is not geographically contiguous to India, and therefore, India is not in a position to provide material support to Baloch armed groups.

What is happening in Balochistan?

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बलूचिस्तान में क्या हो रहा है?

- Pakistan's domestic politics will shape the unrest in Balochistan, but lack of legitimacy in the military and government makes negotiations with insurgents unlikely.
पाकिस्तान की आंतरिक राजनीति बलूचिस्तान में अशांति को प्रभावित करेगी, लेकिन सैन्य और सरकार की वैधता की कमी के कारण विद्रोहियों से वार्ता की संभावना कम है।

Train hijacking by Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA)

बलूचिस्तान लिबरेशन आर्मी (BLA) द्वारा ट्रेन अपहरण

- On March 11, BLA militants hijacked a train with approximately 400 passengers in the mountainous region between Quetta and Sibi.
11 मार्च को BLA आतंकवादियों ने एक ट्रेन का अपहरण कर लिया, जिसमें लगभग 400 यात्री थे, यह घटना क्वेटा और सिबी के पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में हुई।
- Women and children were released, but militants demanded the release of their imprisoned comrades in exchange for the remaining passengers.
महिलाओं और बच्चों को छोड़ दिया गया, लेकिन आतंकवादियों ने अपने कैदियों की रिहाई के बदले बाकी यात्रियों को छोड़ने की शर्त रखी।
- The Pakistani government refused to negotiate and launched a military operation, which lasted over 24 hours.
पाकिस्तानी सरकार ने बातचीत से इनकार कर दिया और 24 घंटे से अधिक समय तक सैन्य अभियान चलाया।
- Pakistan's Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) reported 21 civilian fatalities and four Frontier Corps personnel deaths, though actual losses may be higher.
पाकिस्तान की इंटर-सर्विसेज पब्लिक रिलेशंस (ISPR) के अनुसार 21 नागरिकों और 4 फ्रंटियर कोर सैनिकों की मौत हुई, हालांकि असली नुकसान अधिक हो सकता है।
- Following the operation, Pakistan's security forces came under attack in multiple parts of Balochistan.
इस अभियान के बाद, पाकिस्तान की सुरक्षा बलों पर बलूचिस्तान के कई हिस्सों में हमले हुए।

A united insurgency

संयुक्त विद्रोह

- The train hijacking exposed intelligence failures and showed that insurgents have gained the capability to withstand military operations for over 24 hours.



ट्रेन अपहरण ने खुफिया विफलता को उजागर किया और दिखाया कि विद्रोहियों में 24 घंटे से अधिक समय तक सैन्य अभियान का सामना करने की क्षमता आ गई है।

- Insurgents effectively used social media to spread their narrative, showing increased tactical sophistication.
विद्रोहियों ने सोशल मीडिया का कुशलतापूर्वक उपयोग किया ताकि अपनी रणनीति और ताकत को प्रदर्शित किया जा सके।
- Multiple Baloch insurgent groups have improved coordination, including:
 - Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA).
 - बलूचिस्तान लिबरेशन आर्मी (BLA)।
 - Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF), which is popular among the younger population.
 - बलूचिस्तान लिबरेशन फ्रंट (BLF), जो युवाओं के बीच लोकप्रिय है।
 - Baloch Republican Guards (BRG), active in Bolan, Quetta, Sibi, and Naseerabad.
 - बलूच रिपब्लिकन गार्ड्स (BRG), जो बोलान, क्वेटा, सिबी और नसीराबाद में सक्रिय है।
- These groups, along with the Sindhudesh Revolutionary Army (SRA), have collaborated under Baloch Raji Aajoi Sangar (BRAS) to launch coordinated attacks on Pakistan's military infrastructure.
ये समूह, सिंधुदेश रिवोल्यूशनरी आर्मी (SRA) के साथ मिलकर बलूच राजी आज़ोई संघ (BRAS) के तहत पाकिस्तानी सैन्य ढांचे पर संयुक्त हमले करने के लिए काम कर रहे हैं।

Concerns of the Baloch people

बलूच लोगों की चिंताएं

- Balochistan has a long history of insurgencies, occurring in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and mid-2000s.
बलूचिस्तान में विद्रोहों का लंबा इतिहास है, जो 1950, 1960, 1970 और 2000 के दशक के मध्य में हुए।
- There is a peaceful movement demanding:
 - Basic necessities like drinking water and affordable petrol and medicine.
 - पीने का पानी और सस्ता पेट्रोल और दवा जैसी बुनियादी आवश्यकताओं की मांग।
 - Regulation of Chinese fishing trawlers and unhindered access to the sea for local fishermen.
 - चीनी मछली पकड़ने वाले जहाजों का नियमन और स्थानीय मछुआरों के लिए समुद्र तक निर्बाध पहुंच।
- In 2023, large protests led by women demanded an end to custodial killings and enforced disappearances.
2023 में, महिलाओं के नेतृत्व में बड़े पैमाने पर विरोध प्रदर्शन हुए, जिनमें हिरासत में हत्याओं और जबरन गायब करने की घटनाओं को रोकने की मांग की गई।



- The Pakistani government portrays Baloch unrest as a **conflict involving a few tribal chieftains**, but **socio-economic neglect is the real issue**.
पाकिस्तानी सरकार बलूच अशांति को कुछ जनजातीय नेताओं के संघर्ष के रूप में पेश करती है, लेकिन वास्तविक समस्या सामाजिक-आर्थिक उपेक्षा है।
- Many Baloch believe their province was **forcefully incorporated into Pakistan in 1948** and that **military rule has deprived them of political empowerment**.
कई बलूच मानते हैं कि उनका प्रांत 1948 में जबरदस्ती पाकिस्तान में शामिल किया गया और सैन्य शासन ने उन्हें राजनीतिक सशक्तिकरण से वंचित रखा।
- Despite having **rich natural resources (coal, copper, gold, and natural gas)**, Balochistan's population has not benefited from their exploitation.
बलूचिस्तान में कोयला, तांबा, सोना और प्राकृतिक गैस जैसी अपार प्राकृतिक संपदा होने के बावजूद, स्थानीय लोग इससे लाभान्वित नहीं हुए।

Impact of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

चीन-पाकिस्तान आर्थिक गलियारे (CPEC) का प्रभाव

- **Massive infrastructure projects like Gwadar Port** were initiated **without local stakeholder consultation**, causing displacement.
ग्वادر पोर्ट जैसी बड़ी अवसंरचना परियोजनाएं स्थानीय लोगों की भागीदारी के बिना शुरू की गईं, जिससे विस्थापन हुआ।
- Many **non-Baloch people migrated** to the region, raising **concerns about demographic shifts**.
कई गैर-बलूच लोग इस क्षेत्र में बस गए, जिससे जनसांख्यिकीय बदलावों की चिंता बढ़ी।
- **Insurgents have opposed CPEC** and urged **China to withdraw from Balochistan**.
विद्रोहियों ने CPEC का विरोध किया और चीन से बलूचिस्तान छोड़ने की मांग की।
- **Attacks on Chinese workers** include:
 - **Suicide bombing at Karachi University**.
कराची विश्वविद्यालय में आत्मघाती हमला।
 - **Bombing of a bus near the Dasu hydropower project**.
डासु जलविद्युत परियोजना के पास बस पर बम हमला।
- **China is concerned about Pakistan's security failures** and may consider **deploying private security companies** to protect its citizens.
चीन पाकिस्तान की सुरक्षा विफलताओं से चिंतित है और अपने नागरिकों की सुरक्षा के लिए निजी सुरक्षा कंपनियों की तैनाती पर विचार कर सकता है।
- The **China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)**, a critical part of China's **Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)**, faces **sustained physical attacks** in Pakistan.
चीन-पाकिस्तान आर्थिक गलियारा (CPEC), जो बेल्ट एंड रोड इनिशिएटिव (BRI) का महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा है, पाकिस्तान में लगातार हमलों का सामना कर रहा है।



Regional complexities

क्षेत्रीय जटिलताएँ

- The geopolitical context has not been favorable to the success of the Baloch insurgency.
भू-राजनीतिक परिस्थितियाँ बलूच विद्रोह की सफलता के लिए अनुकूल नहीं रही हैं।
- **Balochistan accounts for 44% of Pakistan's landmass but has only 5% of its population**, making it easier for security forces to contain separatist movements.
बलूचिस्तान पाकिस्तान के 44% भूभाग में फैला है, लेकिन इसमें सिर्फ 5% आबादी है, जिससे सुरक्षा बलों के लिए अलगाववादी आंदोलनों को नियंत्रित करना आसान हो जाता है।
- The Balochistan independence movement lacks significant international support.
बलूचिस्तान स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन को महत्वपूर्ण अंतर्राष्ट्रीय समर्थन नहीं मिला है।
- India cannot provide material support to Baloch armed groups as Balochistan is not geographically contiguous to India.
भारत बलूच सशस्त्र समूहों को समर्थन नहीं दे सकता, क्योंकि भौगोलिक रूप से बलूचिस्तान भारत से सटा हुआ नहीं है।
- **Iran does not support the Baloch separatist movement as the Baloch nationalist imagination includes Sistan province of Iran, creating tensions with Tehran.**
ईरान बलूच अलगाववादी आंदोलन का समर्थन नहीं करता, क्योंकि बलूच राष्ट्रवाद में ईरान के सिस्तान प्रांत को शामिल किया जाता है, जिससे तेहरान के लिए चिंता बढ़ जाती है।
- In 2023, Iran conducted missile and drone strikes targeting "Iranian terrorists" in Balochistan, showing Tehran's concern over anti-Iranian groups in the region.
2023 में, ईरान ने बलूचिस्तान में "ईरानी आतंकवादियों" को निशाना बनाकर मिसाइल और ड्रोन हमले किए, जिससे तेहरान की सुरक्षा चिंताओं का पता चलता है।

Changing regional dynamics after the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan

अफगानिस्तान से अमेरिका की वापसी के बाद क्षेत्रीय स्थिति में बदलाव

- The Taliban and Pakistan Army have developed a growing rift, leading to border skirmishes.
तालिबान और पाकिस्तान सेना के बीच तनाव बढ़ रहा है, जिससे सीमा पर झड़पें हो रही हैं।
- Taliban representatives have suggested that they do not recognize the Durand Line, which defines the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.
तालिबान प्रतिनिधियों ने संकेत दिया कि वे डूरंड रेखा को मान्यता नहीं देते, जो अफगानिस्तान-पाकिस्तान सीमा को परिभाषित करती है।
- Taliban has refused to contain the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), despite multiple demands from Pakistan's military.



तालिबान ने तहरीक-ए-तालिबान पाकिस्तान (TTP) पर नियंत्रण लगाने से इनकार कर दिया, जबकि पाकिस्तानी सेना ने कई बार इसकी मांग की।

- TTP activities have increased in **Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**, raising concerns within Pakistan's security establishment.

खैबर पख्तूनख्वा में TTP की गतिविधियाँ बढ़ गई हैं, जिससे पाकिस्तानी सुरक्षा एजेंसियों में चिंता बढ़ी है।

- Many in **Pakistan's security establishment** believe that TTP and BLA are **coordinating their efforts** against the state.

पाकिस्तानी सुरक्षा एजेंसियों को लगता है कि TTP और BLA पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ संयुक्त रूप से काम कर रहे हैं।

- **Pakistan claims** that terrorists are in direct communication with Afghan-based planners, further straining Pakistan's ties with Afghanistan.

पाकिस्तान का दावा है कि आतंकवादी अफगानिस्तान में स्थित योजनाकारों के साथ सीधे संपर्क में हैं, जिससे पाकिस्तान-अफगानिस्तान संबंधों में तनाव बढ़ रहा है।

- TTP (with Pashtun fighters) and BLA (with Baloch fighters) pose a significant threat to Pakistan's western borders.

TTP (पश्तून लड़ाकों के साथ) और BLA (बलूच लड़ाकों के साथ) पाकिस्तान की पश्चिमी सीमा के लिए एक बड़ा खतरा हैं।

- Meanwhile, **Pakistan's military has concentrated significant resources** on its eastern border with India, keeping India-Pakistan relations cold.

इस बीच, पाकिस्तान की सेना ने अपने अधिकांश संसाधन भारत के साथ पूर्वी सीमा पर तैनात कर दिए हैं, जिससे भारत-पाकिस्तान संबंध ठंडे बने हुए हैं।

- It remains unclear how the new Trump administration (if elected) would respond to the unrest in Pakistan.

यह स्पष्ट नहीं है कि नई ट्रंप प्रशासन (यदि चुनी गई) पाकिस्तान में अशांति पर कैसी प्रतिक्रिया देगा।

Lack of popular support for Pakistan's military-civilian leadership

पाकिस्तान की सैन्य-नागरिक नेतृत्व को जनसमर्थन की कमी

- **Pakistan's military lost credibility** due to its harsh handling of Imran Khan, a popular leader.

पाकिस्तान की सेना ने इमरान खान (एक लोकप्रिय नेता) के दमन के कारण अपनी विश्वसनीयता खो दी।

- The **current civilian leadership** holds power not due to popular support, but because of its close ties with the military.

वर्तमान नागरिक नेतृत्व सत्ता में इसलिए नहीं है कि उसे जनता का समर्थन प्राप्त है, बल्कि इसलिए कि वह सेना के करीब है।



- Given this legitimacy crisis, serious negotiations with Baloch insurgents are unlikely.
इस वैधता संकट को देखते हुए, बलूच विद्रोहियों के साथ गंभीर वार्ता की संभावना नहीं है।
- The military-civilian leadership must decentralize power and share resource revenues with Baloch people to reduce unrest.
सैन्य-नागरिक नेतृत्व को सत्ता का विकेंद्रीकरण करना चाहिए और बलूच लोगों के साथ संसाधनों से प्राप्त राजस्व साझा करना चाहिए, ताकि अशांति कम हो सके।
- If Pakistan fails to address Baloch grievances, turmoil in Balochistan will persist.
अगर पाकिस्तान बलूच लोगों की चिंताओं को हल करने में असफल रहता है, तो बलूचिस्तान में अशांति जारी रहेगी।

ED searches entities linked to Soros for FEMA violations

GS Paper II:
Governance

NEW DELHI

The Enforcement Directorate on Tuesday searched eight Bengaluru premises of entities allegedly related to American billionaire George Soros, in connection with suspected violations under the Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA) involving at least ₹25 crore.

The search operation, which was led by officials from the agency's Delhi headquarters, was based on purported findings during an inquiry recently initiated under the Act. Responses from the entities in question are awaited.

"During investigation, it has been found that Open Society Institute (OSI), USA, previously known as Open Society Foundation (OSF), was placed under

the Prior Reference Category (PRC) by the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) vide an order dated May 30, 2016, on account of undesirable activities. Since then, OSI needs prior sanction of the Home Ministry for sending money to the organisations registered under the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act in India," said an official.

"Soros Economic Development Fund (SEDF) is the social impact investment arm of the OSI. SEDF provided funds for various activities linked to the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector in the garb of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), or consultancy/service fee to three Indian companies viz. Rootbridge Services Private Limited (RSPL), Rootbridge Academy Private Limited (RAPL), and ASAR Social Impact

Advisors Private Limited (ASAR), the official alleged.

According to the agency, these three companies received about ₹25 crore during the period 2020-21 to 2023-24 from SEDF, "which is owned by PRC entity OSI".

It is alleged that RSPL received ₹18.64 crore from SEDF by issuing compulsorily convertible preference shares at a premium of about ₹2.5 lakh to ₹2.6 lakh per share based on the Discounted Cash Flow method.

"Since SEDF could not make foreign donations directly to NGOs in India without prior approval of the MHA, it explored alternative options to bypass the PRC restrictions. The FDI in RSPL is suspected to be a colourable arrangement violating FDI norms," said the official.

ED searches entities linked to Soros for FEMA violations

सोरोस से जुड़े संस्थानों पर ईडी की छापेमारी: फेमा उल्लंघन का आरोप

The Enforcement Directorate (ED) conducted searches at eight premises in Bengaluru linked to American billionaire George Soros for suspected Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA) violations involving at least ₹25 crore.

प्रवर्तन निदेशालय (ED) ने बेंगलुरु में जॉर्ज सोरोस से जुड़े आठ ठिकानों पर छापेमारी की, जिसमें फेमा (FEMA)

उल्लंघन के तहत कम से कम ₹25 करोड़ के लेनदेन की जांच की जा रही है।

- The search operation was led by officials from the Delhi headquarters, based on an inquiry initiated under FEMA.
दिल्ली मुख्यालय के अधिकारियों के नेतृत्व में यह छापेमारी की गई, जो फेमा अधिनियम के तहत शुरू की गई जांच पर आधारित थी।



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

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

CONTACT: 9971932488



Findings from the investigation

जांच से प्राप्त निष्कर्ष

- **Open Society Institute (OSI), USA** (formerly known as **Open Society Foundation (OSF)**) was placed under the **Prior Reference Category (PRC)** by the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) on **May 30, 2016**, due to **undesirable activities**.
ओपन सोसाइटी इंस्टीट्यूट (OSI), USA, जिसे पहले ओपन सोसाइटी फाउंडेशन (OSF) के रूप में जाना जाता था, को गृह मंत्रालय (MHA) द्वारा 30 मई 2016 को 'पूर्व संदर्भ श्रेणी' (PRC) में रखा गया था, क्योंकि यह अवांछनीय गतिविधियों में शामिल पाया गया था।
- Since then, **OSI requires prior approval from MHA** for sending money to **Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act (FCRA)-registered organizations in India**.
**तब से, OSI को भारत में एफसीआरए (FCRA) पंजीकृत संगठनों को धन भेजने के लिए गृह मंत्रालय की पूर्व स्वीकृति लेनी पड़ती है।
- **Soros Economic Development Fund (SEDF)**, the **social impact investment arm of OSI**, allegedly provided funds to **three Indian companies** under the guise of **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)** or consultancy/service fees.
सोरोस इकोनॉमिक डेवलपमेंट फंड (SEDF), जो कि OSI की सामाजिक प्रभाव निवेश शाखा है, ने तीन भारतीय कंपनियों को एफडीआई (FDI) या परामर्श/सेवा शुल्क के नाम पर धनराशि प्रदान की।

Companies under investigation

जांच के दायरे में कंपनियाँ

- The three Indian companies involved:
 - **Rootbridge Services Private Limited (RSPL)**
 - **Rootbridge Academy Private Limited (RAPL)**
 - **ASAR Social Impact Advisors Private Limited (ASAR)**

SEDF's financial transactions with Indian firms

SEDF द्वारा भारतीय कंपनियों को किए गए वित्तीय लेनदेन

- **Between 2020-21 and 2023-24**, these three companies received around **₹25 crore** from SEDF.
वित्तीय वर्ष 2020-21 से 2023-24 के बीच, इन तीन कंपनियों को SEDF से लगभग ₹25 करोड़ प्राप्त हुए।
- **RSPL received ₹18.64 crore** from SEDF through the issuance of **compulsorily convertible preference shares** at a **premium of ₹2.5 lakh to ₹2.6 lakh per share**, using the **Discounted Cash Flow method**.
RSPL को SEDF से ₹18.64 करोड़ प्राप्त हुए, जो कि ₹2.5 लाख से ₹2.6 लाख प्रति शेयर के प्रीमियम

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पर 'अनिवार्य रूप से परिवर्तनीय वरीयता शेर' जारी करके जुटाए गए थे, और यह डिस्काउंटेड कैश फ्लो विधि के आधार पर किया गया।

- Since SEDF could not directly donate to Indian NGOs without MHA approval, it allegedly explored alternative means to bypass PRC restrictions.
- चूँकि SEDF भारतीय एनजीओ को गृह मंत्रालय की पूर्व अनुमति के बिना सीधे दान नहीं कर सकता था, इसने कथित रूप से PRC प्रतिबंधों को दरकिनार करने के वैकल्पिक तरीके तलाशे।
- The FDI in RSPL is suspected to be a colorable arrangement violating FDI norms. RSPL में एफडीआई को संदिग्ध माना जा रहा है और इसे एफडीआई मानकों का उल्लंघन करने वाली

योजना के रूप में देखा जा रहा है।

'America First' doesn't mean 'America alone': Gabbard

Strong India-U.S. partnership based on shared values and the leadership of Trump and Modi, who are 'two great friends', says U.S. spy chief; pitches for Trump's bid to end Russia-Ukraine war

GS Paper II: India's Foreign Polity

NEW DELHI

U.S. President Donald Trump's commitment to the principle of 'America First' should not be misinterpreted as 'America alone', U.S. Director of National Intelligence Tulsi Gabbard said on Tuesday, drawing parallels to Prime Minister Narendra Modi's policy of 'India First'.

Speaking at the annual Raisina Dialogue, Ms. Gabbard emphasised the need to work together to address the challenges of the Indo-Pacific region, and to achieve "collective goals", also making a pitch for Mr. Trump's bid to end the Russia-Ukraine war and prevent the risk of Third World War.

"President Trump is committed to America First, putting the safety, security and freedom of the American people at the forefront of his policies and his decisions. But this should not be misunderstood to mean that America First is America alone. The relationships that we build together are critical to advance our mutual interests," Ms. Gabbard said, speaking on the second day of the event, which is jointly organised by the Ministry of External Affairs and the Observer Research Foundation. "President Trump is committed to America First. PM Modi is committed to India First. Prime Minister [Christopher] Luxon is committed to New Zealand First," she said.



Annual meet: U.S. Director of National Intelligence Tulsi Gabbard speaks during the Raisina Dialogue in New Delhi on Tuesday. AFP

Ms. Gabbard, who was in India on a three-day visit during which she met the country's top leadership, left for the U.S. after the session.

She expressed confidence that the partnership and friendship between the two nations and their leaders would continue to grow. "The partnership between our two countries has been strong for decades and under the leadership of two great leaders and two great friends,

President Trump and Prime Minister Modi, and rooted in our shared values of peace and freedom, security and prosperity," she said.

'Commitment to peace' Underscoring the importance of the Indo-Pacific, Ms. Gabbard said that ensuring order and stability in the region is critical, adding that it was not just a geographic space, but also the geopolitical centre of gravity for the 21st century. "So ensuring peace and stability here is essential to our collective security, our objective of economic prosperity, and our ability to work together, to take on the great challenges of our time, and we must tackle these challenges together. Our ability to do so

as nations, as leaders, as people, is critical towards achieving our collective goals," she said.

Noting that this is a time of war and conflict in many parts of the world, Ms. Gabbard said that at such times, leaders must stand up for interests that affect us all and will affect generations. Unfortunately, she said, history has shown that simply calling for peace too often provokes attacks and smears. As an example, she pointed at how Mr. Trump "made it a pillar of his campaign to share his commitment to peace and to bring his leadership towards bringing about an end to the Russia-Ukraine war, to stop the killing, to prevent this risk of Third World War and nuclear war."

"And for this commitment, he was attacked relentlessly, not only by his political opponents and legacy media in our own country, but even by those abroad," Ms. Gabbard said. Despite these "attacks and smear campaigns", the American people voted "overwhelmingly" for him to return to the White House and delivered a "very clear message and mandate for peace, which he is carrying out as we gather here today," she said.

America First' doesn't mean 'America alone': Gabbard

'अमेरिका फर्स्ट' का

मतलब 'अकेला

अमेरिका' नहीं: गैबार्ड

U.S. Director of National Intelligence, Tulsi Gabbard, stated that Donald Trump's 'America First' policy should not be misinterpreted as 'America alone', drawing parallels to PM Modi's 'India First' policy.

अमेरिका की राष्ट्रीय

खुफिया निदेशक, तुलसी

गैबार्ड, ने कहा कि डोनाल्ड

ट्रंप की 'अमेरिका फर्स्ट'



नीति को 'अकेला अमेरिका' के रूप में गलत नहीं समझना चाहिए, और इसे प्रधानमंत्री मोदी की 'इंडिया फर्स्ट' नीति के समान बताया।

- Speaking at the Raisina Dialogue, Ms. Gabbard emphasized the need for collective efforts in addressing Indo-Pacific challenges.
**रायसीना डायलॉग में बोलते हुए, गैबार्ड ने इंडो-पैसिफिक क्षेत्र की चुनौतियों का समाधान करने के लिए सामूहिक प्रयासों की आवश्यकता पर जोर दिया।

India-U.S. partnership and Trump-Modi leadership

भारत-अमेरिका साझेदारी और ट्रंप-मोदी नेतृत्व

- She highlighted the strong partnership between India and the U.S., calling Trump and Modi 'two great friends' whose leadership is based on shared values of peace, security, and prosperity.
उन्होंने भारत और अमेरिका के बीच मजबूत साझेदारी को रेखांकित किया, और ट्रंप और मोदी को 'दो महान मित्र' बताया, जिनका नेतृत्व शांति, सुरक्षा और समृद्धि के साझा मूल्यों पर आधारित है।
- She expressed confidence that this partnership will continue to grow in the coming years.
उन्होंने विश्वास व्यक्त किया कि यह साझेदारी आने वाले वर्षों में और मजबूत होगी।

Commitment to peace and stability

शांति और स्थिरता के प्रति प्रतिबद्धता

- Ms. Gabbard stated that ensuring order in the Indo-Pacific is critical, as it is the geopolitical center of gravity for the 21st century.
**गैबार्ड ने कहा कि इंडो-पैसिफिक में व्यवस्था बनाए रखना आवश्यक है, क्योंकि यह 21वीं सदी का भू-राजनीतिक केंद्र है।
- She remarked that leaders must stand up for collective global interests, particularly during times of war and conflict.
**उन्होंने कहा कि नेताओं को वैश्विक सामूहिक हितों के लिए खड़ा होना चाहिए, विशेष रूप से युद्ध और संघर्ष के समय में।

Trump's bid to end the Russia-Ukraine war

रूस-यूक्रेन युद्ध समाप्त करने के लिए ट्रंप का प्रयास

- Ms. Gabbard emphasized that Trump has made ending the Russia-Ukraine war a key campaign pillar, aiming to prevent the risk of World War III and nuclear war.



****गैर्बाई ने जोर देकर कहा कि ट्रंप ने रूस-यूक्रेन युद्ध समाप्त करने को अपने अभियान का प्रमुख स्तंभ बनाया है, जिसका उद्देश्य तीसरे विश्व युद्ध और परमाणु युद्ध के जोखिम को रोकना है।**

- She noted that Trump faced relentless attacks for his peace efforts, both from domestic political opponents and global entities.

****उन्होंने कहा कि ट्रंप को अपनी शांति प्रयासों के लिए लगातार हमलों का सामना करना पड़ा, देश के राजनीतिक विरोधियों और वैश्विक संस्थाओं दोनों से।**

- Despite this, the American people overwhelmingly supported him, delivering a clear mandate for peace.

****इसके बावजूद, अमेरिकी जनता ने भारी समर्थन दिया, जिससे शांति के लिए स्पष्ट जनादेश मिला।**

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

1. Tribal man moves HC to perform customary worship inside STR

आदिवासी व्यक्ति ने एसटीआर के अंदर पारंपरिक पूजा करने के लिए हाईकोर्ट का रुख किया

2. The dystopian side of Insta-commerce

इंस्टा-कॉमर्स का भयावह पक्ष

3. Pact signed for using Parliament data for AI model: Minister

संसद डेटा का एआई मॉडल के लिए उपयोग करने के समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर: मंत्री

4. Demand for Grants for Railways passed in LS amid noisy protests

लोकसभा में शोरगुल के बीच रेलवे के लिए अनुदान की मांग पारित

5. Chandrayaan-3 data says water ice easier to find on moon than believed

चंद्रयान-3 के डेटा के अनुसार चंद्रमा पर पानी की बर्फ अपेक्षा से अधिक आसानी से मिल सकती है

6. Pockets of Insulated Sound संरक्षित ध्वनि के पॉकेट्स



Q. What are audible enclaves? प्रश्न: श्रव्य एन्क्लेव्स क्या हैं?

Tribal man moves HC to perform customary worship inside STR

GS Paper III:

Sat Environment

BHUBANESWAR

The Orissa High Court has issued notice to the Forest and Environment department over a plea to shift the enclosure of Zeenat, the tigress translocated from Tadoba-Andhari Tiger Reserve in Maharashtra to boost the genetic diversity of the big cat population in Similipal Tiger Reserve.

Aggrieved by the denial of permission to perform customary worship inside Jamunagarh village inside STR, a person from Munda tribe had moved the HC challenging the tiger supplementation programme.

Nandi Ho, a former resident of Jamunagarh, alleged that he along with other villagers were arbitrarily evicted from their ancestral land in two phas-

es between 2015 and 2022. However, they continued their worship taking verbal permission from the Similipal Tiger Reserve authorities. Recently, they were denied permission as their village has turned into the enclosure for Zeenat. Mr. Ho said the tiger supplementation programme was conceived without the 'permission' of local people. "The translocation... is governed by a protocol. Authorities completely overlooked the protocol," said Afraaz Suhail, counsel for Mr. Ho.

Mr. Suhail said villagers of Jamunagarh held community forest rights conferred under Forest Rights Act, 2006 which guaranteed indigenous communities to carry on their customary religious practice in sacred groves.

Tribal man moves HC to perform customary worship inside STR

आदिवासी व्यक्ति ने एसटीआर के अंदर पारंपरिक पूजा करने के लिए हाईकोर्ट का रुख किया

The Orissa High Court has issued notice to the Forest and Environment department over a plea to shift the enclosure of Zeenat, the tigress translocated from Tadoba-Andhari Tiger Reserve in Maharashtra to boost the genetic diversity of the big cat population in Similipal Tiger Reserve (STR).

ओडिशा हाईकोर्ट ने वन और पर्यावरण विभाग को नोटिस जारी किया है, जिसमें महाराष्ट्र के ताडोबा-अंधारी टाइगर रिजर्व से स्थानांतरित बाघिन ज़ीनत के बाड़े को सिमलीपाल टाइगर रिजर्व (एसटीआर) में बड़ी बिल्लियों की आनुवंशिक विविधता बढ़ाने के उद्देश्य से स्थानांतरित करने की याचिका पर जवाब मांगा गया है।



- **Aggrieved by the denial of permission to perform customary worship inside Jamunagarh village inside STR**, a person from the **Munda tribe** had moved the HC challenging the **tiger supplementation programme**.
एसटीआर के अंदर जामुनागढ़ गांव में पारंपरिक पूजा करने की अनुमति न मिलने से आहत, मुंडा जनजाति के एक व्यक्ति ने बाघ पुनरुत्पत्ति कार्यक्रम को चुनौती देते हुए हाईकोर्ट में याचिका दायर की।
- **Nandi Ho, a former resident of Jamunagarh**, alleged that he, along with **other villagers**, was **arbitrarily evicted from their ancestral land in two phases between 2015 and 2022**.
नंदी हो, जो जामुनागढ़ के पूर्व निवासी हैं, ने आरोप लगाया कि उन्हें और अन्य ग्रामीणों को 2015 से 2022 के बीच दो चरणों में उनके पुरतैनी जमीन से जबरन बेदखल कर दिया गया।
- However, they **continued their worship taking verbal permission from the Similipal Tiger Reserve authorities**. Recently, they were **denied permission** as their village has **turned into the enclosure for Zeenat**.
हालांकि, उन्होंने सिमलीपाल टाइगर रिजर्व प्रशासन से मौखिक अनुमति लेकर पूजा जारी रखी। हाल ही में, उन्हें अनुमति देने से इनकार कर दिया गया, क्योंकि उनका गांव अब ज़ीनत के बाड़े में तब्दील हो गया है।
- **Mr. Ho said the tiger supplementation programme was conceived without the 'permission' of local people**.
श्री हो ने कहा कि बाघ पुनरुत्पत्ति कार्यक्रम स्थानीय लोगों की 'अनुमति' के बिना तैयार किया गया था।
- **"The translocation... is governed by a protocol. Authorities completely overlooked the protocol,"** said **Afraaz Suhail, counsel for Mr. Ho**.
"स्थानांतरण एक प्रोटोकॉल द्वारा संचालित होता है। प्रशासन ने पूरी तरह से इस प्रोटोकॉल की अनदेखी की," श्री हो के वकील अफराज़ सुहैल ने कहा।
- **Mr. Suhail said villagers of Jamunagarh held community forest rights conferred under the Forest Rights Act, 2006, which guaranteed indigenous communities the right to carry on their customary religious practice in sacred groves**.
श्री सुहैल ने कहा कि जामुनागढ़ के ग्रामीणों के पास सामुदायिक वन अधिकार थे, जो वन अधिकार अधिनियम, 2006 के तहत मान्यता प्राप्त हैं, और जो आदिवासी समुदायों को पवित्र स्थलों में अपनी पारंपरिक धार्मिक प्रथाओं को जारी रखने का अधिकार देते हैं।



The dystopian side of Insta-commerce

GS Paper III: Employment

In various urban centres, we often see a gathering of a range of *mazdoors* (labourers) with their tools early in the morning, waiting for someone to call them to work. When an employer or *thekedaar* turns up, huge numbers of these men and women swarm around him and he begins a negotiation process of getting the best deal for himself. From the point of view of the worker, who is a part of an enormous and growing unemployed work force, the deal is made in desperation. It is a supplier's market. The *thekedaars* are a creation of managerial facilitation where employers are able to get a 'middleman' to squeeze the greatest possible amount from labour, and offer them the greatest possible profits. Spend an hour in a labour chowk or a *mazdoor mandi* (job market) and you will understand how people's labour is sold in an auction on a daily or piece rate basis, where the lowest wage wins.

Doing dirty work virtually

This lesson has been learnt rapidly and more diabolically by employers of gig and digital platforms. The gig economy relies on a paradigm of piece rate work, offering so-called employment and 'choice' to workers, thereby shedding all responsibility vis-à-vis workers, their wages, their working conditions, and social security. The digital medium has been cunningly used to repurpose the work of the *thekedaar* (the middleman) by creating a platform that would do his dirty work virtually, and outside of the public eye. Every unemployed worker would now become part of your *mazdoor mandi*, desperately looking for work and supposedly exercising his/her choice by clicking on any option that might help them survive another day. The advantages of the *mandi* where the auction is a downward bid, with the lowest wage winning, have been multiplied virtually, exponentially, and seamlessly so that you don't see the unfair work practice that the *thekedaar* plays



Nikhil Dey,

Founder, Mazdoor
Kisan Shakti
Sangathan



Rakshita Swamy,

Founder, Social
Accountability Forum
for Action and
Research

Startup founders indulge in PR to show that they care for the rights of gig workers, and at the same time privately oppose any legislative framework that emerges to protect their rights in a State

and the anguish on the worker's face. There is also no possibility of collective bargaining because the collective has been atomised into a million desperate workers individually checking their phones in search of employment. When they 'accept' a ride, delivery, or a service, the aggregator (*thekedaar*) holds it up as their great benevolent service to the nation of creating employment. The magic is all too real for them to know because they control it all through a disembodied app. They know how much to offer, on what terms, and under what conditions. Their algorithms help them maximise profits in a way that the worker can either choose to say yes to or perish in a market that is dominated by a consumer class that only sees the convenience of someone providing a service at the mere click of a button.

The consumer sees a worker, who has driven through pollution, rushed up the stairs, and is dripping from sweat or wet with rain, only for a brief moment. The worker's indignity is compounded when he is forced to desperately seek a five-star rating. The distressing story of exploitation has now reached a new high, with the introduction of 'Insta Maids'. This service offers a house help within 15 minutes to clean utensils and sweep the house for "₹49 an hour". Workers understand what is happening and are fighting back. Some of their slogans point to the poignancy of the situation - "rating nahi, haq chaahiye (we don't want ratings, we want rights!)" and "insaan hai hum, ghulaam nahi (we are human beings, not slaves!)"

Bill in cold storage

In India, beginning with Rajasthan, the workers made an important though limited breakthrough by advocating and pushing for legislation that would give them: i) a framework for social security that would help deal with atomised piece rate work; ii) access to their own data on a real-time basis; iii) a grievance redress mechanism that

would allow them some independent platform to raise their grievances, and a tripartite board where issues related to the sector could be discussed by all concerned. This breakthrough has been stymied with the new BJP government refusing to notify the Act with rules. The Congress government that got it passed promised more progressive legislation in Karnataka and Telangana, and put up a draft law with a promise to pass it immediately. But the collective power of the aggregators was further aggregated in the form of NASSCOM and CII-led representations to the State governments. These asserted that gig workers are 'partners' and should not be recognised as employees; cannot have a right to their data including the right to know the break-up of individual bills; cannot be promised protection against arbitrary termination; and should not have access to an independent grievance redress framework. The Karnataka government has formed a ministerial committee to deliberate further on these inputs, and contrary to assurances that progressive legislation would be passed, has put the Bill in cold storage. It is clear whose voices an elected government listens to.

It is no coincidence that the person who signed on behalf of the CII Unicorn Forum's submission to the Karnataka government is the founder of Urban Company. On LinkedIn he suggests that the Insta Maids service "will bring alive the promise of New India for service partners where financial security, professional recognition and dignity are within reach for all". The naked double speak is evident when founders indulge in PR to show that they care for the rights of gig workers, and at the same time privately oppose any legislative framework that emerges to protect their rights in a State. This hypocrisy must be exposed and the modern slavery of platform-based gig work must be brought to an end.

The dystopian side of Insta-commerce

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इंस्टा-कॉमर्स का भयावह पक्ष

In urban centers, we often see groups of labourers (mazdoors) waiting early in the morning with their tools, hoping for work.

शहरी इलाकों में अक्सर हम देखते हैं कि मजदूर (मज़दूर) सुबह-सुबह अपने औजारों के साथ काम की तलाश में खड़े रहते हैं।

- When an **employer or thekedaar** arrives, a large number of workers **swarm around him**, and he **negotiates to get the best deal for himself**.
जब कोई नियोक्ता या ठेकेदार आता है, तो कई मजदूर उसे घेर लेते हैं, और वह अपने फायदे के लिए मोलभाव करता है।
- **For workers**, who are part of a **growing unemployed workforce**, this deal is **made in desperation**.
मज़दूरों के लिए, जो बढ़ती बेरोजगार श्रम शक्ति का हिस्सा हैं, यह सौदा मजबूरी में किया जाता है।
- The **thekedaars** act as middlemen, **squeezing maximum work from labourers** while ensuring **maximum profit for employers**.
ठेकेदार मध्यस्थ के रूप में काम करते हैं, मज़दूरों से अधिकतम काम करवाते हैं और नियोक्ताओं के लिए अधिकतम लाभ सुनिश्चित करते हैं।

Doing dirty work virtually

ऑनलाइन प्लेटफॉर्म पर शोषण

- **Gig and digital platforms** have adopted and enhanced this exploitative model in a more **diabolical manner**.
गिग और डिजिटल प्लेटफॉर्म ने इस शोषणकारी मॉडल को और अधिक कुटिल तरीके से अपनाया और बढ़ाया है।
- The **gig economy** relies on **piece-rate work**, offering so-called **employment and choice** while **shedding all responsibility** for workers' **wages, conditions, and security**.
गिग अर्थव्यवस्था पीस-रेट कार्य पर निर्भर करती है, जहां वह रोजगार और पसंद का दिखावा करती है लेकिन मज़दूरों के वेतन, काम की स्थिति और सुरक्षा से कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं लेती।
- **Digital platforms** have replaced the **thekedaars**, creating a **virtual system** where workers are **bidding for the lowest wage**.
डिजिटल प्लेटफॉर्म ने ठेकेदारों की जगह ले ली है, और एक आभासी (वर्चुअल) प्रणाली बनाई है, जहां मज़दूर सबसे कम वेतन पर काम करने के लिए बोली लगाते हैं।
- Every **unemployed worker** is now part of a **digital mazdoor mandi**, desperately looking for work.
अब हर बेरोजगार मज़दूर डिजिटल मजदूर मंडी का हिस्सा बन गया है, जहां वह काम पाने के लिए संघर्ष



कर रहा है।

- There is no possibility of collective bargaining, as every worker is isolated, checking their phones for job opportunities.
सामूहिक सौदेबाजी की कोई संभावना नहीं बची है, क्योंकि हर मजदूर अलग-थलग अपने फोन में नौकरी की तलाश कर रहा है।

The illusion of choice

चयन का भ्रम

- When workers accept a ride, delivery, or service, the aggregators (platform owners) claim to be creating employment.
जब मजदूर राइड, डिलीवरी, या सेवा स्वीकार करता है, तो एग्रीगेटर (प्लेटफॉर्म मालिक) इसे रोजगार सृजन के रूप में पेश करते हैं।
- Algorithms determine wages, conditions, and work availability, ensuring maximum profit for the platform while leaving the worker with no control.
एल्गोरिदम मजदूरी, कार्य शर्तें और काम की उपलब्धता तय करते हैं, जिससे प्लेटफॉर्म को अधिकतम लाभ मिलता है, जबकि मजदूर के पास कोई नियंत्रण नहीं होता।
- The consumer only sees the worker momentarily, unaware of the hardships faced in pollution, rain, and extreme conditions.
उपभोक्ता मजदूर को केवल कुछ क्षणों के लिए देखता है, लेकिन उसे प्रदूषण, बारिश, और कठोर परिस्थितियों में काम करने वाली कठिनाइयों का एहसास नहीं होता।
- The worker's dignity is further eroded, as they desperately seek a five-star rating to stay employed.
मजदूर की गरिमा और अधिक घट जाती है, क्योंकि उसे रोजगार बनाए रखने के लिए पाँच सितारा रेटिंग की जरूरत पड़ती है।

'Insta Maids': A new level of exploitation

'इंस्टा मेड्स': शोषण का नया स्तर

- A new service, 'Insta Maids', now offers house help within 15 minutes, cleaning utensils and sweeping floors for just ₹49 an hour.
एक नई सेवा 'इंस्टा मेड्स' अब 15 मिनट में घरेलू कामगार उपलब्ध कराती है, जहां ₹49 प्रति घंटे में बर्तन धोने और सफाई करने का काम मिलता है।
- Workers understand this exploitation and are now fighting back.
मजदूर इस शोषण को समझ रहे हैं और अब इसके खिलाफ लड़ रहे हैं।
- Some of their protest slogans reflect their struggle, such as:
 - "Rating nahi, haq chahiye" (We don't want ratings, we want rights!)



- "रेटिंग नहीं, हक चाहिए!"
- "Insaan hai hum, ghulam nahi" (We are human beings, not slaves!)
- "इंसान हैं हम, गुलाम नहीं!"

Bill in cold storage

कानून ठंडे बस्ते में

- In India, starting with Rajasthan, gig workers made a **limited breakthrough** by advocating for **legislation** that would:
 - Provide **social security** for piece-rate workers.
 - टुकड़ा-दर मजदूरों के लिए सामाजिक सुरक्षा प्रदान करे।
 - Ensure access to **real-time data** for workers.
 - मज़दूरों को वास्तविक समय में उनके डेटा तक पहुंच सुनिश्चित करे।
 - Establish an **independent grievance redress mechanism**.
 - एक स्वतंत्र शिकायत निवारण तंत्र स्थापित करे।
 - Form a **tripartite board** to discuss issues affecting the sector.
 - इस क्षेत्र के मुद्दों पर चर्चा के लिए एक त्रिपक्षीय बोर्ड बनाए।
- The **new BJP government** refused to notify the Act with rules, stalling its implementation.
नई बीजेपी सरकार ने नियमों के साथ अधिनियम को अधिसूचित करने से इनकार कर दिया, जिससे इसकी क्रियान्विति रुक गई।
- The **Congress government**, which passed the law, promised **more progressive legislation** in Karnataka and Telangana.
कांग्रेस सरकार, जिसने यह कानून पारित किया था, ने कर्नाटक और तेलंगाना में अधिक प्रगतिशील कानून लाने का वादा किया।
- A **draft law** was proposed with a **promise of immediate passage**, but **corporate lobbying** stalled progress.
एक मसौदा कानून प्रस्तावित किया गया था और तुरंत पारित करने का वादा किया गया था, लेकिन कॉर्पोरेट लॉबींग ने प्रगति रोक दी।

Corporate pushback against worker rights

मज़दूर अधिकारों के खिलाफ कॉर्पोरेट विरोध

- Industry groups like NASSCOM and CII argued that:
 - Gig workers are '**partners**' and should not be recognized as employees.
 - गिग वर्कर्स 'भागीदार' हैं और उन्हें कर्मचारी के रूप में मान्यता नहीं दी जानी चाहिए।
 - They should not have access to their data or a **break-up of individual bills**.
 - उन्हें अपने डेटा या व्यक्तिगत बिलों के विवरण तक पहुंच नहीं दी जानी चाहिए।
 - They cannot demand protection from **arbitrary termination**.



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- वे मनमाने तरीके से नौकरी से निकाले जाने के खिलाफ सुरक्षा की मांग नहीं कर सकते।
- They should not have an independent grievance redressal system.
- उन्हें एक स्वतंत्र शिकायत निवारण प्रणाली नहीं मिलनी चाहिए।
- Karnataka government formed a ministerial committee to deliberate on these inputs, but the Bill was put in cold storage.
कर्नाटक सरकार ने एक मंत्री स्तरीय समिति बनाई ताकि इन सुझावों पर चर्चा की जा सके, लेकिन कानून ठंडे बस्ते में डाल दिया गया।
- This reveals who the elected government actually listens to—corporates over workers.
इससे साफ होता है कि चुनी हुई सरकार असल में किसकी सुनती है—मज़दूरों की बजाय कॉर्पोरेट्स की।

Corporate hypocrisy exposed

कॉर्पोरेट पाखंड उजागर

- The CII Unicorn Forum's submission to the Karnataka government was signed by the founder of Urban Company.
CII यूनिर्कॉर्न फोरम का प्रस्ताव, जो कर्नाटक सरकार को सौंपा गया था, उस पर अर्बन कंपनी के संस्थापक ने हस्ताक्षर किए थे।
- On LinkedIn, he claimed Insta Maids will provide financial security and dignity to service workers.
LinkedIn पर, उन्होंने दावा किया कि इंस्टा मेड्स सेवा कर्मियों को वित्तीय सुरक्षा और गरिमा प्रदान करेगा।
- However, privately, he opposed laws protecting gig workers, exposing corporate double standards.
हालांकि, निजी तौर पर उन्होंने गिग वर्कर्स के अधिकारों की रक्षा करने वाले कानूनों का विरोध किया, जिससे कॉर्पोरेट दोहरा मापदंड उजागर हुआ।
- This hypocrisy must be exposed, and the modern slavery of platform-based gig work must end.
इस पाखंड को उजागर किया जाना चाहिए, और प्लेटफ़ॉर्म आधारित गिग वर्क की आधुनिक गुलामी को समाप्त करना चाहिए।



Pact signed for using Parliament data for AI model: Minister

GS Paper III: S&T

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

The India Artificial Intelligence (AI) Mission has signed a memorandum of understanding with Parliament to access its data for training an indigenous AI model, Union IT Minister Ashwini Vaishnaw said on Tuesday.

Speaking during a panel discussion on "Winning the AI marathon: India in the global AI race" at the Raisina Dialogue in New Delhi, Mr. Vaishnaw said that under the India AI Mission, 14,000 graphics processing units (GPUs) have been made available at a common compute facility.

"Parliament dataset will be a very good resource for training our model, similarly Doordarshan and All India Radio are other sources where large datasets are available," Mr. Vaishnaw said.

"Whatever world says, a model, if its open source today, may not remain open source tomorrow, which we have seen in case of Open AI. So it is important to have our own large language models (LLM)," he said.

Plan rope in professors

Mr. Vaishnaw said the government was working with industry to evaluate options and was planning to rope in professors and start-ups willing to contri-

Vaishnaw says India will develop capability to have GPUs up and running in three to five years

bute to the journey of building LLM for India.

Citing examples of training students on 5G tech, he said that nearly 100 laboratories were set up in universities so that students could learn about the tech in real settings. "A similar approach will be adopted for AI," he said.

Mr. Vaishnaw said in the next three to five years, India would develop capability to have GPUs up and running. "We are evaluating approaches with two different types of instruction sets for this purpose. Which one of the two, or both, we will finalise, will be left to the experts to decide."

Despite escalation of tariff wars and export controls by the U.S., Mr. Vaishnaw said the goal was to focus on proprietary tech and models. "We have a rich resource for any country to be in race of AI and the way we have developed with U.S. where foundation of relationship is trust, respect for IP rights is to co-create and co-develop tech. That has happened over period of 10 years which is a strength for both countries."

Pact signed for using Parliament data for AI model: Minister

संसद डेटा का एआई मॉडल के लिए उपयोग करने के समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर: मंत्री

India Artificial Intelligence (AI) Mission signed an MoU with Parliament to access its data for training an indigenous AI model, Union IT Minister Ashwini Vaishnaw announced.

भारत आर्टिफिशियल इंटेलिजेंस (AI) मिशन ने संसद के साथ एक समझौता ज्ञापन (MoU) पर हस्ताक्षर किए, जिससे स्वदेशी एआई मॉडल को प्रशिक्षित करने के लिए डेटा प्राप्त किया जा सके, इसकी घोषणा केंद्रीय आईटी मंत्री अश्विनी वैष्णव ने की।

- Speaking at the Raisina Dialogue in New Delhi, he stated that 14,000 graphics processing units (GPUs) have been made available under the India AI Mission. नई दिल्ली में रायसीना डायलॉग में बोलते हुए, उन्होंने बताया कि भारत एआई मिशन के तहत 14,000 ग्राफिक्स प्रोसेसिंग यूनिट्स (GPUs) उपलब्ध कराए गए हैं।

Parliament dataset and AI model training संसद डेटा सेट और एआई मॉडल प्रशिक्षण

- Parliament dataset will be a valuable resource for training AI models, along with Doordarshan and All India Radio datasets. संसद डेटा सेट एआई मॉडल के प्रशिक्षण के लिए एक मूल्यवान संसाधन होगा, इसके अलावा दूरदर्शन और ऑल इंडिया रेडियो के डेटा सेट भी उपयोग किए जाएंगे।
- He emphasized the importance of India having its own large language models (LLM), given that open-



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source models today may not remain open-source in the future, citing OpenAI's shift as an example.

उन्होंने भारत के अपने बड़े भाषा मॉडल (LLM) होने के महत्व पर जोर दिया, क्योंकि आज के ओपन-सोर्स मॉडल भविष्य में ओपन-सोर्स नहीं रह सकते, OpenAI के बदलाव का उदाहरण देते हुए।

Government's collaboration with academia and industry

सरकार की शिक्षाविदों और उद्योग के साथ साझेदारी

- The government is **engaging professors, startups, and industry experts** to contribute to the development of India's LLMs.
सरकार भारत के बड़े भाषा मॉडल (LLMs) के विकास में योगदान के लिए प्रोफेसरों, स्टार्टअप्स और उद्योग विशेषज्ञों को शामिल कर रही है।
- Similar to **5G technology training**, where 100 labs were set up in universities, a **similar approach will be adopted for AI education**.
**5G टेक्नोलॉजी प्रशिक्षण की तरह, जहां 100 प्रयोगशालाएं विश्वविद्यालयों में स्थापित की गईं, एआई शिक्षा के लिए भी इसी तरह का दृष्टिकोण अपनाया जाएगा।

Developing India's own GPUs

भारत के स्वयं के GPU विकसित करने की योजना

- Over the **next 3-5 years**, India will develop its own GPU capabilities.
अगले 3-5 वर्षों में, भारत अपनी खुद की GPU क्षमता विकसित करेगा।
- The government is **evaluating two different instruction set approaches** for GPUs, and the decision will be left to experts.
**सरकार GPU के लिए दो अलग-अलग निर्देश सेट दृष्टिकोणों का मूल्यांकन कर रही है, और अंतिम निर्णय विशेषज्ञों पर छोड़ दिया जाएगा।

India's focus on proprietary AI technology

भारत का मालिकाना एआई तकनीक पर ध्यान

- Despite the **escalation of tariff wars and export controls by the U.S.**, India aims to focus on **proprietary AI technology and models**.
अमेरिका द्वारा टैरिफ युद्धों और निर्यात नियंत्रणों में वृद्धि के बावजूद, भारत का ध्यान मालिकाना एआई तकनीक और मॉडलों पर केंद्रित है।
- The India-U.S. partnership is built on **trust and respect for intellectual property (IP) rights**, with **co-development and co-creation of technology** as key goals.
**भारत-अमेरिका साझेदारी भरोसे और बौद्धिक संपदा (IP) अधिकारों के सम्मान पर आधारित है, जिसमें तकनीक का सह-विकास और सह-निर्माण प्रमुख लक्ष्य हैं।



Demand for Grants for Railways passed in LS amid noisy protests

**GS Paper III:
Railways**

The Hindu
NEW DELHI

Replying to a discussion on the Demand for Grants for Railways (2025-26), Union Railway Minister Ashwini Vaishnaw said on Tuesday in the Lok Sabha that allocating ₹2.52 lakh crore as Gross Budgetary Support (GBS) for Railways was a historic decision.

Mr. Vaishnaw was speaking amid noisy protests by the Opposition over not being allowed to speak on Prime Minister Narendra Modi's statement on the Maha Kumbh.

He said that despite challenges during COVID-19, the Railways had reached a healthy financial position. "The current situation is such that Railways is now able to meet



Ashwini Vaishnaw

almost all its expenditures through its own income, covering both major and minor costs," he stated.

Breaking down costs, he said the largest expenditure component in the Railways was staff cost, which amounts to ₹1,16,000 crore. "There are nearly 15 lakh pensioners, and their pension cost is around ₹66,000 crore. The energy cost stands at ₹32,000 crore,

while financing costs amount to ₹25,000 crore. Adding all expenses together, the total expenditure of Railways is ₹2,75,000 crore, whereas the total income is approximately ₹2,78,000 crore," he said.

Passenger fares

On passenger subsidy, Mr. Vaishnaw said that the cost of transporting a passenger per km was ₹1.38. However, the fare charged by Railways was only ₹0.71 per km. "This means Railways recovers only 53% of the cost, while the remaining 47% is subsidised. The total value of this subsidy amounts to ₹60,000 crore annually which is considered a social obligation," he said.

Mr. Vaishnaw said pas-

senger fares have not been increased since 2020. "Compared to neighbouring countries, Indian railway fares are significantly lower. For example, for a 350 km journey, India (General Class) costs ₹121, while in Pakistan it is ₹436, in Bangladesh it is ₹323, and Sri Lanka it is ₹413," he added.

The Lok Sabha later passed the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Railways for 2025-26.

Replying to concerns raised by Members of Parliament regarding discrimination against Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and West Bengal in railway infrastructure development, Mr. Vaishnaw stated that record budget allocations have been given to every State.

Demand for Grants for Railways passed in LS amid noisy protests

लोकसभा में शोरगुल के बीच रेलवे के लिए अनुदान की मांग पारित

Union Railway Minister Ashwini Vaishnaw stated that allocating ₹2.52 lakh crore as Gross Budgetary Support (GBS) for Railways was a historic decision.

केंद्रीय रेल मंत्री अश्विनी वैष्णव ने कहा कि रेलवे के लिए ₹2.52 लाख करोड़ का सकल बजटीय समर्थन (GBS) आवंटित करना एक ऐतिहासिक निर्णय है।

- The statement was made amid noisy protests by the Opposition over not being allowed to speak on PM Narendra Modi's statement on the Maha Kumbh.



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यह बयान विपक्ष के शोरगुल के बीच दिया गया, जो प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी के महाकुंभ पर बयान पर बोलने की अनुमति न मिलने के कारण हुआ।

Railways' financial health and expenditure

रेलवे की वित्तीय स्थिति और खर्च

- Despite **COVID-19 challenges**, Railways has reached a **healthy financial position**, covering almost all expenses through its own income.

COVID-19 की चुनौतियों के बावजूद, रेलवे अपनी अधिकांश लागत अपने स्वयं के राजस्व से पूरा करने में सक्षम है।

- **Breakdown of railway expenditure:**
 - **Staff cost:** ₹1,16,000 crore.
 - **Pension cost:** ₹66,000 crore for 15 lakh pensioners.
 - **Energy cost:** ₹32,000 crore.
 - **Financing costs:** ₹25,000 crore.
 - **Total expenditure:** ₹2,75,000 crore.
 - **Total income:** ₹2,78,000 crore.

Passenger fares and subsidies

यात्री किराया और सब्सिडी

- The **cost of transporting a passenger per km** is ₹1.38, but Railways charges only **₹0.71 per km**, recovering only **53% of the cost**.
प्रति किलोमीटर यात्री परिवहन की लागत ₹1.38 है, लेकिन रेलवे सिर्फ ₹0.71 प्रति किमी वसूलता है, जिससे केवल 53% लागत की वसूली होती है।
- **Annual passenger subsidy:** ₹60,000 crore, considered a **social obligation**.
वार्षिक यात्री सब्सिडी: ₹60,000 करोड़, जिसे सामाजिक दायित्व माना जाता है।
- **Comparison with neighboring countries:**
 - **India (General Class, 350 km):** ₹121.
 - **Pakistan:** ₹436.
 - **Bangladesh:** ₹323.
 - **Sri Lanka:** ₹413.

Concerns of regional discrimination in railway development

रेलवे विकास में क्षेत्रीय भेदभाव की चिंताएं

- Opposition members raised concerns about **discrimination against Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and West Bengal** in railway infrastructure development.
विपक्षी सदस्यों ने रेलवे ढांचे के विकास में **तमिलनाडु, केरल और पश्चिम बंगाल के प्रति भेदभाव की शिकायत की।



- Mr. Vaishnav assured that record budget allocations have been made for every state.

वैष्णव ने आश्वासन दिया कि प्रत्येक राज्य के लिए रिकॉर्ड बजटीय आवंटन किया गया है।

Chandrayaan-3 data says water ice easier to find on moon than believed

An instrument onboard the Vikram lander has found that the temperature at its location was 82° C and just a metre away dipped to 58° C. If the surface temperature can vary so much at metre scales, scientists have concluded there must be more areas where conditions are suitable for water ice to stabilise beneath the surface

GS Paper III: S&T

Shreejaya Karantha

As countries like the US, China, Russia, and India develop plans for long-term stations on the moon, water available on the moon itself is emerging as a vital resource. Aside from meeting the drinking and sanitary needs of astronauts, scientists are also working on using moon water as fuel for rockets launched from the natural satellite.

In a new study, researchers from the Physical Research Laboratory (PRL) in Ahmedabad have found that the area of the moon where water ice can be easily accessed is greater than expected.

Their study aims to provide a more detailed understanding of the moon's thermal environment and ice distribution, laying the groundwork for future exploration and habitation strategies.

Data from Vikram

The first step to understand how much water there could be on the moon is to know the temperature on the surface.

Scientists also need this detail if astronauts are to withstand the moon's natural environs: moon-days are intensely hot while nights are frigidly cold, it lacks an atmosphere, and it is more threatened by deadly solar flares from the sun than the earth.

The new study marks a significant advance on this front. It is based on ground-level observations made by Chandrayaan-3, the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) mission whose Vikram lander touched down on the moon in August 2023.

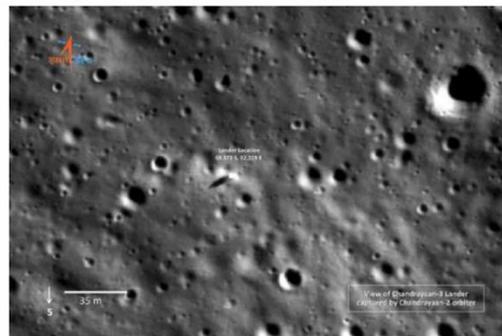
A team of researchers led by PRL scientist K. Durga Prasad has uncovered insights into temperature variations on the moon's surface and at depths of up to 10 cm.

The findings were published in a March 6 paper in the journal *Communications Earth & Environment*.

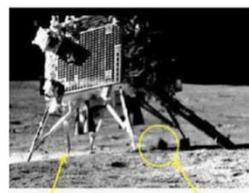
Use of RTD sensors

Using the Chandra's Surface Thermophysical Experiment (ChaSTE) onboard the Vikram lander, the researchers conducted an *in-situ* (directly at the site) experiment to measure the temperature of the top 10 cm of lunar regolith at 69.373° south and 32.319° east. This spot is Shiv Shakti point, where Vikram landed. It is located in the moon's south pole region.

The ChaSTE instrument is equipped with a thermal probe, which the lander deployed and penetrated into the lunar soil. According to Prasad, 10 "custom-designed platinum resistance



This image captured by the Chandrayaan-2 orbiter shows the location of Shiv Shakti point, where the Vikram lander of the Chandrayaan-3 mission descended, and the surrounding terrain. The position of the sun is revealed by the orientation of the shadows. ISRO



This image collage shows the location of the ChaSTE instrument onboard the Vikram lander. The lander was photographed by the Pragyan rover. ISRO

temperature detector (RTD) sensors with very high accuracy in the entire range of measurement" are mounted on the ChaSTE probe. RTDs are a type of temperature sensor that measure temperature by detecting changes in electrical resistance.

The team used ChaSTE to acquire RTD signals and convert them into digital data.

The team collected temperature data from ChaSTE for approximately 10 earth days, from August 24 to September 2, 2023, which is about eight hours of a lunar day. The diurnal lunar temperature values, i.e., the range between day and night, were obtained using an established 3D thermophysical model developed by PRL, Prasad added.

The ground truth

The team found the peak surface

sun, water is not likely to be found in the sun-facing slopes.

To investigate lunar temperatures at different locations with different orientations, the team built a model based on the ChaSTE measurements. They found that the surface temperature at a flat site around a metre away from the ChaSTE instrument's position was 58.85° C. This value agreed with orbiter-based remote-sensing observations.

That the temperature at Shiv Shakti point was 82° C and just a metre away dipped to 58° C implied lunar surface temperatures vary significantly at metre scales. Further investigations by the team showed that larger slopes that faced away from the sun and had a tilt of more than 14° could maintain lower temperatures, creating conditions suitable for water ice to migrate and stabilise beneath the surface.

In other words, since water ice can exist within the shallow subsurface at certain high latitudes as well, the team's findings indicate the resource can be accessed from more places on the moon than previously believed.

First of its kind

The study presents the first *in-situ* measurements of temperature at a high latitude region on the moon, offering accurate data on surface and near-surface temperatures close to the polar regions, according to Prasad.

Scientists previously thought water ice existed in stable quantities only at the moon's poles. The study has shown that certain higher latitude locations may provide a similar environment as near the poles for water ice to accumulate at shallow depths.

"This becomes an interesting finding as exploration of high latitude regions is less technically challenging than that of lunar poles, an important aspect for future *in-situ* exploration and human activities on the moon," Prasad said.

Based on the temperature profiles obtained from ChaSTE measurements, the team is currently studying the thermophysical properties of the lunar surface, including how it affects lunar temperatures. Through this, Prasad said, they can "model the migration and stability of the water ice for other different representative locations on the moon."

This can lead to a comprehensive understanding of the moon's thermodynamics and its near-surface and sub-surface water-ice distribution.

(Shreejaya Karantha is a freelance science writer and a content writer and research specialist at *The Secrets of The Universe*. shreejayakarant@gmail.com)

THE GIST

Water on the moon is emerging as a vital resource. Aside from drinking and sanitary needs of astronauts, scientists are also working on using moon water as fuel for rockets launched from the natural satellite

Understanding how much water there is on the moon requires knowledge of the temperature. Scientists also need this information to help astronauts withstand the moon's environs: moon-days are intensely hot while nights are frigidly cold

Temperature was found to drop to roughly -181° C at night. A large temperature difference observed between day and night means the lunar surface could harbour unique thermophysical properties

Scientists thought water ice existed in stable quantities only at the poles. The study shows that certain higher latitude locations may provide a similar environment as near the poles for water ice to accumulate at shallow depths



Chandrayaan-3 data says water ice easier to find on moon than believed

चंद्रयान-3 के डेटा के अनुसार चंद्रमा पर पानी की बर्फ अपेक्षा से अधिक आसानी से मिल सकती है

An instrument onboard the Vikram lander found that the surface temperature was 82°C, but just a metre away, it dipped to 58°C.

**विक्रम लैंडर पर लगे उपकरण ने पाया कि सतह का तापमान 82°C था, लेकिन सिर्फ एक मीटर की दूरी पर यह 58°C तक गिर गया।

- This suggests that more areas on the moon may have conditions suitable for water ice to stabilize beneath the surface.

यह संकेत देता है कि चंद्रमा पर अधिक क्षेत्रों में पानी की बर्फ स्थिर रहने की स्थिति हो सकती है।

Significance of water on the moon

चंद्रमा पर पानी का महत्व

- Countries like the US, China, Russia, and India are planning long-term moon missions.

**अमेरिका, चीन, रूस और भारत जैसे देश चंद्रमा पर दीर्घकालिक मिशनों की योजना बना रहे हैं।

- Moon water can be used for drinking, sanitation, and even rocket fuel for future lunar missions.

**चंद्रमा का पानी भविष्य में पीने, स्वच्छता और रॉकेट ईंधन के रूप में इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है।

Chandrayaan-3's findings

चंद्रयान-3 के निष्कर्ष

- The study, conducted by Physical Research Laboratory (PRL), Ahmedabad, found that water ice on the moon may be more accessible than previously thought.

**अहमदाबाद स्थित भौतिक अनुसंधान प्रयोगशाला (PRL) के अध्ययन में पाया गया कि चंद्रमा पर पानी की बर्फ अपेक्षा से अधिक आसानी से मिल सकती है।

- The findings were published in a March 6 paper in the journal Communications Earth & Environment.

**ये निष्कर्ष 6 मार्च को 'कम्युनिकेशंस अर्थ एंड एनवायरनमेंट' पत्रिका में प्रकाशित किए गए।

Use of RTD sensors

आरटीडी सेंसर का उपयोग



- The **Chandra's Surface Thermophysical Experiment (ChaSTE)** onboard **Vikram lander** measured the temperature of the **top 10 cm of lunar soil at 69.373° south and 32.319° east (Shiv Shakti Point)**.
**विक्रम लैंडर पर लगे चंद्रा की सतह थर्मोफिजिकल प्रयोग (ChaSTE) ने 69.373° दक्षिण और 32.319° पूर्व (शिव शक्ति बिंदु) पर चंद्र मिट्टी के शीर्ष 10 सेमी की तापमान मापी।
- ChaSTE used **custom-designed platinum resistance temperature detector (RTD) sensors**, which measured **temperature variations with high accuracy**.
**ChaSTE ने कस्टम-डिज़ाइन किए गए प्लेटिनम प्रतिरोध तापमान डिटेक्टर (RTD) सेंसर का उपयोग किया, जिसने तापमान में बदलाव को उच्च सटीकता के साथ मापा।
- The team collected temperature data from **August 24 to September 2, 2023 (around 8 hours of a lunar day)**.
**टीम ने 24 अगस्त से 2 सितंबर 2023 तक (लगभग 8 घंटे के चंद्र दिवस के दौरान) तापमान डेटा एकत्र किया।
- The data was analyzed using a **3D thermophysical model developed by PRL** to understand lunar day-night temperature variations.
**डेटा को PRL द्वारा विकसित 3D थर्मोफिजिकल मॉडल का उपयोग करके विश्लेषण किया गया, जिससे चंद्र दिवस-रात्रि तापमान में बदलाव को समझा जा सके।

The Ground Truth

सत्य की पुष्टि

- The **peak surface temperature** at the site was recorded as **82°C**, which was **higher than NASA's Lunar Reconnaissance Orbiter (LRO) predictions**.
**साइट पर अधिकतम सतह तापमान 82°C दर्ज किया गया, जो कि नासा के लूनर रिकॉनिसंस ऑर्बिटर (LRO) की भविष्यवाणियों से अधिक था।
- The temperature dropped drastically to **-181°C at night**, showing extreme thermal variations.
**तापमान रात में -181°C तक गिर गया, जिससे अत्यधिक तापीय बदलाव का संकेत मिलता है।
- This variation suggests the **lunar surface has unique thermophysical properties**.
**यह भिन्नता दर्शाती है कि चंद्रमा की सतह में अद्वितीय ताप-भौतिक गुण हैं।

Significant Change

महत्वपूर्ण बदलाव

- The high daytime temperature was attributed to the **sun-facing slope** of the location.
**उच्च दिन का तापमान सूर्य की ओर झुके हुए ढलान के कारण बताया गया।
- The team investigated **temperature variations at different slopes** to identify areas where **water ice could exist**.



**टीम ने विभिन्न ढलानों पर तापमान परिवर्तन की जांच की ताकि यह पहचाना जा सके कि कहां पानी की बर्फ मौजूद हो सकती है।

- A site **just one meter away from ChaSTE instrument recorded 58.85°C**, showing significant temperature variation at small scales.

**ChaSTE उपकरण से सिर्फ एक मीटर दूर सतह का तापमान 58.85°C दर्ज किया गया, जिससे छोटे पैमानों पर बड़े तापमान अंतर का संकेत मिला।

- Larger slopes **tilted more than 14° away from the sun maintained lower temperatures**, creating conditions **suitable for water ice to stabilize beneath the surface**.

**14° से अधिक झुकी हुई बड़ी ढलानों ने निम्न तापमान बनाए रखा, जिससे सतह के नीचे पानी की बर्फ के स्थिर रहने की स्थिति बनी।

First of Its Kind

अपने प्रकार का पहला अध्ययन

- The study is **the first in-situ measurement of high-latitude lunar temperatures**, providing **accurate data on surface and near-surface temperatures**.

**यह अध्ययन उच्च-अक्षांशीय चंद्र तापमान का पहला स्थल पर मापा गया अध्ययन है, जो सतह और उप-सतह तापमान पर सटीक डेटा प्रदान करता है।

- Earlier, scientists believed **water ice was stable only at the moon's poles**, but the study suggests **higher-latitude areas can also support water ice deposits**.

**पहले वैज्ञानिकों का मानना था कि पानी की बर्फ केवल चंद्रमा के ध्रुवों पर स्थिर रह सकती है, लेकिन इस अध्ययन से पता चलता है कि उच्च अक्षांशीय क्षेत्र भी पानी की बर्फ के संचयन में सहायक हो सकते हैं।

- Exploring these **high-latitude regions is less challenging** than polar exploration, making them **ideal sites for future lunar missions and human activities**.

**इन उच्च-अक्षांशीय क्षेत्रों की खोज ध्रुवीय क्षेत्रों की तुलना में कम चुनौतीपूर्ण है, जिससे वे भविष्य के चंद्र मिशनों और मानव गतिविधियों के लिए आदर्श स्थान बन सकते हैं।

- The team is now studying **how lunar thermophysical properties affect ice migration and stability**, using **ChaSTE data to model different lunar locations**.

**टीम अब अध्ययन कर रही है कि चंद्रमा की ताप-भौतिक विशेषताएँ बर्फ के प्रवास और स्थिरता को कैसे प्रभावित करती हैं, और ChaSTE डेटा का उपयोग कर विभिन्न चंद्र स्थानों का मॉडलिंग कर रही है।



Pockets of insulated sound

GS Paper III: S&T



Q. What are audible enclaves?

Audible enclaves are small pockets of sound that

are not disturbed by surrounding noise. They are produced by new technologies designed to deliver sounds that only one specific person can hear, even if they are in a crowd.

Sound consists of waves moving through a medium, moving the medium's particles back and forth. How fast this back-and-forth motion happens determines the sound's frequency. The faster they move, the higher the frequency of the sound. When sound waves are emitted from a source, like a speaker, they diverge as they pass through the air in a phenomenon called diffraction. Higher frequency sounds diverge more. Devices called parametric array loudspeakers are still able to create focused 'beams' of sound. They emit high-frequency waves modulated with an audio signal. As the waves travel through the air, they self-demodulate to produce a



When sound waves are emitted from a source, like a speaker, they diverge as they pass through the air in a phenomenon called diffraction. DESMOND LIAN/UNSPLASH

sound wave confined in a narrow beam, audible only to those in the beam's path.

Audible enclaves go a step further. In a study published on March 17 in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, researchers in the US reported doing this by using two high-frequency waves of different frequencies. They are inaudible in this form. But when they intersect, non-linear interactions cause them to produce a sound wave at that spot, audible only to people nearby.

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For feedback and suggestions for 'Science', please write to science@thehindu.co.in with the subject 'Daily page'

Pockets of Insulated Sound संरक्षित ध्वनि के पॉकेट्स

Q. What are audible enclaves?

प्रश्न: श्रव्य

एन्क्लेव्स क्या हैं?

Audible enclaves are small pockets of sound that remain undisturbed by surrounding noise.

श्रव्य एन्क्लेव्स छोटे ध्वनि क्षेत्र होते हैं जो आसपास के शोर से अप्रभावित रहते हैं।

• They are produced by new technologies that deliver sounds only to a specific person, even in a crowd.

○ ये नई तकनीकों द्वारा

उत्पन्न किए जाते हैं जो भीड़ में भी केवल एक विशिष्ट व्यक्ति को ध्वनि पहुंचाती हैं।

- **Sound consists of waves** moving through a medium, displacing particles back and forth.
 - ध्वनि तरंगों से बनी होती है जो किसी माध्यम से गुजरते हुए कणों को आगे-पीछे हिलाती हैं।



- The **frequency** of sound depends on how fast these particles move; higher speed means higher frequency.
 - **ध्वनि की आवृत्ति** इस पर निर्भर करती है कि ये कण कितनी तेज़ी से हिलते हैं; अधिक गति का मतलब अधिक आवृत्ति होता है।
- When sound waves are emitted from a source (like a speaker), they **diverge** as they pass through air.
 - जब ध्वनि तरंगें किसी स्रोत (जैसे स्पीकर) से उत्सर्जित होती हैं, तो वे हवा में **फैलती** हैं।
- **Higher frequency sounds** diverge more, making it difficult to confine sound.
 - **उच्च आवृत्ति वाली ध्वनि** अधिक फैलती है, जिससे इसे सीमित करना कठिन हो जाता है।
- **Parametric array loudspeakers** create focused 'beams' of sound.
 - **पैरामेट्रिक एरे लाउडस्पीकर** केंद्रित 'बीम' ध्वनि उत्पन्न करते हैं।
- These loudspeakers emit high-frequency waves **modulated** with an audio signal.
 - ये लाउडस्पीकर उच्च-आवृत्ति तरंगें उत्सर्जित करते हैं जो एक ऑडियो सिग्नल से **संशोधित** होती हैं।
- As these waves travel, they **self-demodulate**, creating a confined sound wave audible only in a narrow beam.
 - जब ये तरंगें यात्रा करती हैं, तो वे **स्वतः डिमॉड्यूलेट** होती हैं, जिससे केवल संकीर्ण बीम में सुनाई देने वाली ध्वनि उत्पन्न होती है।
- **Audible enclaves go a step further.**
 - **श्रव्य एन्क्लेव्स** इससे भी आगे बढ़ते हैं।
- A study published on **March 17** in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* demonstrates a new method.
 - *नेशनल एकेडमी ऑफ साइंस* में **17 मार्च** को प्रकाशित एक अध्ययन ने एक नई विधि प्रस्तुत की।
- Researchers in the **U.S.** used **two high-frequency waves** of different frequencies.
 - **अमेरिका** में शोधकर्ताओं ने **दो उच्च-आवृत्ति तरंगों** का उपयोग किया।
- These waves are inaudible individually, but **when they intersect**, they create a localized sound wave.
 - ये तरंगें व्यक्तिगत रूप से असुनने योग्य होती हैं, लेकिन **जब वे प्रतिच्छेद करती हैं**, तो वे एक सीमित ध्वनि तरंग उत्पन्न करती हैं।
- This sound is **audible only to people nearby** and does not spread beyond the intersection point.
 - यह ध्वनि **केवल पास में मौजूद लोगों को सुनाई देती है** और प्रतिच्छेदन बिंदु से बाहर नहीं फैलती।



TOPICS COVERED (GS Paper IV and Essay)

1. Forty-four years after Dehuli massacre of 24 Dalits, three given death sentence

देहली हत्याकांड के 44 साल बाद, 24 दलितों की हत्या के दोषी तीन लोगों को मौत की सजा

2. Trump and the silencing of America's universities

ट्रम्प और अमेरिका की यूनिवर्सिटियों का दमन

Forty-four years after Dehuli massacre of 24 Dalits, three given death sentence

Essay
GS Paper IV: Ethics

NEW DELHI

Forty-four years after the Dehuli massacre in which 24 Dalits, including women and children were killed, a special court in Mainpuri district of Uttar Pradesh on Tuesday sentenced three persons, all in their 60s, to death.

Special judge Indira Singh had convicted Kap-tan Singh, Rampal and Ram Sevak on March 12 and pronounced the punishment on Tuesday. Apart from sentencing, the court imposed a fine of ₹1 lakh on the convicts, who broke down inside the court as soon as the punishment was pronounced.

'Shame on law & order'

The court termed the case "rarest of the rare" due to the brutality inflicted upon the victims. "The crime committed by the accused is a shame on law and order as well as humanity. It is a



Then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi comforting family members of some of the victims of Dehuli massacre. FILE PHOTO

crime that destroys the social structure," it noted.

The court added that it would be justified to award death penalty to the convicted offenders with the firm belief that it would act not only as a deterrent principle of punishment but also as a medium/instrument

of justice to the victims and their families.

The Dehuli massacre took place on November 18, 1981, when a gang of 17 dacoits, led by Radhe and Santosha, disguised as policemen, stormed the village suspecting that people here had become police inform-

ers. They targeted a Dalit family and when other villagers came out in support, they gunned down 24 people, including seven women and two children aged just six months and two years. Many were injured in the incident, after which the gang looted valuables from several homes.

A villager, Layak Singh, had filed an FIR in the case against 20 persons under Sections 302 (murder), 307 (attempt to murder), and 396 (dacoity), among other charges.

14 accused dead

In 44 years, the case was transferred from Mainpuri to Allahabad. It was then transferred to the Mainpuri sessions court on October 19, 2024. On the orders of the District Judge, it was heard in the special court. In over four decades, 14 among the 20 accused died while three were sentenced to death; the others are still absconding.



Forty-four years after Dehuli massacre of 24 Dalits, three given death sentence

देहली हत्याकांड के 44 साल बाद, 24 दलितों की हत्या के दोषी तीन लोगों को मौत की सजा

Forty-four years after the Dehuli massacre, in which 24 Dalits, including women and children, were killed, a special court in Mainpuri district of Uttar Pradesh on Tuesday sentenced three persons, all in their 60s, to death.

देहली हत्याकांड के 44 साल बाद, जिसमें 24 दलितों, जिनमें महिलाएं और बच्चे शामिल थे, की हत्या कर दी गई थी, उत्तर प्रदेश के मैनपुरी जिले की विशेष अदालत ने मंगलवार को तीन लोगों, जो सभी 60 वर्ष की उम्र के हैं, को मौत की सजा सुनाई।

- Special judge Indira Singh had convicted Kaptan Singh, Rampal, and Ram Sevak on March 12 and pronounced the punishment on Tuesday.
विशेष न्यायाधीश इंदिरा सिंह ने 12 मार्च को कप्तान सिंह, रामपाल और राम सेवक को दोषी ठहराया और मंगलवार को सजा सुनाई।
- Apart from sentencing, the court imposed a fine of ₹1 lakh on the convicts, who broke down inside the court as soon as the punishment was pronounced.
सजा के अलावा, अदालत ने दोषियों पर ₹1 लाख का जुर्माना भी लगाया, जो सजा सुनते ही अदालत में फूट-फूट कर रोने लगे।
- 'Shame on law & order'
'कानून और व्यवस्था पर कलंक'
 - The court termed the case "rarest of the rare" due to the brutality inflicted upon the victims.
अदालत ने इस मामले को "सबसे दुर्लभ मामलों में से एक" करार दिया, क्योंकि इसमें पीड़ितों पर अत्यधिक क्रूरता की गई थी।
 - "The crime committed by the accused is a shame on law and order as well as humanity. It is a crime that destroys the social structure," it noted.
"आरोपियों द्वारा किया गया अपराध कानून-व्यवस्था और मानवता पर कलंक है। यह एक ऐसा अपराध है जो सामाजिक संरचना को नष्ट कर देता है," अदालत ने कहा।
 - The court added that it would be justified to award the death penalty to the convicted offenders, with the firm belief that it would act not only as a deterrent but also as justice to the victims and their families.
अदालत ने कहा कि दोषियों को मौत की सजा देना उचित होगा, क्योंकि इससे न केवल अपराधियों को चेतावनी मिलेगी, बल्कि पीड़ितों और उनके परिवारों को न्याय भी मिलेगा।



- The Dehuli massacre took place on November 18, 1981, when a gang of 17 dacoits, led by Radhe and Santosha, disguised as policemen, stormed the village suspecting that people here had become police informers.

देहली हत्याकांड 18 नवंबर 1981 को हुआ था, जब 17 डकैतों के एक गिरोह, जिसका नेतृत्व राधे और संतोषा कर रहे थे, ने पुलिसकर्मी के भेष में गांव पर हमला किया, क्योंकि उन्हें शक था कि गांववाले पुलिस के मुखबिर बन गए हैं।

- They targeted a Dalit family, and when other villagers came out in support, they gunned down 24 people, including seven women and two children aged just six months and two years.

उन्होंने एक दलित परिवार को निशाना बनाया, और जब अन्य ग्रामीण समर्थन में आए, तो उन्होंने 24 लोगों को गोली मार दी, जिनमें सात महिलाएं और दो बच्चे शामिल थे, जिनकी उम्र सिर्फ छह महीने और दो साल थी।

- Many were injured in the incident, after which the gang looted valuables from several homes.

इस घटना में कई लोग घायल हुए, जिसके बाद गिरोह ने कई घरों से कीमती सामान लूट लिए।

- A villager, Layak Singh, had filed an FIR in the case against 20 persons under Sections 302 (murder), 307 (attempt to murder), and 396 (dacoity), among other charges.

गांव के निवासी, लायक सिंह, ने इस मामले में 20 लोगों के खिलाफ धारा 302 (हत्या), 307 (हत्या का प्रयास), और 396 (डकैती) सहित अन्य आरोपों में एफआईआर दर्ज करवाई।

- 14 accused dead

14 आरोपी मृत

- In 44 years, the case was transferred from Mainpuri to Allahabad, then back to Mainpuri sessions court on October 19, 2024.
44 वर्षों में, यह मामला मैनपुरी से इलाहाबाद स्थानांतरित किया गया, फिर 19 अक्टूबर 2024 को मैनपुरी सत्र न्यायालय में वापस लाया गया।
- On the orders of the District Judge, it was heard in the special court.
जिला न्यायाधीश के आदेश पर, यह मामला विशेष अदालत में सुना गया।
- In over four decades, 14 among the 20 accused died, while three were sentenced to death; the others are still absconding.



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चार दशकों में, 20 में से 14 आरोपी मर चुके हैं, जबकि तीन को मौत की सजा सुनाई गई; अन्य अभी भी फरार हैं।

Trump and the silencing of America's universities

Essay

The 1960s and 1970s saw a significant shift in the academic landscape, particularly in the humanities and social sciences. This period marked the emergence of a counter-western narrative, where third-world literatures gained prominence, and the master narratives of the West were challenged. As a result, the idea of independence, rewriting histories, and promoting democracy and freedom became increasingly important, as is evident in the student uprisings in the volatile 1960s. Students sought freedom in the classroom and university, leading to massive demonstrations against the establishment as well as against the Vietnam War. Aimé Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism*, Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, and Edward Said's *Orientalism* became the seminal works introduced in the humanities curriculum.

These counter-narratives questioned the West's idea of white supremacy, describing the strife between the coloniser and the colonised, and paving the way for a more inclusive and diverse academic environment. However, the Trump regime is attempting to undermine this progress by suppressing such discourses of marginalised communities with its impact on universities in mainly two key areas of concern: the defunding of certain critical courses that oppose right-wing ideology, and the clampdown on Palestinian students and supporters of the Palestinian cause. Both issues are closely tied to the university setting.

The rise of the far right

Mr. Trump's administration has targeted university programmes and courses that focus on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) for defunding. Specifically, the subjects that may be impacted include: diversity and inclusion studies that promote multiplicity, equity, and inclusion on campus, and critical race theory that explores the intersection of race and power in society. Gender Studies, African American Studies, Latinx Studies, Asian American Studies and Native American studies may also face funding cuts, not only undermining academic freedom but also perpetuating a culture of ignorance and intolerance.

The rise of the far-right ideology, consequently, poses a significant threat to academic freedom and intellectual dissent, a danger to the emerging world order. Trumpism, with its emphasis on white supremacy, misogyny, and virulent nationalism, symbolises this significant threat. Its agenda to suppress research in "left-wing" areas is a blatant attempt to silence centres of higher learning and stifle critical thinking. This silencing is not new, as universities have historically been



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The implications of Donald Trump's orders extend to the world – supremacy, misogyny, and virulent nationalism threaten academic freedom, intellectual dissent and the emerging world order

sites of struggle for marginalised communities. But it is important to draw parallels between the current state of affairs and the post-independence era in universities worldwide, where there was a surge in studying African and Latin American literatures, gender studies and ecofeminism, Third World cultural studies and anti-war literature. These academic movements challenged dominant narratives and sought to dismantle the binary systems that perpetuated inequality and totalitarianism.

Revisiting Mr. Trump's last presidency, we see a strong leaning towards unilateralism, particularly in his immigration policies. His "America First" approach led to the implementation of several controversial measures, including the travel ban targeting predominantly Muslim countries and the construction of a border wall along the U.S.-Mexico border.

And, more recently, he has gone after the Palestinian sympathisers. Understandably, Mr. Trump's immigration policies are deeply rooted in his nationalist and populist ideology, which emphasises the need to protect American jobs and culture from perceived external threats. This ideology has been criticised for being discriminatory and xenophobic, with many arguing that it is a form of ultra-nationalism that borders on Nazism.

Mr. Trump's presidency has been marked by several contentious executive orders, two of which sparked widespread debate and criticism. The first order, signed in 2017, banned immigration from several Muslim-majority countries, prompting a strong reaction from university presidents across the U.S. In a joint letter, presidents of over 50 universities urged Mr. Trump to rescind the order, arguing that it contradicted America's long-standing tradition of embracing diversity and welcoming people from various nations and faiths. They emphasised that immigrant students have significantly contributed to the country's growth in various fields, including technology, research, and labour.

Chill in the campus

However, a similar outcry was noticeably absent when in his second presidency, Mr. Trump signed another order that effectively targeted individuals guilty of being Palestinian sympathisers. Clearly, Mr. Trump's policies have had a profound impact on universities and international students, particularly those who speak out against injustice and promote diversity. The crackdown on Palestinian students and voices that counter Mr. Trump's views on Israel has created a chilling effect on campuses, with many students and faculty members fearing repercussions for

speaking out. This silence is particularly concerning, as educational institutions should be promoting diversity, inclusivity, and free speech, rather than punishing those who speak out against genocide. The irony is that America has greatly benefited from immigrant contributions to its economic, intellectual, social, and cultural progress.

But Mr. Trump's ideology has led to a surge in anti-Palestinian sentiment, with some politicians calling for the deportation of foreign students involved in pro-Palestinian protests.

This has created a culture of fear and intimidation on campuses. Many students and faculty members are hesitant to speak out against injustice, fearing that they will be targeted, harassed, or even deported. This is particularly concerning for international students, who may face visa restrictions, deportation, or other forms of retaliation for speaking out against Mr. Trump's policies. The silencing of dissenting voices on campuses has far-reaching implications for democracy, free speech, and human rights.

Part of a narrative

Mr. Trump's anti-immigrant discourse is not just about creating a scapegoat. It is part of a broader narrative that aims to re-establish nationalist patriotic values and targets globalisation. His opposition to uncontrolled immigration is linked to his critique of globalisation processes, which he sees as leading to job losses for American workers. This ideology has become a sort of new populist movement that is being embraced by right-wing movements in Europe and elsewhere.

In this context, the role of intellectuals becomes crucial in countering Mr. Trump's brand of leadership that rejects integration with other communities and promotes a selfish, self-centered agenda. It is essential for scholars, experts, and thinkers to mobilise public opinion, challenge discriminatory policies, and advocate progressive values, thereby recognising and taking a stand against the apartheid state engineered by Mr. Trump. As W.E.B. Du Bois asked, "If indeed what we confront is an apartheid state, then what is our responsibility as scholars and educators?" For him, universities are sanctuaries for marginalised communities, providing a forum for the public intellectual ready to speak truth to power and foster a culture of resistance and critical thinking, challenging dominant narratives, and developing pedagogies that promote social justice. Mr. Trump's agenda to suppress radical research or mentally stress students is a form of despotism with implications that extend beyond the United States, with many regarding them as a threat to global social order and human rights.

Trump and the silencing of America's universities

ट्रम्प और अमेरिका की यूनिवर्सिटियों का दमन

The 1960s and 1970s saw a significant shift in the academic landscape, particularly in the humanities and social sciences.

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1960 और 1970 के दशक में शैक्षणिक परिदृश्य में महत्वपूर्ण बदलाव आया, विशेष रूप से मानविकी और सामाजिक विज्ञान में।

- This period marked the **emergence of a counter-western narrative**, where **third-world literatures** gained prominence, and the **master narratives of the West** were challenged.
इस अवधि में पश्चिमी वर्चस्व के खिलाफ एक वैकल्पिक दृष्टिकोण उभरा, जिसमें तीसरी दुनिया के साहित्य को महत्व मिला और पश्चिम की प्रमुख धारणाओं को चुनौती दी गई।
- Students sought **freedom in the classroom and university**, leading to **massive demonstrations** against the **establishment** as well as the **Vietnam War**.
छात्रों ने कक्षा और विश्वविद्यालय में स्वतंत्रता की मांग की, जिससे व्यवस्था के खिलाफ बड़े प्रदर्शन और वियतनाम युद्ध के विरोध में आंदोलन हुए।
- Books like **Aimé Césaire's Discourse on Colonialism**, **Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth**, and **Edward Said's Orientalism** became crucial in the **humanities curriculum**.
ऐमे सेज़ेयर की "डिस्कोर्स ऑन कोलोनियलिज़्म", फ्रान्ज़ फैनन की "द रैचेड ऑफ द अर्थ", और एडवर्ड सईद की "ओरिएंटलिज़्म" जैसी किताबें मानविकी पाठ्यक्रम का अहम हिस्सा बन गईं।
- The **Trump regime** is attempting to **undermine this progress** by suppressing **discourses of marginalized communities**, mainly in **two key areas**:
ट्रम्प शासन इस प्रगति को कमजोर करने का प्रयास कर रहा है और हाशिए पर पड़े समुदायों के विचारों को दबाने की कोशिश कर रहा है, खासतौर पर दो प्रमुख क्षेत्रों में:
 - **Defunding critical courses** that oppose **right-wing ideology**.
 - दक्षिणपंथी विचारधारा का विरोध करने वाले महत्वपूर्ण पाठ्यक्रमों की फंडिंग रोकना।
 - **Clampdown on Palestinian students** and supporters of the **Palestinian cause**.
 - फिलिस्तीनी छात्रों और फिलिस्तीन समर्थकों पर कार्रवाई।

The rise of the far right

दक्षिणपंथी विचारधारा का उदय

- **Trump's administration** has targeted **university programmes** that focus on **diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI)** for **defunding**.
ट्रम्प प्रशासन ने विविधता, समानता और समावेशन (DEI) पर केंद्रित विश्वविद्यालय कार्यक्रमों की फंडिंग रोकने को निशाना बनाया है।
- Subjects impacted include:
 - **Diversity and Inclusion Studies**
 - विविधता और समावेशन अध्ययन
 - **Critical Race Theory** (which explores **race and power in society**).
 - क्रिटिकल रेस थ्योरी (जो समाज में नस्ल और शक्ति के बीच संबंधों की पड़ताल करता है)।



- Gender Studies, African American Studies, Latinx Studies, Asian American Studies, and Native American Studies.
- लैंगिक अध्ययन, अफ्रीकी-अमेरिकी अध्ययन, लैटिनक्स अध्ययन, एशियाई-अमेरिकी अध्ययन, और मूल अमेरिकी अध्ययन।
- Trumpism, with its emphasis on white supremacy, misogyny, and virulent nationalism, threatens academic freedom and intellectual dissent.
ट्रम्पवाद, जो श्वेत वर्चस्व, स्त्री-विरोधी मानसिकता और कट्टर राष्ट्रवाद को बढ़ावा देता है, शैक्षणिक स्वतंत्रता और बौद्धिक असहमति के लिए खतरा है।
- Universities have historically been sites of struggle for marginalized communities.
विश्वविद्यालय ऐतिहासिक रूप से हाशिए पर पड़े समुदायों के संघर्ष के केंद्र रहे हैं।
- The post-independence era in universities saw a rise in:
 - African and Latin American literatures.
 - अफ्रीकी और लैटिन अमेरिकी साहित्य।
 - Gender studies and ecofeminism.
 - लैंगिक अध्ययन और पारिस्थितिक नारीवाद।
 - Third World cultural studies and anti-war literature.
 - तीसरी दुनिया के सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन और युद्ध विरोधी साहित्य।
- These movements challenged dominant narratives and aimed to dismantle systems of inequality and totalitarianism.
इन आंदोलनों ने प्रमुख धारणाओं को चुनौती दी और असमानता व तानाशाही को खत्म करने का प्रयास किया।

Trump's immigration policies and impact on universities

ट्रम्प की आप्रवासन नीतियां और विश्वविद्यालयों पर प्रभाव

- Trump's last presidency focused on unilateralism, particularly in immigration policies.
ट्रम्प का पिछला कार्यकाल एकतरफा नीतियों पर केंद्रित था, विशेष रूप से आप्रवासन नीतियों में।
- His "America First" approach led to:
 - A travel ban on Muslim-majority countries.
 - मुस्लिम बहुल देशों पर यात्रा प्रतिबंध।
 - The construction of a border wall along the U.S.-Mexico border.
 - यूएस-मेक्सिको सीमा पर दीवार का निर्माण।
- More recently, Trump has targeted Palestinian sympathizers.
हाल ही में, ट्रम्प ने फिलिस्तीन समर्थकों को निशाना बनाया है।
- His immigration policies are rooted in nationalist and populist ideology, emphasizing the protection of American jobs and culture from external threats.
उनकी आप्रवासन नीतियां राष्ट्रवादी और लोकलुभावन विचारधारा पर आधारित हैं, जो अमेरिकी नौकरियों और संस्कृति को बाहरी खतरों से बचाने पर जोर देती हैं।



- Critics argue that **this ideology is discriminatory and xenophobic**, bordering on **Nazism**.
आलोचकों का कहना है कि यह विचारधारा भेदभावपूर्ण और विदेशी विरोधी है, जो नाज़ीवाद के करीब है।
- **Trump's presidency was marked by contentious executive orders**, including:
 - **2017 order banning immigration from Muslim-majority countries.**
 - **2017 में मुस्लिम बहुल देशों से आप्रवासन पर प्रतिबंध लगाने वाला आदेश।**
- **University presidents strongly opposed this order**, with **over 50 university leaders** signing a joint letter urging **Trump to rescind the ban**.
विश्वविद्यालय अध्यक्षों ने इस आदेश का कड़ा विरोध किया, और 50 से अधिक विश्वविद्यालय प्रमुखों ने ट्रम्प से इस प्रतिबंध को हटाने की अपील करते हुए संयुक्त पत्र पर हस्ताक्षर किए।
- They argued that **immigrant students significantly contributed to the U.S. in fields like technology, research, and labour**.
उन्होंने तर्क दिया कि अप्रवासी छात्र तकनीक, अनुसंधान और श्रम क्षेत्रों में अमेरिका में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान देते हैं।

Chill in the campus

विश्वविद्यालयों में भय का माहौल

- **A similar outcry was noticeably absent when, in his second presidency, Trump signed an order targeting Palestinian sympathisers.**
जब ट्रम्प ने अपने दूसरे कार्यकाल में फिलिस्तीनी समर्थकों को निशाना बनाने वाला आदेश जारी किया, तब इस पर वैसा विरोध नहीं हुआ।
- **Trump's policies have profoundly impacted universities and international students**, particularly those who **speak out against injustice and promote diversity**.
ट्रम्प की नीतियों ने विश्वविद्यालयों और अंतरराष्ट्रीय छात्रों पर गहरा प्रभाव डाला, खासकर उन पर जो अन्याय के खिलाफ आवाज उठाते हैं और विविधता को बढ़ावा देते हैं।
- **The crackdown on Palestinian students and critics of Trump's stance on Israel has created a chilling effect on campuses.**
फिलिस्तीनी छात्रों और ट्रम्प की इजराइल नीति के आलोचकों पर कार्रवाई ने विश्वविद्यालय परिसरों में भय का माहौल पैदा कर दिया है।
- **Many students and faculty members fear repercussions for speaking out**, despite universities being spaces for **free speech and inclusivity**.
कई छात्र और शिक्षक प्रतिक्रिया के डर से चुप हैं, जबकि विश्वविद्यालय स्वतंत्र अभिव्यक्ति और समावेशन के स्थान होने चाहिए।
- **Ironically, America has greatly benefited from immigrant contributions in economic, intellectual, social, and cultural fields.**
विडंबना यह है कि अमेरिका ने प्रवासियों के योगदान से आर्थिक, बौद्धिक, सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रों में बहुत लाभ उठाया है।



- Trump's ideology has led to a rise in anti-Palestinian sentiment, with some politicians calling for the **deportation of foreign students involved in pro-Palestinian protests.**
ट्रम्प की विचारधारा ने फिलिस्तीन विरोधी भावनाओं को बढ़ावा दिया, जिससे कुछ राजनेता फिलिस्तीन समर्थक प्रदर्शनों में भाग लेने वाले विदेशी छात्रों को निष्कासित करने की मांग कर रहे हैं।
- This has created a **culture of fear and intimidation** in universities, leading to **self-censorship** among students and faculty.
इसने विश्वविद्यालयों में **भय और दमन की संस्कृति** बना दी है, जिससे छात्र और शिक्षक स्वयं-संश्लेषण अपना रहे हैं।
- **International students face additional risks** such as **visa restrictions, deportation, or retaliation** for opposing Trump's policies.
अंतरराष्ट्रीय छात्रों को अतिरिक्त खतरे जैसे वीजा प्रतिबंध, निष्कासन, या प्रतिशोध का सामना करना पड़ सकता है यदि वे ट्रम्प की नीतियों का विरोध करते हैं।
- The **silencing of dissent on campuses** has serious implications for **democracy, free speech, and human rights.**
विश्वविद्यालयों में असहमति को दबाना लोकतंत्र, स्वतंत्र अभिव्यक्ति, और मानवाधिकारों के लिए गंभीर खतरा है।

Part of a narrative

एक व्यापक कहानी का हिस्सा

- Trump's anti-immigrant discourse is not just about scapegoating; it is part of a broader nationalist and populist movement.
ट्रम्प की प्रवासी-विरोधी बयानबाजी सिर्फ दोषारोपण नहीं है; यह एक व्यापक राष्ट्रवादी और लोकलुभावन आंदोलन का हिस्सा है।
- His stance on **immigration and globalization** is linked to his belief that **globalization causes job losses for American workers.**
उनका आप्रवासन और वैश्वीकरण पर रुख इस विश्वास से जुड़ा है कि वैश्वीकरण से अमेरिकी श्रमिकों की नौकरियां छिनती हैं।
- This **populist movement is gaining traction in right-wing politics in Europe and other parts of the world.**
यह लोकलुभावन आंदोलन दक्षिणपंथी राजनीति में यूरोप और दुनिया के अन्य हिस्सों में तेजी से फैल रहा है।
- **Intellectuals play a crucial role** in countering Trump's ideology, which **rejects integration and promotes a self-centered agenda.**
बुद्धिजीवियों की अहम भूमिका है ट्रम्प की विचारधारा का विरोध करने में, जो सामाजिक एकीकरण को नकारती है और स्वार्थी एजेंडा को बढ़ावा देती है।
- Scholars and educators must **mobilize public opinion**, challenge **discriminatory policies**, and advocate **progressive values.**



विद्वानों और शिक्षकों को जनमत को संगठित करना, भेदभावपूर्ण नीतियों को चुनौती देना, और प्रगतिशील मूल्यों की वकालत करना चाहिए।

- **W.E.B. Du Bois once asked**, "If indeed what we confront is an apartheid state, then what is our responsibility as scholars and educators?"

डब्ल्यू.ई.बी. डू बोइस ने एक बार पूछा था, "यदि हम वास्तव में एक रंगभेदी राज्य का सामना कर रहे हैं, तो एक विद्वान और शिक्षक के रूप में हमारी जिम्मेदारी क्या है?"

- **Universities should be sanctuaries for marginalized communities**, fostering resistance, critical thinking, and social justice.

विश्वविद्यालय हाशिए पर पड़े समुदायों के लिए शरणस्थल होने चाहिए, जहां प्रतिरोध, आलोचनात्मक सोच, और सामाजिक न्याय को बढ़ावा मिले।

- **Trump's agenda to suppress research and stifle student activism** is a form of despotism, with implications beyond the U.S., threatening global social order and human rights.

ट्रम्प का शोध को दबाने और छात्र आंदोलन को कुचलने का एजेंडा एक प्रकार की तानाशाही है, जिसके प्रभाव अमेरिका से परे जाकर वैश्विक सामाजिक व्यवस्था और मानवाधिकारों के लिए खतरा बन सकते हैं।

TOPICS COVERED (GS Paper IV and Essay)

1. RS felicitates Ilaiyaraaja for composing symphony

राज्यसभा ने इलैयाराजा को सिम्फनी रचने के लिए सम्मानित किया

2. India takes 24th spot in free speech survey

भारत फ्री स्पीच सर्वेक्षण में 24वें स्थान पर

3. Book on India's historic Hockey World Cup triumph released

भारत की ऐतिहासिक हॉकी विश्व कप जीत पर पुस्तक जारी



RS felicitates Ilaiyaraaja for composing symphony

The Hindu Bureau

NEW DELHI

PCS

The Rajya Sabha has felicitated musician and nominated member of the Upper House, Ilaiyaraaja, for becoming the first Indian to compose, record, and perform live a full English classical symphony. The renowned composer performed the symphony titled *Valiant* in London with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra on March 8. Vice-President Jagdeep Dhankhar said Mr. Ilaiyaraaja composed the symphony in 34 days, which is a unique achievement. The whole nation and the people are proud of his work. "The achievement is yet another testament to his enduring brilliance and global appeal," he said.

RS felicitates Ilaiyaraaja for composing symphony

राज्यसभा ने इलैयाराजा को सिम्फनी रचने के लिए
सम्मानित किया

The Rajya Sabha felicitated musician and nominated member Ilaiyaraaja for becoming the first Indian to compose, record, and perform live a full English classical symphony.

राज्यसभा ने संगीतकार और मनोनीत सदस्य इलैयाराजा को सम्मानित किया, क्योंकि वह अंग्रेजी शास्त्रीय सिम्फनी की रचना, रिकॉर्डिंग और लाइव प्रदर्शन करने वाले पहले भारतीय बने।

- The symphony, titled **Valiant**, was performed in **London** with the **Royal Philharmonic Orchestra** on **March 8**.

यह सिम्फनी, 'Valiant', 8 मार्च को लंदन में रॉयल फिलहारमोनिक ऑर्केस्ट्रा के साथ प्रस्तुत की गई।

- **Vice-President Jagdeep Dhankhar** praised Mr. Ilaiyaraaja for composing the symphony **in just 34 days**, calling it a **unique achievement**.

उपराष्ट्रपति जगदीप धनखड़ ने इलैयाराजा की प्रशंसा करते हुए कहा कि उन्होंने सिर्फ 34 दिनों में सिम्फनी की रचना की, जो एक अद्वितीय उपलब्धि है।

- He stated that **the whole nation is proud** of Ilaiyaraaja's contribution to music.

उन्होंने कहा कि पूरा देश इलैयाराजा की इस उपलब्धि पर गर्व महसूस करता है।

- The Vice-President also remarked that **this achievement showcases Ilaiyaraaja's enduring brilliance and global appeal**.

उपराष्ट्रपति ने यह भी कहा कि यह उपलब्धि इलैयाराजा की स्थायी प्रतिभा और वैश्विक पहचान का प्रमाण है।



India takes 24th spot in free speech survey

PCS

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

A new global survey by the **Future of Free Speech**, an independent U.S.-based think tank, has ranked India 24th out of the 33 countries surveyed on the question of support for free speech. Its report, titled 'Who in the world supports free speech?' states that "while abstract support for free speech remains strong, commitment to protecting controversial speech is eroding in many parts of the world."

The survey, conducted in October 2024, also revealed that "more countries have seen declines rather than improvements in free speech support since 2021, with some of the biggest drops occurring in democratic nations like the United States, Israel, and Japan".

Scandinavia dominated

The right to free speech

India, with a score of 62.6, was placed between South Africa (66.9) and Lebanon (61.8)



- Scandinavia dominated the top rankings, with Norway and Denmark finishing at the apex of the Future of the Free Speech Index
- Indonesia, Malaysia, and Pakistan showed the biggest improvements, though they remained at the lower end of the ranking
- Some authoritarian-leaning nations— such as Hungary (85.5) and Venezuela (81.8) — scored high
- The survey found that a majority of Indians consider it very important to speak freely without government censorship, but support for criticism of government policies was below the global average

the top rankings, with Norway and Denmark finishing at the apex of the Future of the Free Speech Index with scores of 87.9 and 87.0.

Disconnect flagged

Indonesia (56.8), Malaysia (55.4), and Pakistan (57.0) showed the biggest improvements, though they

remained at the lower end of the ranking. India, with a score of 62.6, was placed 24th, between South Africa (66.9) and Lebanon (61.8). At the same time, some authoritarian-leaning nations — such as Hungary (85.5) and Venezuela (81.8) — scored high, "suggesting a disconnect between government restric-

tions and public attitudes".

As regards its findings concerning India, the survey found that while a majority of Indians consider it very important to speak freely without government censorship, support for criticism of government policies was below the global average.

For instance, 37% of Indian respondents supported the statement that "governments should be able to prevent people" from criticising government policies — the highest percentage among all the countries surveyed.

Public sentiment

In contrast, 5% of the respondents supported this statement in the U.K., while only 3% endorsed this sentiment in Denmark.

In general, nations that are more supportive of free speech tend to enjoy more freedom of expression in

practice and vice versa. But India was an exception to this pattern. "The most substantial disconnects from the general pattern are represented by India, Hungary, and Venezuela where the actual protection of free speech is very low compared to the popular support. These are all cases of democratic backsliding in countries that previously demonstrated high levels of respect for political liberties, including freedom of expression," the report stated.

When asked whether their ability to speak freely about political matters has improved or worsened over the past year, "Indians and South Africans believe that they have undergone the most significant progress, although observers and rankings tend to agree that the situation in India has become worse, if anything," the report noted.

India takes 24th spot in free speech survey

भारत फ्री स्पीच सर्वेक्षण में 24वें स्थान पर

A global survey by the Future of Free Speech, a U.S.-based think tank, ranked India 24th out of 33 countries in terms of support for free speech.

यू.एस. आधारित थिंक टैंक 'फ्यूचर ऑफ फ्री स्पीच' के वैश्विक सर्वेक्षण में भारत को 33 देशों में 24वां स्थान मिला फ्री स्पीच के समर्थन के आधार पर।

- The report, titled 'Who in the world supports free speech?', highlights that support for controversial speech is eroding worldwide. 'व्हू इन द वर्ल्ड सपोर्ट्स फ्री स्पीच?' शीर्षक रिपोर्ट यह दर्शाती है कि विवादास्पद भाषणों के प्रति समर्थन वैश्विक स्तर पर घट रहा है।
- Survey conducted in October 2024 shows that more countries have seen declines in free speech support since 2021. अक्टूबर 2024 में किए गए सर्वेक्षण में यह पाया गया कि 2021 के बाद से अधिक देशों में फ्री स्पीच के समर्थन में गिरावट आई है।



Global Rankings

वैश्विक रैंकिंग

- Norway (87.9) and Denmark (87.0) topped the index.
नॉर्वे (87.9) और डेनमार्क (87.0) इस सूचकांक में शीर्ष स्थान पर रहे।
- India (62.6) ranked 24th, between South Africa (66.9) and Lebanon (61.8).
भारत (62.6) को 24वां स्थान मिला, जो दक्षिण अफ्रीका (66.9) और लेबनान (61.8) के बीच है।
- Indonesia (56.8), Malaysia (55.4), and Pakistan (57.0) showed the biggest improvements, though they remained at the lower end.
इंडोनेशिया (56.8), मलेशिया (55.4) और पाकिस्तान (57.0) ने सबसे अधिक सुधार दिखाया, फिर भी वे निचले स्तर पर बने रहे।
- Hungary (85.5) and Venezuela (81.8) scored unexpectedly high, indicating a disconnect between government restrictions and public sentiment.
हंगरी (85.5) और वेनेजुएला (81.8) ने अप्रत्याशित रूप से उच्च स्कोर किया, जिससे सरकारी प्रतिबंधों और जनभावनाओं के बीच असंगति का संकेत मिला।

Findings about India

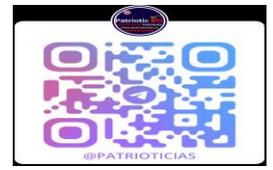
भारत से जुड़े निष्कर्ष

- A majority of Indians believe in the importance of free speech, but support for criticism of government policies is below the global average.
अधिकांश भारतीय फ्री स्पीच को महत्वपूर्ण मानते हैं, लेकिन सरकारी नीतियों की आलोचना के समर्थन का स्तर वैश्विक औसत से कम है।
- 37% of Indian respondents supported the idea that governments should be able to prevent criticism of policies—highest among all surveyed nations.
37% भारतीय उत्तरदाताओं ने समर्थन किया कि सरकारों को अपनी नीतियों की आलोचना रोकने में सक्षम होना चाहिए—जो सभी सर्वेक्षण देशों में सबसे अधिक है।
- In comparison:
 - 5% respondents in the U.K. supported this statement.
 - यू.के. में केवल 5% उत्तरदाताओं ने इस कथन का समर्थन किया।
 - 3% respondents in Denmark agreed with this idea.
 - डेनमार्क में केवल 3% उत्तरदाताओं ने इस विचार का समर्थन किया।

Disconnect between public sentiment and actual free speech protection

जनभावना और वास्तविक फ्री स्पीच सुरक्षा के बीच असंगति

- The report highlights that India, Hungary, and Venezuela have low actual free speech protection despite public support for it.



रिपोर्ट बताती है कि भारत, हंगरी और वेनेजुएला में फ्री स्पीच के लिए जनसमर्थन अधिक होने के बावजूद, वास्तविक सुरक्षा बहुत कम है।

- These countries have seen democratic backsliding, despite earlier high respect for political liberties and freedom of expression.

इन देशों में लोकतांत्रिक गिरावट देखी गई है, जबकि पहले राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता और अभिव्यक्ति की आज़ादी का उच्च सम्मान था।

Public perception vs. observer rankings

जनता की धारणा बनाम पर्यवेक्षक रैंकिंग

- When asked whether free speech has improved or worsened, Indians and South Africans believed they had made significant progress.
जब पूछा गया कि फ्री स्पीच में सुधार हुआ या बिगड़ा, तो भारतीयों और दक्षिण अफ्रीकियों ने माना कि उन्होंने महत्वपूर्ण प्रगति की है।
- However, global observers and rankings indicate that India's situation has actually worsened.

हालांकि, वैश्विक पर्यवेक्षकों और रैंकिंग के अनुसार, भारत की स्थिति वास्तव में खराब हुई है।

Book on India's historic Hockey World Cup triumph released

PCS

Uthra Ganesan
NEW DELHI

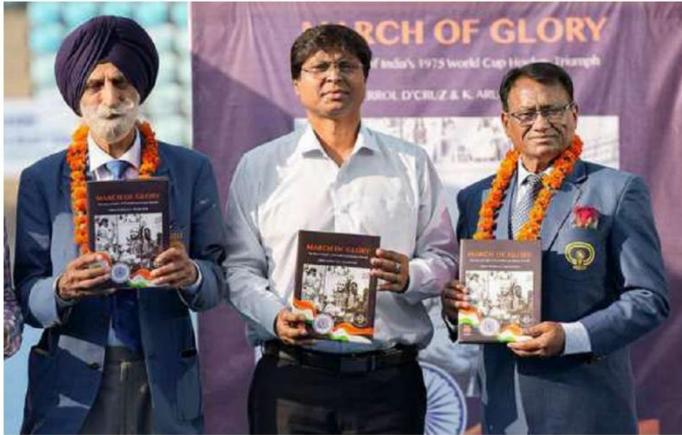
India won its maiden Hockey World Cup in 1975 and a book about the historic triumph was released on Tuesday to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the rare feat.

The book, *March of Glory*, has been penned by hockey historian and founder of NGO One Thousand Hockey Legs (OTHL) K. Arumugam and journalist Errol D'Cruz and captures the drama around India's victory in Kuala Lumpur on March 15, 1975 after falling short in the previous two editions.

Anecdotes

It captures the spirit within the team with quotes and anecdotes from the players, details of key matches with statistics and more than 250 rare photographs, both on and off the field, from the event.

The 204-page book talks about the Indian team's



Recalling glory: Hockey India president Tirkey flanked by World Cup-winning Indian players Chimni and Ashok during the release of the book. PTI

multiple fightbacks in the tournament, from a shock defeat to Argentina and a threat of elimination in the semifinal, to finally edging arch-rival Pakistan in the summit clash.

Several members of the team, including Ashok Kumar, who scored the win-

ning goal in the final, and H.J.S. Chimni were present on the occasion at the Shivaji Stadium, along with the likes of Olympians Harbinder Singh, Zafar Iqbal and Vineet Kumar and Hockey India president Dipil Tirkey as the chief guest along with almost 300 kids

from OTHL.

"I am sure this book has details that even we don't know. There is a paucity of literature on Indian hockey and I am glad someone has stepped forward to record our achievements that will inspire the coming generations," said Tirkey.

Book on India's historic Hockey World Cup triumph released

भारत की ऐतिहासिक हॉकी विश्व कप जीत पर पुस्तक जारी

India won its maiden Hockey World Cup in 1975, and a book commemorating its Golden Jubilee was released.

भारत ने 1975 में अपना



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

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

CONTACT: 9971932488



पहला हॉकी विश्व कप जीता, और इसकी स्वर्ण जयंती मनाने के लिए एक पुस्तक जारी की गई।

- The book, '**March of Glory**', is written by **hockey historian K. Arumugam and journalist Errol D'Cruz**.
'मार्च ऑफ ग्लोरी' पुस्तक हॉकी इतिहासकार के. अरुमुगम और पत्रकार एरोल डी'क्रूज़ द्वारा लिखी गई है।
- It captures **India's victory in Kuala Lumpur on March 15, 1975**, after missing out in the previous two editions.
यह पुस्तक 15 मार्च 1975 को कुआलालंपुर में भारत की जीत को दर्शाती है, जब पिछली दो बार टीम खिताब से चूक गई थी।

Anecdotes and key moments

रोचक घटनाएं और महत्वपूर्ण क्षण

- The book includes **quotes and anecdotes from players**, details of **key matches with statistics**, and **over 250 rare photographs**.
इस पुस्तक में खिलाड़ियों के उद्धरण और रोचक घटनाएं, प्रमुख मैचों के आंकड़े, और 250 से अधिक दुर्लभ तस्वीरें शामिल हैं।
- It highlights **India's multiple fightbacks in the tournament**, from a **shock defeat to Argentina** to a **dramatic semi-final** and a **thrilling final against Pakistan**.
यह पुस्तक भारत के टूर्नामेंट में कई संघर्षों को दर्शाती है, अर्जेंटीना के खिलाफ अप्रत्याशित हार, रोमांचक सेमीफाइनल, और पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ फाइनल में शानदार जीत।

Launch event and reactions

पुस्तक विमोचन और प्रतिक्रियाएं

- The book was released at **Shivaji Stadium**, with **several members of the 1975 team**, including **Ashok Kumar (who scored the winning goal)** and **H.J.S. Chimni**, in attendance.
यह पुस्तक शिवाजी स्टेडियम में जारी की गई, जहां 1975 की टीम के कई सदस्य, जैसे अशोक कुमार (जिन्होंने विजयी गोल किया) और एच.जे.एस. चिमनी उपस्थित थे।
- **Olympians Harbinder Singh, Zafar Iqbal, and Vineet Kumar**, along with **Hockey India President Dilip Tirkey**, also attended the event.
ओलंपियन हरबिंदर सिंह, जफर इकबाल, और विनीता कुमार, हॉकी इंडिया के अध्यक्ष दिलीप तिकी के साथ इस समारोह में शामिल हुए।

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- Around 300 children from One Thousand Hockey Legs (OTHL) participated in the event.

वन थाउजेंड हॉकी लेग्स (OTHL) के लगभग 300 बच्चे इस कार्यक्रम में शामिल हुए।

- Dilip Tirkey praised the book, stating that Indian hockey lacks literature, and this book will inspire future generations.

दिलीप तिर्की ने इस पुस्तक की सराहना की, यह बताते हुए कि भारतीय हॉकी पर बहुत कम साहित्य उपलब्ध है, और यह पुस्तक आने वाली पीढ़ियों को प्रेरित करेगी।

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