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PATRIOTIC IAS

DAILY CURRENT AFFAIRS

THE HINDU NEWSPAPER

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26_08_2025 DAILY CURRENT AFFAIRS

TOPICS COVERED (PCS Special)

Address : 3rd Floor, KV Tower, Padleyganj Road, Gorakhpur
Email Id : info@patrioticias.in
Contact Number : 9971932488
Website : patrioticias.in



Familiar space



Back to school: The first Indian astronaut to go to the International Space Station, Group Captain Shubhanshu Shukla, with his wife, Kamna Shukla, at a felicitation at their alma mater, City Montessori School, in Lucknow on Monday. SANDEEP SAXENA

26_08_2025 DAILY CURRENT AFFAIRS

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

1. Tribal groups which are resisting Ministry interference
जनजातीय समूह जो मंत्रालय के हस्तक्षेप का विरोध कर रहे हैं



Tribal groups which are resisting Ministry interference

GS I: Society

150 The groups claimed that interventions by the Tribal Affairs Ministry were “subverting the democratic framework of governance, management and conservation of community forest resources as recognised and established under the Forest Rights Act, 2006”. PTI

अधिनियम, 2006 के तहत मान्यता प्राप्त और स्थापित किया गया है।”

Tribal groups which are resisting Ministry interference

जनजातीय समूह जो मंत्रालय के हस्तक्षेप का विरोध कर रहे हैं

150

- The groups claimed that interventions by the **Tribal Affairs Ministry** were “subverting the democratic framework of governance, management and conservation of community forest resources as recognised and established under the **Forest Rights Act, 2006**”
समूहों का कहना है कि **जनजातीय कार्य मंत्रालय** के हस्तक्षेप “शासन, प्रबंधन और सामुदायिक वन संसाधनों के संरक्षण के लोकतांत्रिक ढांचे को कमजोर कर रहे हैं, जैसा कि **वन अधिकार**

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

- 1. SC asks Union govt. to draw up rules on social media conduct**
सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने केंद्र सरकार से सोशल मीडिया आचरण पर नियम बनाने को कहा
- 2. SC stays action against analyst over erroneous post on polls**
चुनावों पर त्रुटिपूर्ण पोस्ट को लेकर विश्लेषक के खिलाफ कार्रवाई पर SC की रोक
- 3. India, Fiji call for open Indo-Pacific region, agree to deepen defence ties**
भारत, फिजी ने खुले इंडो-पैसिफिक क्षेत्र की अपील की, रक्षा संबंधों को गहरा करने पर सहमति जताई
- 4. Modi degree row: Delhi HC quashes CIC's permission to inspect university records**



मोदी डिग्री विवाद: दिल्ली हाईकोर्ट ने विश्वविद्यालय रिकॉर्ड का निरीक्षण करने की CIC की अनुमति रद्द की

5. Retired judges slam Shah's comments on Salwa Judum verdict

सेवानिवृत्त न्यायाधीशों ने सलवा जुडूम फैसले पर शाह की टिप्पणी की निंदा की

6. Beyond debate

विवाद से परे

7. Friends and foes

मित्र और शत्रु

8. India-Japan ties — old partners, new priorities

भारत-जापान संबंध — पुराने साझेदार, नई प्राथमिकताएँ

9. The dangerous wiring together of conspiracy' 'षड्यंत्र' के खतरनाक जोड़-तोड़

10. Before legislation becomes litigation
विधेयक मुकदमेबाजी बनने से पहले

11. About 30% of MPs and MLAs face serious criminal cases

लगभग 30% सांसद और विधायक गंभीर आपराधिक मामलों का सामना कर रहे हैं

12. 'Let civil society breathe': two voices on contemporary challenges

'सिविल सोसाइटी को सांस लेने दें': समकालीन चुनौतियों पर दो आवाजें

13. QUIZ



SC asks Union govt. to draw up rules on social media conduct

The apex court was hearing a case against comedians for insensitive jokes about people with disabilities; the Centre was asked to work on rules in a bid to balance free speech with the right of varied communities to live in society with dignity

GS II: FR

Krishnadas Rajagopal
NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court on Monday said social media influencers commercialise free speech, and their comments had the capacity to hurt sentiments in a diverse society, which includes persons with disabilities, women, children, senior citizens, and minorities.

A Bench of Justices Surya Kant and Joymalya Bagchi asked the Union government to work on guidelines to regulate conduct on social media, including online shows such as podcasts, in consultation with the National Broadcasters and Digital Association, represented by advocate Nisha Bhambhani, in a bid to balance free speech with the equally important right of varied communities to live in society with dignity.

The court was hearing a case against comedians, including Samay Raina, for

When you are commercialising free speech, you should also bear in mind not to hurt the sentiments of certain sections of society

JUSTICE JOYMALYA BAGCHI
Supreme Court judge



Today, we have an unfortunate incident of disabled persons, tomorrow it can be about women, children and senior citizens. Anybody can start making fun... where is all this going to end?

JUSTICE SURYA KANT
Supreme Court judge

“abusing freedom of speech and expression” by making insensitive jokes about persons with disabilities.

“When you are commercialising free speech, you should also bear in mind not to hurt the sentiments of certain sections of society,” Justice Bagchi observed.

Justice Kant said that by making insensitive jokes about persons with disabilities, the constitutional objective of bringing them in-

to the mainstream was “completely smashed”.

‘Varied communities’

Justice Bagchi acknowledged that humour was an irreplaceable part of life, but levity must not breach sensibilities. “We are a country of varied communities,” he said.

Justice Kant said guidelines must be framed in a way that violation would inevitably lead to specific consequences. “Unless effective consequences are

framed, people can zig-zag their way out of liability. Consequences must be proportionate to the harm done. They cannot be an empty formality,” he said.

He clarified that the court was not for a moment trying to curtail free speech, but was expecting the proposed guidelines to draw a line between free speech and hurtful speech.

Primary aim

Attorney-General R. Venkataramani, appearing for the Centre, responded that the primary objective of the proposed guidelines would be sensitisation of social media users.

“But if somebody violates, they will have to take responsibility... Many of these media blogs are like feeding your own ego,” Mr. Venkataramani submitted.

Justice Bagchi pointed out that the top court had divided speech into free speech, commercial speech, and prohibited speech. “What we see here is an overlap of commer-

cial and prohibited speech,” the judge remarked.

“Today, we have an unfortunate incident of disabled persons, tomorrow it can be about women, children and senior citizens. Anybody can start making fun... where is all this going to end?” Justice Kant asked.

Senior advocate Aparajita Singh, who represents M/s SMA Cure Foundation, which had moved against the comedians’ remarks about persons with disabilities, submitted that “what influencers say matters. It influences an entire generation”.

Ms. Singh said they could act as ambassadors to spread awareness and sensitivity on social media. “That will be the best apology they could make,” Ms. Singh suggested.

The court directed the comedians to communicate their unconditional apology through their shows. It listed the case in November.

SC asks Union govt. to draw up rules on social media conduct

सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने केंद्र सरकार से सोशल मीडिया आचरण पर नियम बनाने को कहा

The apex court was hearing a case against comedians for insensitive jokes about people with disabilities; the Centre was asked to work on rules in a bid to balance free speech with the right of varied communities to live in society with dignity

सर्वोच्च न्यायालय विकलांग लोगों के बारे में असंवेदनशील चुटकुलों के खिलाफ हास्य कलाकारों के खिलाफ एक मामले की सुनवाई कर रहा था; केंद्र से ऐसे नियम बनाने को कहा



गया जिससे अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता और विभिन्न समुदायों के समाज में गरिमा के साथ जीने के अधिकार में संतुलन बना रहे

- The Supreme Court on Monday said social media influencers commercialise free speech, and their comments had the capacity to hurt sentiments in a diverse society, which includes **persons with disabilities, women, children, senior citizens, and minorities**.
सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने सोमवार को कहा कि **सोशल मीडिया इन्फ्लुएंसर्स** अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता का व्यावसायीकरण करते हैं, और उनकी टिप्पणियों में विविध समाज, जिसमें विकलांग लोग, महिलाएं, बच्चे, वरिष्ठ नागरिक और अल्पसंख्यक शामिल हैं, की भावनाओं को आहत करने की क्षमता होती है।
- A Bench of **Justices Surya Kant and Joymalya Bagchi** asked the Union government to work on guidelines to regulate conduct on social media, including online shows such as podcasts, in consultation with the National Broadcasters and Digital Association, represented by advocate Nisha Bhambhani, in a bid to balance free speech with the equally important right of varied communities to live in society with dignity.
न्यायमूर्ति सूर्यकांत और जॉयमल्या बागची की पीठ ने केंद्र सरकार से **नेशनल ब्रॉडकास्टर्स एंड डिजिटल एसोसिएशन** (जिसका प्रतिनिधित्व अधिवक्ता **निशा भाम्बानी** ने किया) से परामर्श करके **सोशल मीडिया आचरण** को नियंत्रित करने के लिए दिशानिर्देश बनाने को कहा, ताकि **अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता** और **विभिन्न समुदायों** के गरिमा के साथ जीने के समान रूप से महत्वपूर्ण अधिकार में संतुलन बना रहे।
- The court was hearing a case against comedians, including Samay Raina, for “abusing freedom of speech and expression” by making insensitive jokes about persons with disabilities.
अदालत हास्य कलाकारों, जिनमें **समय रैना** भी शामिल हैं, के खिलाफ एक मामले की सुनवाई कर रही थी, जिन पर विकलांग व्यक्तियों के बारे में असंवेदनशील चुटकुले बनाकर **अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता** का दुरुपयोग करने का आरोप है।
- “When you are commercialising free speech, you should also bear in mind not to hurt the sentiments of certain sections of society,” Justice Bagchi observed.
“जब आप **अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता** का व्यावसायीकरण कर रहे हैं, तो आपको यह भी ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि समाज के कुछ वर्गों की भावनाओं को आहत न करें,” **न्यायमूर्ति बागची** ने कहा।
- Justice Kant said that by making insensitive jokes about persons with disabilities, the constitutional objective of bringing them into the mainstream was “completely smashed”.
न्यायमूर्ति कांत ने कहा कि विकलांग व्यक्तियों पर असंवेदनशील चुटकुले बनाकर उन्हें मुख्यधारा में लाने का **संवैधानिक उद्देश्य** “पूरी तरह से नष्ट” कर दिया गया।

‘Varied communities’ ‘विविध समुदाय’

- Justice Bagchi acknowledged that humour was an irreplaceable part of life, but levity must not breach sensibilities. “We are a country of varied communities,” he said.
न्यायमूर्ति बागची ने स्वीकार किया कि हास्य जीवन का अपूरणीय हिस्सा है, लेकिन हल्केपन को संवेदनाओं का उल्लंघन नहीं करना चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा, “हम विविध समुदायों का देश हैं।”
- Justice Kant said guidelines must be framed in a way that violation would inevitably lead to specific consequences. “Unless effective consequences are framed, people can zig-zag their way out of liability. Consequences must be proportionate to the harm done. They cannot be an empty formality,” he said.
न्यायमूर्ति कांत ने कहा कि दिशानिर्देश इस तरह बनाए जाने चाहिए कि उल्लंघन से अनिवार्य रूप से **विशिष्ट परिणाम** हों। उन्होंने कहा, “जब तक प्रभावी परिणाम तय नहीं किए जाते, लोग जिम्मेदारी से बचने का रास्ता निकाल लेंगे। परिणाम किए गए नुकसान के अनुपात में होने चाहिए। वे एक खाली औपचारिकता नहीं हो सकते।”
- He clarified that the court was not for a moment trying to curtail free speech, but was expecting the proposed guidelines to draw a line between free speech and hurtful speech.
उन्होंने स्पष्ट किया कि अदालत **अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता** को कम करने की कोशिश नहीं कर रही है, बल्कि यह उम्मीद कर रही है कि प्रस्तावित दिशानिर्देश **अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता** और **आहत करने वाले भाषण** के बीच एक रेखा खींचेंगे।



Primary aim प्राथमिक उद्देश्य

- **Attorney-General R. Venkataramani**, appearing for the Centre, responded that the primary objective of the proposed guidelines would be sensitisation of social media users.
केंद्र की ओर से पेश हुए **अटॉर्नी-जनरल आर. वेंकटारमणी** ने कहा कि प्रस्तावित दिशानिर्देशों का **प्राथमिक उद्देश्य** सोशल मीडिया उपयोगकर्ताओं को **संवेदनशील बनाना** होगा।
- “But if somebody violates, they will have to take responsibility... Many of these media blogs are like feeding your own ego,” Mr. Venkataramani submitted.
लेकिन अगर कोई उल्लंघन करता है, तो उसे जिम्मेदारी लेनी होगी... इनमें से कई मीडिया ब्लॉग अपनी **अहम की नृप्ति** जैसे हैं,” श्री वेंकटारमणी ने कहा।
- Justice Bagchi pointed out that the top court had divided speech into free speech, commercial speech, and prohibited speech. “What we see here is an overlap of commercial and prohibited speech,” the judge remarked.
न्यायमूर्ति बागची ने कहा कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने **भाषण** को तीन हिस्सों में बांटा है – **स्वतंत्र भाषण, वाणिज्यिक भाषण और निषिद्ध भाषण**। उन्होंने टिप्पणी की, “यहां हम वाणिज्यिक और निषिद्ध भाषण का ओवरलैप देख रहे हैं।”
- “Today, we have an unfortunate incident of disabled persons, tomorrow it can be about women, children and senior citizens. Anybody can start making fun... where is all this going to end?” Justice Kant asked.
“आज हमारे पास विकलांग व्यक्तियों से जुड़ी एक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटना है, कल यह महिलाओं, बच्चों और वरिष्ठ नागरिकों के बारे में हो सकती है। कोई भी मजाक बनाना शुरू कर सकता है... यह सब कहां जाकर खत्म होगा?” **न्यायमूर्ति कांत** ने पूछा।
- Senior advocate Aparajita Singh, who represents M/s SMA Cure Foundation, which had moved against the comedians’ remarks about persons with disabilities, submitted that “what influencers say matters. It influences an entire generation”.
वरिष्ठ अधिवक्ता अपराजिता सिंह, जो **SMA Cure Foundation** का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रही थीं जिसने हास्य कलाकारों की विकलांग व्यक्तियों पर टिप्पणी के खिलाफ मामला दायर किया था, ने कहा कि “**इन्फ्लुएंसर्स** जो कहते हैं उसका महत्व है। यह पूरी पीढ़ी को प्रभावित करता है।”
- Ms. Singh said they could act as ambassadors to spread awareness and sensitivity on social media. “That will be the best apology they could make,” Ms. Singh suggested.
सुश्री सिंह ने कहा कि वे सोशल मीडिया पर जागरूकता और संवेदनशीलता फैलाने के लिए **राजदूत** की तरह कार्य कर सकते हैं। उन्होंने सुझाव दिया, “यह सबसे अच्छा **माफी** होगा जो वे कर सकते हैं।”
- The court directed the comedians to communicate their unconditional apology through their shows. It listed the case in November.
अदालत ने हास्य कलाकारों को अपने शो के माध्यम से अपनी **निर्विवाद माफी** देने का निर्देश दिया। इस मामले को नवंबर में सूचीबद्ध किया गया।



SC stays action against analyst over erroneous post on polls

GS II: FR

The Hindu Bureau

NEW DELHI

The Supreme Court on Monday stayed the criminal proceedings against Sanjay Kumar, psephologist and co-director of Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), for a social media post concerning an erroneous analysis of the 2024 Maharashtra Assembly election.

A Bench headed by Chief Justice of India B.R. Gavai issued notice to the State of Maharashtra on a plea by Mr. Kumar to quash the criminal proceedings. During the hear-



Sanjay Kumar

ing, the CJI pointed out that Mr. Kumar had retracted the post.

“He deleted and apologised. This person has impeccable integrity. It was a mistake,” Mr. Kumar’s

counsel said. The police had registered two FIRs against the psephologist.

Mr. Kumar had posted about the fluctuations in voter numbers in specific constituencies. Later, he had deleted the post upon realising that the analysis was wrong. He argued that a social media post giving wrong information cannot form the basis of an FIR for offences such as forgery.

“Such actions violate the fundamental principles of fairness and natural justice and serve to create a chilling effect on the exercise of free speech,” Mr. Kumar said.

SC stays action against analyst over erroneous post on polls

चुनावों पर त्रुटिपूर्ण पोस्ट को लेकर विश्लेषक के खिलाफ कार्रवाई पर SC की रोक

The Supreme Court on Monday stayed the criminal proceedings against Sanjay Kumar, psephologist and co-director of Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), for a social media post concerning an erroneous analysis of the 2024 Maharashtra Assembly election.

सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने सोमवार को संजय कुमार, जो कि एक चुनाव विश्लेषक और Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) के सह-निदेशक हैं, के खिलाफ 2024 महाराष्ट्र विधानसभा चुनाव पर त्रुटिपूर्ण विश्लेषण से जुड़े एक सोशल मीडिया पोस्ट को लेकर दर्ज आपराधिक कार्यवाही पर रोक लगा दी।



- A Bench headed by **Chief Justice of India B.R. Gavai** issued notice to the **State of Maharashtra** on a plea by Mr. Kumar to quash the criminal proceedings. During the hearing, the **CJI** pointed out that Mr. Kumar had retracted the post.
भारत के मुख्य न्यायाधीश बी.आर. गवई की अध्यक्षता वाली पीठ ने संजय कुमार की याचिका पर आपराधिक कार्यवाही रद्द करने के लिए महाराष्ट्र राज्य को नोटिस जारी किया। सुनवाई के दौरान **CJI** ने बताया कि संजय कुमार ने पोस्ट वापस ले लिया था।
- “He deleted and apologised. This person has impeccable integrity. It was a mistake,” Mr. Kumar’s counsel said. The police had registered two **FIRs** against the psephologist.
“उन्होंने पोस्ट हटा दिया और माफी भी मांगी। इस व्यक्ति की ईमानदारी बेदाग है। यह एक गलती थी,” संजय कुमार के वकील ने कहा। पुलिस ने इस चुनाव विश्लेषक के खिलाफ दो **FIR** दर्ज की थीं।
- Mr. Kumar had posted about the fluctuations in voter numbers in specific constituencies. Later, he had deleted the post upon realising that the analysis was wrong.
संजय कुमार ने कुछ विशेष निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में मतदाता संख्या में उतार-चढ़ाव को लेकर पोस्ट किया था। बाद में जब उन्हें एहसास हुआ कि विश्लेषण गलत है तो उन्होंने वह पोस्ट हटा दिया।
- He argued that a social media post giving wrong information cannot form the basis of an **FIR** for offences such as forgery.
उन्होंने तर्क दिया कि गलत जानकारी देने वाला एक सोशल मीडिया पोस्ट जालसाजी जैसे अपराधों के लिए **FIR** दर्ज करने का आधार नहीं बन सकता।
- “Such actions violate the fundamental principles of fairness and natural justice and serve to create a chilling effect on the exercise of **free speech**,” Mr. Kumar said.
“ऐसी कार्रवाइयाँ निष्पक्षता और प्राकृतिक न्याय के बुनियादी सिद्धांतों का उल्लंघन करती हैं और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता के उपयोग पर भय का माहौल पैदा करती हैं,” संजय कुमार ने कहा।

PATRIOTICIAS



India, Fiji call for open Indo-Pacific region, agree to deepen defence ties

As per a joint statement, both the sides emphasise the importance of their 'shared interests in advancing regional peace, stability, and prosperity'; both the countries agree to work together on UN peacekeeping operations, military medicine

GS II: India Fiji

Kallol Bhattacharjee

NEW DELHI

India will provide training and equipment to upgrade Fiji's maritime security, Prime Minister Narendra Modi said on Monday.

Welcoming visiting Fijian Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka, Mr. Modi said India and Fiji "strongly support a free, open" Indo-Pacific region as both sides declared that India would work to build capacity for the armed forces of Fiji.

"In our cooperation with the Pacific island nations, we see Fiji as a hub. Both our countries strongly support a free, open, inclusive, secure, and prosperous Indo-Pacific. We warmly welcome India's Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative," Mr. Modi said, announcing the collaboration between India and the Fijian military forces.

A joint statement issued at the end of consultation



Strategic meeting: Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Fiji Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka at Hyderabad House in New Delhi on Monday. SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA

said the two sides emphasised the importance of their "shared interests in advancing regional peace, stability, and prosperity".

"Prime Minister Modi reaffirmed India's commitment to advancing the priority areas of cooperation outlined in the Memorandum of Understanding [MoU] on Defence Cooperation signed in 2017, and to

supporting Fiji's strategic priorities in these areas," the joint statement said.

Welcomes India's aid

The two sides agreed to work together on UN peacekeeping operations, military medicine, the White Shipping Information Exchange, and capacity-building for Fijian military forces.

Speaking on the occasion, Mr. Rabuka emphasised the need to protect Fiji's Exclusive Economic Zone, and welcomed India's assurance to assist with Fiji's security needs. "Prime Minister Rabuka welcomed the planned port call by an Indian naval ship to Fiji which will enhance maritime cooperation and interoperability."

During the talks at Hyderabad House here, India and Fiji signed seven MoUs that included an agreement on building a super-specialty hospital in Fiji, and one on migration and mobility. Both the leaders agreed to strengthen cooperation against terrorism, and reiterated condemnation for the terror attack in Pahalgam. Mr. Modi announced the gifting of two ambulances to Fiji's military forces, and the opening of the defence wing in the High Commission of India in Fijian capital Suva. The countries agreed to enhance cooperation in cybersecurity, and welcomed the setting up of a cybersecurity training cell in Fiji.

Mr. Rabuka had in July opposed China's reported plans to establish a naval base in the Pacific islands. As a signal to the Chinese side, the statement also called for a "free, open Indo-Pacific region".

India, Fiji call for open Indo-Pacific region, agree to deepen defence ties

भारत, फिजी ने खुले इंडो-पैसिफिक क्षेत्र की अपील की, रक्षा संबंधों को गहरा करने पर सहमति जताई

As per a joint statement, both the sides emphasise the importance of their 'shared interests in advancing regional peace, stability, and prosperity'; both the countries agree to work together on UN peacekeeping operations, military medicine.

संयुक्त बयान के अनुसार, दोनों पक्षों ने 'क्षेत्रीय शांति, स्थिरता और समृद्धि को आगे बढ़ाने में अपने साझा हितों' के महत्व पर जोर दिया; दोनों देशों ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र शांति स्थापना अभियानों और सैन्य चिकित्सा पर मिलकर काम करने पर सहमति जताई।

- India will provide training and equipment to upgrade Fiji's maritime security, Prime Minister Narendra Modi said on Monday.



प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने सोमवार को कहा कि भारत फिजी की समुद्री सुरक्षा को उन्नत करने के लिए प्रशिक्षण और उपकरण प्रदान करेगा।

- **Welcoming visiting Fijian Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka**, Mr. Modi said India and Fiji “strongly support a free, open” **Indo-Pacific region** as both sides declared that India would work to build capacity for the armed forces of Fiji.

फिजी के प्रधानमंत्री सिटिवेनी राबुका का स्वागत करते हुए, श्री मोदी ने कहा कि भारत और फिजी “मुक्त और खुले” इंडो-पैसिफिक क्षेत्र का दृढ़ता से समर्थन करते हैं क्योंकि दोनों पक्षों ने घोषणा की कि भारत फिजी की सशस्त्र सेनाओं की क्षमता निर्माण में मदद करेगा।

- “In our cooperation with the Pacific island nations, we see **Fiji as a hub**. Both our countries strongly support a free, open, inclusive, secure, and prosperous **Indo-Pacific**. We warmly welcome India’s **Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative**,” Mr. Modi said, announcing the collaboration between India and the Fijian military forces.

“प्रशांत द्वीपीय देशों के साथ हमारे सहयोग में हम फिजी को

एक केंद्र के रूप में देखते हैं। हमारे दोनों देश एक मुक्त, खुला, समावेशी, सुरक्षित और समृद्ध इंडो-पैसिफिक का दृढ़ता से समर्थन करते हैं। हम भारत की इंडो-पैसिफिक ओशंस इनिशिएटिव का गर्मजोशी से स्वागत करते हैं,” श्री मोदी ने कहा, भारत और फिजी की सेनाओं के बीच सहयोग की घोषणा करते हुए।

- A joint statement issued at the end of consultation said the two sides emphasised the importance of their “shared interests in advancing regional peace, stability, and prosperity”. परामर्श के अंत में जारी संयुक्त बयान में कहा गया कि दोनों पक्षों ने “क्षेत्रीय शांति, स्थिरता और समृद्धि को आगे बढ़ाने में अपने साझा हितों” के महत्व पर जोर दिया।
- “Prime Minister Modi reaffirmed India’s commitment to advancing the priority areas of cooperation outlined in the **MoU on Defence Cooperation signed in 2017**, and to supporting **Fiji’s strategic priorities** in these areas,” the joint statement said. संयुक्त बयान में कहा गया, “प्रधानमंत्री मोदी ने 2017 में हस्ताक्षरित रक्षा सहयोग पर समझौता ज्ञापन (MoU) में उल्लिखित सहयोग के प्राथमिक क्षेत्रों को आगे बढ़ाने और इन क्षेत्रों में फिजी की रणनीतिक प्राथमिकताओं का समर्थन करने के लिए भारत की प्रतिबद्धता को दोहराया।”

- **Welcomes India’s aid**
भारत की सहायता का स्वागत

- The two sides agreed to work together on **UN peacekeeping operations, military medicine, the White Shipping Information Exchange, and capacity-building for Fijian military forces**.

दोनों पक्षों ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र शांति स्थापना अभियानों, सैन्य चिकित्सा, व्हाइट शिपिंग सूचना आदान-प्रदान और फिजी की सेनाओं की क्षमता निर्माण पर मिलकर काम करने पर सहमति जताई।

- Speaking on the occasion, Mr. **Rabuka** emphasised the need to protect Fiji’s **Exclusive Economic Zone**, and welcomed India’s assurance to assist with Fiji’s security needs. इस अवसर पर बोलते हुए श्री राबुका ने फिजी के विशेष आर्थिक क्षेत्र (EEZ) की रक्षा की आवश्यकता पर जोर दिया और फिजी की सुरक्षा जरूरतों में सहायता करने के भारत के आश्वासन का स्वागत किया।
- “Prime Minister Rabuka welcomed the planned port call by an Indian naval ship to Fiji which will enhance maritime cooperation and interoperability.” “प्रधानमंत्री राबुका ने फिजी में एक भारतीय नौसैनिक जहाज के प्रस्तावित पोर्ट कॉल का स्वागत किया, जो समुद्री सहयोग और परस्पर संचालन क्षमता को बढ़ाएगा।”
- During the talks at **Hyderabad House** here, India and Fiji signed **seven MoUs** that included an agreement on building a **super-specialty hospital** in Fiji, and one on **migration and mobility**. Both the leaders agreed to strengthen cooperation against **terrorism**, and reiterated condemnation for the terror attack in **Pahalgam**.

यहाँ हैदराबाद हाउस में हुई वार्ता के दौरान भारत और फिजी ने सात समझौता ज्ञापन (MoUs) पर हस्ताक्षर किए जिनमें फिजी में एक सुपर-स्पेशियलिटी अस्पताल बनाने और प्रवासन एवं गतिशीलता पर एक समझौता





शामिल था। दोनों नेताओं ने आतंकवाद के खिलाफ सहयोग को मजबूत करने पर सहमति जताई और पहलगाम में हुए आतंकी हमले की निंदा को दोहराया।

- Mr. Modi announced the gifting of **two ambulances** to Fiji's military forces, and the opening of the **defence wing** in the **High Commission of India** in Fijian capital **Suva**.
श्री मोदी ने फिजी की सेनाओं को **दो एम्बुलेंस** भेंट करने और फिजी की राजधानी **सुवा** में **भारतीय उच्चायोग** में **रक्षा प्रकोष्ठ** खोलने की घोषणा की।
- The countries agreed to enhance cooperation in **cybersecurity**, and welcomed the setting up of a **cybersecurity training cell** in Fiji.
दोनों देशों ने **साइबर सुरक्षा** में सहयोग बढ़ाने पर सहमति जताई और फिजी में **साइबर सुरक्षा प्रशिक्षण केंद्र** स्थापित करने का स्वागत किया।
- Mr. Rabuka had in **July** opposed **China's reported plans** to establish a naval base in the **Pacific islands**.
श्री राबुका ने **जुलाई** में **प्रशांत द्वीपों** में नौसैनिक अड्डा स्थापित करने की **चीन की कथित योजना** का विरोध किया था।
- As a signal to the **Chinese side**, the statement also called for a "free, open Indo-Pacific region".
चीनी पक्ष को संकेत के रूप में, बयान में "मुक्त और खुले इंडो-पैसिफिक क्षेत्र" की भी अपील की गई।

PATRIOTIC IAS



Modi degree row: Delhi HC quashes CIC's permission to inspect university records

GS II: RTI

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

The Delhi High Court on Monday quashed the Central Information Commission's (CIC) 2016 order permitting a Right to Information (RTI) activist to inspect Delhi University's 1978 Bachelor of Arts (BA) records, the year Prime Minister Narendra Modi graduated.

"Something which is of interest to the public" is quite different from "something which is in the public interest," Justice Sachin Dutta remarked as he set aside the CIC's order.

In the 175-page combined judgment, Justice Datta also ruled against the CIC's order directing the CBSE to share Class 10 and 12 records of BJP leader Smriti Irani to an RTI applicant saying that "there is no implicit public interest in respect of the information sought".

On the RTI plea of acti-



The Delhi University told the HC that the CIC order had 'far-reaching consequences'.

ivist Neeraj, the CIC had ordered Delhi University (DU) to allow inspection of its register containing details of all students who passed the BA examination in 1978 – including their roll numbers, names, fathers' names and marks and to provide certified extracts of the relevant pages. After the DU challenged the CIC's order, the court stayed it on the very first hearing, January 24, 2017.

In its plea, the DU had contended that it cannot

reveal details of personal information of all students, who had appeared for BA in 1978, the year Mr. Modi cleared the degree. It had argued that the information of students is held in "fiduciary capacity, the same is exempt from disclosure" under the RTI Act. The university said the CIC order had "far-reaching adverse consequences" for all universities that held degrees of crores of students.

Justice Dutta agreed with the DU's contention, noting that the "court cannot be oblivious to the reality that what may superficially appear to be an innocuous or isolated disclosure could open the floodgates of indiscriminate demands". "The fact that the information sought pertains to a public figure does not extinguish privacy/confidentiality rights over personal data, unconnected with public duties," the court added.



Modi degree row: Delhi HC quashes CIC's permission to inspect university records

मोदी डिग्री विवाद: दिल्ली हाईकोर्ट ने विश्वविद्यालय रिकॉर्ड का निरीक्षण करने की CIC की अनुमति रद्द की

The Delhi High Court on Monday quashed the Central Information Commission's (CIC) 2016 order permitting a Right to Information (RTI) activist to inspect Delhi University's 1978 Bachelor of Arts (BA) records, the year Prime Minister Narendra Modi graduated.

दिल्ली हाईकोर्ट ने सोमवार को केंद्रीय सूचना आयोग (CIC) के 2016 के आदेश को रद्द कर दिया, जिसमें एक RTI कार्यकर्ता को दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय के 1978 बैचलर ऑफ आर्ट्स (BA) रिकॉर्ड, जिस वर्ष प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी ने स्नातक किया था, का निरीक्षण करने की अनुमति दी गई थी।

- "Something which is of interest to the public" is quite different from "something which is in the public interest," Justice Sachin Dutta remarked as he set aside the CIC's order. "कुछ ऐसा जो जनता की रुचि का विषय हो" और "कुछ ऐसा जो जनहित में हो" के बीच बहुत अंतर है, ऐसा टिप्पणी करते हुए न्यायमूर्ति सचिन दत्ता ने CIC के आदेश को निरस्त कर दिया।
- In the 175-page combined judgment, Justice Datta also ruled against the CIC's order directing the CBSE to share Class 10 and 12 records of BJP leader Smriti Irani to an RTI applicant saying that "there is no implicit public interest in respect of the information sought". 175 पृष्ठों के संयुक्त निर्णय में, न्यायमूर्ति दत्ता ने CIC के उस आदेश को भी खारिज कर दिया जिसमें CBSE को निर्देश दिया गया था कि वह भाजपा नेता स्मृति ईरानी के कक्षा 10 और 12 के रिकॉर्ड एक RTI आवेदक को साझा करे, यह कहते हुए कि "मांगी गई जानकारी के संबंध में कोई अंतर्निहित जनहित नहीं है।"
- On the RTI plea of activist Neeraj, the CIC had ordered Delhi University (DU) to allow inspection of its register containing details of all students who passed the BA examination in 1978 — including their roll numbers, names, fathers' names and marks and to provide certified extracts of the relevant pages. After the DU challenged the CIC's order, the court stayed it on the very first hearing, January 24, 2017. कार्यकर्ता नीरज की RTI याचिका पर, CIC ने दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय (DU) को आदेश दिया था कि वह अपने उस रजिस्टर का निरीक्षण करने की अनुमति दे जिसमें 1978 में BA परीक्षा पास करने वाले सभी छात्रों का विवरण हो — जिसमें रोल नंबर, नाम, पिता का नाम और अंक शामिल हों, और संबंधित पन्नों की प्रमाणित प्रतियां उपलब्ध कराई जाएं। DU द्वारा CIC के आदेश को चुनौती देने के बाद, अदालत ने इसे पहली ही सुनवाई पर, 24 जनवरी 2017 को स्थगित कर दिया।
- In its plea, the DU had contended that it cannot reveal details of personal information of all students, who had appeared for BA in 1978, the year Mr. Modi cleared the degree. It had argued that the information of students is held in "fiduciary capacity, the same is exempt from disclosure" under the RTI Act. The university said the CIC order had "far-reaching adverse consequences" for all universities that held degrees of crores of students. अपनी याचिका में, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय ने कहा था कि वह 1978 में BA देने वाले सभी छात्रों की व्यक्तिगत जानकारी का विवरण उजागर नहीं कर सकता, जिस वर्ष श्री मोदी ने डिग्री पास की थी। उसने दलील दी थी कि छात्रों की जानकारी "विश्वासनीय क्षमता" में रखी गई है, और यह RTI अधिनियम के तहत खुलासे से मुक्त है। विश्वविद्यालय ने कहा कि CIC का आदेश उन सभी विश्वविद्यालयों के लिए "दूरगामी प्रतिकूल परिणाम" देगा, जिनके पास करोड़ों छात्रों की डिग्रियां सुरक्षित हैं।
- Justice Dutta agreed with the DU's contention, noting that the "court cannot be oblivious to the reality that what may superficially appear to be an innocuous or isolated disclosure could open the floodgates of indiscriminate demands". "The fact that the information sought pertains to a public figure does not extinguish privacy/confidentiality rights over personal data, unconnected with public duties," the court added. न्यायमूर्ति दत्ता ने DU की दलील से सहमति जताई और कहा कि "अदालत इस वास्तविकता से अनभिज्ञ नहीं रह सकती कि जो सतही तौर पर हानिरहित या अलग-थलग खुलासा प्रतीत हो सकता है, वह अंधाधुंध मांगों के



बाढ़ का द्वार खोल सकता है।” “यह तथ्य कि मांगी गई जानकारी एक सार्वजनिक व्यक्ति से संबंधित है, इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि व्यक्तिगत डेटा पर गोपनीयता/गोपनीयता अधिकार, जो सार्वजनिक कर्तव्यों से असंबद्ध हैं, समाप्त हो जाते हैं,” अदालत ने जोड़ा।

Retired judges slam Shah's comments on Salwa Judum verdict

GS II: FR

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

A group of 18 retired judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts have penned a joint statement against Home Minister Amit Shah's remarks on the Supreme Court's *Salwa Judum* judgment, saying that such “prejudicial misinterpretation” will have a “chilling effect on the judges of the Supreme Court, shaking the independence of the judiciary”.

The signatories, including the former Supreme Court judges Justices Kurien Joseph, Madan B. Lokur, and J. Chelameswar, said it would be wise to refrain from “name-calling”.

Mr. Shah had accused Justice B. Sudershan Reddy (Retd.), Vice-President election candidate and co-author of the 2011 judgment, of “supporting” Naxalism. He had said that if Justice Reddy had not delivered the judgment, left-wing extremism would have ended before 2020.

‘Campaign civilly’

“While the campaign for the office of the Vice-President of India may well be ideological, it can be conducted civilly and with dignity. Criticising the so-called ideology of either candidate should be eschewed,” the retired judges said.

Out of respect for the of-



Amit Shah had accused Justice B. Sudershan Reddy of ‘supporting’ Naxalism.

ice of the Vice-President, it would be wise to refrain from “name-calling”, they said.

‘Exposing lies’

Citing the statement of the judges, the Congress criticised Mr. Shah, saying that there were still people in India courageous enough to call him out. In a post on X, Congress communications chief Jairam Ramesh said, “The Union Home Minister that our country has the great misfortune of having a two-in-one WMD – a weapon of malicious defamation as well as a weapon of mischievous distortion. But there are still people in India courageous enough to call him out.”

He said retired Supreme Court judges, retired Chief Justices of High Courts, and retired judges of High Courts, had now “exposed his lies” about Justice Sudershan Reddy.

Retired judges slam Shah's comments on Salwa Judum verdict सेवानिवृत्त न्यायाधीशों ने सलवा जुडूम फैसले पर शाह की टिप्पणी की निंदा की

A group of 18 retired judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts have penned a joint statement against Home Minister Amit Shah's remarks on the Supreme Court's *Salwa Judum* judgment, saying that such “prejudicial misinterpretation” will have a “chilling effect on the judges of the Supreme Court, shaking the independence of the judiciary”.

सुप्रीम कोर्ट और हाई कोर्ट्स के 18 सेवानिवृत्त न्यायाधीशों के एक समूह ने गृहमंत्री अमित शाह की सलवा जुडूम फैसले पर की गई टिप्पणी के खिलाफ एक संयुक्त बयान जारी किया, जिसमें कहा गया कि ऐसी “पक्षपातपूर्ण गलत व्याख्या” का “सुप्रीम कोर्ट के न्यायाधीशों पर भयावह प्रभाव पड़ेगा और न्यायपालिका की स्वतंत्रता हिल जाएगी”।

• The signatories, including the former Supreme Court judges Justices Kurien Joseph, Madan B. Lokur, and J. Chelameswar, said it would be wise to refrain from “name-calling”.

हस्ताक्षरकर्ताओं में पूर्व सुप्रीम कोर्ट न्यायाधीश कुरियन जोसेफ, मदन बी. लोकर और जे. चेलमेश्वर शामिल थे, जिन्होंने कहा कि “गाली-गलौज से बचना बुद्धिमानी होगी।”

• Mr. Shah had accused Justice B. Sudershan Reddy (Retd.), Vice-President election candidate and co-author of the 2011 judgment, of “supporting” Naxalism. He had said that if Justice Reddy had not delivered the judgment, left-wing extremism would have ended before 2020.

श्री शाह ने न्यायमूर्ति बी. सुधर्शन रेड्डी (सेवानिवृत्त), उपराष्ट्रपति चुनाव उम्मीदवार और 2011 के फैसले के सह-लेखक, पर नक्सलवाद “समर्थन”

का आरोप लगाया था। उन्होंने कहा था कि यदि न्यायमूर्ति रेड्डी ने वह फैसला नहीं सुनाया होता, तो वामपंथी उग्रवाद 2020 से पहले ही समाप्त हो गया होता।

‘Campaign civilly’

‘शालीनता से प्रचार करें’

- “While the campaign for the office of the Vice-President of India may well be ideological, it can be conducted civilly and with dignity. Criticising the so-called ideology of either candidate



should be eschewed,” the retired judges said.

“भारत के उपराष्ट्रपति पद के लिए प्रचार विचारधारात्मक हो सकता है, लेकिन इसे शालीनता और गरिमा के साथ किया जा सकता है। किसी भी उम्मीदवार की कथित विचारधारा की आलोचना से बचना चाहिए,” सेवानिवृत्त न्यायाधीशों ने कहा।

- Out of respect for the office of the **Vice-President**, it would be wise to refrain from “name-calling”, they said.

उपराष्ट्रपति के पद के सम्मान में, उन्होंने कहा कि “गाली-गलौज से बचना बुद्धिमानी होगी।”

‘Exposing lies’

‘झूठ को उजागर करना’

- Citing the statement of the judges, the **Congress** criticised Mr. Shah, saying that there were still people in **India** courageous enough to call him out. In a post on **X**, **Congress communications chief Jairam Ramesh** said, “The Union Home Minister said that our country has the great misfortune of having a two-in-one WMD — a weapon of malicious defamation as well as a weapon of mischievous distortion. But there are still people in India courageous enough to call him out.”

न्यायाधीशों के बयान का हवाला देते हुए कांग्रेस ने श्री शाह की आलोचना की और कहा कि भारत में अभी भी ऐसे लोग हैं जिनमें उन्हें बेनकाब करने का साहस है। एक्स पर पोस्ट में, कांग्रेस संचार प्रमुख जयराम रमेश ने कहा, “हमारे देश के लिए दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि केंद्रीय गृहमंत्री दोहरी भूमिका में हैं — एक ‘दुष्ट मानहानि का हथियार’ और दूसरा ‘शरारती विकृति का हथियार’। लेकिन भारत में अभी भी ऐसे लोग हैं जिनमें उन्हें बेनकाब करने का साहस है।”

- He said retired **Supreme Court judges**, retired **Chief Justices of High Courts**, and retired **judges of High Courts**, had now “exposed his lies” about **Justice Sudershan Reddy**.

उन्होंने कहा कि सेवानिवृत्त सुप्रीम कोर्ट न्यायाधीशों, सेवानिवृत्त हाई कोर्ट के मुख्य न्यायाधीशों और सेवानिवृत्त हाई कोर्ट न्यायाधीशों ने अब न्यायमूर्ति सुधर्शन रेड्डी के बारे में “उनके झूठ को उजागर” कर दिया है।

PATRIOTIC



GS II: Legislature

Beyond debate

Dysfunction of legislatures is due to concentration of power in the executive

Addressing the two-day All India Speakers' Conference in New Delhi on August 24, Union Home Minister Shah called attention to the frequent disruptions that have paralysed deliberations in Assemblies and Parliament. His point that "debate must take place in a democracy" is beyond any debate. But when one goes beyond the truism, a picture of India's representative democracy in distress emerges. Bitterness between the government and the Opposition has erased the scope for any common ground, and Parliament has been reduced to a theatre of mutual diatribe. His remarks followed soon after the Opposition's protests, demanding a debate on the Special Intensive Revision of electoral rolls in Bihar, that led to repeated adjournments. Most of the legislative business was carried out with little or no debate. In a session with 21 sittings spread out over 32 days, 15 Bills were passed. According to PRS Legislative Research's analysis, the Lok Sabha functioned for 29% of its scheduled time, and the Rajya Sabha for 34% – the lowest functioning seen during the 18th Lok Sabha. Two-thirds of the planned time was lost to repeated adjournments. In the Lower House, only 8% of starred questions received an oral reply, while it was 5% in the Upper House. On 12 days in the Rajya Sabha and on seven in the Lok Sabha, no questions were answered orally over the 21 days. Question Hour, an instrument of executive accountability, has been rendered ineffective.

The dysfunction of legislatures is linked to concentration of power in the chief executive, the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers. According to the Annual Review of State Laws 2024 by PRS Legislative Research, State Assemblies met for an average of just 20 days in 2024, down from 28 in 2017. Larger States such as Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh recorded only 16 sitting days, while Odisha and Kerala led with 42 and 38 days, respectively. More than half the Bills were passed on the same day, with little debate. Eight Assemblies do not have a Deputy Speaker; the Lok Sabha has not had a Deputy Speaker since June 2019. Parliamentary committees that used to be a platform for more deliberative and less acrimonious debates have also become vulnerable to partisanship. It is propitious that Mr. Shah thinks that there should be more debate in legislatures, but it will be meaningful only when the government translates that view into action by engaging with the Opposition. A starting point can be a consensus election of an Opposition leader as the Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

Beyond debate विवाद से परे

Dysfunction of legislatures is due to concentration of power in the executive.

विधायिकाओं की अव्यवस्था का कारण कार्यपालिका में शक्ति का केंद्रीकरण है।

Parliamentary Disruptions and Declining Legislative Functioning

संसदीय अवरोध और विधायी कार्यप्रणाली में गिरावट

Addressing the two-day All India Speakers' Conference in New Delhi on August 24, Union Home Minister Shah called attention to the frequent disruptions that have paralysed deliberations in Assemblies and Parliament.

24 अगस्त को नई दिल्ली में आयोजित दो दिवसीय अखिल भारतीय सभापति सम्मेलन को संबोधित करते हुए केंद्रीय गृह मंत्री शाह ने बार-बार होने वाले अवरोधों की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया, जिन्होंने विधानसभाओं और संसद की कार्यवाही को पंगु बना दिया है।

His point that "debate must take place in a democracy" is beyond any debate.

उनका यह बिंदु कि "लोकतंत्र में बहस होनी चाहिए" किसी बहस से परे है।

But when one goes beyond the truism, a picture of India's representative democracy in distress emerges. लेकिन जब इस सामान्य सत्य से आगे बढ़ते हैं, तो भारत के प्रतिनिधि लोकतंत्र के संकट की तस्वीर सामने आती है।

Bitterness between the government and the Opposition has erased the scope for any common ground, and Parliament has been reduced to a theatre of mutual diatribe.

सरकार और विपक्ष के बीच की कड़वाहट ने किसी भी साझा आधार की संभावना को समाप्त कर दिया है, और संसद पारस्परिक कटु आलोचना का मंच बनकर रह गई है।

His remarks followed soon after the Opposition's protests demanding a debate on the Special Intensive Revision of electoral rolls in Bihar, that led to repeated adjournments.

उनके बयान विपक्ष के विरोध प्रदर्शनों के तुरंत बाद आए, जिसमें बिहार में मतदाता सूची के विशेष गहन पुनरीक्षण पर बहस की मांग की गई थी, जिसके कारण बार-बार स्थगन हुआ।

Most of the legislative business was carried out with little or no debate.

अधिकांश विधायी कार्यवाही बहुत कम या बिना बहस के पूरी की गई।

In a session with 21 sittings spread out over 32 days, 15 Bills were passed.

32 दिनों में फैली 21 बैठकों वाले एक सत्र में 15 विधेयक पारित किए गए।



- According to PRS Legislative Research's analysis, the Lok Sabha functioned for 29% of its scheduled time, and the Rajya Sabha for 34% — the lowest functioning seen during the 18th Lok Sabha.
पीआरएस विधायी अनुसंधान के विश्लेषण के अनुसार, लोकसभा ने अपने निर्धारित समय का केवल 29% और राज्यसभा ने 34% कार्य किया — यह 18वीं लोकसभा के दौरान देखा गया सबसे कम कार्य था।
- Two-thirds of the planned time was lost to repeated adjournments.
नियोजित समय का दो-तिहाई हिस्सा बार-बार स्थगन में खो गया।
- In the Lower House, only 8% of starred questions received an oral reply, while it was 5% in the Upper House.
निचले सदन में केवल 8% तारांकित प्रश्नों का मौखिक उत्तर दिया गया, जबकि ऊपरी सदन में यह 5% था।
- On 12 days in the Rajya Sabha and on seven in the Lok Sabha, no questions were answered orally over the 21 days.
21 दिनों में से राज्यसभा में 12 दिनों और लोकसभा में 7 दिनों तक किसी भी प्रश्न का मौखिक उत्तर नहीं दिया गया।
- Question Hour, an instrument of executive accountability, has been rendered ineffective.
कार्यकारी जवाबदेही का साधन प्रश्नकाल अब अप्रभावी हो गया है।

Declining Functioning of Legislatures विधानसभाओं की घटती कार्यप्रणाली

- The dysfunction of legislatures is linked to concentration of power in the chief executive, the Prime Minister and Chief Ministers.
विधानसभाओं की कार्यहीनता का संबंध प्रधानमंत्री और मुख्यमंत्रियों जैसे मुख्य कार्यकारियों में शक्ति के केंद्रीकरण से है।
- According to the Annual Review of State Laws 2024 by PRS Legislative Research, State Assemblies met for an average of just 20 days in 2024, down from 28 in 2017.
पीआरएस विधायी अनुसंधान की वार्षिक राज्य कानून समीक्षा 2024 के अनुसार, 2024 में राज्य विधानसभाओं की औसत बैठकें केवल 20 दिन रहीं, जो 2017 के 28 दिनों से कम थीं।
- Larger States such as Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh recorded only 16 sitting days, while Odisha and Kerala led with 42 and 38 days respectively.
बड़े राज्यों जैसे उत्तर प्रदेश और मध्य प्रदेश में केवल 16 बैठकें हुईं, जबकि ओडिशा और केरल क्रमशः 42 और 38 दिनों के साथ सबसे आगे रहे।
- More than half the Bills were passed on the same day, with little debate.
आधे से अधिक विधेयक उसी दिन पारित कर दिए गए, और उन पर बहुत कम बहस हुई।
- Eight Assemblies do not have a Deputy Speaker; the Lok Sabha has not had a Deputy Speaker since June 2019.
आठ विधानसभाओं में उपाध्यक्ष नहीं हैं; और लोकसभा में जून 2019 से उपाध्यक्ष नहीं है।
- Parliamentary committees, once a platform for deliberative and less acrimonious debates, have also become vulnerable to partisanship.
संसदीय समितियाँ, जो कभी विचारपूर्ण और कम कटु बहसों का मंच थीं, अब पक्षपात की शिकार हो गई हैं।

Way Forward आगे का रास्ता

- It is propitious that Mr. Shah thinks there should be more debate in legislatures, but it will be meaningful only when the government engages with the Opposition.
यह शुभ संकेत है कि शाह जी मानते हैं कि विधानसभाओं में अधिक बहस होनी चाहिए, लेकिन यह तभी सार्थक होगा जब सरकार विपक्ष से संवाद करे।
- A starting point can be a consensus election of an Opposition leader as the Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha.
इसकी शुरुआत लोकसभा के उपाध्यक्ष के रूप में विपक्ष के नेता के सर्वसम्मति से चुनाव से की जा सकती है।



Devices of Parliamentary Proceedings:

Question Hour

- The **first hour** of every sitting of Parliament is reserved for **Question Hour**.
- During this time, **Members of Parliament (MPs)** ask questions to ministers, who are obliged to answer.
- It is an important tool of **legislative control over the executive**, making it central to parliamentary democracy.

Types of Questions

1. **Starred Question**
 - Marked with an **asterisk (*)**.
 - Requires an **oral answer** in the House.
 - MP is allowed to ask **supplementary questions (maximum 2)** based on the minister's reply.
 - **Notice Period: 15 clear days** required (as per Lok Sabha rules).
2. **Unstarred Question**
 - Requires a **written reply** from the minister.
 - No supplementary questions are allowed.
 - **Notice Period: 15 clear days**.
 - Answers are laid on the Table of the House and published in the official records.
3. **Short Notice Question**
 - Raised on matters of **urgent public importance**.
 - **Notice Period: Less than 10 clear days**.
 - Answered orally by the minister in the House.
 - The consent of the Speaker/Chairman is mandatory.

Significance of Question Hour

- **Accountability:** Keeps the **executive answerable** to Parliament.
- **Checks and Balances:** Prevents arbitrary decisions and misuse of power.
- **Transparency:** Replies are recorded, published, and scrutinized by the **media and public**.
- **Exposing Scams:** Historically, corruption scandals have surfaced through Question Hour.
 - Example: **LIC–Mundhra scandal (1957)** came to light due to questions in Parliament, forcing Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari to resign.

Issues in Functioning

1. **Disruptions:**
 - A major casualty of **parliamentary ruckus**.
 - In **2015**, only **26% of Question Hour** time was effectively used.
 - In **2020 (Monsoon Session)**, this dropped to **20%** due to suspensions and disruptions.
2. **Suspensions:**
 - **2020 Monsoon Session:** Question Hour was suspended due to COVID-19 restrictions (reduced sitting hours). This invited strong criticism from MPs and civil society.
3. **Corruption:**



- 2005: "Cash for Questions" scam exposed MPs who took money to raise specific questions.
 - It eroded credibility but also led to stricter scrutiny by the **Ethics Committee**.
4. **Underutilization:**
- Many MPs fail to use this device effectively due to **lack of research, staff, or technical expertise**.
 - Developed democracies (like the UK's "Prime Minister's Questions") show greater preparation and sharper accountability.

Recent Updates

- **Digital Transformation:** MPs can now submit questions through the **Parliamentary Portal (e-Notice system)**, making the process transparent.
- **Reforms Suggested:** The **National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (2002)** suggest strengthening research support for MPs to improve the quality of questions.

Zero Hour

- Unlike Question Hour, **Zero Hour is not mentioned in the Rules of Procedure** of Parliament.
- It is an **Indian innovation** (started in **1962**) in parliamentary practices.
- It begins **immediately after Question Hour** and continues until the House takes up its scheduled business.

Features

- MPs can raise matters of **urgent public importance**.
- **No prior notice** required.
- Ministers may respond immediately or later.
- Flexible in nature, but regulated by **Speaker (Lok Sabha) / Chairman (Rajya Sabha)**.

Significance

- Acts as a **safety valve** for raising issues outside the listed agenda.
- Provides space for **public grievances** to be raised quickly.
- Over time, it has become an **institutionalized convention**, though extra-legal.

Recent Updates

- **COVID-19 Period (2020):** Duration of Zero Hour was curtailed to **30 minutes** due to reduced sitting hours.
- Now restored to **normal practice** (about 1 hour in Lok Sabha).
- **Restriction:** In recent sessions, the number of Zero Hour submissions per MP has been limited to ensure order and efficiency.



Friends and foes

Pakistan is filling the void created by the alienation of India from Bangladesh

In the first such visit in 13 years, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Ishaq Dar travelled to Dhaka over the weekend to meet with members of the Bangladeshi interim government, headed by Muhammad Yunus, and hold talks with his counterpart, Touhid Hossain. Ties had been tense since 2009, when Sheikh Hasina came to power, and under strain over the prosecution of those who colluded with Pakistan during the 1971 liberation war – and the assassination of her father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and most of her family in 1975. In 2015, Bangladesh demanded the expulsion of a Pakistani diplomat over links to a terror group and recalled its High Commissioner to Islamabad after Pakistan protested the hanging in Bangladesh of those found guilty of collusion in 1971. Although the two nations subsequently restored envoys, they began to repair ties after Ms. Hasina's ouster last August. The process was also nudged by China, which convened a trilateral mechanism with Bangladesh and Pakistani officials in Kunming. In Dhaka, there was agreement to restore visa facilitation for diplomats, have direct flights, grant scholarships for Bangladeshi students and ways to enhance trade from current lows of less than a billion dollars. However, the Yunus government has refused to move on decades-old Bangladeshi demands for reparations from Pakistan. These include a formal apology for the genocide in 1971 perpetrated by Pakistani forces, financial compensations and the repatriation of thousands of "Stranded Pakistanis" or Urdu-speaking Muhajirs who had migrated there after Partition and still held allegiance to West Pakistan. While meeting Mr. Dar, Mr. Yunus also called for strengthening regional cooperation, including a revival of the SAARC process. India has eyed the thaw in Islamabad-Dhaka ties with some suspicion, given reports that Pakistani diplomats supported Jamaat-e-Islami student activists during the anti-Hasina protests last year. Of greater concern has been military and intelligence contacts.

While there is no question that New Delhi has cause to feel cut out and bruised by the new-found bonhomie between an erstwhile ally and a long-time foe, it is time that South Block adopts a more realistic prism. Pakistan is stepping into the breach caused by the strain in India-Bangladesh ties. Although Mr. Modi met Mr. Yunus in April and External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar met Mr. Hossain on the side-lines of other international events, neither has contemplated a visit, nor has Mr. Yunus been invited. With the announcement of elections in Bangladesh, in February, New Delhi must also broaden its political engagement with political parties there, even as it nudges the Yunus government to a more inclusive process. In the absence of a stronger regional South Asian grouping, New Delhi has a difficult task in holding sway over bilateral ties between any of its neighbours, especially Bangladesh and Pakistan.

for diplomats, have direct flights, grant scholarships for Bangladeshi students and enhance trade from current lows of less than a billion dollars.

ढाका में यह सहमति बनी कि कूटनीतिज्ञों के लिए वीजा सुविधा बहाल की जाए, सीधी उड़ानें शुरू हों,

Friends and foes मित्र और शत्रु

• Pakistan is filling the **void** created by the alienation of **India** from **Bangladesh**.

पाकिस्तान उस खालीपन को भर रहा है जो भारत के बांग्लादेश से अलगाव के कारण उत्पन्न हुआ है।

Pakistan Foreign Minister's Visit to Bangladesh
बांग्लादेश की यात्रा पर पाकिस्तान के विदेश मंत्री

• **In the first such visit in 13 years**, Pakistan's Foreign Minister **Ishaq Dar** travelled to **Dhaka** over the weekend to meet with members of the **Bangladeshi interim government**, headed by **Muhammad Yunus**, and hold talks with his counterpart, **Touhid Hossain**.

13 वर्षों में पहली ऐसी यात्रा में, पाकिस्तान के विदेश मंत्री **इशाक डार** ने सप्ताहांत में **ढाका** की यात्रा की, जहाँ उन्होंने **मुहम्मद यूनुस** के नेतृत्व वाली **बांग्लादेश की अंतरिम सरकार** के सदस्यों से मुलाकात की और अपने समकक्ष **तौहीद हुसैन** से बातचीत की।

• Ties had been tense since **2009**, when **Sheikh Hasina** came to power, and under strain over the **prosecution of those who colluded with Pakistan during the 1971 liberation war** — and the **assassination of her father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and most of her family in 1975**.

संबंध **2009** से तनावपूर्ण रहे जब **शेख हसीना** सत्ता में आई, और यह तनाव और बढ़ा क्योंकि **1971 के मुक्ति संग्राम में पाकिस्तान के साथ मिलीभगत करने वालों पर मुकदमा चला**, तथा **1975 में उनके पिता शेख मुजीबुर रहमान और परिवार के अधिकांश सदस्यों की हत्या हुई।**

• In **2015**, Bangladesh demanded the **expulsion of a Pakistani diplomat** over links to a **terror group** and recalled its **High Commissioner** to Islamabad after Pakistan protested the **hanging** in Bangladesh of those found guilty of collusion in 1971.

2015 में, बांग्लादेश ने एक **पाकिस्तानी राजनयिक को आतंकवादी समूह से संबंधों के कारण निष्कासित करने की मांग की** और पाकिस्तान द्वारा **1971 में मिलीभगत के दोषियों को फांसी पर आपत्ति जताने के बाद अपने हाई कमिश्नर को इस्लामाबाद से वापस बुला लिया।**

• Although the two nations subsequently restored envoys, they began to repair ties after **Ms. Hasina's ouster in August 2024**. **The process was also nudged by China, which convened a trilateral mechanism with Bangladesh and Pakistan in Kunming.**

हालांकि बाद में दोनों देशों ने दूत बहाल किए, लेकिन **अगस्त 2024 में सुश्री हसीना की सत्ता से विदाई** के बाद ही संबंध सुधारने लगे। इस प्रक्रिया को **चीन** ने भी प्रोत्साहित किया, जिसने **कुनमिंग** में बांग्लादेश और पाकिस्तान के साथ एक **त्रिपक्षीय तंत्र** आयोजित किया।

• In **Dhaka**, there was agreement to restore **visa facilitation**



बांग्लादेशी छात्रों को छात्रवृत्ति दी जाए और वर्तमान में एक अरब डॉलर से कम स्तर के व्यापार को बढ़ाया जाए।

- However, the **Yunus government** has refused to move on **decades-old Bangladeshi demands for reparations from Pakistan**. These include a **formal apology** for the **1971 genocide**, **financial compensations**, and the **repatriation of thousands of "Stranded Pakistanis" (Urdu-speaking Muhajirs)**.
हालांकि, **यूनस सरकार** ने पाकिस्तान से **दशकों पुराने बांग्लादेशी मुआवजे के मांगों** को आगे बढ़ाने से इनकार कर दिया। इनमें **1971 के नरसंहार के लिए औपचारिक माफी**, **वित्तीय मुआवजा**, और **हजारों 'फँसे हुए पाकिस्तानियों' (उर्दू-भाषी मुहाजिरो)** की वापसी शामिल हैं।
- While meeting Mr. Dar, **Mr. Yunus** also called for strengthening **regional cooperation**, including a revival of the **SAARC process**.
श्री डार से मुलाकात के दौरान, **श्री यूनस** ने **क्षेत्रीय सहयोग को मजबूत करने** की मांग की, जिसमें **सार्क प्रक्रिया** को पुनर्जीवित करना शामिल है।
- **India** has eyed the thaw in **Islamabad-Dhaka ties** with some suspicion, given reports that **Pakistani diplomats supported Jamaat-e-Islami student activists during the anti-Hasina protests in 2024**. Of greater concern has been **military and intelligence contacts**.
भारत ने **इस्लामाबाद-ढाका संबंधों में नरमी** को संदेह की नज़र से देखा है, क्योंकि रिपोर्टें थीं कि **पाकिस्तानी राजनयिकों ने 2024 के हसीना विरोधी प्रदर्शनों के दौरान जमात-ए-इस्लामी छात्र कार्यकर्ताओं का समर्थन** किया। इससे भी बड़ी चिंता **सैन्य और खुफिया संपर्कों** की रही है।
- While there is no question that **New Delhi** has cause to feel cut out and bruised by the newfound **bonhomie** between an erstwhile ally and a long-time foe, it is time that **South Block** adopts a more **realistic prism**.
इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि **नई दिल्ली** को एक पूर्व सहयोगी और लंबे समय से शत्रु के बीच नए बने **सौहार्दपूर्ण संबंधों** से बाहर और आहत महसूस करने का कारण है, लेकिन अब समय आ गया है कि **साउथ ब्लॉक** एक अधिक **यथार्थवादी दृष्टिकोण** अपनाए।
- **Pakistan is stepping into the breach caused by the strain in India-Bangladesh ties**. Although **Mr. Modi** met **Mr. Yunus in April** and **S. Jaishankar** met **Mr. Hossain** on the sidelines of international events, neither has contemplated a **visit**, nor has **Mr. Yunus** been invited.
पाकिस्तान **भारत-बांग्लादेश संबंधों में आई दरार** को भरने की कोशिश कर रहा है। हालांकि **श्री मोदी** ने **अप्रैल** में **श्री यूनस** से मुलाकात की और **एस. जयशंकर** ने **अंतर्राष्ट्रीय आयोजनों के दौरान श्री हुसैन** से मुलाकात की, लेकिन न तो किसी ने यात्रा पर विचार किया है और न ही **श्री यूनस** को आमंत्रित किया गया है।
- With the announcement of **elections in Bangladesh in February 2025**, New Delhi must broaden its **political engagement** with political parties there, even as it nudges the **Yunus government** to a more **inclusive process**.
फरवरी 2025 में बांग्लादेश में चुनावों की घोषणा के साथ, नई दिल्ली को वहां की **राजनीतिक पार्टियों के साथ अपना राजनीतिक जुड़ाव बढ़ाना चाहिए**, साथ ही **यूनस सरकार** को एक अधिक **समावेशी प्रक्रिया** की ओर प्रेरित करना चाहिए।
- In the absence of a **stronger regional South Asian grouping**, New Delhi has a difficult task in holding sway over **bilateral ties** between any of its neighbours, especially **Bangladesh and Pakistan**.
एक **मजबूत क्षेत्रीय दक्षिण एशियाई समूह** की अनुपस्थिति में, नई दिल्ली के लिए अपने किसी भी पड़ोसी, खासकर **बांग्लादेश और पाकिस्तान**, के साथ **द्विपक्षीय संबंधों** पर प्रभाव बनाए रखना कठिन कार्य है।



India-Japan ties — old partners, new priorities

GS II: India-Japan

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Japan and China, that begins from August 29, comes at a time of flux in global geopolitics. While there is a tentative easing of tensions between India and China after years of strain, there is also growing uncertainty about New Delhi's ties with Washington as the Trump administration seems to be doing everything in its power to push India away. Thus, Mr. Modi's engagement in Tokyo carries weight well beyond the bilateral.

Japan's major investment plan

At the heart of the visit lies Japan's announcement of a ¥10 trillion (about \$68 billion) investment plan in India to be spread over the next decade. This pledge, among the most ambitious Tokyo has ever made to New Delhi, is designed to boost the infrastructure, manufacturing, clean energy, and technology partnership. It signals Japan's long-term stake in India's growth story at a time when many global investors remain cautious about China. The fact that Japan is also investing in the next-generation E10 series Shinkansen for the Mumbai-Ahmedabad high-speed rail corridor reflects economic collaboration alongside Tokyo's willingness to transfer cutting-edge technology to India.

On the strategic front, the two countries are expected to revise the 2008 Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation, reorienting their security and defence partnership in accordance with contemporary realities. The proposed Economic Security Initiative – it covers semiconductors, critical minerals, pharmaceuticals, and clean energy – anchors Japan more firmly within India's quest for diversified supply chains. Also significant is the upgrade of their digital partnership, which is now expected to cover artificial intelligence and startup ecosystems. These initiatives place India-Japan ties at the forefront of technological and security



Harsh V. Pant

is Vice-President – Studies and Foreign Policy at the Observer Research Foundation and Professor of International Relations at King's College London



Pratinashree Basu

is an Associate Fellow-Indo-Pacific at the Observer Research Foundation

The Prime Minister's Japan visit highlights India's steady strategic intent, with signals to China and the U.S.

cooperation in Asia, reinforcing their shared commitment to a free, open, and rules-based Indo-Pacific.

The U.S. factor, a case of strategic balancing

The timing of the visit is important. After the Tokyo meeting, Mr. Modi is scheduled to attend the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation summit in Tianjin, China. Bilateral ties, though scarred by the 2020 Galwan clash, are demonstrating tentative signs of stabilisation with the resumption of direct flights, visa relaxations, and trade facilitation efforts. The visit, from Tokyo to Beijing in a single week, reflects a strategic balancing in many ways. First, it underscores India's ability to engage with a trusted strategic partner and a neighbouring competitor without allowing one relationship to dictate the other. Second, it signals that India can compartmentalise. With Tokyo, the focus is on advancing economic security, defence cooperation, and Indo-Pacific stability. With Beijing, the emphasis will likely be on managing tensions, exploring limited confidence-building measures, and keeping communication lines open.

The balancing becomes even more consequential against the backdrop of Mr. Trump's unpredictability, which has cast a shadow on the reliability of the United States as a steady partner. Mr. Trump stands to unravel years of careful effort invested in building the New Delhi-Washington partnership. Successive administrations on both sides, from George W. Bush to Joe Biden, worked to transform a once-fractious relationship into a cornerstone of Indo-Pacific strategy, anchored in defence cooperation, technology sharing, and growing people-to-people ties. So far, Trump 2.0 risks eroding this progress. The Quad (India, Australia, Japan, the U.S.) too, remains essential to India's Indo-Pacific vision, but its trajectory appears rocky as U.S. engagement turns episodic. The

grouping was conceived as a platform to pool capacities among like-minded democracies, yet its momentum has always depended on Washington's willingness to commit consistently. Under Mr. Trump's second term, signals of disengagement and a narrower view of alliances risk diluting the Quad's strategic coherence. For India, Japan and Australia, this raises pressing questions about sustaining the initiative's credibility and operational depth.

Beyond economics and defence, there is a broader political signal embedded in the visit. By stepping up its engagement with India, Japan is not just diversifying its economic footprint but is also reinforcing the idea that dedicated long-term cooperation can deliver tangible outcomes.

The message

The Tokyo visit is thus less about short-term diplomatic outcomes and more about signalling steady strategic intent – that India is willing to keep channels with Beijing open, prepared to navigate U.S. unpredictability, and determined to deepen enduring partnerships with like-minded powers in the region. Japan's commitments also reinforce India as one of its most reliable partners in navigating the challenges of the Indo-Pacific, from economic resilience to maritime security.

The visit will highlight one of the most enduring features of Indian diplomacy in recent years: flexibility without losing strategic clarity. In a phase of protracted geopolitical uncertainty, it is Japan that emerges as India's anchor partner. Washington's commitment is wavering under Trump's short-sightedness, while Beijing remains a competitor whose gestures of normalisation cannot yet ease underlying mistrust. Tokyo offers consistency, resources and a shared strategic outlook rooted in democratic values and a free and open Indo-Pacific. Therefore, the visit to Japan is not just about consolidating an old partnership. It is about recognising where India's most dependable ballast lies.

India-Japan ties — old partners, new priorities

भारत-जापान संबंध — पुराने साझेदार, नई प्राथमिकताएँ

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Visit to Japan and China

प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी की जापान और चीन यात्रा

- Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Japan and China that begins from August 29, comes at a time of flux in global geopolitics.
प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी की जापान और चीन की यात्रा जो 29 अगस्त से शुरू हो रही है, उस समय हो रही है जब वैश्विक भू-राजनीति में परिवर्तन का दौर है।
- While there is a tentative easing of tensions between India and China after years of strain, there is also growing uncertainty about New Delhi's ties with Washington as the Trump administration seems to be doing everything in its power to push India away.
कई वर्षों के तनाव के बाद भारत और चीन के बीच तनाव में थोड़ी कमी आई है, वहीं वॉशिंगटन के साथ नई दिल्ली के संबंधों पर अनिश्चितता बढ़ रही है क्योंकि ट्रंप प्रशासन भारत को दूर करने के लिए हरसंभव प्रयास करता दिख रहा है।
- Thus, Mr. Modi's engagement in Tokyo carries weight well beyond the bilateral.
इसलिए, श्री मोदी की टोक्यो में भागीदारी केवल द्विपक्षीय महत्व से कहीं अधिक महत्व रखती है।



Japan's Major Investment Plan

जापान की प्रमुख निवेश योजना

- At the heart of the visit lies **Japan's announcement of a ¥10 trillion (about \$68 billion) investment plan in India** to be spread over the **next decade**.
इस यात्रा के केंद्र में है **जापान की घोषणा कि वह भारत में ¥10 ट्रिलियन (लगभग \$68 बिलियन) का निवेश करेगा, जो अगले दशक में किया जाएगा।**
- This pledge, among the most ambitious Tokyo has ever made to New Delhi, is **designed to boost infrastructure, manufacturing, clean energy, and technology partnership**.
यह वादा, जो नई दिल्ली के लिए टोक्यो द्वारा किया गया सबसे महत्वाकांक्षी वादों में से एक है, **बुनियादी ढाँचे, विनिर्माण, स्वच्छ ऊर्जा और प्रौद्योगिकी साझेदारी को बढ़ावा देने के लिए है।**
- It signals **Japan's long-term stake in India's growth story** at a time when many global investors remain cautious about **China**.
यह दर्शाता है कि **भारत की विकास गाथा में जापान की दीर्घकालिक हिस्सेदारी है, उस समय जब कई वैश्विक निवेशक चीन को लेकर सतर्क हैं।**
- The fact that **Japan is also investing in the next-generation E10 series Shinkansen for the Mumbai-Ahmedabad high-speed rail corridor** reflects **economic collaboration alongside Tokyo's willingness to transfer cutting-edge technology to India**.
यह तथ्य कि **जापान अगली पीढ़ी की E10 श्रृंखला शिंकानसेन में भी निवेश कर रहा है जो मुंबई-अहमदाबाद हाई-स्पीड रेल कॉरिडोर के लिए है, आर्थिक सहयोग और भारत को उन्नत प्रौद्योगिकी हस्तांतरण करने की टोक्यो की इच्छा को दर्शाता है।**

Strategic and Security Cooperation

रणनीतिक और सुरक्षा सहयोग

- On the **strategic front**, the two countries are expected to **revise the 2008 Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation**, reorienting their **security and defence partnership** in accordance with contemporary realities.
रणनीतिक मोर्चे पर, दोनों देशों से उम्मीद है कि वे 2008 की सुरक्षा सहयोग पर संयुक्त घोषणा की समीक्षा करेंगे और अपनी सुरक्षा और रक्षा साझेदारी को समकालीन वास्तविकताओं के अनुरूप बनाएंगे।
- The proposed **Economic Security Initiative** — it covers **semiconductors, critical minerals, pharmaceuticals, and clean energy** — **anchors Japan more firmly within India's quest for diversified supply chains**.
प्रस्तावित आर्थिक सुरक्षा पहल — जिसमें सेमीकंडक्टर, महत्वपूर्ण खनिज, दवाइयाँ और स्वच्छ ऊर्जा शामिल हैं — भारत की विविधीकृत आपूर्ति श्रृंखलाओं की खोज में जापान को और मजबूती से जोड़ती है।
- Also significant is the **upgrade of their digital partnership**, which is now expected to cover **artificial intelligence and startup ecosystems**.
उतना ही महत्वपूर्ण है उनका डिजिटल साझेदारी का उन्नयन, जो अब कृत्रिम बुद्धिमत्ता और स्टार्टअप पारिस्थितिकी तंत्र को भी शामिल करने की उम्मीद है।
- These initiatives place **India-Japan ties** at the forefront of **technological and security cooperation in Asia**, reinforcing their shared commitment to a **free, open, and rules-based Indo-Pacific**.
ये पहल भारत-जापान संबंधों को एशिया में तकनीकी और सुरक्षा सहयोग के अग्रणी स्थान पर रखती हैं और मुक्त, खुला और नियम-आधारित हिंद-प्रशांत के प्रति उनकी साझा प्रतिबद्धता को मजबूत करती हैं।

The U.S. factor, a case of strategic balancing

अमेरिकी कारक, रणनीतिक संतुलन का एक मामला

- The **timing of the visit** is important. After the **Tokyo meeting**, Mr. Modi is scheduled to attend the **Shanghai Cooperation Organisation summit in Tianjin, China**.
यात्रा का समय महत्वपूर्ण है। टोक्यो बैठक के बाद, श्री मोदी को चीन के तैआनजिन में शंघाई सहयोग संगठन शिखर सम्मेलन में भाग लेना है।
- Bilateral ties, though scarred by the **2020 Galwan clash**, are demonstrating tentative signs of stabilisation with the **resumption of direct flights, visa relaxations, and trade facilitation efforts**.



2020 गलवान झड़प से प्रभावित द्विपक्षीय संबंध अब सीधी उड़ानों की बहाली, वीज़ा में ढील और व्यापार सुविधा प्रयासों के साथ स्थिरता के शुरुआती संकेत दिखा रहे हैं।

- The visit, from Tokyo to Beijing in a single week, reflects a strategic balancing in many ways.
यह यात्रा, एक ही सप्ताह में टोक्यो से बीजिंग तक, कई मायनों में एक रणनीतिक संतुलन को दर्शाती है।
- First, it underscores India's ability to engage with a trusted strategic partner and a neighbouring competitor without allowing one relationship to dictate the other.
पहला, यह भारत की क्षमता को दर्शाता है कि वह एक विश्वसनीय रणनीतिक साझेदार और एक पड़ोसी प्रतिद्वंद्वी दोनों के साथ इस तरह जुड़ सकता है कि एक संबंध दूसरे पर हावी न हो।
- Second, it signals that India can compartmentalise. With Tokyo, the focus is on economic security, defence cooperation, and Indo-Pacific stability. With Beijing, the emphasis will likely be on managing tensions, exploring limited confidence-building measures, and keeping communication lines open.
दूसरा, यह संकेत देता है कि भारत विभिन्न क्षेत्रों को अलग-अलग संभाल सकता है। टोक्यो के साथ ध्यान आर्थिक सुरक्षा, रक्षा सहयोग और इंडो-पैसिफिक स्थिरता पर है। जबकि बीजिंग के साथ ज़ोर तनाव प्रबंधन, सीमित विश्वास-निर्माण उपायों और संचार को बनाए रखने पर होगा।
- The balancing becomes more consequential against the backdrop of Mr. Trump's unpredictability, which has cast doubt on the reliability of the United States as a steady partner.
यह संतुलन श्री ट्रम्प की अनिश्चितता की पृष्ठभूमि में और भी महत्वपूर्ण हो जाता है, जिसने संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका की विश्वसनीयता पर संदेह डाल दिया है।
- Trump 2.0 risks eroding years of effort invested in building the New Delhi-Washington partnership that successive U.S. administrations, from George W. Bush to Joe Biden, worked to transform.
ट्रम्प 2.0 उस जोखिम को पैदा करता है जिससे नयी दिल्ली-वॉशिंगटन साझेदारी को बनाने में वर्षों का निवेशित प्रयास नष्ट हो सकता है, जिसे जॉर्ज डब्ल्यू बुश से लेकर जो बाइडेन तक की अमेरिकी सरकारों ने बदलने का काम किया था।
- The Quad (India, Australia, Japan, U.S.) remains essential to India's Indo-Pacific vision, but its trajectory appears rocky as U.S. engagement turns episodic.
क्वाड (भारत, ऑस्ट्रेलिया, जापान, अमेरिका) भारत की इंडो-पैसिफिक दृष्टि के लिए आवश्यक है, लेकिन इसका मार्ग कठिन दिखाई देता है क्योंकि अमेरिका की भागीदारी अस्थिर हो रही है।
- Under Trump's second term, signals of disengagement and a narrower view of alliances risk diluting the Quad's strategic coherence.
ट्रम्प के दूसरे कार्यकाल में, अलगाव के संकेत और गठबंधनों की संकीर्ण दृष्टि क्वाड की रणनीतिक एकरूपता को कमजोर करने का जोखिम पैदा करती है।
- For India, Japan, and Australia, this raises pressing questions about sustaining the initiative's credibility and operational depth.
भारत, जापान और ऑस्ट्रेलिया के लिए, यह पहल की विश्वसनीयता और संचालनात्मक गहराई को बनाए रखने पर गंभीर प्रश्न उठाता है।
- Beyond economics and defence, there is a broader political signal embedded in the visit. Japan is not just diversifying its economic footprint but also reinforcing the idea that long-term cooperation delivers tangible outcomes.
अर्थव्यवस्था और रक्षा से परे, इस यात्रा में एक व्यापक राजनीतिक संदेश निहित है। जापान केवल अपनी आर्थिक मौजूदगी का विस्तार नहीं कर रहा है बल्कि यह विचार भी मजबूत कर रहा है कि दीर्घकालिक सहयोग ठोस परिणाम देता है।

The message संदेश

- The Tokyo visit is less about short-term diplomatic outcomes and more about signalling steady strategic intent — that India is willing to keep channels with Beijing open, prepared to navigate U.S. unpredictability, and determined to deepen partnerships with like-minded powers in the region.
टोक्यो यात्रा का उद्देश्य अल्पकालिक राजनयिक परिणामों से अधिक स्थिर रणनीतिक इरादों को दर्शाना है



— कि भारत बीजिंग के साथ संवाद बनाए रखने को तैयार है, अमेरिकी अनिश्चितता को संभालने के लिए तैयार है और क्षेत्र में समान विचारधारा वाले शक्तियों के साथ साझेदारी को गहरा करने के लिए दृढ़ है।

- **Japan's commitments** reinforce India as one of its **most reliable partners** in navigating the **Indo-Pacific challenges**, from **economic resilience to maritime security**.
जापान की प्रतिबद्धताएँ भारत को इंडो-पैसिफिक चुनौतियों का सामना करने में, आर्थिक मजबूती से लेकर समुद्री सुरक्षा तक, अपने सबसे विश्वसनीय साझेदारों में से एक के रूप में मजबूत करती हैं।
- **The visit highlights one of the most enduring features of Indian diplomacy: flexibility without losing strategic clarity.**
यह यात्रा भारतीय कूटनीति की एक स्थायी विशेषता को उजागर करती है: रणनीतिक स्पष्टता खोए बिना लचीलापन।
- In this period of **geopolitical uncertainty**, **Japan** emerges as India's **anchor partner**. **Washington's commitment** is wavering under **Trump's short-sightedness**, while **Beijing** remains a **competitor** whose normalisation gestures cannot erase mistrust. **Tokyo** offers **consistency, resources, and a shared strategic outlook**.
इस भू-राजनीतिक अनिश्चितता के दौर में, जापान भारत का आधार साझेदार बनकर उभरता है। वाशिंगटन की प्रतिबद्धता ट्रम्प की अल्पदृष्टि के कारण डगमगा रही है, जबकि बीजिंग अभी भी एक प्रतिद्वंद्वी है जिसकी सामान्यीकरण की कोशिशें अविश्वास को दूर नहीं कर सकतीं। टोक्यो निरंतरता, संसाधन और साझा रणनीतिक दृष्टिकोण प्रदान करता है।
- Therefore, the visit to **Japan** is not just about consolidating an **old partnership**. It is about recognising where India's **most dependable ballast** lies.
इसलिए, जापान की यात्रा केवल पुरानी साझेदारी को मजबूत करने के बारे में नहीं है। यह इस बारे में है कि भारत का सबसे भरोसेमंद सहारा कहाँ है।



The dangerous wiring together of a 'conspiracy'

GS II: FR

“O horror, horror, horror! Tongue nor heart cannot conceive nor name thee!”

Yes, a Shakespearean tragedy is now playing out, though in an intangible form. We are witnessing the murder of press freedom, a right recognised by a **Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court, in 1950**, in the case of **Romesh Thappar**. Ironically, his relative, **Karan Thapar, is one of the most recent victims**. Journalist Siddharth Varadarajan is another such victim. They stand accused of a conspiracy, of “provoking unrest, undermining national security, and spreading narratives aligned with hostile interests”. That is quite a mouthful.

The accusation against them lies in a First Information Report (FIR) lodged with the Crime Branch in Guwahati, Assam, on May 9, 2025. The FIR is based on allegedly offensive **video interviews and articles published by The Wire**. It is not necessary to delve into the details of the FIR except to say that the complainant is educated and writes quite well but strains really hard to make out a case of national security being undermined.

In fact, he writes so well that it took the Crime Branch three months to understand the complaint, take cognisance and summon the accused on August 12, 2025. Maybe the police did not quite comprehend what he intended to say and perhaps took the assistance of an SIT and a dictionary, but still came to a wrong conclusion. And, this in a matter concerning national security. What is going on?

The FIR does not make out a case of any offence under the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS) and deserves to be quashed. It is nothing but an expression of the complainant's opinion. Unfortunately, based on that opinion, the police in Assam have summoned the two journalists for questioning (everybody knows what that means) on charges of undermining national security. The Supreme Court of India has directed that no coercive action be taken against them. For the time being that is good enough, but I would like the readers of this daily to consider the long-term collateral damage.

Back in sheep's clothing

We have been told, and quite rightly so, that the draconian offence of sedition has been removed from the penal law of India. The BNS does not recognise sedition as a penal offence. However, Section 152 of the BNS creates an offence of endangering the sovereignty, the unity and the integrity of India.

That is sedition in sheep's clothing and is obviously a very serious offence. The law provides that it comes into play when someone “excites or attempts to excite, secession or armed rebellion or subversive activities, or encourages feelings of separatist activities or endangers sovereignty or unity and integrity of India; or indulges in or commits any such act...” The sovereignty and integrity of India are expressions used in Article 19 of the Constitution and have a definite meaning relating to the subservience or break-up of the country, nothing less. In the



Madan B. Lokur

is a former Judge of the Supreme Court of India and the Supreme Court of Fiji

normal course, the expression of views, however radical they may be, cannot be construed as endangering the sovereignty and the integrity of India. Something much more is required, in the nature of secession or armed rebellion or subversive or separatist activity. It is for this reason that the punishment for an offence under Section 152 of the BNS provides also for life imprisonment.

Summons, the consequences

So does all this make Section 152 of the BNS unconstitutional? I do not know – a Constitution Bench of the Court will decide this. And, frankly, I do not want to hazard a guess on the outcome. But, in the meanwhile, what are the consequences of the police summons?

First, a freezing effect. We had earlier acknowledged a chilling effect under the seditious law. Now it has gone well beyond that. Try and imagine any journalist or anybody in a panel discussion on television or otherwise having the courage to be critical of anything to do with any policy of the Government of India. Somebody can misinterpret it and bring national security into play, and the police can take cognisance and summon the alleged offender. Freedom of speech can be bulldozed and demolished because one individual out of a billion people, anywhere in the country, believes (without evidence) that national security is in danger, or that the armed forces are demoralised or that dissent is “strategic subversion” undermining the sovereignty and the integrity of India.

Second, consider the financial inconvenience to a journalist or a common citizen. It is expensive when approaching the Court against a frivolous complaint. The litigant has to pay the lawyer's fee, the printing of paper books and sundry expenses. If the litigant is not a resident in Delhi, one has to add travel expenses, boarding and lodging. How many people can afford that? And why should they just because one or two persons in some part of India misinterpret what is written or said? Consider the expense that Mr. Thapar and Mr. Varadarajan will have to undergo in travel to Guwahati and back (unless they are arrested) and their overnight stay. Will the investigating officer be available on the scheduled date? He might fall sick or have a more pressing case to investigate. In other words, he can make their journey futile.

Then, is there a guarantee that the questioning will be over in one day? Maybe the investigating officer may require their presence again, and again. Today, no police officer is accountable, which is why innocents in Mumbai spent 18 years in jail. Accountability jurisprudence is sorely missing in the country.

In my view, a police officer investigating a crime should travel to the city or the town where the accused is ordinarily resident. The officer is acting for and on behalf of the state. Therefore, the state should bear the expenses rather than a citizen who is presumed to be innocent.

Have the police in Assam explored the possibility of questioning these journalists using video conferencing? Why do they have to be

physically present, at great expense and inconvenience, when they can answer questions over a video call? There is another advantage in questioning by electronic mode. The questions and the answers can be recorded to enable those concerned to know what was asked. Sometimes the questions are inane. This avoids a common allegation made by the investigating agency that the accused ‘did not cooperate’.

A few days ago, the Lieutenant-Governor of Delhi (L-G) passed an order enabling the cross-examination of police officers in a criminal trial through video conferencing. Lawyers in Delhi have objected to this procedure but the L-G has stuck to his guns. If police officers can be cross-examined over a video call in a criminal trial, there is no reason why journalists cannot be questioned the same way in respect of an accusation.

Harass and punish

The attitude of the Assam police is quite obvious – harass the journalists and make the process a punishment for a non-existent offence. That there is a clear intention to go after journalists is obvious from a summons issued recently to Abhisar Sharma for an offence under Section 152 of the BNS. He is accused of endangering the unity and integrity of India by portraying the state as corrupt, communal and illegitimate. Really? While sedition has been deleted from the statute books, it has been replaced by a law that is much worse and is being weaponised with impunity.

Third, does the state have any respect for the Court and its judgments? I am not too sure. The law requires the accused be given a copy of the FIR, as held by the Court in *Youth Bar Association of India (2016)*. Both the accused tried unsuccessfully for a week to get a copy of the FIR. This view was followed by the Karnataka High Court in *Sri Tavaragi Rajashekhar Shiva Prasad (2024)*. The police have acted in defiance of the mandate of the Supreme Court with impunity. A copy of the FIR is required to be filed with the jurisdictional Magistrate. So, Mr. Thapar and Mr. Varadarajan approached the Magistrate for a copy of the FIR that had been lodged in May 2025 but were informed that it was not there. Is this impunity? Arrogance? Negligence? Even otherwise, common sense dictates that if an accused is asked to answer allegations against him, he should know what the allegations are.

Finally, in theory, the investigation can gradually rope in other persons involved in the video interviews and articles. The galaxy of accused persons will then include the former Chief of the Research and Analysis Wing, senior journalists, and defence analysts. Watch out. Something is happening here, but you do not know what it is.

Finally, there are three questions that need to be asked. Should Section 152 of the BNS remain on the statute book? Regardless of whether it is constitutional or not, should not the mandate of the law be followed by the police? And, should not the state be made accountable in appropriate cases?

Press freedom is being murdered and a law much worse than sedition is being weaponised with impunity

The dangerous wiring together of a 'conspiracy'

‘षड्यंत्र’ के खतरनाक जोड़-तोड़

- horror, horror, horror! Tongue nor heart cannot conceive nor name thee!”
ओ भय, भय, भय! न तो जीभ और न ही हृदय तेरा विचार कर सकता है और न ही नाम दे सकता है!”
- Yes, a Shakespearean tragedy is now playing out, though in an intangible form.
हाँ, एक शेक्सपियरियन त्रासदी अब घट रही है, यद्यपि एक अमूर्त रूप में।
- We are witnessing the murder of **press freedom**, a right recognised by a Constitution Bench of the **Supreme Court**, in 1950, in the case of **Romesh Thappar**.



हम प्रेस स्वतंत्रता की हत्या देख रहे हैं, जो एक अधिकार है जिसे सुप्रीम कोर्ट की संविधान पीठ ने 1950 में रोमेश थापर मामले में मान्यता दी थी।

- Ironically, his relative, **Karan Thapar**, is one of the most recent victims. Journalist **Siddharth Varadarajan** is another such victim.
विडंबना यह है कि उनके रिश्तेदार **करण थापर** हाल के शिकारों में से एक हैं। पत्रकार **सिद्धार्थ वरदराजन** भी एक ऐसे ही शिकार हैं।
- They stand accused of a conspiracy, of “provoking unrest, undermining national security, and spreading narratives aligned with hostile interests”.
उन पर एक षड्यंत्र का आरोप है, “अशांति भड़काने, राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा को कमजोर करने और शत्रुतापूर्ण हितों से मेल खाने वाली कथाओं को फैलाने” का।
- That is quite a mouthful.
यह वास्तव में गंभीर आरोप है।
- The accusation against them lies in a **First Information Report (FIR)** lodged with the Crime Branch in **Guwahati, Assam**, on May 9, 2025.
उनके खिलाफ आरोप एक **प्रथम सूचना रिपोर्ट (FIR)** में निहित है, जो 9 मई, 2025 को **गुवाहाटी, असम** में अपराध शाखा में दर्ज की गई।
- The FIR is based on allegedly offensive video interviews and articles published by **The Wire**.
यह एफआईआर कथित रूप से आपत्तिजनक वीडियो साक्षात्कार और **द वायर** द्वारा प्रकाशित लेखों पर आधारित है।
- It is not necessary to delve into the details of the FIR except to say that the complainant is educated and writes quite well but strains really hard to make out a case of national security being undermined.
एफआईआर के विवरण में जाना आवश्यक नहीं है, बस इतना कहना है कि शिकायतकर्ता शिक्षित है और अच्छी तरह लिखता है लेकिन राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा को कमजोर करने का मामला बनाने में वह बहुत जोर लगाता है।
- In fact, he writes so well that it took the Crime Branch three months to understand the complaint, take cognisance and summon the accused on August 12, 2025.
वास्तव में, वह इतना अच्छा लिखता है कि अपराध शाखा को शिकायत को समझने, संज्ञान लेने और अभियुक्तों को 12 अगस्त, 2025 को बुलाने में तीन महीने लग गए।
- Maybe the police did not quite comprehend what he intended to say and perhaps took the assistance of an SIT and a dictionary, but still came to a wrong conclusion.
शायद पुलिस पूरी तरह नहीं समझ पाई कि वह क्या कहना चाहता था और संभवतः एसआईटी और एक शब्दकोश की मदद ली, लेकिन फिर भी गलत निष्कर्ष पर पहुँची।
- And, this in a matter concerning national security. What is going on?
और यह एक ऐसा मामला है जो राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा से संबंधित है। आखिर चल क्या रहा है?
- The FIR does not make out a case of any offence under the **Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS)** and deserves to be quashed.
यह एफआईआर **भारतीय न्याय संहिता (BNS)** के तहत किसी अपराध का मामला नहीं बनाती और इसे रद्द किया जाना चाहिए।
- It is nothing but an expression of the complainant's opinion.
यह केवल शिकायतकर्ता की राय की अभिव्यक्ति मात्र है।
- Unfortunately, based on that opinion, the police in Assam have summoned the two journalists for questioning (everybody knows what that means) on charges of undermining national security.
दुर्भाग्यवश, उसी राय के आधार पर असम पुलिस ने दो पत्रकारों को राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कमजोर करने के आरोप में पूछताछ के लिए बुलाया है (हर कोई जानता है इसका क्या मतलब है)।
- The **Supreme Court of India** has directed that no coercive action be taken against them.
भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने निर्देश दिया है कि उनके खिलाफ कोई दमनकारी कार्रवाई न की जाए।
- For the time being that is good enough, but I would like the readers of this daily to consider the long-term collateral damage.
फिलहाल यह पर्याप्त है, लेकिन मैं इस दैनिक के पाठकों से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि वे दीर्घकालिक अप्रत्यक्ष नुकसान पर विचार करें।

Before legislation becomes litigation

GS II: Polity

The framers of the Indian Constitution faced the formidable challenge of defining constitutional democracy. Absolute parliamentary sovereignty, where Parliament is free to do what it wishes, as in the case of the British model, found no credence with the Constituent Assembly. The intent and mandate of the Assembly was clear: Parliament has the power to make laws, but no law can be a derogation from the Constitution.

The power to strike down laws was meant to be sparing – an exception to the right of Parliament to legislate in a democracy. Trouble starts brewing when exceptional power becomes the norm. Our constitutional courts, by practice, have been elevated to the status of a parallel legislator. The reason, though not exhaustive, includes a systematic abdication of the parliamentarian to exercise functions of lawmaking with constitutional precision. In May, the Supreme Court heard challenges to the constitutionality of the Waqf (Amendment) Act, 2025. What made this particularly egregious? The challenge was made within days of Parliament having enacted the law. And the challengers were MPs themselves.

Over the past decade, the courtroom has become a frequent site of reckoning for Parliament's legislative output. The Union Law Minister said in a written reply in Rajya Sabha in 2022 that 35 cases challenging central legislation and Constitution (Amendment) Acts were pending before the Supreme Court since 2016.

The problem with execution

Legal challenges to legislation generally fall under three categories: constitutional scrutiny, political theatre, and flawed drafting. These challenges are neither partisan nor institutional. The failing seems to lie in the execution: vague definitions, incoherent clauses, cross-references that go nowhere, laws made without harmonising



Samrat Pasriccha

Delhi-based lawyer



Rohini Narayanan

Delhi-based lawyer

their effect with existing legislation, and provisions that contradict the Constitution. The victims are economic prosperity, social harmony, and democratic love between the legislature and the judiciary.

On paper, the system is robust. Chapter 9 of the Manual of Parliamentary Procedure outlines clear processes to be followed for the introduction of legislation. A policy proposal must be made by the relevant Ministry, which shall be conducted with proper stakeholder consultation. It then requires approval by the Law Ministry, followed by consideration by the Cabinet. Once the Bill is in Parliament, the legislation is introduced by way of a first reading, followed by a second reading where it may be sent to a Parliamentary Committee for further consideration. In a third reading, it goes through a clause-by-clause consideration by Parliament.

In practice, the system often breaks down. Bills are introduced without adequate notice, committees are bypassed, and clause-by-clause debates are rushed through with minimal scrutiny, resulting in avoidable legislative mistakes. Take Section 18(d) of the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019. It prescribes a maximum punishment of two years imprisonment and a fine for sexual abuse of a transgender person. Under the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita, 2023, similar abuse of a woman can attract up to seven years or life imprisonment. This is a case awaiting a constitutional challenge. This begs the question: were our legislators equipped with the necessary legal guidance to contextualise this law? Are they able to engage with the jurisprudence emerging from the judgments of our constitutional courts? Is the proposed legislation wrapped in dense legal prose capable of being independently examined by legislators?

When law-making becomes incomprehensible, it ceases to be

democratic. A functioning constitutional democracy relies on the informed participation of its constituents. When legislation is drafted in legalese and pushed through under time pressure, MPs are left to vote on texts they are unable to fully interrogate. Within Parliament, the impact is serious. Law-making cannot be confined to the lawyers in the House. Legislators are elected to represent the complexity of Indian social life. It seems counter-intuitive that the very same legislators who emerge from all walks of life are expected to expertly engage in high constitutional analyses. The result is that legislators toe the party line and their involvement is reduced to quips, whips, and rote rhetoric.

The case for a retainer-AG

Our Parliament needs a constitutional functionary who can guide the process of law-making; who is empowered and qualified to intervene before legislation becomes litigation. To put it succinctly, we need a constitutional review at the Parliament stage itself. As per Article 88 of the Constitution, the Attorney-General for India (AG) is given the right to participate in the proceedings of the Houses of Parliament. Though rarely invoked, the powers granted therein proffer a transformative solution to the malady of constitutionally flawed and linguistically complex legislation that clog Indian courts.

The benefit of Parliament seeking the counsel of the AG during its deliberations would be two-fold: first, the AG can expertly flag and seek amendment of legal inconsistencies and constitutional infirmities during parliamentary debate; second, lawmakers would have the benefit of relying on the counsel of a non-partisan constitutional functionary while casting their vote.

A well-drafted statute will shield Parliament from having its intent substituted and enable the courts to interpret rather than invalidate.

The power to strike down laws was meant to be sparing. Trouble starts brewing when exceptional power becomes the norm

Before legislation becomes litigation विधेयक मुकदमेबाजी बनने से पहले

Framers of the Indian Constitution and Judicial Review
भारतीय संविधान निर्माताओं और न्यायिक पुनरीक्षण



- The framers of the Indian Constitution faced the formidable challenge of defining **constitutional democracy**.
भारतीय संविधान के निर्माताओं ने **संवैधानिक लोकतंत्र** को परिभाषित करने की एक कठिन चुनौती का सामना किया।
- **Absolute parliamentary sovereignty**, where Parliament is free to do what it wishes, as in the case of the **British model**, found no credence with the Constituent Assembly.
पूर्ण संसदीय संप्रभुता, जहाँ संसद अपनी इच्छा से कार्य करने के लिए स्वतंत्र होती है, जैसा कि **ब्रिटिश मॉडल** में है, संविधान सभा में कोई स्थान नहीं पाया।
- The intent and mandate of the Assembly was clear: **Parliament has the power to make laws, but no law can be a derogation from the Constitution**.
सभा का इरादा और आदेश स्पष्ट था: **संसद के पास कानून बनाने की शक्ति है, लेकिन कोई भी कानून संविधान से विचलन नहीं कर सकता।**
- The power to **strike down laws** was meant to be **sparing** — an exception to the right of Parliament to legislate in a democracy.
कानूनों को निरस्त करने की शक्ति सीमित रूप में रखने का इरादा था — लोकतंत्र में संसद के विधि बनाने के अधिकार का एक अपवाद।
- Trouble starts brewing when **exceptional power becomes the norm**.
समस्या तब शुरू होती है जब **अपवादात्मक शक्ति सामान्य बन जाती है।**
- Our **constitutional courts**, by practice, have been elevated to the status of a **parallel legislator**.
हमारी **संवैधानिक अदालतें** व्यवहार में एक **समानांतर विधायिका** का दर्जा प्राप्त कर चुकी हैं।
- The reason, though not exhaustive, includes a **systematic abdication** of the parliamentarian to exercise functions of lawmaking with constitutional precision.
इसका कारण, हालांकि संपूर्ण नहीं है, संसद सदस्यों द्वारा संवैधानिक सटीकता के साथ विधि-निर्माण कार्यों का **सुनियोजित त्याग** है।
- In **May 2025**, the **Supreme Court** heard challenges to the constitutionality of the **Waqf (Amendment) Act, 2025**.
मई 2025 में, **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** ने **वक्फ (संशोधन) अधिनियम, 2025** की संवैधानिकता को चुनौती देने वाली याचिकाएँ सुनीं।
- What made this particularly egregious? The challenge was made within days of Parliament having enacted the law. And the challengers were **MPs themselves**.
इसे विशेष रूप से गंभीर क्या बनाता है? यह चुनौती संसद द्वारा कानून पारित किए जाने के कुछ ही दिनों के भीतर की गई। और चुनौती देने वाले **खुद सांसद** थे।
- Over the past decade, the **courtroom** has become a frequent site of reckoning for Parliament's legislative output.
पिछले दशक में, **न्यायालय** संसद के विधायी परिणामों के परीक्षण का एक बार-बार उपयोग किया जाने वाला मंच बन गया है।
- The **Union Law Minister** said in a written reply in **Rajya Sabha in 2022** that **35 cases challenging central legislation and Constitution (Amendment) Acts were pending before the Supreme Court since 2016**.
केंद्रीय कानून मंत्री ने **2022** में **राज्यसभा** में लिखित उत्तर में कहा कि **2016 से 35 मामले** जो **केंद्रीय कानूनों और संविधान (संशोधन) अधिनियमों** को चुनौती देते हैं, **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** में लंबित थे।

The problem with execution कार्यान्वयन की समस्या

- Legal challenges to legislation generally fall under **three categories: constitutional scrutiny, political theatre, and flawed drafting**.
विधेयकों पर कानूनी चुनौतियाँ आमतौर पर **तीन श्रेणियों** में आती हैं: **संवैधानिक परीक्षण, राजनीतिक नाटक, और त्रुटिपूर्ण मसौदा।**
- These challenges are neither partisan nor institutional.
ये चुनौतियाँ न तो पक्षपाती हैं और न ही संस्थागत।
- The failing seems to lie in the **execution**: vague definitions, incoherent clauses, cross-references that go nowhere, laws made without harmonising their effect with existing legislation, and provisions that contradict the **Constitution**.



असफलता कार्यान्वयन में प्रतीत होती है: अस्पष्ट परिभाषाएँ, असंगत धाराएँ, निरर्थक संदर्भ, मौजूदा कानूनों के साथ तालमेल बिठाए बिना बनाए गए कानून, और संविधान के विपरीत प्रावधान।

- The victims are **economic prosperity, social harmony, and democratic love between the legislature and the judiciary.**

पीड़ित हैं आर्थिक समृद्धि, सामाजिक सद्भाव, और लोकतांत्रिक प्रेम जो विधायिका और न्यायपालिका के बीच होना चाहिए।

On paper, the system is robust कागज़ पर, प्रणाली मज़बूत है

- Chapter 9 of the Manual of Parliamentary Procedure** outlines clear processes to be followed for the introduction of legislation.
संसदीय प्रक्रिया पुस्तिका का अध्याय 9 विधेयक पेश करने के लिए अपनाई जाने वाली स्पष्ट प्रक्रियाओं का विवरण देता है।
- A policy proposal must be made by the **relevant Ministry**, which shall be conducted with proper **stakeholder consultation**.
एक नीति प्रस्ताव संबंधित मंत्रालय द्वारा प्रस्तुत किया जाना चाहिए, जो उचित हितधारक परामर्श के साथ किया जाएगा।
- It then requires approval by the **Law Ministry**, followed by consideration by the **Cabinet**.
इसके बाद इसे कानून मंत्रालय की मंजूरी और फिर मंत्रिमंडल के विचार की आवश्यकता होती है।
- Once the Bill is in Parliament, the legislation is introduced by way of a **first reading**, followed by a **second reading** where it may be sent to a **Parliamentary Committee** for further consideration.
जब विधेयक संसद में आता है, तो इसे पहले पहली वाचन के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया जाता है, उसके बाद दूसरी वाचन होती है जहाँ इसे आगे विचार के लिए संसदीय समिति को भेजा जा सकता है।
- In a **third reading**, it goes through a **clause-by-clause consideration** by Parliament.
तीसरी वाचन में, यह संसद द्वारा धारा-दर-धारा विचार से गुजरता है।

Before legislation becomes litigation विधेयक मुकदमेबाजी बनने से पहले

- In practice, the system often breaks down. Bills are introduced without adequate notice, committees are bypassed, and clause-by-clause debates are rushed through with minimal scrutiny, resulting in avoidable legislative mistakes.
व्यवहार में, प्रणाली अक्सर टूट जाती है। विधेयक बिना पर्याप्त सूचना के पेश किए जाते हैं, समितियों को दरकिनार किया जाता है, और धाराओं पर बहस न्यूनतम जांच के साथ जल्दबाजी में कराई जाती है, जिससे टाले जा सकने वाले विधायी गलतियाँ होती हैं।
- Take Section 18(d) of the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019.** It prescribes a maximum punishment of **two years imprisonment and a fine for sexual abuse of a transgender person.**
ट्रांसजेंडर व्यक्ति (अधिकारों का संरक्षण) अधिनियम, 2019 की धारा 18(d) को लें। यह ट्रांसजेंडर व्यक्ति के यौन शोषण के लिए अधिकतम दो वर्ष की कैद और जुर्माने का प्रावधान करता है।
- Under the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita, 2023, similar abuse of a woman can attract up to seven years or life imprisonment.**
भारतीय न्याय संहिता, 2023 के तहत, महिला के साथ इसी प्रकार के शोषण पर सात वर्ष या आजीवन कारावास तक की सजा हो सकती है।
- This is a case awaiting a constitutional challenge. This begs the question: were our legislators equipped with the necessary legal guidance to contextualise this law?
यह एक मामला है जो संवैधानिक चुनौती का इंतजार कर रहा है। यह सवाल उठता है: क्या हमारे विधायक इस कानून को संदर्भित करने के लिए आवश्यक कानूनी मार्गदर्शन से लैस थे?
- Are they able to engage with the **jurisprudence** emerging from the judgments of our constitutional courts?
क्या वे हमारे संवैधानिक न्यायालयों के निर्णयों से उभरती न्यायशास्त्र से जुड़ने में सक्षम हैं?



- Is the proposed legislation wrapped in dense legal prose capable of being independently examined by legislators?
क्या प्रस्तावित विधेयक की जटिल कानूनी भाषा को विधायक स्वतंत्र रूप से समझ सकते हैं?
- When **law-making** becomes incomprehensible, it ceases to be **democratic**. A functioning constitutional democracy relies on the informed participation of its constituents.
जब कानून निर्माण समझ से बाहर हो जाता है, तो यह लोकतांत्रिक रहना बंद हो जाता है। एक कार्यशील संवैधानिक लोकतंत्र अपने नागरिकों की जागरूक भागीदारी पर निर्भर करता है।
- When legislation is drafted in **legalese** and pushed through under **time pressure**, MPs are left to vote on texts they are unable to fully interrogate.
जब विधेयक को कानूनी भाषा (legalese) में तैयार किया जाता है और समय के दबाव में आगे बढ़ाया जाता है, तो सांसद उन ग्रंथों पर वोट करने को मजबूर होते हैं जिन्हें वे पूरी तरह समझ नहीं पाते।
- Within **Parliament**, the impact is serious. Law-making cannot be confined to the lawyers in the House.
संसद के भीतर इसका प्रभाव गंभीर होता है। कानून निर्माण को सदन के केवल वकीलों तक सीमित नहीं किया जा सकता।
- Legislators are elected to represent the **complexity of Indian social life**. It seems counter-intuitive that the very same legislators are expected to expertly engage in high constitutional analyses.
विधायक भारत के सामाजिक जीवन की जटिलताओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करने के लिए चुने जाते हैं। यह विरोधाभासी लगता है कि उन्हीं विधायकों से उच्च संवैधानिक विश्लेषण की उम्मीद की जाती है।
- The result is that legislators **toe the party line** and their involvement is reduced to quips, whips, and rote rhetoric.
परिणामस्वरूप विधायक केवल पार्टी लाइन का पालन करते हैं और उनकी भागीदारी व्यंग्य, व्हिप्स और रटंत भाषण तक सीमित हो जाती है।

The case for a retainer-AG

स्थायी एजी की आवश्यकता

- Our Parliament needs a **constitutional functionary** who can guide the process of law-making; who is empowered and qualified to intervene before legislation becomes litigation.
हमारी संसद को एक संवैधानिक पदाधिकारी की आवश्यकता है जो कानून निर्माण की प्रक्रिया को मार्गदर्शन दे सके; जो विधेयक के मुकदमेबाजी बनने से पहले हस्तक्षेप करने के लिए सक्षम और योग्य हो।
- To put it succinctly, we need a **constitutional review at the Parliament stage itself**.
संक्षेप में कहें, तो हमें संसद स्तर पर ही संवैधानिक समीक्षा की आवश्यकता है।
- As per **Article 88 of the Constitution**, the **Attorney-General for India (AG)** is given the right to participate in the proceedings of the Houses of Parliament.
संविधान के अनुच्छेद 88 के अनुसार, भारत के महान्यायवादी (AG) को संसद के सदनों की कार्यवाही में भाग लेने का अधिकार दिया गया है।
- Though rarely invoked, the powers granted therein proffer a transformative solution to the malady of constitutionally flawed and linguistically complex legislation that clog Indian courts.
यद्यपि इसका शायद ही कभी उपयोग किया जाता है, लेकिन इसमें दी गई शक्तियाँ भारत की अदालतों में अटके संवैधानिक रूप से त्रुटिपूर्ण और भाषाई रूप से जटिल विधानों की बीमारी का एक परिवर्तनकारी समाधान प्रदान करती हैं।
- The benefit of Parliament seeking the **counsel of the AG** during its deliberations would be two-fold: first, the **AG can expertly flag and seek amendment of legal inconsistencies and constitutional infirmities during parliamentary debate**; second, **lawmakers would have the benefit of relying on the counsel of a non-partisan constitutional functionary while casting their vote**.
संसद द्वारा अपनी विचार-विमर्श के दौरान एजी की सलाह लेने का लाभ दोहरा होगा: पहला, एजी संसदीय बहस के दौरान कानूनी असंगतियों और संवैधानिक खामियों को विशेषज्ञता से इंगित कर संशोधन करवा सकते हैं; दूसरा, सांसद मतदान करते समय एक गैर-दलीय संवैधानिक पदाधिकारी की सलाह पर भरोसा कर सकते हैं।
- A well-drafted statute will shield Parliament from having its intent substituted and enable the courts to interpret rather than invalidate.



एक अच्छी तरह से तैयार किया गया क़ानून संसद को अपनी मंशा के बदले जाने से बचाएगा और अदालतों को निरस्त करने के बजाय उसकी व्याख्या करने में सक्षम बनाएगा।

About 30% of MPs and MLAs face serious criminal cases

In the Lok Sabha, the share of MPs facing serious criminal charges has more than doubled since 2009

GS II: Legislature

DATA POINT

The Hindu Data Team

An analysis of MPs and MLAs across India shows that 31% of MPs and 29% of MLAs have declared serious criminal charges against them. As the analysis was conducted immediately after the most recent parliamentary elections, and Assembly elections in each State, it does not reflect some of the current set of MPs and MLAs.

A serious criminal charge includes offences where the maximum punishment is five years or more, or those that are non-bailable.

In the Lok Sabha, the share of MPs facing serious criminal cases has more than doubled, from 14% in 2009 to 31% in 2024 (Chart 1). In the Assemblies, the share was 29% in 2024, which accounts for more than 1,200 MLAs.

Telangana had the highest share of MPs with serious criminal cases (71%), followed by Bihar (48%). Uttar Pradesh recorded the highest absolute number at 34, as seen in Chart 2.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) had the highest absolute number of MPs facing serious cases (63 members or 26% of its total). The Congress followed with 32 MPs (32%). Among smaller parties, the proportions were higher: all four MPs of the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) had serious cases against them (Chart 3).

Andhra Pradesh had the highest share of MLAs with serious criminal cases at 56%, followed by Telangana (50%). U.P. recorded the highest absolute number (154 MLAs or 38% of its total) (Chart 4).

While 61% of the Telugu Desam Party (TDP)'s MLAs faced serious cases, 62% of the RJD's did. The BJP, which has the largest presence in Assemblies, accounted for 436 MLAs (26%) with serious cases, followed by the Congress (194 MLAs; 30%) (Chart 5).

Cases against lawmakers

Data for the charts were sourced from the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR)

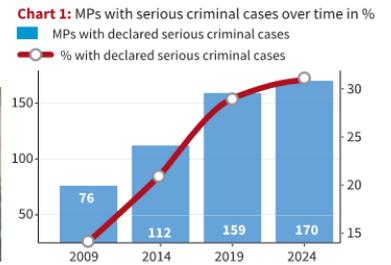


Chart 2: State-wise MPs with serious criminal cases. The farther to the right, the higher the % share of such MPs; the bigger the circle, the higher the number of such MPs

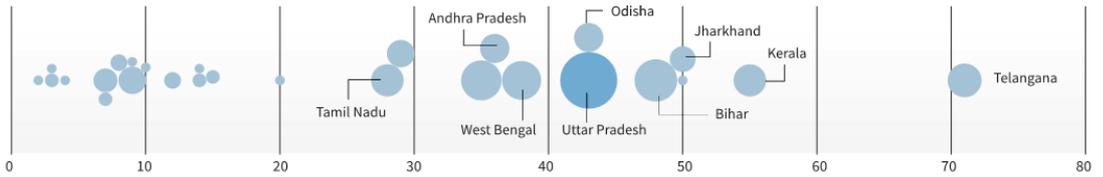


Chart 3: Party-wise MPs with serious criminal cases. The farther to the right, the higher the % share of such MPs; the bigger the circle, the higher the number of such MPs

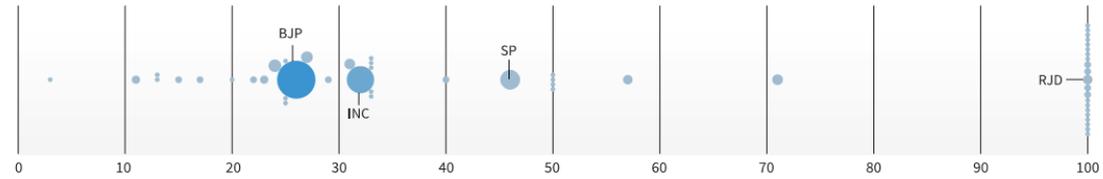


Chart 4: State-wise MLAs with serious criminal cases. The farther to the right, the higher the % share of such MLAs; the bigger the circle, the higher the number of MLAs

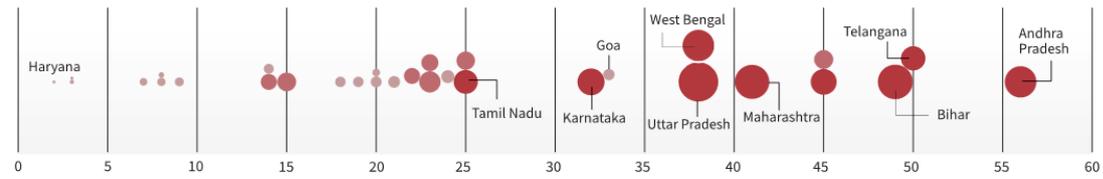
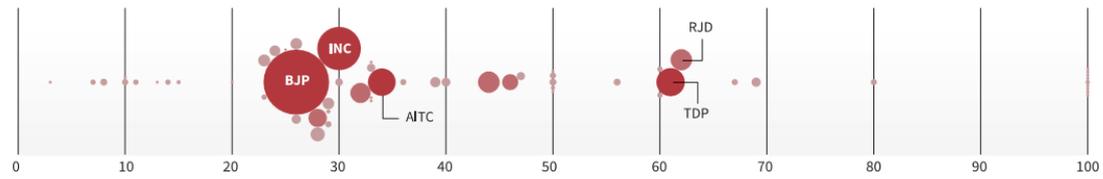


Chart 5: Party-wise MLAs with serious criminal cases. The farther to the right, the higher the % share of such MLAs; the bigger the circle, the higher the number of MLAs





About 30% of MPs and MLAs face serious criminal cases लगभग 30% सांसद और विधायक गंभीर आपराधिक मामलों का सामना कर रहे हैं

In the Lok Sabha, the share of MPs facing serious criminal charges has more than doubled since 2009

लोकसभा में, गंभीर आपराधिक मामलों का सामना करने वाले सांसदों का प्रतिशत 2009 से दोगुना से अधिक हो गया है

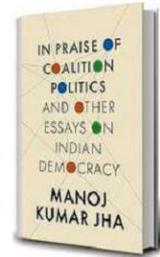
- An analysis of MPs and MLAs across India shows that **31% of MPs** and **29% of MLAs** have declared serious criminal charges against them.
भारत भर के सांसदों और विधायकों के एक विश्लेषण से पता चलता है कि **31% सांसदों** और **29% विधायकों** ने अपने खिलाफ गंभीर आपराधिक मामले घोषित किए हैं।
- As the analysis was conducted immediately after the most recent parliamentary elections, and Assembly elections in each State, it does not reflect some of the current set of MPs and MLAs.
चूंकि यह विश्लेषण हाल के संसदीय चुनावों और प्रत्येक राज्य के विधानसभा चुनावों के तुरंत बाद किया गया था, यह मौजूदा सांसदों और विधायकों के कुछ हिस्से को नहीं दर्शाता।
- A serious criminal charge includes offences where the maximum punishment is **five years or more**, or those that are **non-bailable**.
एक गंभीर आपराधिक मामला उन अपराधों को शामिल करता है जिनमें अधिकतम सजा **पाँच वर्ष या उससे अधिक** है, या जो **गैर-जमानती** हैं।
- In the **Lok Sabha**, the share of MPs facing serious criminal cases has more than doubled, from **14% in 2009** to **31% in 2024 (Chart 1)**.
लोकसभा में गंभीर आपराधिक मामलों का सामना करने वाले सांसदों का प्रतिशत **2009 में 14%** से बढ़कर **2024 में 31% (चार्ट 1)** हो गया है।
- In the **Assemblies**, the share was **29% in 2024**, which accounts for more than **1,200 MLAs**.
विधानसभाओं में, यह प्रतिशत **2024 में 29%** था, जो **1,200 से अधिक विधायकों** के बराबर है।
- **Telangana** had the highest share of MPs with serious criminal cases (**71%**), followed by **Bihar (48%)**. **Uttar Pradesh** recorded the highest absolute number at **34 (Chart 2)**.
तेलंगाना में गंभीर आपराधिक मामलों वाले सांसदों का सबसे अधिक प्रतिशत (**71%**) था, इसके बाद **बिहार (48%)**। **उत्तर प्रदेश** ने सबसे अधिक वास्तविक संख्या दर्ज की **34 (चार्ट 2)**।
- The **Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)** had the highest absolute number of MPs facing serious cases (**63 members or 26%** of its total). The **Congress** followed with **32 MPs (32%)**.
भारतीय जनता पार्टी (भाजपा) के सबसे अधिक सांसद गंभीर मामलों का सामना कर रहे थे (**63 सदस्य या 26%**)। कांग्रेस इसके बाद **32 सांसदों (32%)** के साथ थी।
- Among smaller parties, the proportions were higher: all **four MPs of the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)** had serious cases against them (**Chart 3**).
छोटी पार्टियों में प्रतिशत और भी अधिक था: **राष्ट्रीय जनता दल (राजद)** के सभी **चार सांसदों** के खिलाफ गंभीर मामले दर्ज थे (**चार्ट 3**)।
- **Andhra Pradesh** had the highest share of MLAs with serious criminal cases at **56%**, followed by **Telangana (50%)**. **U.P.** recorded the highest absolute number (**154 MLAs or 38% of its total**) (**Chart 4**).
आंध्र प्रदेश में गंभीर आपराधिक मामलों वाले विधायकों का प्रतिशत सबसे अधिक (**56%**) था, इसके बाद **तेलंगाना (50%)**। **उत्तर प्रदेश** ने सबसे अधिक वास्तविक संख्या दर्ज की (**154 विधायक या 38% कुल**) (**चार्ट 4**)।
- While **61% of the Telugu Desam Party (TDP)'s MLAs** faced serious cases, **62% of the RJD's** did.
जहाँ **तेलुगु देशम पार्टी (टीडीपी)** के **61% विधायक** गंभीर मामलों का सामना कर रहे थे, वहीं **राजद के 62%** विधायक भी ऐसे ही मामलों में थे।



- The **BJP**, which has the largest presence in Assemblies, accounted for **436 MLAs (26%)** with serious cases, followed by the **Congress (194 MLAs; 30%) (Chart 5)**.
भाजपा, जिसकी विधानसभाओं में सबसे बड़ी उपस्थिति है, के **436 विधायक (26%)** गंभीर मामलों में शामिल थे, इसके बाद **कांग्रेस (194 विधायक; 30%) (चार्ट 5)**



Fierce critics: Manoj Kumar Jha, member of Rajya Sabha from the Rashtriya Janata Dal speaks at a mass movement demanding rights for workers in New Delhi on December 4, 2023. SHASHI SHEKHAR KASHYAP



PATRIOTIC



'Let civil society breathe': two voices on contemporary challenges

Parliamentarian and academic Manoj Kumar Jha pushes for constructive and inclusive politics in his book of essays; another veteran, former MP Shahid Siddiqui, takes a walk down memory lane to give a ringside view of Indian politics from Rajiv Gandhi to Modi

GS II: Indian Parliament and Politics

Reading Manoj Kumar Jha is like having a communication with your soul. He doesn't befuddle you with cute phrases or awe you with smart wordplay. Page by page, sentence by sentence, he exposes the rough edges of our society, often wilfully indifferent to innate chasm and deep fissures.

He brings into stark focus the politics of our times when almost every Indian stands up for Kashmir, few do it for Kashmiris. As Jha writes in his engagingly pieced together book, *In Praise of Coalition Politics and Other Essays on Indian Democracy* (Speaking Tiger Books), "If we believe Kashmir is ours, let us also believe that Kashmiris are not 'others'.... Reopen the space for political dialogue. End the culture of suspicion and let civil society breathe again."

Much respected for his frank and fearless interventions in Parliament, Jha, besides being a Rashtriya Janata Dal representative in the Rajya Sabha, is also an academic at Delhi University. He brings the same qualities to his writing, some of which were initially published as condensed columns in the media. He takes a clear stand, be it on Kashmir or caste, Waqf or universities.

Politics of exclusion

On the waqf property issue, he uses a

subheading titled, 'A struggle between zulm (cruelty) and insaaf (justice)', leaving no scope for speculation. "(Waqf) is not merely about property; it is about charity, legacy and community...It is one of the last standing architectures of self-determined care. To tighten state control over (waqf properties), without accountability or consent, is to sever a lifeline....From being denied housing and told what they can eat to being watched on college campuses, Muslim citizens find themselves and their ways of being more excluded than ever in India....The amended waqf law is an act of economic ruination and humiliation dressed in the language of procedure."

With a little whisper here and rising above the din there, he builds his case as a formidable voice on contemporary challenges facing the country. As he writes in the introduction, "From a secular and civic version of nationalism, we have slipped into a nationalism that is violent, exclusionary and premises upon revenge. Religious majoritarianism combined with the use of brute state power against its citizens has endangered all the gains of democratic development of the last seven decades."

Among the vulnerable are those who speak up against such a tendency, those who distinguish between the nation and the government. With the boundaries between the two often blurring, Jha reminds readers, "We must have a

football field of distance between 'loving your government' and 'loving your nation'."

Front row seat

If Jha, a two-time MP, is a relatively new voice, former Rajya Sabha MP Shahid Siddiqui is a veteran, hobnobbing with parliamentarians from the late 1970s. Often, he occupied a front row seat to the theatre of Indian politics.

Now, as he completes 75 years, travelling from Ghalib's Ballimaran to Edwin Lutyens' New Delhi, he has allowed himself the luxury of a walk down memory lane with *I, Witness* (Rupa). Siddiqui clearly relishes his interaction with various Prime Ministers through the years. He happily shares his photographs with politicians of every hue. With some, like Rajiv Gandhi, he enjoyed rare trust and camaraderie, as evidenced in Siddiqui's frank disclosure of Gandhi's fondness for kebabs and phirni. Siddiqui paints a picture of Rajiv Gandhi as a man who tried to build bridges with the Muslim community following L.K. Advani's violence-ridden Rath Yatra.

Siddiqui takes off his velvet gloves when talking of Narasimha Rao and Atal Bihari Vajpayee. He holds the former "responsible for the demolition" of Babri Masjid; and writes in detail how Rao went incommunicado when the mosque was demolished in Ayodhya on December 6, 1992. "Ram Mandir was to be his legacy.

However, things didn't work out the way he planned," writes Siddiqui.

On Vajpayee, he doesn't leave much unsaid, noting, "Without him, the Bharatiya Janata Party wouldn't have been what it is today....There would not have been an Advani or a Narendra Modi without the pragmatic and acceptable Vajpayee."

Sweet interchanges

Between them, Jha and Siddiqui paint a picture of their respective times. At times Jha's strokes are sharp and trenchant; he never sets out to lull the readers with a false rainbow. Of course, he backs it up with poetry, as Gopalkrishna Gandhi reminds us in the foreword: "In these writings, there is 'Paash'. One also finds Firaq...One gets to meet several English writers." At others, Siddiqui, a seasoned editor himself, tells us of another age when Prime Ministers gave time to journalists, MPs mingled freely and frequently, and there was often more than a sweet interchange of mutual praise. Siddiqui's book is at times nostalgic, more so when he talks of Habib Tanvir and Hasrat Mohani in his haveli in Old Delhi. Otherwise, he is the proverbial fly on the wall of politicians of a bygone era, one who has witnessed the vicissitudes of times.

Jha's book, throbbing with immediacy, is a wake-up call, the cry of a sailor of a sinking ship.

'Let civil society breathe': two voices on contemporary challenges

'सिविल सोसाइटी को सांस लेने दें': समकालीन चुनौतियों पर दो आवाजें

- Parliamentarian and academic **Manoj Kumar Jha** pushes for **constructive and inclusive politics** in his book of essays.
सांसद और शिक्षाविद **मनोज कुमार झा** अपने निबंधों की पुस्तक में **रचनात्मक और समावेशी राजनीति** की वकालत करते हैं।
- Another veteran, former MP **Shahid Siddiqui**, takes a walk down memory lane to give a **ringside view of Indian politics** from **Rajiv Gandhi to Modi**.
एक अन्य वरिष्ठ, पूर्व सांसद **शाहिद सिद्दीकी**, स्मृतियों की यात्रा करते हुए **भारतीय राजनीति का रिंगसाइड दृश्य** प्रस्तुत करते हैं, **राजीव गांधी से मोदी तक**।

Reading Manoj Kumar Jha
मनोज कुमार झा को पढ़ना



- Reading Manoj Kumar Jha is like having a communication with your soul.
मनोज कुमार झा को पढ़ना आत्मा से संवाद करने जैसा है।
- He doesn't befuddle you with **cute phrases** or awe you with **smart wordplay**.
वह आपको **सुंदर वाक्यों** या **चतुर शब्दों** से भ्रमित नहीं करते।
- Page by page, sentence by sentence, he exposes the **rough edges** of our society, often wilfully indifferent to **innate chasm** and **deep fissures**.
पन्ना दर पन्ना, वाक्य दर वाक्य, वह हमारे समाज की **कठोर सच्चाइयों** को उजागर करते हैं, जो अक्सर **जन्मजात खाई** और **गहरे दरारों** के प्रति उदासीन रहता है।
- He brings into stark focus the **politics of our times** when almost every Indian stands up for **Kashmir**, few do it for **Kashmiris**.
वह हमारे समय की **राजनीति** पर गहरा प्रकाश डालते हैं, जब लगभग हर भारतीय **कश्मीर** के लिए खड़ा होता है, लेकिन बहुत कम लोग **कश्मीरियों** के लिए खड़े होते हैं।
- As Jha writes in his book **In Praise of Coalition Politics and Other Essays on Indian Democracy (Speaking Tiger Books)**, "If we believe Kashmir is ours, let us also believe that ****Kashmiris are not 'others'.... Reopen the space for political dialogue. End the culture of suspicion and let civil society breathe again.**"
जैसा कि झा अपनी किताब **इन प्रेज़ ऑफ कोएलिशन पॉलिटिक्स एंड अदर एसेज़ ऑन इंडियन डेमोक्रेसी (स्पीकिंग टाइगर बुक्स)** में लिखते हैं, "अगर हम मानते हैं कि कश्मीर हमारा है, तो हमें यह भी मानना चाहिए कि ****कश्मीरी 'अन्य' नहीं हैं.... राजनीतिक संवाद के लिए जगह दोबारा खोलो। संदेह की संस्कृति को खत्म करो और नागरिक समाज को फिर से सांस लेने दो।"**
- Much respected for his **frank and fearless interventions** in Parliament, Jha, besides being a **Rashtriya Janata Dal representative** in the **Rajya Sabha**, is also an **academic at Delhi University**.
संसद में उनके **सपष्ट और निर्भीक हस्तक्षेपों** के लिए झा का बहुत सम्मान किया जाता है। झा न केवल **राज्यसभा में राष्ट्रीय जनता दल के प्रतिनिधि** हैं, बल्कि **दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय में प्रोफेसर** भी हैं।
- He brings the same qualities to his writing, some of which were initially published as **condensed columns** in the media.
वह अपनी लेखनी में भी यही गुण लाते हैं, जिनमें से कुछ शुरू में मीडिया में **संक्षिप्त कॉलम** के रूप में प्रकाशित हुए थे।
- He takes a clear stand, be it on **Kashmir** or **caste, Waqf** or **universities**.
वह स्पष्ट रुख अपनाते हैं, चाहे वह **कश्मीर** हो या **जाति, वक्फ** हो या **विश्वविद्यालय**।

Politics of exclusion बहिष्कार की राजनीति

- On the **waqf property issue**, he uses a subheading titled, '**A struggle between zulm (cruelty) and insaaf (justice)**', leaving no scope for speculation.
वक्फ संपत्ति मुद्दे पर, वह एक उपशीर्षक का उपयोग करते हैं, '**जुल्म (क्रूरता) और इंसाफ (न्याय) के बीच संघर्ष**', जिससे किसी अटकल की गुंजाइश नहीं बचती।
- "(**Waqf**) is not merely about property; it is about **charity, legacy and community**... It is one of the last standing architectures of **self-determined care**.
"**(वक्फ)** केवल संपत्ति के बारे में नहीं है; यह **दान, विरासत और समुदाय** के बारे में है... यह **स्वनिर्धारित देखभाल** की अंतिम शेष संरचनाओं में से एक है।
- To tighten **state control** over (waqf properties), without accountability or consent, is to **sever a lifeline**....
राज्य नियंत्रण को (वक्फ संपत्तियों) पर बिना जवाबदेही या सहमति के कड़ा करना, एक **जीवनरेखा काटने** जैसा है....
- From being denied **housing** and told what they can **eat** to being watched on **college campuses**, **Muslim citizens** find themselves and their ways of being more **excluded** than ever in India....
आवास से वंचित किए जाने से लेकर उन्हें बताया जाता है कि वे क्या **खा सकते हैं**, और **कॉलेज कैम्पसों** में निगरानी किए जाने तक, **मुस्लिम नागरिक** भारत में खुद को और अपनी जीवनशैली को पहले से कहीं अधिक **बहिष्कृत** महसूस करते हैं....



- The amended **waqf law** is an act of **economic ruination** and **humiliation** dressed in the language of procedure.”
संशोधित **वक्फ कानून आर्थिक बर्बादी** और **अपमान** का कार्य है, जो प्रक्रिया की भाषा में लिपटा हुआ है।”
- With a little whisper here and rising above the din there, he builds his case as a **formidable voice** on **contemporary challenges** facing the country.
यहां एक हल्की फुसफुसाहट और वहां शोर के बीच ऊपर उठकर, वह देश के सामने **समकालीन चुनौतियों** पर एक **प्रभावशाली आवाज़** के रूप में अपना मामला बनाते हैं।
- As he writes in the introduction, “From a **secular and civic version of nationalism**, we have slipped into a nationalism that is **violent, exclusionary** and premises upon **revenge**.
जैसा कि वह प्रस्तावना में लिखते हैं, “हम **धर्मनिरपेक्ष और नागरिक राष्ट्रवाद** के संस्करण से फिसलकर ऐसे राष्ट्रवाद में चले गए हैं, जो **हिंसक, बहिष्कारी** है और **प्रतिशोध** पर आधारित है।
- **Religious majoritarianism** combined with the use of **brute state power** against its citizens has endangered all the gains of **democratic development** of the last seven decades.”
धार्मिक बहुसंख्यकवाद जब नागरिकों के खिलाफ **राज्य की कठोर शक्ति** के उपयोग से मिल जाता है, तो यह पिछले सात दशकों के **लोकतांत्रिक विकास** की सभी उपलब्धियों को खतरे में डाल देता है।”
- Among the vulnerable are those who speak up against such a tendency, those who distinguish between the **nation** and the **government**.
सबसे अधिक असुरक्षित वे हैं जो ऐसी प्रवृत्ति के खिलाफ बोलते हैं, जो **राष्ट्र** और **सरकार** के बीच अंतर करते हैं।
- With the boundaries between the two often **blurring**, Jha reminds readers, “We must have a **football field of distance** between ‘**loving your government**’ and ‘**loving your nation**’.”
जब इन दोनों के बीच की सीमाएं अक्सर **धुंधली** हो जाती हैं, तो झा पाठकों को याद दिलाते हैं, “हमें ‘**अपनी सरकार से प्रेम करने**’ और ‘**अपने राष्ट्र से प्रेम करने**’ के बीच एक **फुटबॉल मैदान जितनी दूरी** रखनी चाहिए।”

Front row seat फ्रंट रो सीट

- If **Jha**, a two-time MP, is a relatively new voice, former Rajya Sabha MP **Shahid Siddiqui** is a **veteran**, hobnobbing with parliamentarians from the **late 1970s**.
यदि **झा**, जो दो बार सांसद रह चुके हैं, अपेक्षाकृत नई आवाज हैं, तो राज्यसभा के पूर्व सांसद **शाहिद सिद्दीकी** एक **वरिष्ठ** हैं, जो **1970 के दशक के उत्तरार्ध** से सांसदों के साथ घुलते-मिलते रहे हैं।
- Often, he occupied a **front row seat** to the theatre of **Indian politics**.
अक्सर, उन्होंने **भारतीय राजनीति** के नाट्य मंच पर **फ्रंट रो सीट** पर बैठा।
- Now, as he completes **75 years**, travelling from **Ghalib’s Ballimaran** to **Edwin Lutyens’ New Delhi**, he has allowed himself the luxury of a walk down **memory lane** with *I, Witness* (*Rupa*).
अब, जब वे **75 वर्ष** पूरे कर रहे हैं, **गालिब की बालीमारान** से **एडविन लुटियंस के नई दिल्ली** तक की यात्रा करते हुए, उन्होंने खुद को *I, Witness* (*रूपा*) के साथ **स्मृतियों की गलियों** में घूमने का अवसर दिया है।
- Siddiqui clearly relishes his interaction with various **Prime Ministers** through the years.
सिद्दीकी स्पष्ट रूप से वर्षों से विभिन्न **प्रधानमंत्रियों** के साथ अपने संवाद का आनंद लेते हैं।
- He happily shares his **photographs** with politicians of every hue.
वे खुशी से हर प्रकार के नेताओं के साथ अपनी **तस्वीरें** साझा करते हैं।
- With some, like **Rajiv Gandhi**, he enjoyed rare trust and camaraderie, as evidenced in Siddiqui’s frank disclosure of Gandhi’s fondness for **kebabs** and **phirni**.
कुछ के साथ, जैसे **राजीव गांधी**, उन्होंने दुर्लभ विश्वास और दोस्ताना संबंधों का आनंद लिया, जैसा कि गांधी के **कबाब** और **फिरनी** के शौक के बारे में सिद्दीकी के साफ-साफ खुलासे से पता चलता है।
- Siddiqui paints a picture of **Rajiv Gandhi** as a man who tried to build bridges with the **Muslim community** following **L.K. Advani’s violence-ridden Rath Yatra**.
सिद्दीकी **राजीव गांधी** की छवि एक ऐसे व्यक्ति के रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हैं जिन्होंने **एल.के. आडवाणी की हिंसा से भरी रथ यात्रा** के बाद **मुस्लिम समुदाय** से जुड़ने की कोशिश की।
- Siddiqui takes off his **velvet gloves** when talking of **Narasimha Rao** and **Atal Bihari Vajpayee**.
नरसिम्हा राव और **अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी** की बात करते समय सिद्दीकी अपने **मुलायम दस्ताने** उतार देते हैं।



- He holds the former “responsible for the demolition” of **Babri Masjid**; and writes in detail how **Rao** went incommunicado when the mosque was demolished in **Ayodhya on December 6, 1992**.
वे पहले को **बाबरी मस्जिद** के “विध्वंस के लिए जिम्मेदार” मानते हैं; और विस्तार से लिखते हैं कि **राव** कैसे **6 दिसंबर 1992 को अयोध्या** में मस्जिद गिराए जाने पर गायब हो गए थे।
- “**Ram Mandir** was to be his legacy. However, things didn’t work out the way he planned,” writes Siddiqui.
“**राम मंदिर** उनकी विरासत बनने वाला था। हालांकि, चीजें उनके योजना के अनुसार नहीं हुईं,” सिद्दीकी लिखते हैं।
- On **Vajpayee**, he doesn’t leave much unsaid, noting, “Without him, the **Bharatiya Janata Party** wouldn’t have been what it is today.... There would not have been an **Advani** or a **Narendra Modi** without the pragmatic and acceptable Vajpayee.”
वाजपेयी पर, वे बहुत कुछ अनकहा नहीं छोड़ते, लिखते हैं, “उनके बिना **भारतीय जनता पार्टी** आज जो है वह नहीं होती.... **आडवाणी** या **नरेंद्र मोदी** भी व्यावहारिक और स्वीकार्य वाजपेयी के बिना नहीं होते।”

Sweet interchanges

मधुर आदान-प्रदान

- Between them, **Jha** and **Siddiqui** paint a picture of their respective times.
झा और **सिद्दीकी** अपने-अपने समय की तस्वीर पेश करते हैं।
- At times Jha’s strokes are sharp and trenchant; he never sets out to lull the readers with a **false rainbow**.
कभी-कभी झा के रंग तेज और धारदार होते हैं; वे कभी भी पाठकों को **झूठे इंद्रधनुष** से बहलाने नहीं निकलते।
- Of course, he backs it up with **poetry**, as **Gopalkrishna Gandhi** reminds us in the foreword: “In these writings, there is ‘**Paash**’. One also finds **Firaq**... One gets to meet several **English writers**.”
निश्चित रूप से, वे इसे **कविता** से समर्थन देते हैं, जैसा कि **गोपालकृष्ण गांधी** प्रस्तावना में याद दिलाते हैं: “इन लेखन में ‘**पाश**’ है। **फिराक़** भी मिलता है... और कई **अंग्रेज़ी लेखकों** से मिलने का अवसर मिलता है।”
- At others, **Siddiqui**, a seasoned editor himself, tells us of another age when **Prime Ministers** gave time to journalists, MPs mingled freely and frequently, and there was often more than a sweet interchange of mutual praise.
दूसरी ओर, **सिद्दीकी**, जो खुद एक अनुभवी संपादक हैं, हमें एक ऐसे युग के बारे में बताते हैं जब **प्रधानमंत्री** पत्रकारों को समय देते थे, सांसद स्वतंत्र और बार-बार मिलते-जुलते थे, और अक्सर आपसी प्रशंसा का केवल मधुर आदान-प्रदान ही नहीं होता था।
- Siddiqui’s book is at times **nostalgic**, more so when he talks of **Habib Tanvir** and **Hasrat Mohani** in his haveli in **Old Delhi**.
सिद्दीकी की किताब कभी-कभी **स्मृतिपूर्ण** हो जाती है, खासकर जब वे अपनी **पुरानी दिल्ली** की हवेली में **हबीब तनवीर** और **हसरत मोहानी** की बात करते हैं।
- Otherwise, he is the proverbial **fly on the wall** of politicians of a bygone era, one who has witnessed the **vicissitudes of times**.
अन्यथा, वे बीते युग के नेताओं की दीवार पर बैठी **मक्खी** की तरह हैं, जिन्होंने समय के **उतार-चढ़ाव** देखे हैं।
- **Jha’s book**, throbbing with **immediacy**, is a **wake-up call**, the cry of a sailor of a **sinking ship**.
झा की किताब, जो तत्कालिकता से धड़कती है, एक **जागने की पुकार** है, एक **डूबते जहाज** के नाविक की चीख है।



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

1. **Stealth frigates Udaygiri, Himgiri to join Navy today**
स्टीलथ फ्रिगेट उदयगिरि, हिमगिरि आज नौसेना में शामिल होंगे
2. **Centre allows one-time switch from UPS to NPS**
केंद्र ने यूपीएस से एनपीएस में एक बार बदलाव की अनुमति दी
3. **Air-drop test success a big step in Gaganyaan mission: ISRO scientist**
एयर-ड्रॉप परीक्षण की सफलता गगनयान मिशन में एक बड़ा कदम: इसरो वैज्ञानिक
4. **Farmers fear removing cotton import duty will harm prices**
किसानों को आशंका है कि कपास पर आयात शुल्क हटाने से कीमतों को नुकसान होगा
5. **India's Fossils at Risk of Being Sold Abroad**
विदेशों में बेचे जाने के खतरे में भारत के जीवाश्म
6. **QUZI**
7. **Government's new minimum export price on natural honey**
सरकार का प्राकृतिक शहद पर नया न्यूनतम निर्यात मूल्य
8. **What does the new online gaming Act outline?**
नए ऑनलाइन गेमिंग अधिनियम में क्या प्रावधान हैं?



Stealth frigates *Udaygiri*, *Himgiri* to join Navy today

The vessels are follow-on variants of Shivalik-class frigates; they have advanced weaponry, modern sensor systems designed to execute full spectrum of maritime operations in blue-water conditions

GS III: Defence

Saurabh Trivedi
NEW DELHI

The Indian Navy is set to commission the state-of-the-art Project 17A stealth frigates *Udaygiri* and *Himgiri* at the Naval Base in Visakhapatnam on Tuesday.

Defence Minister Rajnath Singh will preside over the event, which will mark the first-ever simultaneous commissioning of two frontline warships built at different shipyards.

Enhanced capability

Mr. Singh said that both vessels were follow-on variants of the Shivalik-class frigates. They featured enhanced stealth capabilities, advanced weaponry, and modern sensor systems designed to execute the full spectrum of maritime operations in blue-water conditions. *Udaygiri*, built by Mazagon Dock Shipbuilders Ltd. in Mumbai, and *Himgiri*, constructed by Garden Reach Shipbuilders & Engineers



Ready to serve: *INS Udaygiri* during its launch at Mazgaon Docks Limited in Mumbai in May 2022. PTI

(GRSE) in Kolkata, showcase India's growing shipbuilding expertise and inter-yard collaboration. Notably, *Udaygiri* was the fastest of her class to be delivered after launch, owing to the adoption of modular construction techniques.

Designed in-house by the Navy's Warship Design Bureau (WDB), *Udaygiri* is

the 100th vessel to be designed, marking a milestone in five decades of indigenous warship design. Both frigates are fitted with combined diesel or gas (CODOG) propulsion, an integrated platform management system, and advanced Indian-made weapons and sensors. With nearly 75% indigenous con-

tent – supported by several MSMEs – the ships embody the vision of Aatmanirbhar Bharat, the Ministry added.

Reviving the heritage of earlier warships that bore these names, the new frigates will now join the Eastern Fleet, substantially enhancing the Navy's reach in the Indian Ocean.



Stealth frigates Udaygiri, Himgiri to join Navy today स्टील्य फ्रिगेट उदयगिरि, हिमगिरि आज नौसेना में शामिल होंगे

The vessels are follow-on variants of Shivalik-class frigates; they have advanced weaponry, modern sensor systems designed to execute full spectrum of maritime operations in blue-water conditions

ये पोत शिवालिक-श्रेणी फ्रिगेट्स के फॉलो-ऑन वैरिएंट हैं; इनमें उन्नत हथियार, आधुनिक सेंसर सिस्टम लगे हैं जो नीले पानी की परिस्थितियों में समुद्री अभियानों के पूरे स्पेक्ट्रम को अंजाम देने के लिए डिज़ाइन किए गए हैं

- The Indian Navy is set to commission the state-of-the-art Project 17A **stealth frigates Udaygiri and Himgiri** at the Naval Base in **Visakhapatnam** on Tuesday.
भारतीय नौसेना मंगलवार को विशाखापट्टनम में नौसैनिक अड्डे पर अत्याधुनिक प्रोजेक्ट 17A स्टील्य फ्रिगेट उदयगिरि और हिमगिरि को कमीशन करने जा रही है।
- **Defence Minister Rajnath Singh** will preside over the event, which will mark the first-ever simultaneous commissioning of two frontline warships built at different shipyards.
रक्षा मंत्री राजनाथ सिंह इस कार्यक्रम की अध्यक्षता करेंगे, जो अलग-अलग शिपयार्ड में बने दो फ्रंटलाइन युद्धपोतों के एक साथ पहली बार कमीशनिंग को चिह्नित करेगा।

Enhanced capability

बेहतर क्षमता

- Mr. Singh said that both vessels were follow-on variants of the **Shivalik-class frigates**. They featured enhanced stealth capabilities, advanced weaponry, and modern sensor systems designed to execute the full spectrum of maritime operations in blue-water conditions.
श्री सिंह ने कहा कि दोनों पोत शिवालिक-श्रेणी फ्रिगेट्स के फॉलो-ऑन वैरिएंट हैं। इनमें उन्नत स्टील्य क्षमताएं, अत्याधुनिक हथियार और आधुनिक सेंसर सिस्टम लगे हैं, जो नीले पानी की परिस्थितियों में समुद्री अभियानों के पूरे स्पेक्ट्रम को अंजाम देने के लिए डिज़ाइन किए गए हैं।
- **Udaygiri**, built by **Mazagon Dock Shipbuilders Ltd.** in Mumbai, and **Himgiri**, constructed by **Garden Reach Shipbuilders & Engineers (GRSE)** in Kolkata, showcase India's growing shipbuilding expertise and inter-yard collaboration.
उदयगिरि, जिसे मुंबई में मझगांव डॉक शिपबिल्डर्स लिमिटेड ने बनाया, और हिमगिरि, जिसे कोलकाता में गार्डन रीच शिपबिल्डर्स एंड इंजीनियर्स (GRSE) ने निर्मित किया, भारत की बढ़ती शिपबिल्डिंग विशेषज्ञता और इंटर-यार्ड सहयोग को दर्शाते हैं।
- Notably, **Udaygiri** was the fastest of her class to be delivered after launch, owing to the adoption of **modular construction techniques**.
गौरतलब है कि उदयगिरि लॉन्च के बाद सुपुर्द होने वाला अपनी श्रेणी का सबसे तेज पोत था, क्योंकि इसमें मॉड्यूलर निर्माण तकनीकों को अपनाया गया था।
- Designed in-house by the **Navy's Warship Design Bureau (WDB)**, Udaygiri is the **100th vessel** to be designed, marking a milestone in five decades of indigenous warship design.
नौसेना के वॉरशिप डिजाइन ब्यूरो (WDB) द्वारा इन-हाउस डिज़ाइन किए गए उदयगिरि को 100वां पोत के रूप में डिज़ाइन किया गया, जो स्वदेशी युद्धपोत डिज़ाइन की पाँच दशकों की यात्रा में एक मील का पत्थर है।
- Both frigates are fitted with **combined diesel or gas (CODOG) propulsion**, an integrated platform management system, and advanced Indian-made weapons and sensors.
दोनों फ्रिगेट्स में कंबाईंड डीज़ल ऑर गैस (CODOG) प्रपल्शन, एकीकृत प्लेटफार्म प्रबंधन प्रणाली और उन्नत भारतीय निर्मित हथियार और सेंसर लगे हैं।
- With nearly **75% indigenous content** — supported by several **MSMEs** — the ships embody the vision of **Aatmanirbhar Bharat**, the Ministry added.
करीब 75% स्वदेशी सामग्री कई MSMEs के समर्थन से इन पोतों ने आत्मनिर्भर भारत की परिकल्पना को मूर्त रूप दिया है, मंत्रालय ने जोड़ा।
- Reviving the heritage of earlier warships that bore these names, the new frigates will now join the **Eastern Fleet**, substantially enhancing the **Navy's reach in the Indian Ocean**.



इन नामों वाले पूर्ववर्ती युद्धपोतों की विरासत को पुनर्जीवित करते हुए, नए फ्रिगेट्स अब **ईस्टर्न फ्लीट** में शामिल होंगे, जिससे **नौसेना की हिंद महासागर में पहुँच** में महत्वपूर्ण वृद्धि होगी।

Centre allows one-time switch from UPS to NPS

GS III: Social Security

Press Trust of India

NEW DELHI

The Finance Ministry on Monday introduced a one-time, one-way switch facility from the Unified Pension Scheme (UPS) to the National Pension System (NPS).

From April 1, the government has introduced the UPS as an option under the NPS for Central government employees. UPS will provide assured payouts to the employees.

Around 31,555 Central government employees have opted for UPS till July 20, and the last date to enroll is September 30.

In an office memorandum, the Ministry said the facility will be available to employees who have opted for UPS. "This switch facility may be exercised by UPS optees any time not later than one year prior to the date of superannuation or three months prior to the date of retirement in case of voluntary retirement, as applicable," it added.

Centre allows one-time switch from UPS to NPS केंद्र ने यूपीएस से एनपीएस में एक बार बदलाव की अनुमति दी

The Finance Ministry on Monday introduced a one-time, one-way switch facility from the Unified Pension Scheme (UPS) to the National Pension System (NPS).

वित्त मंत्रालय ने सोमवार को यूनिफाइड पेंशन स्कीम (UPS) से नेशनल पेंशन सिस्टम (NPS) में एक बार, एक तरफा बदलाव की सुविधा शुरू की।

• From **April 1**, the government has introduced the **UPS** as an option under the **NPS** for Central government employees. **UPS** will provide assured payouts to the employees.

1 अप्रैल से सरकार ने **केंद्रीय सरकारी कर्मचारियों** के लिए **NPS** के अंतर्गत **UPS** को एक विकल्प के रूप में पेश किया है। **UPS** कर्मचारियों को निश्चित भुगतान प्रदान करेगा।

• Around **31,555 Central government employees** have opted for **UPS** till **July 20**, and the last date to enroll is **September 30**.

लगभग **31,555 केंद्रीय सरकारी कर्मचारियों** ने **20 जुलाई** तक **UPS** चुना है, और इसमें नामांकन की अंतिम तिथि **30 सितंबर** है।

• In an office memorandum, the **Ministry** said the facility will be available to employees who have opted for **UPS**.

एक कार्यालय ज्ञापन में, **मंत्रालय** ने कहा कि यह सुविधा उन कर्मचारियों को उपलब्ध होगी जिन्होंने **UPS** चुना है।

• "This switch facility may be exercised by **UPS** optees any time not later than one year prior to the date of superannuation or three months prior to the date of retirement in case of voluntary retirement, as applicable," it added.

"यह बदलाव सुविधा **UPS** चुनने वाले कर्मचारी किसी भी समय प्रयोग कर सकते हैं, बशर्ते कि यह सेवा-निवृत्ति की तारीख से एक वर्ष पहले या स्वैच्छिक सेवानिवृत्ति की स्थिति में सेवानिवृत्ति की तारीख से तीन महीने पहले तक हो," यह जोड़ा गया।

Unified Pension Scheme (UPS) vs. National Pension System (NPS)

1. Background

- **NPS**
 - Introduced in **2004 (for Central Govt. employees)**, later opened for all citizens (2009).
 - Replaced the **Old Pension Scheme (OPS)** which gave a defined benefit pension (50% of last salary + DA, guaranteed).
 - NPS is a **Defined Contribution (DC) scheme**, not defined benefit.
- **UPS**
 - Announced in **Union Budget 2024-25 (July 2024)** by Finance Minister.
 - Designed as a **hybrid pension model** combining features of OPS (assured benefit) and NPS (sustainability, fund-based).



- Implemented from **April 1, 2025** for new entrants in govt. service.

2. Key Features of National Pension System (NPS)

- **Contributory Scheme:**
 - Employee: **10% of basic pay + DA**
 - Govt. (for Central Govt. employees): **14% of basic pay + DA**
- **Fund Management:**
 - Contributions invested in market instruments (equity, govt. bonds, corporate bonds, etc.).
 - Returns depend on market performance.
- **Withdrawal & Pension:**
 - At retirement (60 yrs), **60% can be withdrawn as lump sum (tax-free)**.
 - At least **40% must be used to buy an annuity** → gives monthly pension (amount depends on annuity rates).
- **Risk:** Market-linked, so no guaranteed pension.

3. Key Features of Unified Pension Scheme (UPS)

- **Assured Minimum Pension:**
 - Govt. employees will get **50% of last drawn basic pay as minimum guaranteed pension** (similar to OPS).
- **Contributions:**
 - Govt. will contribute **18.5% of basic pay + DA** (higher than NPS's 14%).
 - Employee contribution structure still linked to NPS model (10%).
- **Family Pension:**
 - Minimum of **60% of assured pension** to spouse/family after employee's death.
- **Hybrid Nature:**
 - Fund-based (like NPS) → to maintain fiscal sustainability.
 - Assured benefit (like OPS) → to reduce uncertainty for employees.
- **Scope:**
 - Applies to **Central Govt. employees joining from April 1, 2025 onwards**.
 - Existing employees under NPS can **opt to migrate to UPS**.

4. Comparative Table

Feature	NPS	UPS
Start Year	2004	2025 (announced 2024 Budget)
Type	Defined Contribution	Hybrid (Defined Benefit + Contribution)
Govt. Contribution	14% of Basic + DA	18.5% of Basic + DA
Employee Contribution	10% of Basic + DA	10% (likely retained)
Pension Guarantee	No (market-linked)	Yes (50% of last basic pay assured)
Family Pension	Based on annuity	60% of assured pension
Applicability	All citizens, Govt. employees post-2004	Central Govt. employees joining after Apr 2025 (option to migrate)
Fiscal Burden	Less (sustainable)	Higher than NPS, but less than OPS



Air-drop test success a big step in Gaganyaan mission: ISRO scientist

GS III: S&T

Tiki Rajwi

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

The first Integrated Air Drop Test (IADT-01) conducted successfully at Sriharikota on Sunday marks an important step for Gaganyaan, India's keenly watched programme for sending humans to space, A. Rajarajan, senior scientist with the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and Director, Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC), said on Monday.

The ISRO will follow up IADT-01 with the second Test Vehicle Mission (TV-D2) and the uncrewed Gaganyaan-1 (G1) flight – two of the critical trials lined up before the actual mission carrying astronauts – soon, Mr. Rajarajan told *The Hindu*.

He described the upcoming TV-D2 as a “complex mission” that will put to test the crew escape system (CES) under critical conditions. The ISRO had successfully accomplished the Gaganyaan TV-D1 mis-

sion in October 2023. Such tests are vital as safety is of paramount importance in manned missions, he said.

For the uncrewed G1 mission, the spacecraft will be launched aboard a human-rated LVM3 rocket. The mission will also have on board Vyommitra, the humanoid robot developed by the ISRO.

‘VSSC plays major role’

On the success of IADT-01, Mr. Rajarajan said that as VSSC Director, he was happy that the test went as expected. The VSSC had a major role in IADT-01, being responsible for “90%” of the activities alongside the Human Space Flight Centre (HSFC) and SDSC-SHAR and other agencies, including the Indian Air Force, he said.

IADT-01 successfully demonstrated the parachute-based crew module deceleration system for Gaganyaan. The VSSC had carried out the end-to-end modelling for this test, Mr. Rajarajan said.

Air-drop test success a big step in Gaganyaan mission: ISRO scientist
एयर-ड्रॉप परीक्षण की सफलता गगनयान मिशन में एक बड़ा कदम: इसरो वैज्ञानिक

The first Integrated Air Drop Test (IADT-01) conducted successfully at Sriharikota on Sunday marks an important step for Gaganyaan, India's keenly watched programme for sending humans to space, A. Rajarajan, senior scientist with the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and Director, Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC), said on Monday.

पहला इंटीग्रेटेड एयर ड्रॉप टेस्ट (IADT-01) रविवार को श्रीहरिकोटा में सफलतापूर्वक किया गया, जो गगनयान, अंतरिक्ष में मनुष्यों को भेजने के भारत के बहुप्रतीक्षित कार्यक्रम का एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम है, ऐसा सोमवार को भारतीय अंतरिक्ष अनुसंधान संगठन (ISRO) के वरिष्ठ वैज्ञानिक और विक्रम साराभाई अंतरिक्ष केंद्र (VSSC) के निदेशक ए. राजराजन ने कहा।

• The ISRO will follow up IADT-01 with the second Test Vehicle Mission (TV-D2) and the uncrewed Gaganyaan-1 (G1) flight — two of the critical trials lined up before the actual mission carrying astronauts — soon, Mr. Rajarajan told *The Hindu*.

ISRO जल्द ही IADT-01 के बाद दूसरा टेस्ट

व्हीकल मिशन (TV-D2) और बिना चालक वाला गगनयान-1 (G1) प्रक्षेपण करेगा — ये दोनों वास्तविक मानवयुक्त मिशन से पहले के महत्वपूर्ण परीक्षण हैं — ऐसा श्री राजराजन ने द हिंदू को बताया।



- He described the upcoming **TV-D2** as a “complex mission” that will put to test the **crew escape system (CES)** under critical conditions. The **ISRO** had successfully accomplished the **Gaganyaan TV-D1** mission in **October 2023**. Such tests are vital as safety is of paramount importance in manned missions, he said.
उन्होंने आगामी **TV-D2** को एक “जटिल मिशन” बताया जो गंभीर परिस्थितियों में **कू एस्केप सिस्टम (CES)** का परीक्षण करेगा। **ISRO** ने **अक्टूबर 2023** में **गगनयान TV-D1** मिशन को सफलतापूर्वक पूरा किया था। उन्होंने कहा कि ऐसे परीक्षण अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण हैं क्योंकि मानवयुक्त मिशनों में सुरक्षा सर्वोपरि होती है।
- For the uncrewed **G1 mission**, the spacecraft will be launched aboard a human-rated **LVM3 rocket**. The mission will also have on board **Vyommitra**, the humanoid robot developed by the **ISRO**.
बिना चालक वाले **G1 मिशन** के लिए अंतरिक्ष यान को मानव-रेटेड **LVM3 रॉकेट** पर प्रक्षेपित किया जाएगा। इस मिशन में **ISRO** द्वारा विकसित मानवाकार रोबोट **व्योममित्र** भी शामिल होगा।

‘VSSC plays major role’

‘VSSC की प्रमुख भूमिका’

- On the success of **IADT-01**, Mr. Rajarajan said that as **VSSC Director**, he was happy that the test went as expected. The **VSSC** had a major role in **IADT-01**, being responsible for “90%” of the activities alongside the **Human Space Flight Centre (HSFC)** and **SDSC-SHAR** and other agencies, including the **Indian Air Force**, he said.
IADT-01 की सफलता पर श्री राजराजन ने कहा कि **VSSC निदेशक** के रूप में वह खुश हैं कि परीक्षण उम्मीद के मुताबिक हुआ। उन्होंने कहा कि **VSSC** की **IADT-01** में प्रमुख भूमिका थी, जो “90%” गतिविधियों के लिए जिम्मेदार था, साथ ही **ह्यूमन स्पेस फ्लाइट सेंटर (HSFC)**, **SDSC-SHAR** और अन्य एजेंसियों, जिनमें **भारतीय वायु सेना** भी शामिल है।
- **IADT-01** successfully demonstrated the parachute-based crew module deceleration system for **Gaganyaan**. The **VSSC** had carried out the end-to-end modelling for this test, Mr. Rajarajan said.
IADT-01 ने **गगनयान** के लिए पैराशूट-आधारित कू मॉड्यूल मंदन प्रणाली का सफलतापूर्वक प्रदर्शन किया। श्री राजराजन ने कहा कि इस परीक्षण के लिए **VSSC** ने एंड-टू-एंड मॉडलिंग की थी।

GS III: External Sector

Farmers fear removing cotton import duty will harm prices

The Samyukt Kisan Morcha (SKM) said in New Delhi on Monday that the decision to scrap import duty on cotton would further push prices of domestic cotton downwards. Talking to presspersons, SKM leaders said cotton producers in India could not compete with large, industrial-scale cotton farmers of the United States who had historically received massive government subsidies. “It has been estimated that, in the U.S., government subsidies are as high as 12% of the total value of production of cotton, while in India, government support is 2.37%. This massive disparity is at the core of the advantage U.S. cotton farmers have over cotton producers in developing countries,” they said.

Farmers fear removing cotton import duty will harm prices किसानों को आशंका है कि कपास पर आयात शुल्क हटाने से कीमतों को नुकसान होगा

The Samyukt Kisan Morcha (SKM) said in New Delhi on Monday that the decision to scrap import duty on cotton would further push prices of domestic cotton downwards.

संयुक्त किसान मोर्चा (SKM) ने सोमवार को नई दिल्ली में कहा कि कपास पर आयात शुल्क खत्म करने का निर्णय घरेलू कपास की कीमतों को और नीचे धकेल देगा।

- Talking to presspersons, **SKM leaders** said cotton producers in India could not compete with large, industrial-scale cotton farmers of the



United States who had historically received massive government subsidies.

पत्रकारों से बात करते हुए, **SKM नेताओं** ने कहा कि भारत के कपास उत्पादक बड़े औद्योगिक पैमाने पर कपास उगाने वाले **संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका** के किसानों से प्रतिस्पर्धा नहीं कर सकते जिन्हें ऐतिहासिक रूप से बड़े पैमाने पर सरकारी सब्सिडी मिली है।

- “It has been estimated that, in the **U.S.**, government subsidies are as high as **12%** of the total value of production of cotton, while in **India**, government support is **2.37%**. This massive disparity is at the core of the advantage **U.S.** cotton farmers have over cotton producers in developing countries,” they said.

“अनुमान लगाया गया है कि **अमेरिका** में कपास उत्पादन के कुल मूल्य का **12%** तक सरकारी सब्सिडी होती है, जबकि **भारत** में सरकारी सहयोग **2.37%** है। यह विशाल असमानता ही वह मुख्य कारण है जिसके कारण **अमेरिकी** कपास किसान विकासशील देशों के कपास उत्पादकों पर बढ़त बनाए हुए हैं,” उन्होंने कहा।

Like other relics, India's fossils are at high risk of being sold abroad

Fossils once bound for labs are now advertised in storefronts and auction houses; ammonites, extinct sea creatures, once crowded ancient oceans; today, their fossilised remains are sold on the streets of Paris; larger, rarer specimens fetch staggering sums from private collectors at auctions

SS III: SAT
Anupama Chandrasekaran

In Western India, some of the country's richest fossil beds lie inside open coal mines. It is gruelling work for palaeontologists with long days under a haze of dust, the deafening hammering of tools, and nights in small-town hotels with basic comforts. In 2024, palaeontologist Sunil Bajpai reported that at one such dig, he and his team uncovered the fossilised vertebrae of *Vasuki indicus*. This ancient giant snake may have stretched as long as a tour bus. But without a national repository or a secure, catalogued fossil locker like those abroad, the stony remains of this 47-million-year-old serpent face an uncertain future.

“I worry about what will happen to these fossils after I retire in two years,” said 63-year-old Mr. Bajpai, chair professor of vertebrate palaeontology at IIT-Roorkee. “Will they be preserved or fall victim to theft or vandalism?”

Around the world, fossils once bound for labs are now advertised in storefronts and auction houses. Ammonites, extinct sea creatures with coiled shells, once crowded ancient oceans. Today, their fossilised remains are sold on the streets of Paris. Larger, rarer specimens fetch staggering sums at auctions from private collectors.

In July 2024, Sotheby's auction house in New York sold a near-complete stegosaurus, a plant-eating dinosaur with spikes, for \$44.6 million. It was the most expensive fossil ever auctioned. In California, luxury homes trumpet dinosaur skeletons as living-room showpieces.

Thomas Carr is a palaeontologist at the Carthage Institute of Palaeontology in Wisconsin in the U.S. He studies fossils of *Tyrannosaurus rex*, one of the largest meat-eating dinosaurs in history. In a study published this April titled “*Tyrannosaurus rex*: An Endangered Species”, Mr. Carr reported that 71 scientifically important *T. rex* specimens are in private hands. Just 61 of these finds are held by public institutions.

“Commercial collectors have gathered more *T. rex* material than scientists have since the first specimen was discovered,” Mr. Carr said over a phone call. “The rate of collection by commercial interests was the most surprising and the most alarming.”

Heritage at risk

Over decades, India's cultural treasures have often vanished into private hands. In 1898, a British landowner unearthed hundreds of gems from a Buddhist shrine in Uttar Pradesh. The relics stayed in his family for generations before part of the collection was slated for auction at Sotheby's in Hong Kong in 2025. The Indian government blocked the sale. Scientists caution that fossils could be the next heritage lost to the auction block.

“The palaeontological record of India, especially the Mesozoic age, is incredibly important to our understanding of the evolution of dinosaurs and other organisms,” Mr. Carr said, referring to the “age of reptiles” when dinosaurs ruled the earth. “We can't afford to lose it.”

India's fossil record includes some of the earliest plant life, dinosaurs and even a skull of ancient humans. That wealth of



A panoramic view of the Panandhro lignite mine in Kutch, Gujarat, showing the fossiliferous level (red arrow) where fossils of the 15-metre-long snake *Vasuki indicus* were found. S. BAJPAI AND P. VERMA

fossils is due to the subcontinent's prolonged isolation after splitting from the southern supercontinent Gondwanaland around 150 million years ago. After India collided with Asia 50 to 60 million years ago, ancestral horses and whales emerged along its coasts.

“As of now there are no laws governing fossils and there are huge concerns about vandalism and local sales taking place,” Mr. Bajpai said. “If we don't move fast, we're going to lose a part of earth's history that you can never get back. Once a fossil is gone, it's gone forever.”

Unsung custodians

Fossils can vanish without trace: misplaced in storerooms, crumbling from heat and rain or hidden away in private collections. One large cache of Indian fossils today lies with the Ranga Rao-Obergraff Trust. It is a collection built by the late Indian palaeontologist M.S. Ranga Rao and his late wife, the German palaeontologist Friedlind Obergraff.

The couple unearthed truckloads of fossils, including bones of a small, hoofed, land-dwelling herbivore called *Indohyus*. Dutch-American palaeontologist Hans Thewissen examined the specimen in 2005 and spotted features that signaled that *Indohyus* was one of the earliest



A fossil at the Perambalur Ammonites Centre. FILE PHOTO



Commercial collectors have gathered more *T. rex* material than scientists have since the first specimen was discovered

THOMAS CARR
CARTHAGE INSTITUTE OF PALAEOLOGY,
WISCONSIN

known whale ancestors. The private collection is now kept in a Dehradun home. Some fossils even lie exposed in the garden, according to Mr. Bajpai. The collection, built over decades, remains largely unsorted and unstudied.

With no formal safeguards, some enthusiasts have turned custodians of India's deep history. Vishal Verma, a schoolteacher in Madhya Pradesh, spends weekends rescuing dinosaur bones and shells from riverbeds. The limestone and basalt hills in his neighbourhood, formed 146-65 million years ago, cradle fossilised dinosaur nests and eggs. Ammonites coiled like snakes, slabs of fossil wood and shards of reptile teeth fill every corner of Mr. Verma's home.

“We have to recognise the importance of these finds – they tell the story of our past, the story of earth,” said Mr. Verma, speaking in Hindi. “There must be strict measures against misuse and vandalism. Fossils should be accessible to people, but they must also be protected.”

In 2006, Mr. Verma stumbled upon hundreds of dinosaur eggs. He borrowed money to rent a truck and move some to a government museum in Mandav. But that wasn't enough to protect them. In 2013, some of the eggs were stolen and the rest were locked away from public view.

“One day they were on the shelf and the other day they weren't,” said Ashok Sahni, a veteran Indian palaeontologist of

the theft. “Well, when money comes into the picture, it's very difficult in a country like ours to safeguard anything because you can put guards and you can put wire and you can do everything. They did that at the Mandav museum and still, they lost some of the dinosaur eggs kept there and nobody knows how.”

Fossils for sale

Fossils aren't just prey for vandals or roadside sellers anymore. A simple Google search can lead you to sites openly selling fossilised dinosaur eggs. They've also become trophies for the rich.

The stegosaurus fossil that sold for a record \$44.6 million at Sotheby's last year went to hedge fund trader Kenneth Griffin. The fossil frenzy has even drawn Hollywood celebrities like Nicolas Cage and Leonardo DiCaprio, who once had a bidding war over a dinosaur skull. Sotheby's has further stoked the appetite, carving out a new department in 2021 selling fossils alongside space and cinema memorabilia.

A few years ago, a draft plan for a national fossil repository in India raised hopes. But that plan has barely progressed. Experts warn that in its absence, India's prehistoric treasures remain vulnerable to auctions abroad.

“With no law to prohibit their extraction or sale, it's entirely possible that dinosaur eggs from India have found their way into overseas markets,” Mr. Bajpai said.

For now, the 27 fossilised vertebrae Mr. Bajpai found of the *Vasuki indicus* rest in a box at IIT-Roorkee. At an estimated 49 feet, the giant python-like snake would have been longer than the *T. rex* that palaeontologist Mr. Carr found to be drifting into private hands. Only time will tell if this fossil will be safeguarded as a national treasure, safe from any auction block.

anupama.c@thehindu.co.in



India's Fossils at Risk of Being Sold Abroad विदेशों में बेचे जाने के खतरे में भारत के जीवाश्म

- Like other **relics**, India's **fossils** are at high risk of being sold abroad.
अन्य **अवशेषों** की तरह, भारत के **जीवाश्म** विदेशों में बेचे जाने के उच्च जोखिम में हैं।
- Fossils once bound for **labs** are now advertised in **storefronts** and **auction houses**.
जो जीवाश्म पहले **प्रयोगशालाओं** के लिए भेजे जाते थे, अब वे **दुकानों** और **नीलामी घरों** में विज्ञापित किए जा रहे हैं
- Ammonites**, extinct sea creatures, once crowded ancient oceans; today, their fossilised remains are sold on the **streets of Paris**.
एमोनोइट्स, विलुप्त समुद्री जीव, जिन्होंने कभी प्राचीन महासागरों को भर दिया था; आज उनके जीवाश्म **पेरिस की सड़कों** पर बेचे जाते हैं।
- Larger, rarer specimens fetch **staggering sums** from private collectors at **auctions**.
बड़े और दुर्लभ नमूने निजी संग्राहकों से **नीलामी** में **अत्यधिक धनराशि** प्राप्त करते हैं।

Fossils in Western India

पश्चिम भारत में जीवाश्म

- In **Western India**, some of the country's **richest fossil beds** lie inside **open coal mines**.
पश्चिम भारत में, देश के कुछ **सबसे समृद्ध जीवाश्म भंडार खुले कोयला खदानों** के भीतर स्थित हैं।
- It is grueling work for **palaeontologists** with long days under a haze of dust, the deafening hammering of tools, and nights in small-town hotels with basic comforts.
पैलियंटोलॉजिस्टों के लिए यह कठिन कार्य है, जिसमें धूल की परत, औजारों की बहरी कर देने वाली आवाज़ और छोटे शहरों के साधारण होटलों में रातें शामिल होती हैं।
- In **2024**, palaeontologist **Sunil Bajpai** reported that at one such dig, he and his team uncovered the **fossilised vertebrae of Vasuki indicus**.
2024 में पैलियंटोलॉजिस्ट **सुनील बाजपेयी** ने बताया कि ऐसी ही एक खुदाई में उनकी टीम ने **वासुकी इंडिकस के जीवाश्मित कशेरुक** खोजे।
- This **ancient giant snake** may have stretched as long as a **tour bus**.
यह प्राचीन **विशालकाय साँप** एक **टूर बस** जितना लंबा हो सकता था।
- But without a **national repository** or a secure, catalogued fossil locker like those abroad, the stony remains of this **47-million-year-old serpent** face an uncertain future.
लेकिन बिना किसी **राष्ट्रीय भंडार** या विदेशों जैसे सुरक्षित, सूचीबद्ध जीवाश्म लॉकर के, इस **4.7 करोड़ वर्ष पुराने साँप** के पाषाण अवशेषों का भविष्य अनिश्चित है।
- "I worry about what will happen to these fossils after I retire in two years," said **63-year-old Mr. Bajpai**, chair professor of **vertebrate palaeontology at IIT-Roorkee**.
63 वर्षीय श्री बाजपेयी, जो **आईआईटी-रूड़की में कशेरुकी पैलियंटोलॉजी के अध्यक्ष प्रोफेसर** हैं, ने कहा – "मुझे चिंता है कि **दो साल बाद मेरी सेवानिवृत्ति** के बाद इन जीवाश्मों का क्या होगा।"
- "Will they be preserved or fall victim to **theft or vandalism**?"
"क्या इन्हें संरक्षित किया जाएगा या ये **चोरी या तोड़फोड़** का शिकार होंगे?"

Global Fossil Trade

वैश्विक जीवाश्म व्यापार

- Around the world, fossils once bound for labs are now advertised in **storefronts and auction houses**.
दुनिया भर में, जो जीवाश्म पहले प्रयोगशालाओं के लिए होते थे, अब **दुकानों और नीलामी घरों** में विज्ञापित किए जाते हैं।
- Ammonites, extinct sea creatures with coiled shells, once crowded ancient oceans**. Today, their fossilised remains are sold on the streets of **Paris**.
एमोनोइट्स, घुमावदार खोल वाले विलुप्त समुद्री जीव, कभी प्राचीन महासागरों में भरे रहते थे। आज उनके जीवाश्मित अवशेष **पेरिस** की सड़कों पर बेचे जाते हैं।



- Larger, rarer specimens fetch **staggering sums** at auctions from **private collectors**.
बड़े और दुर्लभ जीवाश्म नमूने नीलामियों में **निजी संग्राहकों** से **भारी रकम** प्राप्त करते हैं।
- In **July 2024**, Sotheby's auction house in **New York** sold a near-complete **stegosaurus** for **\$44.6 million**. It was the **most expensive fossil ever auctioned**.
जुलाई 2024 में **न्यूयॉर्क** स्थित सोथबी नीलामी घर ने लगभग पूर्ण **स्टीगोसॉरस** को **44.6 मिलियन डॉलर** में बेचा। यह अब तक नीलाम किया गया **सबसे महंगा जीवाश्म** था।
- In **California**, luxury homes trumpet **dinosaur skeletons** as living-room showpieces.
कैलिफ़ोर्निया में, आलीशान घर अपने ड्रॉइंगरूम की सजावट के लिए **डायनासोर कंकाल** प्रदर्शित करते हैं।

Tyrannosaurus Rex and Private Collections टायरानोसॉरस रेक्स और निजी संग्रह

- **Thomas Carr**, palaeontologist at the **Carthage Institute of Palaeontology, Wisconsin (U.S.)**, studies fossils of **Tyrannosaurus rex**.
थॉमस कार, **कार्थेज इंस्टीट्यूट ऑफ पैलियंटोलॉजी, विस्कॉन्सिन (अमेरिका)** के पैलियंटोलॉजिस्ट, **टायरानोसॉरस रेक्स** के जीवाश्मों का अध्ययन करते हैं।
- In **April 2024**, Carr published a study titled '**Tyrannosaurus rex: An Endangered Species**', reporting that **71 specimens** are in **private hands**, while only **61 finds** are with **public institutions**.
अप्रैल 2024 में कार ने 'टायरानोसॉरस रेक्स: एन एंडेंजर्ड स्पीशीज' शीर्षक से एक अध्ययन प्रकाशित किया, जिसमें बताया गया कि **71 नमूने निजी हाथों** में हैं, जबकि केवल **61 सार्वजनिक संस्थानों** के पास हैं।
- "**Commercial collectors** have gathered more T. rex material than scientists have since the first specimen was discovered," Mr. Carr said.
श्री कार ने कहा – "**व्यावसायिक संग्राहकों** ने पहले जीवाश्म की खोज के बाद से वैज्ञानिकों की तुलना में अधिक टी. रेक्स सामग्री एकत्र की है।"
- "The rate of collection by **commercial interests** was the most surprising and alarming."
"**व्यावसायिक हितों** द्वारा संग्रह की गति सबसे चौंकाने वाली और चिंताजनक थी।"

Heritage at Risk खतरे में विरासत

- Over decades, India's **cultural treasures** have often vanished into **private hands**.
दशकों से भारत की **सांस्कृतिक धरोहरें** अक्सर **निजी हाथों** में चली गई हैं।
- In **1898**, a British landowner unearthed hundreds of **gems from a Buddhist shrine in Uttar Pradesh**.
1898 में एक ब्रिटिश ज़मींदार ने **उत्तर प्रदेश के एक बौद्ध मंदिर से सैकड़ों रत्न** खोज निकाले।
- The relics stayed in his family for generations before part of the collection was slated for auction at **Sotheby's Hong Kong in 2025**.
ये अवशेष पीढ़ियों तक उसके परिवार में रहे, इससे पहले कि संग्रह का एक हिस्सा **2025 में सोथबी हांगकांग** में नीलामी के लिए रखा गया।
- The **Indian government** blocked the sale.
भारतीय सरकार ने बिक्री को रोक दिया।
- Scientists caution that **fossils** could be the next heritage lost to the **auction block**.
वैज्ञानिक चेतावनी देते हैं कि **जीवाश्म** अगली धरोहर हो सकते हैं जो **नीलामी ब्लॉक** पर खो जाएँ।

India's Fossil Record भारत का जीवाश्म अभिलेख

- "The palaeontological record of **India**, especially the **Mesozoic age**, is incredibly important to understanding the **evolution of dinosaurs** and other organisms."
"**भारत का पैलियंटोलॉजिकल अभिलेख**, विशेषकर **मेसोजोइक युग**, **डायनासोर और अन्य जीवों के विकास** को समझने के लिए अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है।"
- India's fossil record includes some of the **earliest plant life, dinosaurs, and even a skull of ancient humans**.



भारत का जीवाश्म अभिलेख कुछ प्रारंभिक पौधों के जीवन, डायनासोरों और यहाँ तक कि प्राचीन मनुष्यों की खोपड़ी को भी शामिल करता है।

- This wealth is due to India's isolation after splitting from Gondwanaland 150 million years ago and its later collision with Asia 50–60 million years ago, which led to the emergence of ancestral horses and whales.
यह संपदा भारत के 150 मिलियन वर्ष पहले गोंडवाना लैंड से अलग होने के बाद के अलगाव और 50–60 मिलियन वर्ष पहले एशिया से टकराने के कारण है, जिससे पूर्वज घोड़े और व्हेल उत्पन्न हुए।
- “As of now there are no laws governing fossils and there are huge concerns about vandalism and local sales taking place,” said Mr. Bajpai.
श्री बाजपेयी ने कहा – “अब तक जीवाश्मों को नियंत्रित करने वाले कोई कानून नहीं हैं और वैडलिजेशन और स्थानीय बिक्री को लेकर बड़ी चिंताएँ हैं।”
- “If we don't move fast, we're going to lose a part of earth's history that you can never get back. Once a fossil is gone, it's gone forever.”
“यदि हम तेजी से कार्य नहीं करेंगे, तो हम पृथ्वी के इतिहास का वह हिस्सा खो देंगे जो कभी वापस नहीं आ सकता। एक बार जीवाश्म चला गया तो वह हमेशा के लिए चला गया।”

Unsung Custodians

अनसुने संरक्षक

- Fossils can vanish without trace: misplaced in storerooms, crumbling from heat and rain or hidden away in private collections.
जीवाश्म बिना कोई निशान छोड़े गायब हो सकते हैं: स्टोररूम में गुम हो जाना, गर्मी और बारिश से टूट जाना या निजी संग्रहों में छिप जाना।
- One large cache of Indian fossils today lies with the Ranga Rao-Obergfell Trust.
आज भारतीय जीवाश्मों का एक बड़ा भंडार रंगा राव-ओबर्गफेल ट्रस्ट के पास है।
- It is a collection built by late Indian palaeontologist M.S. Ranga Rao and his late wife, German palaeontologist Friedlinde Obergfell.
यह संग्रह दिवंगत भारतीय पुराजीवविज्ञानी एम. एस. रंगा राव और उनकी दिवंगत पत्नी, जर्मन पुराजीवविज्ञानी फ्राइडलिंडे ओबर्गफेल द्वारा बनाया गया था।
- The couple unearthed truckloads of fossils, including bones of a small, hoofed, land-dwelling herbivore called Indohyus.
इस दंपति ने ट्रक भर जीवाश्म निकाले, जिनमें इंडोहायस नामक छोटे, खुर वाले, स्थलीय शाकाहारी के हड्डियाँ भी शामिल थीं।
- Dutch-American palaeontologist Hans Thewissen examined the specimen in 2005 and spotted features that signaled that Indohyus was one of the earliest known whale ancestors.
डच-अमेरिकी पुराजीवविज्ञानी हांस थेविसेन ने 2005 में इस नमूने की जांच की और ऐसे लक्षण पाए जो बताते हैं कि इंडोहायस ज्ञात व्हेल पूर्वजों में से एक था।
- The private collection is now kept in a Dehradun home. Some fossils even lie exposed in the garden, according to Mr. Bajpai.
निजी संग्रह अब देहरादून के एक घर में रखा गया है। श्री बाजपेई के अनुसार कुछ जीवाश्म तो बगीचे में भी खुले पड़े हैं।
- The collection, built over decades, remains largely unsorted and unstudied.
दशकों में बना यह संग्रह अधिकांशतः अव्यवस्थित और अप्रयुक्त है।
- With no formal safeguards, some enthusiasts have turned custodians of India's deep history.
किसी औपचारिक सुरक्षा के अभाव में कुछ उत्साही लोग भारत के गहरे इतिहास के संरक्षक बन गए हैं।
- Vishal Verma, a schoolteacher in Madhya Pradesh, spends weekends rescuing dinosaur bones and shells from riverbeds.
मध्य प्रदेश के एक शिक्षक विशाल वर्मा सप्ताहांत पर नदी तल से डायनासोर की हड्डियाँ और शंख बचाते हैं।
- The limestone and basalt hills, formed 146–65 million years ago, cradle fossilised dinosaur nests and eggs.
146–65 मिलियन वर्ष पहले बनी चूना पत्थर और बेसाल्ट की पहाड़ियाँ जीवाश्म बने डायनासोर घोंसले और अंडों को संभाले हुए हैं।



- **Ammonites** coiled like snakes, slabs of **fossil wood** and shards of **reptile teeth** fill every corner of Mr. Verma's home.
साँप जैसे कुंडली मारे अमोनाइट्स, जीवाश्म लकड़ी की पट्टियाँ और सरीसृप दाँतों के टुकड़े श्री वर्मा के घर के हर कोने में भरे हैं।
- "We have to recognise the importance of these finds — they tell the story of our past, the story of earth," said Mr. Verma.
"हमें इन खोजों के महत्व को पहचानना होगा — ये हमारे अतीत और धरती की कहानी बताते हैं," श्री वर्मा ने कहा।
- "There must be strict measures against **misuse and vandalism**. Fossils should be accessible to people, but they must also be protected."
"दुरुपयोग और तोड़फोड़ के खिलाफ कड़े उपाय होने चाहिए। जीवाश्म लोगों की पहुंच में होने चाहिए, लेकिन उन्हें संरक्षित भी किया जाना चाहिए।"
- In **2006**, Mr. Verma stumbled upon **hundreds of dinosaur eggs**. He borrowed money to rent a truck and move some to a **government museum in Mandav**.
2006 में श्री वर्मा को सैकड़ों डायनासोर अंडे मिले। उन्होंने ट्रक किराए पर लेने और कुछ को मांडव के सरकारी संग्रहालय तक ले जाने के लिए कर्ज लिया।
- But that wasn't enough to protect them. In **2013**, some of the eggs were **stolen** and the rest were locked away from public view.
लेकिन यह उन्हें बचाने के लिए पर्याप्त नहीं था। 2013 में कुछ अंडे चुरा लिए गए और बाकी को सार्वजनिक दृष्टि से दूर बंद कर दिया गया।
- "One day they were on the shelf and the other day they weren't," said **Ashok Sahni**, a veteran Indian palaeontologist of the theft.
"एक दिन वे शेल्फ पर थे और दूसरे दिन नहीं," इस चोरी पर वरिष्ठ भारतीय पुराजीवविज्ञानी अशोक सहनी ने कहा।
- "Well, when money comes into the picture, it's very difficult in a country like ours to safeguard anything... They did that at the **Mandav museum** and still, they lost some of the dinosaur eggs."
"जब पैसे की बात आती है तो हमारे जैसे देश में किसी चीज़ को बचाना बहुत मुश्किल हो जाता है... उन्होंने मांडव संग्रहालय में ऐसा किया और फिर भी कुछ डायनासोर अंडे खो दिए।"

Fossils for Sale जीवाश्म बिक्री पर

- Fossils aren't just prey for **vandals or roadside sellers** anymore. A simple **Google search** can lead to sites openly selling **fossilised dinosaur eggs**.
जीवाश्म अब केवल तोड़फोड़ करने वालों या सड़क किनारे विक्रेताओं के शिकार नहीं हैं। एक साधारण गूगल खोज आपको जीवाश्म डायनासोर अंडे बेचने वाली साइटों तक ले जा सकती है।
- They've also become **trophies for the rich**.
वे अब अमीरों की ट्रॉफियाँ भी बन गए हैं।
- The **stegosaurus fossil** that sold for a record **\$44.6 million** at **Sotheby's** last year went to hedge fund trader **Kenneth Griffin**.
पिछले साल साँथेबी में रिकॉर्ड \$44.6 मिलियन में बिका स्टीगोसॉर्स जीवाश्म हेज फंड व्यापारी केनेथ ग्रिफिन के पास गया।
- The fossil frenzy has even drawn **Hollywood celebrities** like **Nicolas Cage** and **Leonardo DiCaprio**, who once had a bidding war over a dinosaur skull.
जीवाश्मों का जुनून हॉलीवुड हस्तियों जैसे निकोला केज और लियोनार्डो डिकैप्रियो को भी खींच लाया, जिन्होंने एक बार डायनासोर की खोपड़ी पर बोली युद्ध लड़ा।
- **Sotheby's** has further stoked the appetite, carving out a new department in **2021** selling fossils alongside **space and cinema memorabilia**.
साँथेबी ने और रुचि बढ़ाई, 2021 में एक नया विभाग शुरू किया जिसमें जीवाश्मों को अंतरिक्ष और सिनेमा स्मृति चिह्नों के साथ बेचा गया।
- A few years ago, a draft plan for a **national fossil repository** in India raised hopes. But that plan has barely progressed.
कुछ साल पहले भारत में राष्ट्रीय जीवाश्म भंडार की एक प्रारूप योजना ने उम्मीद जगाई थी। लेकिन वह योजना मुश्किल से ही आगे बढ़ी।



- Experts warn that in its absence, India's **prehistoric treasures** remain vulnerable to **auctions abroad**.
विशेषज्ञ चेतावनी देते हैं कि इसके अभाव में भारत के **प्रागैतिहासिक खजाने विदेशी नीलामी** के लिए असुरक्षित बने रहते हैं।
- "With no law to prohibit their extraction or sale, it's entirely possible that **dinosaur eggs from India** have found their way into **overseas markets**," said Mr. Bajpai.
"किसी कानून के अभाव में, जो उनके निकालने या बेचने को रोक सके, यह पूरी तरह संभव है कि **भारत के डायनासोर अंडे विदेशी बाजारों तक पहुँच चुके हों**," श्री बाजपेई ने कहा।
- For now, the **27 fossilised vertebrae** Mr. Bajpai found of the **Vasuki indicus** rest in a box at **IIT-Roorkee**.
फिलहाल, श्री बाजपेई को मिले **वासुकी इंडिकस के 27 जीवाश्म कशेरुक आईआईटी-रुड़की** के एक डिब्बे में रखे हैं।
- At an estimated **49 feet**, the giant python-like snake would have been longer than the **T. rex**.
अनुमानित **49 फीट** लंबा यह विशाल अजगर जैसा साँप **टी. रेक्स** से भी बड़ा होता।
- Only time will tell if this fossil will be safeguarded as a **national treasure**, safe from any **auction block**.
केवल समय ही बताएगा कि क्या यह जीवाश्म किसी **राष्ट्रीय धरोहर** के रूप में सुरक्षित रहेगा और किसी **नीलामी ब्लॉक** से सुरक्षित बचेगा।

Answers to August 21 quiz:

1. Unit of radiation dose due to eating fruits – **Ans: Banana-equivalent dose**

2. Time unit to track nuclear chain reactions – **Ans: Shakes (of a lamb's tail)**

3. Unit used as a stand-in for large numbers – **Ans: Sagan**

4. Speed unit equal to 0.17 mm per second – **Ans: Furlong per fortnight**

5. Unit of risk of death equal to 1 in a million – **Ans: Micromort**

Visual: **August Beer**

मृत्यु के जोखिम की इकाई जो 10 लाख में 1 के बराबर है – उत्तर: माइक्र

QUIZ

- Unit of **radiation dose** due to eating fruits –
Ans: **Banana-equivalent dose**
फलों को खाने से होने वाली **विकिरण खुराक** की इकाई – उत्तर: **केला-समतुल्य खुराक**
- Time unit to track **nuclear chain reactions** –
Ans: **Shakes (of a lamb's tail)**
परमाणु श्रृंखला अभिक्रियाओं को ट्रैक करने की समय इकाई – उत्तर: **शेक्स (भेड़ के बच्चे की पूंछ का झटका)**
- Unit used as a stand-in for **large numbers** –
Ans: **Sagan**
बड़ी संख्याओं के लिए प्रयोग की जाने वाली इकाई – उत्तर: **सागन**
- **Speed unit** equal to 0.17 mm per second –
Ans: **Furlong per fortnight**
गति इकाई जो 0.17 मिमी प्रति सेकंड के बराबर है – उत्तर: **फर्लांग प्रति पखवाड़ा**
- Unit of **risk of death** equal to 1 in a million –
Ans: **Micr**



Government's new minimum export price on natural honey

GS III: MEP

1,400 in \$ per tonne.
The government

has cut the Minimum Export Price (MEP) on natural honey from \$2,000 per tonne to \$1,400 per tonne till the end of this year, according to a notification. Exports below this MEP are not permitted. PTI

Government's new minimum export price on natural honey

सरकार का प्राकृतिक शहद
पर नया न्यूनतम निर्यात मूल्य

1,400 in \$ per tonne.

1,400 डॉलर प्रति टन।

• The government has cut the **Minimum Export Price (MEP)** on natural honey from **\$2,000 per tonne** to **\$1,400 per tonne** till the end of this year, according to a notification.

एक अधिसूचना के अनुसार सरकार ने प्राकृतिक शहद पर **न्यूनतम निर्यात मूल्य (MEP)** को **\$2,000 प्रति टन** से घटाकर **\$1,400 प्रति टन** कर दिया है, जो इस वर्ष के अंत तक लागू रहेगा।

• Exports below this **MEP** are not permitted.

इस **MEP** से कम पर निर्यात की अनुमति नहीं है।

PATRIOTIC



What does the new online gaming Act outline?

What has the World Health Organization said about Real Money Games? How are e-sports and social gaming segments different from online money games? What are the penalties laid out in the Act with respect to engaging with online money games? Has the Supreme Court intervened?

EXPLAINER

Virag Gupta

The story so far:
On August 20, the Lok Sabha passed the Promotion and Regulation of Online Gaming Bill, 2025 after seven minutes of discussion. The Rajya Sabha passed it the next day and the Bill became law after receiving Presidential Assent on August 22. Government data suggests that Indians are losing ₹15,000 crore every year due to "Real Money Games" (RMGs). The World Health Organization (WHO) has linked RMGs to compulsive behaviour, psychological distress, financial hardship, and an overall disruption of family life. Reflecting these dangers, 32 cases of suicide attributed to online gaming addiction have been reported in Karnataka in the past 31 months. The RMG industry says this ban may threaten more than two lakh jobs across 400+ companies.

What are the three segments of online games?

The Act has proposed three categories for online games – e-sports, social gaming and RMGs. While the Act aims to promote e-sports and social gaming segments, it seeks to ban all forms of RMGs and its advertisements.

The Act defines an online money game as an online game played regardless of whether it is based on skill, chance or both, and is played after a fee-payment or with an expectation of winning money or other stakes (can include credits, coins, tokens, virtual money, etc. which can be converted to money). Under such a definition, variants of popular games like Poker, Rummy, Fantasy Cricket, and Ludo would be classified as RMGs. Several such platforms are represented by celebrities including Ranbir Kapoor and Aamir Khan (Dream11), M.S. Dhoni (WizZO), Hrithik Roshan (RummyCircle) and Sourav Ganguly (My11Circle).

With respect to e-sports, the Act defines them as games which are recognised under the National Sports Governance Act, 2025 and are registered with the proposed regulatory authority. It may include the payment of a registration or participation fee alongside performance-based prize money. Examples include games like Grand Theft Auto and Call of Duty.

While there is no legal definition of social gaming, it is included in the broader category of online games defined as games played on an electronic or digital device and operated as a software through the Internet. Under Section 4 of this Bill, the government can facilitate the development and availability of online social games for recreational and educational purposes.

What does it say about regulation?

Offering online money games or engaging in transaction or authorisation of funds for the same will be punishable with imprisonment of up to three years, a fine of up to ₹1 crore, or both. Unlawful advertisement will be punishable with imprisonment of up to two years, a fine of up to ₹50 lakh, or both. Under the Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Samhita (BNSS), 2023, offences shall be cognisable and non-bailable. The central government stated that the Indian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-IN) will be tasked with blocking or disabling apps that continue to provide banned money gaming services in India, and if needed, it may rope in Interpol to bring in offshore



THE GIST

The Act has proposed three categories for online games – e-sports, social gaming and Real Money Games (RMGs). While the Act aims to promote e-sports and social gaming segments, it seeks to ban all forms of RMGs and its advertisements.

Offering online money games or engaging in transaction or authorisation of funds for the same will be punishable with imprisonment of up to three years, a fine of up to ₹1 crore, or both.

Entries 34 and 62 of the State List in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution places the regulation and taxation of betting and gambling within the jurisdiction of State governments.

operators of money gaming platforms. IT Minister Ashwani Vaishnav clarified in a statement that no penal action for players has been codified.

The Act empowers the Central government to notify and constitute a regulatory authority to recognise, categorise, and register online games. In 2023, the IT Ministry amended the Information Technology (Intermediary Guidelines and Digital Media Ethics Code) Amendment Rules, 2021, treating online gaming firms like intermediaries. The amended rules envisaged a system of self-regulated bodies with government oversight. Online gaming firms were required to comply with KYC norms, and uphold measures to safeguard children through measures for parental access control alongside age rating mechanisms based on the nature and type of content.

The new Act makes no provisions to constraint minors from playing online social games or e-sports. It also provides for a budget allocation from the Consolidated Fund of India to promote online social gaming in the country.

Why has the government brought in the Act?

Mr. Vaishnav said the Act was a response to complaints from users who had lost thousands of crores on online money games, and that it was not a knee-jerk reaction. He said that there is irrefutable proof that the algorithms of online gaming firms do not allow for any user to emerge as a net winner in the long run.

A Parliamentary Panel Report (2023) stated that gaming portals have become agents for funding terror activities. A 2022 Financial Intelligence Report reported that online gaming firms had evaded tax of ₹2,000 crore. Further, the Defence

Ministry's think tank found that the Chinese App, FIEWIN, has defrauded Indian users of ₹400 crore, with an ED investigation finding evidence of use of mule accounts and cryptocurrency wallets. In yet another report, the government said that gaming companies were involved in GST tax evasion of ₹30,000 crore.

The current Act says that the unchecked expansion of RMGs is linked to financial fraud, money laundering, tax evasion and many other unlawful activities. It also states that gaming firms rely on opaque algorithms designed to manipulate user engagement, and that games can also be operated by bots or undisclosed agents undermining fairness and transparency. Additionally, the Act says that gaming firms operate from offshore jurisdictions bypassing domestic laws, undermining state level regulations and presenting significant enforcement challenges in terms of extra-territorial jurisdiction and interstate inconsistencies. However, while the Act proposes to establish a robust legal framework, the same is not reflected in the contents of the Act. Gaming companies may still bypass restrictions through VPNs, information cash play, or other mechanisms.

What have courts said?

Entries 34 and 62 of the State List in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution places the regulation and taxation of betting and gambling within the jurisdiction of State governments. And various State governments have taken regulatory actions before. In 2017, Telangana became the first State to ban all forms of online gaming including skill-based games. In 2020, Andhra

Pradesh banned online gambling, and in 2022, Tamil Nadu banned games such as Rummy and Poker.

In 2023, the Indian government reclassified GST brackets for online gaming along with casinos and horse racing, putting them in the same bracket as lotteries and betting. In October 2023, it imposed a uniform 28% GST on the entire entry fee/deposit, instead of platform commission. Gaming firms opposed this move, claiming that their platforms were skill based, and termed retrospective taxes as unfair and damaging. The Supreme Court (SC) this year granted a stay on notices issued to online gaming companies. The top court's decisions on whether fantasy sports, poker and rummy should be treated as games of skills or gambling, and on retrospective tax for RMG firms, are awaited. The Central government has requested the SC for one more week to file submissions in the GST dispute on online gaming, with industry players arguing that games of skill cannot be equated with gambling.

The SC had earlier said that games like Rummy and Fantasy Sports involved a substantial degree of skill and cannot be equated with gambling. This Act does not distinguish between games of skills and games of chance, leading critics of the Act to say that it erases the intelligible difference and is violative of Article 19 (1) (g) of the Constitution, giving a guaranteed Right to Trade and Occupation. If the matter is challenged, then the SC can step in to shield the gaming industry with interim relief or issue a notice to the government to explain the rationale behind such a law.

Virag Gupta is an advocate at the Supreme Court.

What does the new online gaming Act outline? नए ऑनलाइन गेमिंग अधिनियम में क्या प्रावधान हैं?

- On August 20, the Lok Sabha passed the **Promotion and Regulation of Online Gaming Bill, 2025** after seven minutes of discussion. The **Rajya Sabha** passed it the next day and the Bill became law after receiving **Presidential Assent** on **August 22**.
20 अगस्त को लोकसभा ने सात मिनट की चर्चा के बाद ऑनलाइन गेमिंग संवर्धन और विनियमन



विधेयक, 2025 पारित किया। राज्यसभा ने इसे अगले दिन पारित किया और 22 अगस्त को राष्ट्रपति की मंजूरी मिलने के बाद यह कानून बन गया।

- Government data suggests that Indians are losing ~₹15,000 crore every year due to “Real Money Games (RMGs)”.
सरकारी आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि भारतीय हर साल “रियल मनी गेम्स (RMGs)” के कारण लगभग ₹15,000 करोड़ गंवा रहे हैं।
- The World Health Organization (WHO) has linked RMGs to compulsive behaviour, psychological distress, financial hardship, and an overall disruption of family life.
विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन (WHO) ने RMGs को बाध्यकारी व्यवहार, मानसिक तनाव, आर्थिक कठिनाई और पारिवारिक जीवन के समग्र विघटन से जोड़ा है।
- Reflecting these dangers, 32 cases of suicide attributed to online gaming addiction have been reported in Karnataka in the past 31 months.
इन खतरों को दर्शाते हुए, पिछले 31 महीनों में कर्नाटक में ऑनलाइन गेमिंग की लत से जुड़े 32 आत्महत्या के मामले दर्ज किए गए हैं।
- The RMG industry says this ban may threaten more than two lakh jobs across 400+ companies.
RMG उद्योग का कहना है कि यह प्रतिबंध 400+ कंपनियों में दो लाख से अधिक नौकरियों को खतरे में डाल सकता है।

What are the three segments of online games?

ऑनलाइन खेलों के तीन खंड कौन से हैं?

- The Act has proposed three categories for online games — e-sports, social gaming and RMGs. While the Act aims to promote e-sports and social gaming segments, it seeks to ban all forms of RMGs and its advertisements.
अधिनियम ने ऑनलाइन खेलों के लिए तीन श्रेणियां प्रस्तावित की हैं — ई-स्पोर्ट्स, सोशल गेमिंग और RMGs। जबकि अधिनियम का उद्देश्य ई-स्पोर्ट्स और सोशल गेमिंग खंडों को बढ़ावा देना है, यह RMGs और उनके विज्ञापनों के सभी रूपों पर प्रतिबंध लगाना चाहता है।
- The Act defines an online money game as an online game played regardless of whether it is based on skill, chance or both, and is played after a fee-payment or with an expectation of winning money or other stakes (can include credits, coins, tokens, virtual money, etc. which can be converted to money).
अधिनियम ऑनलाइन मनी गेम को इस प्रकार परिभाषित करता है कि यह कौशल, संयोग या दोनों पर आधारित हो सकता है, और इसे शुल्क-भुगतान या पैसा जीतने या अन्य दांव की उम्मीद के साथ खेला जाता है (इसमें क्रेडिट, सिक्के, टोकन, वर्चुअल मनी आदि शामिल हो सकते हैं जिन्हें पैसे में बदला जा सकता है)।
- Under such a definition, variants of popular games like Poker, Rummy, Fantasy Cricket, and Ludo would be classified as RMGs.
ऐसी परिभाषा के तहत पोकर, रम्मी, फैंटेसी क्रिकेट और लूडो जैसे लोकप्रिय खेलों के संस्करण RMGs के रूप में वर्गीकृत किए जाएंगे।
- Several such platforms are represented by celebrities including Ranbir Kapoor and Aamir Khan (Dream11), M.S. Dhoni (WinZo), Hrithik Roshan (RummyCircle) and Sourav Ganguly (My11Circle).
ऐसे कई प्लेटफार्मों का प्रतिनिधित्व सेलिब्रिटी करते हैं जिनमें शामिल हैं रणवीर कपूर और आमिर खान (Dream11), एम.एस. धोनी (WinZo), ऋतिक रोशन (RummyCircle) और सौरव गांगुली (My11Circle)।
- With respect to e-sports, the Act defines them as games which are recognised under the National Sports Governance Act, 2025 and are registered with the proposed regulatory authority.
ई-स्पोर्ट्स के संबंध में, अधिनियम उन्हें ऐसे खेलों के रूप में परिभाषित करता है जो राष्ट्रीय खेल शासन अधिनियम, 2025 के तहत मान्यता प्राप्त हैं और प्रस्तावित नियामक प्राधिकरण के साथ पंजीकृत हैं।
- It may include the payment of a registration or participation fee alongside performance-based prize money. Examples include games like Grand Theft Auto and Call of Duty.
इसमें पंजीकरण या भागीदारी शुल्क के साथ-साथ प्रदर्शन-आधारित पुरस्कार राशि का भुगतान शामिल हो सकता है। उदाहरणों में ग्रेंड थेफ्ट ऑटो और कॉल ऑफ ड्यूटी जैसे खेल शामिल हैं।



- While there is no legal definition of **social gaming**, it is included in the broader category of online games defined as games played on an **electronic or digital device** and operated as a **software through the Internet**.
हालांकि **सोशल गेमिंग** की कोई कानूनी परिभाषा नहीं है, इसे ऑनलाइन खेलों की व्यापक श्रेणी में शामिल किया गया है जिसे **इलेक्ट्रॉनिक या डिजिटल डिवाइस** पर खेला जाता है और **इंटरनेट के माध्यम से सॉफ्टवेयर** के रूप में संचालित किया जाता है।
- Under **Section 4** of this Bill, the government can facilitate the development and availability of **online social games** for recreational and educational purposes.
इस विधेयक की **धारा 4** के तहत, सरकार मनोरंजन और शैक्षिक उद्देश्यों के लिए **ऑनलाइन सोशल गेम्स** के विकास और उपलब्धता को सुगम बना सकती है।

What does it say about regulation? नियमन के बारे में इसमें क्या कहा गया है?

- Offering **online money games** or engaging in transaction or authorisation of funds for the same will be punishable with **imprisonment of up to three years, a fine of up to ₹1 crore, or both**.
ऑनलाइन मनी गेम्स की पेशकश करना या उनके लिए लेन-देन/निधियों की अनुमति देना **तीन साल तक की कैद, ₹1 करोड़ तक का जुर्माना, या दोनों से दंडनीय** होगा।
- Unlawful advertisement will be punishable with **imprisonment of up to two years, a fine of up to ₹50 lakh, or both**.
अवैध विज्ञापन के लिए **दो साल तक की कैद, ₹50 लाख तक का जुर्माना, या दोनों का दंड** होगा।
- Under the **Bharatiya Nagarik Suraksha Sanhita (BNSS), 2023**, offences shall be **cognisable and non-bailable**.
भारतीय नागरिक सुरक्षा संहिता (BNSS), 2023 के तहत अपराध **संज्ञेय और गैर-जमानती** होंगे।
- The central government stated that the **Indian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-IN)** will be tasked with **blocking or disabling apps** that continue to provide banned money gaming services in India, and if needed, it may rope in **Interpol**.
केंद्र सरकार ने कहा कि **भारतीय कंप्यूटर आपातकालीन प्रतिक्रिया टीम (CERT-IN)** को ऐसे ऐप्स **ब्लॉक/अक्षम** करने का काम सौंपा जाएगा जो भारत में प्रतिबंधित मनी गेमिंग सेवाएं प्रदान करते हैं, और यदि आवश्यक हुआ तो इसमें **इंटरपोल** को भी शामिल किया जा सकता है।
- IT Minister **Ashwani Vaishnaw** clarified that no **penal action for players** has been codified.
आईटी मंत्री **अश्विनी वैष्णव** ने स्पष्ट किया कि **खिलाड़ियों के लिए दंडात्मक कार्रवाई** का कोई प्रावधान नहीं किया गया है।
- (बहुत लंबा टेक्स्ट है — मैं चाहूँ तो इसे यहीं तक फॉर्मेट कर दूँ या पूरे का विस्तार से पॉइंट-दर-पॉइंट जारी रखूँ।)
- क्या आप चाहते हैं कि मैं इस पूरे आर्टिकल (कोर्ट्स, टैक्स, सरकार के कारण, आलोचना आदि वाले हिस्से) को भी इसी तरह फॉर्मेट कर दूँ?
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