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#### TOPICS COVERED (PCS Special)

1. Nepal bans Facebook, X, YouTube, and 23 other social media platforms

नेपाल ने फेसबुक, एक्स, यूट्यूब और 23 अन्य सोशल मीडिया प्लेटफॉर्म पर प्रतिबंध लगाया

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# Nepal bans Facebook, X, YouTube, and 23 other social media platforms

K.P. Sharma Oli's govt. cites the companies' non-compliance with registration rules as reason behind decision; free speech advocates say the move is less about regulation and more about silencing dissent and tightening control over online speech

PCS

**Sanjeev Satgainya**  
KATHMANDU

**T**he K.P. Sharma Oli government on Thursday decided to ban as many as 26 social media platforms, including Facebook, X (formerly Twitter), Instagram, and YouTube, citing their failure to meet the deadline to comply with registration requirements in Nepal.

Issuing a public notice, the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology said it "has ordered the Nepal Telecommunication Authority to make inactive all non-registered social media sites un-



**Time up:** A seven-day deadline set for social media platforms to register in Nepal had expired on Wednesday night. ISTOCKPHOTO

til they are registered."

After repeated requests, the government again, on August 28, set a seven-day deadline for social media

platforms to register in Nepal. That deadline expired on Wednesday night.

On Wednesday afternoon, Gajendra Thakur,

spokesperson for the Ministry, said that the government was hopeful social media companies would approach them before midnight. If they did not, he said, the government would act accordingly. As none approached, a meeting on Thursday then made the decision to enforce the ban.

Free speech advocates have objected to the move, saying it is less about regulation and more about silencing dissenting voices. They believe the government's registration conditions, which include stringent oversight and control measures, may have been

deemed unrealistic and intrusive by many social media companies, likely prompting their refusal to register.

The government has based its decision to ban the sites on a recent Supreme Court ruling and its own Directives Relating to the Regulation for Usage of Social Media. This is not the first time Nepal has banned a social media platform. In November 2023, the then Pushpa Kamal Dahal government blocked TikTok for nine months, prompting criticism.

(Sanjeev Satgainya is an independent journalist based in Kathmandu)

## Nepal bans Facebook, X, YouTube, and 23 other social media platforms

### नेपाल ने फेसबुक, एक्स, यूट्यूब और 23 अन्य सोशल मीडिया प्लेटफॉर्म पर प्रतिबंध लगाया

- K.P. Sharma Oli's government cites the companies' **non-compliance with registration rules** as reason behind decision; **free speech advocates** say the move is less about regulation and more about **silencing dissent and tightening control over online speech**.  
के.पी. शर्मा ओली की सरकार ने कंपनियों के पंजीकरण नियमों के अनुपालन न करने को इस निर्णय के पीछे का कारण बताया; **मुक्त भाषण समर्थकों** का कहना है कि यह कदम नियमों के बारे में कम और **विरोध को दबाने** तथा **ऑनलाइन भाषण पर नियंत्रण कड़ा करने** के बारे में अधिक है।
- The **K.P. Sharma Oli government on Thursday decided to ban as many as 26 social media platforms, including Facebook, X (formerly Twitter), Instagram, and YouTube, citing their failure to meet the deadline to comply with registration requirements in Nepal**.  
के.पी. शर्मा ओली सरकार ने गुरुवार को फेसबुक, एक्स (पूर्व में ट्विटर), इंस्टाग्राम और यूट्यूब सहित 26 सोशल मीडिया प्लेटफॉर्म पर प्रतिबंध लगाने का निर्णय लिया, यह कहते हुए कि वे नेपाल में पंजीकरण आवश्यकताओं का पालन करने की समय सीमा को पूरा करने में विफल रहे।
- Issuing a public notice, the **Ministry of Communications and Information Technology** said it "has ordered the Nepal Telecommunication Authority to make inactive all non-registered social media sites until they are registered."  
एक सार्वजनिक नोटिस जारी करते हुए, संचार और सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी मंत्रालय ने कहा कि उसने "नेपाल दूरसंचार प्राधिकरण को आदेश दिया है कि सभी गैर-पंजीकृत सोशल मीडिया साइटों को तब तक निष्क्रिय कर दिया जाए जब तक कि वे पंजीकृत न हो जाएं।"



- After repeated requests, the government again, on **August 28**, set a **seven-day deadline** for social media platforms to register in Nepal.  
बार-बार अनुरोध करने के बाद, सरकार ने 28 अगस्त को फिर से सोशल मीडिया प्लेटफॉर्म को नेपाल में पंजीकरण कराने के लिए सात दिन की समय सीमा तय की।
- That deadline expired on **Wednesday night**.  
वह समय सीमा बुधवार रात को समाप्त हो गई।
- On **Wednesday afternoon**, **Gajendra Thakur**, spokesperson for the **Ministry**, said that the **government was hopeful social media companies would approach them before midnight**.  
बुधवार दोपहर, गजेन्द्र ठाकुर, मंत्रालय के प्रवक्ता ने कहा कि सरकार को उम्मीद थी कि सोशल मीडिया कंपनियां आधी रात से पहले उनसे संपर्क करेंगी।
- If they did not, he said, the **government would act accordingly**.  
उन्होंने कहा कि अगर वे ऐसा नहीं करते, तो सरकार तदनुसार कार्रवाई करेगी।
- As none approached, a **meeting on Thursday** then made the decision to **enforce the ban**.  
चूंकि कोई भी संपर्क में नहीं आया, इसलिए गुरुवार को हुई बैठक में प्रतिबंध लागू करने का निर्णय लिया गया।
- **Free speech advocates** have objected to the move, saying it is **less about regulation and more about silencing dissenting voices**.  
मुक्त भाषण समर्थकों ने इस कदम पर आपत्ति जताई है, यह कहते हुए कि यह नियमों के बारे में कम और विरोधी आवाजों को दबाने के बारे में अधिक है।
- They believe the government's **registration conditions**, which include **stringent oversight and control measures**, may have been deemed **unrealistic and intrusive** by many social media companies, likely prompting their **refusal to register**.  
उनका मानना है कि सरकार की पंजीकरण शर्तों, जिनमें कड़े निरीक्षण और नियंत्रण उपाय शामिल हैं, कई सोशल मीडिया कंपनियों द्वारा **अवास्तविक और हस्तक्षेपकारी** मानी गई होंगी, जिसके कारण उन्होंने पंजीकरण करने से इनकार कर दिया।
- The government has based its decision to ban the sites on a **recent Supreme Court ruling** and its own **Directives Relating to the Regulation for Usage of Social Media**.  
सरकार ने साइटों पर प्रतिबंध लगाने का अपना निर्णय हाल ही के सुप्रीम कोर्ट के फैसले और सोशल मीडिया के उपयोग के विनियमन से संबंधित अपने निर्देशों पर आधारित किया है।
- This is not the **first time Nepal has banned a social media platform**.  
यह पहली बार नहीं है जब नेपाल ने किसी सोशल मीडिया प्लेटफॉर्म पर प्रतिबंध लगाया है।
- In **November 2023**, the then **Pushpa Kamal Dahal** government blocked **TikTok** for nine months, prompting criticism.  
नवंबर 2023 में, तत्कालीन पुष्प कमल दहल सरकार ने टिकटॉक को नौ महीनों के लिए प्रतिबंधित कर दिया था, जिससे आलोचना हुई थी।

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

1. **'India's birth rate down, first dip in TFR in 2 years'**  
**'भारत की जन्म दर में गिरावट, 2 वर्षों में पहली बार TFR में कमी'**
2. **Singapore backs India on patrolling Malacca Straits**  
**सिंगापुर ने मलक्का जलडमरूमध्य में गश्त पर भारत का समर्थन किया**
3. **QUIZ**
4. **'Sharp rise in GPS jamming in aviation over Baltic Sea'**  
**'बाल्टिक सागर में विमानन पर जीपीएस जैमिंग में तेज वृद्धि'**



# ‘India’s birth rate down, first dip in TFR in 2 years’

GS I: Society

**Abhinay Lakshman**

NEW DELHI

India’s Crude Birth Rate (CBR), the number of children born per 1,000 people in the population in a year, has declined 0.7-points from 19.1 in 2022 to 18.4 in 2023. The country’s Total Fertility Rate (TFR) has fallen for the first time in two years to 1.9 in 2023, according to the latest Sample Registration Survey Statistical Report for 2023. In 2021 and 2022, India’s TFR remained constant at 2.0.

The report, released by the Office of the Registrar General of India this week, revealed that the highest CBR was in Bihar at 25.8, and the lowest was in Tamil Nadu at 12. Bihar reported the highest TFR (2.8) among the bigger States and Union Territories (UTs), and Delhi reported the lowest (1.2).

The report pointed out that 18 States and UTs had

**The latest data was sourced from Sample Registration Survey Statistical Report released this week**

reported a TFR of below the replacement level TFR of 2.1. Replacement level TFR denotes the average number of children each woman needs to give birth for one generation to replace the other.

The RGI released the Civil Registration System (CRS), Sample Registration System (SRS), and Medical Certification of Cause of Death (MCCD) reports for 2021 after a four-year delay in May this year, and in June, the SRS, CRS, and MCCD data for 2022 were released. While the SRS for 2023 has been made public, the corresponding CRS and MCCD datasets are yet to appear on the Census website.

The SRS 2023 datasets

showed that the proportion of the elderly in the country (people above 60) rose by 0.7 percentage points in a year to 9.7% of the population. Kerala has the highest proportion of elderly population at 15%. Assam (7.6%), Delhi (7.7%), and Jharkhand (7.6%) reported the lowest proportion of their respective populations to be above 60.

The TFR data, which denotes the average number of children expected to be born per woman during her entire span of reproductive period, further showed that all States reporting TFR that is higher than replacement level were in northern India - Bihar (2.8), Uttar Pradesh (2.6), Madhya Pradesh (2.4), Rajasthan (2.3), and Chhattisgarh (2.2). The States and UTs reporting the lowest TFR included Delhi (1.2), West Bengal (1.3), Tamil Nadu (1.3), and Maharashtra (1.4).

## ‘India’s birth rate down, first dip in TFR in 2 years’ ‘भारत की जन्म दर में गिरावट, 2 वर्षों में पहली बार TFR में कमी’

- **India’s Crude Birth Rate (CBR)**, the number of children born per 1,000 people in the population in a year, has declined 0.7-points from 19.1 in 2022 to 18.4 in 2023. भारत की कच्ची जन्म दर (CBR), जो कि प्रति वर्ष 1,000 लोगों पर जन्मे बच्चों की संख्या है, 2022 में 19.1 से घटकर 2023 में 18.4 हो गई है, जिसमें 0.7 अंक की गिरावट आई है।
- The country’s **Total Fertility Rate (TFR)** has fallen for the first time in two years to 1.9 in 2023, according to the latest **Sample Registration Survey Statistical Report for 2023**.



ताजा नमूना पंजीकरण सर्वेक्षण सांख्यिकीय रिपोर्ट 2023 के अनुसार, देश की कुल प्रजनन दर (TFR) में दो वर्षों में पहली बार गिरावट आई है और यह 2023 में 1.9 हो गई है।

- In 2021 and 2022, India's TFR remained constant at 2.0.  
2021 और 2022 में, भारत की TFR 2.0 पर स्थिर रही।
- The report, released by the **Office of the Registrar General of India** this week, revealed that the **highest CBR was in Bihar at 25.8, and the lowest was in Tamil Nadu at 12.**  
इस सप्ताह भारत के रजिस्ट्रार जनरल के कार्यालय द्वारा जारी रिपोर्ट में बताया गया कि सबसे अधिक CBR बिहार में 25.8 था और सबसे कम तमिलनाडु में 12 था।
- **Bihar reported the highest TFR (2.8) among the bigger States and Union Territories (UTs), and Delhi reported the lowest (1.2).**  
बिहार ने बड़े राज्यों और केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों (UTs) में सबसे अधिक TFR (2.8) दर्ज किया, जबकि दिल्ली ने सबसे कम (1.2) दर्ज किया।
- The report pointed out that **18 States and UTs had reported a TFR of below the replacement level TFR of 2.1.**  
रिपोर्ट में बताया गया कि 18 राज्य और केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों ने प्रतिस्थापन स्तर TFR 2.1 से नीचे TFR दर्ज की।
- **Replacement level TFR denotes the average number of children each woman needs to give birth for one generation to replace the other.**  
प्रतिस्थापन स्तर TFR का अर्थ है कि एक पीढ़ी को दूसरी पीढ़ी से बदलने के लिए प्रत्येक महिला को औसतन कितने बच्चों को जन्म देना चाहिए।
- The RGI released the **Civil Registration System (CRS), Sample Registration System (SRS), and Medical Certification of Cause of Death (MCCD)** reports for 2021 after a four-year delay in May this year, and in June, the SRS, CRS, and MCCD data for 2022 were released.  
RGI ने मई इस वर्ष चार साल की देरी के बाद 2021 के नागरिक पंजीकरण प्रणाली (CRS), नमूना पंजीकरण प्रणाली (SRS) और मृत्यु के कारण का चिकित्सा प्रमाणन (MCCD) की रिपोर्ट जारी की और जून में 2022 के SRS, CRS और MCCD डेटा जारी किए गए।
- While the SRS for 2023 has been made public, the corresponding CRS and MCCD datasets are yet to appear on the **Census website.**  
जहां 2023 का SRS सार्वजनिक कर दिया गया है, वहीं संबंधित CRS और MCCD डेटा सेट अभी तक जनगणना वेबसाइट पर उपलब्ध नहीं हुए हैं।
- The SRS 2023 datasets showed that the **proportion of the elderly in the country (people above 60) rose by 0.7 percentage points in a year to 9.7% of the population.**  
SRS 2023 डेटा सेट से पता चला कि देश में बुजुर्गों का अनुपात (60 वर्ष से अधिक उम्र के लोग) एक वर्ष में 0.7 प्रतिशत अंक बढ़कर जनसंख्या का 9.7% हो गया।
- **Kerala has the highest proportion of elderly population at 15%.**  
केरल में बुजुर्ग जनसंख्या का अनुपात सबसे अधिक 15% है।
- **Assam (7.6%), Delhi (7.7%), and Jharkhand (7.6%) reported the lowest proportion of their respective populations to be above 60.**  
असम (7.6%), दिल्ली (7.7%) और झारखंड (7.6%) ने 60 वर्ष से अधिक उम्र की जनसंख्या का सबसे कम अनुपात दर्ज किया।
- The TFR data, which denotes the **average number of children expected to be born per woman during her entire span of reproductive period**, further showed that all States reporting TFR higher than replacement level were in northern India – Bihar (2.8), Uttar Pradesh (2.6), Madhya Pradesh (2.4), Rajasthan (2.3), and Chhattisgarh (2.2).  
TFR डेटा, जो एक महिला के प्रजनन काल के दौरान जन्म लेने वाले बच्चों की औसत संख्या को दर्शाता है, ने आगे दिखाया कि प्रतिस्थापन स्तर से अधिक TFR दर्ज करने वाले सभी राज्य उत्तरी भारत में थे – बिहार (2.8), उत्तर प्रदेश (2.6), मध्य प्रदेश (2.4), राजस्थान (2.3) और छत्तीसगढ़ (2.2)।
- The States and UTs reporting the **lowest TFR included Delhi (1.2), West Bengal (1.3), Tamil Nadu (1.3), and Maharashtra (1.4).**  
सबसे कम TFR दर्ज करने वाले राज्य और केंद्रशासित प्रदेश हैं – दिल्ली (1.2), पश्चिम बंगाल (1.3), तमिलनाडु (1.3) और महाराष्ट्र (1.4)।



# Singapore backs India on patrolling Malacca Straits

**GS I: Mapping**

**Kallol Bhattacharjee**

NEW DELHI

Singapore on Thursday acknowledged India's plans to patrol the strategically important Malacca Straits. The discussion was part of the agenda when Prime Minister Narendra Modi met Singaporean Prime Minister Lawrence Wong at Hyderabad House where the two sides signed five agreements, including one to export green energy from India to Singapore through dedicated ports.

"Today, we have charted a detailed roadmap for the future of our partnership. Our cooperation will not remain confined to traditional areas. In keeping with the needs of changing times, advanced manufacturing, green shipping, skilling, civil nuclear energy, and urban water management will also emerge as focus points of our collaboration," said Mr. Modi welcoming his Singapo-



PM Narendra Modi with his Singapore counterpart Lawrence Wong at Hyderabad House, in New Delhi on Thursday. SUSHIL KUMAR VERMA

rean counterpart who paid a three-day visit to India.

A joint statement said the two sides will deepen defence technology cooperation in "quantum computing, AI, automation and unmanned vessels". Both sides will cooperate to enhance maritime security, "submarine rescue" in the "Indo-Pacific" and the Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative, said the statement, adding that "Singapore

acknowledges with appreciation India's interest in the Malacca Straits Patrol".

Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, P. Kumaran said India is interested in patrolling the Malacca Straits as it is next to the Andaman Sea and said that talks are on. Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore patrol the Straits and India is expecting some kind of synergy among member countries.

## Singapore backs India on patrolling Malacca Straits सिंगापुर ने मलक्का जलडमरूमध्य में गश्त पर भारत का समर्थन किया

- Singapore on Thursday acknowledged India's plans to patrol the strategically important Malacca Straits.  
सिंगापुर ने गुरुवार को रणनीतिक रूप से महत्वपूर्ण मलक्का जलडमरूमध्य में गश्त करने की भारत की योजना को स्वीकार किया।



- The discussion was part of the agenda when **Prime Minister Narendra Modi** met **Singaporean Prime Minister Lawrence Wong** at **Hyderabad House** where the two sides signed **five agreements**, including one to **export green energy from India to Singapore through dedicated ports**.  
यह चर्चा हैदराबाद हाउस में प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी और सिंगापुर के प्रधानमंत्री लॉरेंस वोंग की बैठक के दौरान एजेंडे का हिस्सा थी, जहाँ दोनों पक्षों ने पाँच समझौतों पर हस्ताक्षर किए, जिनमें भारत से सिंगापुर को समर्पित बंदरगाहों के माध्यम से हरित ऊर्जा के निर्यात का एक समझौता भी शामिल था।
- “Today, we have charted a detailed roadmap for the future of our partnership.  
“आज, हमने अपनी साझेदारी के भविष्य के लिए एक विस्तृत रोडमैप तैयार किया है।
- Our cooperation will not remain confined to traditional areas.  
हमारा सहयोग पारंपरिक क्षेत्रों तक सीमित नहीं रहेगा।
- In keeping with the needs of changing times, **advanced manufacturing, green shipping, skilling, civil nuclear energy, and urban water management** will also emerge as focus points of our collaboration,” said **Mr. Modi** welcoming his Singaporean counterpart who paid a **three-day visit to India**.  
बदलते समय की जरूरतों के मद्देनज़र, उन्नत विनिर्माण, हरित शिपिंग, कौशल विकास, सिविल परमाणु ऊर्जा और शहरी जल प्रबंधन भी हमारे सहयोग के प्रमुख बिंदु बनेंगे,” श्री मोदी ने कहा, जिन्होंने अपने तीन दिवसीय भारत दौरे पर आए सिंगापुर के समकक्ष का स्वागत किया।
- A **joint statement** said the two sides will deepen **defence technology cooperation** in “**quantum computing, AI, automation and unmanned vessels**”.  
एक संयुक्त बयान में कहा गया कि दोनों पक्ष क्वांटम कंप्यूटिंग, एआई, ऑटोमेशन और मानव रहित जहाजों में रक्षा प्रौद्योगिकी सहयोग को गहरा करेंगे।
- Both sides will cooperate to enhance **maritime security**, “**submarine rescue**” in the “**Indo-Pacific**” and the **Indo-Pacific Oceans Initiative**, said the statement, adding that “**Singapore acknowledges with appreciation India’s interest in the Malacca Straits Patrol**”.  
बयान में कहा गया कि दोनों पक्ष समुद्री सुरक्षा, “पनडुब्बी बचाव” में “हिंद-प्रशांत” और हिंद-प्रशांत महासागर पहल को बढ़ाने के लिए सहयोग करेंगे, और यह भी जोड़ा कि “सिंगापुर मलक्का जलडमरूमध्य गश्त में भारत की रुचि को सराहना के साथ स्वीकार करता है।”
- **Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs, P. Kumaran** said India is interested in **patrolling the Malacca Straits as it is next to the Andaman Sea** and said that **talks are on**.  
विदेश मंत्रालय के सचिव (पूर्व), पी. कुमारन ने कहा कि भारत मलक्का जलडमरूमध्य में गश्त करने में रुचि रखता है, क्योंकि यह अंडमान सागर के पास है और उन्होंने कहा कि बातचीत चल रही है।
- **Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore** patrol the **Straits** and **India is expecting some kind of synergy among member countries**.  
मलेशिया, इंडोनेशिया, थाईलैंड और सिंगापुर जलडमरूमध्य में गश्त करते हैं और भारत सदस्य देशों के बीच किसी प्रकार के तालमेल की उम्मीद कर रहा है।
-



**Questions and Answers to the previous day's daily quiz:** 1. This person is perhaps most well known for leading Ottoman forces to victory at the Battle of Gallipoli in 1915.

**Ans: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk**

2. This man was Kenya's Prime Minister in 1963-1964 and its first President in 1964-1978. **Ans: Jomo Kenyatta**

3. This person was a politician and revolutionary known for leading Ghana to independence from Britain in 1957. **Ans: Kwame Nkrumah**

4. Nguyễn Sinh Cung is credited with founding this nation in 1945. **Ans: Vietnam**

5. This man essayed a central role in the reconstitution of Uruguay, when he was in South America in exile. **Ans: Giuseppe Garibaldi**

Visual: Name this statesman known as "El Libertador". **Ans: Simón Bolívar**

**Early Birds:** Tamal Biswas| Sushil Prasad| Jha Akshay Amarendra| Prashansa Lohumi| Sudhir Thapa

commanders disagreed.

- **Decisive leadership at Chunuk Bair (Conkbayırı):** On April 25, 1915, when ANZAC forces advanced inland, Kemal personally led counterattacks, rallying Ottoman troops by saying, "I am not ordering you to attack, I order you to die. In the time it takes us to die, other troops and commanders can come and take our place."
- His bold decision and ability to inspire soldiers prevented the Allied breakthrough at a critical moment.
- **Strategic defense:** Kemal's forces used the peninsula's difficult terrain—narrow ridges, steep cliffs, and gullies—to their advantage, creating strong defensive positions that frustrated Allied advances.

## Outcome of the Campaign

- The Gallipoli Campaign ended in **January 1916** with the complete withdrawal of Allied forces after suffering heavy losses.
- Ottoman casualties were immense (over 250,000 dead or wounded), but the victory became a symbol of resistance and national pride.
- Mustafa Kemal emerged as a **national hero**, elevating his reputation, which later helped him lead Turkey's **War of Independence** and establish the **Republic of Turkey in 1923**.

## QUIZ

### Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Battle of Gallipoli (1915)

#### Historical Context & Strategic Importance

- The **Gallipoli Campaign** (February 1915 – January 1916) during World War I was launched by Britain, France, and ANZAC troops (Australia and New Zealand Army Corps) to capture the Dardanelles Strait, seize Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul), and open a supply route to Russia.
- The **Ottoman Empire's 5th Army**, under German commander **Otto Liman von Sanders**, was tasked with defending the peninsula. Mustafa Kemal, a rising officer, was in charge of a division positioned at crucial points near the expected landing areas.

#### Mustafa Kemal's Role and Leadership

- **Anticipation of landings:** Mustafa Kemal correctly predicted where Allied forces would land, even when higher



## Significance of Gallipoli in World History

- For the **Allies**, Gallipoli was one of the most costly failures of WWI.
- For the **Ottomans**, it was a defining defensive success that prolonged their participation in the war.
- For **Australia and New Zealand (ANZAC)**, the campaign became a national memory, shaping their identity—commemorated every year on **ANZAC Day (25 April)**.
- For **Mustafa Kemal**, Gallipoli cemented his status as the savior of the Ottoman homeland and laid the foundation for his role as **Atatürk (Father of the Turks)**.

## Jomo Kenyatta: Kenya's First President (1963–1978)

### Historical Background

- **Jomo Kenyatta (1897–1978)** was a Kenyan nationalist leader who played a central role in the country's independence movement against British colonial rule.
- Before becoming President, he was an important leader of the **Kenya African National Union (KANU)**, which led the struggle for independence.
- He was imprisoned by the British during the Mau Mau uprising (1952–1961), as they saw him as a key figure inspiring resistance.

### Prime Minister of Kenya (1963–1964)

- In **June 1963**, after Kenya gained internal self-government, Kenyatta became the **first Prime Minister of Kenya**.
- He negotiated the final stages of Kenya's independence from Britain, which was officially achieved on **12 December 1963**.
- His leadership focused on **national unity**, reconciliation among ethnic groups, and modernization of the new state.

### President of Kenya (1964–1978)

- On **12 December 1964**, Kenya became a **Republic**, and Jomo Kenyatta was declared the **first President**.
- His presidency lasted until his death in **August 1978**, making him the longest-serving leader in post-independence Kenya at that time.
- Policies under his leadership included:
  - **Harambee philosophy** ("pulling together"), encouraging collective effort and self-reliance.
  - **Land reforms**, redistributing land from colonial settlers to African farmers, though criticisms remained about inequalities.
  - **Non-alignment in foreign policy**, balancing ties with both Western and socialist nations during the Cold War.
  - Promotion of **education and infrastructure development**, laying the foundation for Kenya's growth.

### Legacy

- Kenyatta is remembered as the "**Father of the Nation**" of Kenya.
- His policies helped stabilize Kenya after independence, though his later years saw criticisms of increasing centralization of power and favoritism.
- His family remains influential in Kenyan politics, with his son **Uhuru Kenyatta** later becoming President (2013–2022).



## Kwame Nkrumah: Leader of Ghana's Independence (1957)

- **Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972)** was a Ghanaian politician, revolutionary, and one of the most influential leaders of Africa's independence movements.
- He studied in the **United States and the United Kingdom**, where he was influenced by Pan-Africanism and the works of Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois.
- On returning to the Gold Coast (colonial Ghana) in 1947, he joined politics and soon became the face of the independence struggle.

### Role in Ghana's Independence

- In **1949**, he founded the **Convention People's Party (CPP)** with the slogan "*Self-Government Now*".
- He mobilized mass protests, boycotts, and strikes, which forced the British colonial government to release him from imprisonment and negotiate political reforms.
- In **1951**, while still in prison, Nkrumah's party won the first elections under limited self-government. He was released to become the **Leader of Government Business**.
- By **1952**, he became the **Prime Minister of the Gold Coast**.
- On **6 March 1957**, the Gold Coast achieved independence from Britain and was renamed **Ghana**, with Nkrumah as the **first Prime Minister and later first President**.

### Political Philosophy and Leadership

- Nkrumah was a strong supporter of **Pan-Africanism**, believing in the unity of all African nations against colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- He launched large-scale **industrialization and education programs** to modernize Ghana.
- His vision was expressed in the book "**Africa Must Unite**", where he argued for a United States of Africa.
- He became a founding member of the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** in 1963.

### Challenges and Decline

- His ambitious projects created economic strain, leading to rising debts.
- In **1966**, while Nkrumah was abroad, his government was overthrown in a military coup supported by external powers.
- He lived in exile in Guinea until his death in **1972**.

## Nguyễn Sinh Cung and the Founding of Vietnam (1945)

- **Nguyễn Sinh Cung**, later known as **Hồ Chí Minh (1890–1969)**, was a Vietnamese revolutionary leader and the principal figure in Vietnam's struggle for independence from French colonial rule.
- He traveled extensively in Europe, the United States, and Asia, learning about socialism, communism, and anti-colonial movements.
- Hồ Chí Minh became the founder of the **Indochinese Communist Party** in 1930, which aimed to organize the Vietnamese people against colonial oppression.

### Founding of Vietnam



- After Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, the French attempted to reassert control over Vietnam, which was under Japanese occupation during the war.
- On **2 September 1945**, Hồ Chí Minh declared the independence of the **Democratic Republic of Vietnam** from colonial powers, reading the **Proclamation of Independence** in Hanoi's Ba Dinh Square.
- This date marks the official founding of modern **Vietnam**, with Hồ Chí Minh as its first President.

## Political Leadership and Vision

- Hồ Chí Minh promoted **national unity** and **socialist reforms**, focusing on land redistribution to peasants and education for all.
- He was a key figure in the **First Indochina War (1946–1954)** against French colonial forces, which culminated in the **Geneva Accords of 1954**, dividing Vietnam temporarily into North and South.
- He led **North Vietnam (Democratic Republic of Vietnam)** until his death in **1969**, guiding the country through major social, political, and economic reforms.

## Giuseppe Garibaldi and His Role in Uruguay

- **Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882)** was an Italian revolutionary, soldier, and nationalist who played a central role in the unification of Italy.
- Before his Italian campaigns, Garibaldi spent significant periods in exile, particularly in **South America**, where he engaged in revolutionary movements in Brazil and Uruguay.
- He became known for his **military leadership, guerrilla tactics, and commitment to republican ideals**.

### Role in Uruguay

- Garibaldi arrived in **Uruguay in 1836** during its **civil war between the Blancos and Colorados**, two political factions vying for control.
- He **led volunteer forces**, including Italian expatriates and local fighters, supporting the **Colorado faction**, which sought liberal and democratic reforms.
- Garibaldi became a key figure in the **reconstitution and defense of Uruguay**, particularly in campaigns along the **River Plate and Uruguay River regions**.
- His exploits included **naval operations, guerilla warfare, and the defense of Montevideo**, which helped stabilize the nation during a volatile period.
- His South American experience influenced his **later military strategies** during the **Italian unification campaigns (Risorgimento)**.

### Significant Campaigns in South America

- **Battle of Laguna del Sauce (1842)** – Garibaldi's forces achieved victories against the Blancos.
- **Naval campaigns** – Led a small fleet to secure river routes and coastal towns.
- His leadership helped the **Colorado government maintain power**, contributing to Uruguay's eventual political stability.



**Raising concern:** The jamming also affects maritime navigation and critical infrastructure using GNSS. REUTERS

## 'Sharp rise in GPS jamming in aviation over Baltic Sea'

**GS I: Mapping**  
Agence France-Presse  
STOCKHOLM

GPS interference affecting aviation over the Baltic Sea region has risen sharply since 2023 and now occurs almost daily, Sweden's Transport Agency said on Thursday, pointing the finger at Russia.

The number of interference incidents with global navigation satellite systems (GNSS), such as GPS, in Swedish airspace has risen from 55 in 2023 to 733 this year as of August 18, according to new data presented by the Transport Agency.

"We have done analyses over a longer period and collected data. We can conclude that the interference is originating from Russian territory," Andreas Holmgren, in charge of aviation issues at the agency, said.

The interference includes both spoofing (false positioning) and jamming (disruption of signals). It was initially limited to the eastern areas of Sweden's airspace, over international waters.

But it has now "spread both geographically and in scope... occurring over a larger area over both land and sea in Sweden", Mr. Holmgren said in a statement.

The jamming also affects maritime navigation and critical infrastructure using GNSS, the agency said. In early June, Sweden and five other Baltic Sea countries – Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland – raised the issue with the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), of which Russia is a member state.

The ICAO Council "expressed grave concern over the situation and demanded that Russia comply with its international obligations and ensure an immediate end to the interference", the agency said. Despite this, the interference "in the Baltic Sea region has instead increased", it added.

A plane carrying EU chief Ursula von der Leyen was hit by GPS jamming as it readied to land in Bulgaria on Monday.

## 'Sharp rise in GPS jamming in aviation over Baltic Sea' 'बाल्टिक सागर में विमानन पर जीपीएस जैमिंग में तेज वृद्धि'

• GPS interference affecting aviation over the **Baltic Sea region** has risen sharply since 2023 and now occurs almost daily, Sweden's Transport Agency said on Thursday, pointing the finger at Russia.

स्वीडन की परिवहन एजेंसी ने गुरुवार को कहा कि 2023 से बाल्टिक सागर क्षेत्र में विमानन को प्रभावित करने वाली जीपीएस हस्तक्षेप में तेज वृद्धि हुई है और अब यह लगभग रोजाना हो रही है, जिसमें रूस पर आरोप लगाया गया है।

• The number of interference incidents with **global navigation satellite systems (GNSS)**, such as GPS, in Swedish airspace has risen from 55 in 2023 to 733 this year as of August 18, according to new data presented by the Transport Agency. परिवहन एजेंसी द्वारा प्रस्तुत नए आंकड़ों के अनुसार, स्वीडन के हवाई क्षेत्र में जीपीएस जैसे वैश्विक नेविगेशन सैटेलाइट सिस्टम (GNSS) के साथ हस्तक्षेप की घटनाएं 2023 में 55 से बढ़कर इस वर्ष 18 अगस्त तक 733 हो गई हैं।

• "We have done analyses over a longer period and collected data. We can conclude that the interference is originating from Russian territory," Andreas Holmgren, in charge of aviation issues at the agency, said.

एजेंसी में विमानन मुद्दों के प्रभारी एंड्रियास होल्मग्रेन ने कहा, "हमने लंबे समय तक विश्लेषण किया और डेटा एकत्र किया। हम यह निष्कर्ष निकाल सकते हैं कि यह हस्तक्षेप रूसी क्षेत्र से हो रहा है।"

• The interference includes both **spoofing (false positioning) and jamming (disruption of signals)**.

इस हस्तक्षेप में स्पूफिंग (गलत पोजिशनिंग) और जैमिंग (सिग्नलों में बाधा) दोनों शामिल हैं।

• It was initially limited to the eastern areas of Sweden's airspace, over international waters.

शुरुआत में यह स्वीडन के हवाई क्षेत्र के पूर्वी क्षेत्रों में, अंतरराष्ट्रीय जलक्षेत्र के ऊपर तक सीमित था।

• But it has now "spread both geographically and in scope... occurring over a larger area over both land and sea in Sweden", Mr. Holmgren said in a statement.

लेकिन अब यह "भौगोलिक रूप से और दायरे में फैल गया है... स्वीडन में भूमि और समुद्र दोनों पर बड़े क्षेत्र में हो रहा है," श्री होल्मग्रेन ने एक बयान में कहा।

• The jamming also affects maritime navigation and critical infrastructure using GNSS, the agency said.

एजेंसी ने कहा कि यह जैमिंग समुद्री नेविगेशन और GNSS का उपयोग करने वाले महत्वपूर्ण बुनियादी ढांचे को भी प्रभावित करता है।

- In early June, Sweden and five other Baltic Sea countries — Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland — raised the issue with the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), of which Russia is a member state.

जून की शुरुआत में, स्वीडन और पांच अन्य बाल्टिक सागर देशों — एस्टोनिया, फिनलैंड, लातविया, लिथुआनिया और पोलैंड — ने इस मुद्दे को अंतरराष्ट्रीय नागरिक उड्डयन संगठन (ICAO) की परिषद के सामने उठाया, जिसमें रूस एक सदस्य देश है।

- The ICAO Council "expressed grave concern over the situation and demanded that Russia comply with its international obligations and ensure an immediate end to the



interference,” the agency said.

एजेंसी ने कहा कि ICAO परिषद ने “स्थिति पर गंभीर चिंता व्यक्त की और रूस से अपने अंतरराष्ट्रीय दायित्वों का पालन करने और हस्तक्षेप को तुरंत समाप्त करने की मांग की।”

- Despite this, the **interference** “in the **Baltic Sea region** has instead **increased**”, it added. इसके बावजूद, हस्तक्षेप “बाल्टिक सागर क्षेत्र में इसके बजाय बढ़ गया है,” इसमें जोड़ा गया।
- A plane carrying **EU chief Ursula von der Leyen** was hit by **GPS jamming** as it readied to land in **Bulgaria** on **Monday**.

यूरोपीय संघ की प्रमुख उर्सुला वॉन डेर लेयेन को ले जाने वाला विमान सोमवार को बुल्गारिया में लैंड करने की तैयारी करते समय जीपीएस जैमिंग का शिकार हुआ।

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

### 1. IIT-M tops NIRF rankings; Minister criticises its ‘peer perception’ parameter

## IIT-M tops NIRF rankings; Minister criticises its ‘peer perception’ parameter

**GS II: Education**  
**The Hindu Bureau**  
NEW DELHI

For the seventh straight year, the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Madras claimed the top overall position in the higher education rankings announced by the National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF) on Thursday. It also remained the country’s best engineering college for the 10th straight year.

The NIRF’s methodology, however, came in for some criticism from Union Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan, who presented the India Rankings 2025 awards. He was especially sceptical about the ‘peer perception’ parameter, that carries 10% of marks for the ranking, and suggested that the NIRF should ensure that government-funded institutions do not fall behind because of this yardstick.

After the 2024 rankings, States and State-run educational institutions had alleged that the rankings reflected “regional bias” as metropolitan education institutions score higher on the ‘peer perception’ criteria, in comparison to suburban or State-run higher education institutions.

The other parameters that the NIRF currently considers for the overall category are teaching, learning, and resources; research and professional practice; graduation outcomes; and research and inclusivity.

Mr. Pradhan said he was confident that the NIRF would evolve into one of the best accreditation frameworks by including more parameters such as entrepreneurs created by an institution, involving more data-driven approaches, and including

Overall top 10	Six IITs make it to the best 10 higher educational institutions in the overall ranking
1	Indian Institute of Technology, Madras
2	Indian Institute of Science, Bengaluru
3	Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay
4	Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi
5	Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur
6	Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur
7	Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee
8	All India Institute of Medical Sciences, Delhi
9	Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi
10	Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi

SOURCE: NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL RANKING FRAMEWORK

more categories and institutions in the future.

In the tenth edition of the NIRF rankings, awards were given in 17 categories and more institutions have joined in the process, he said. “This shows the stable growth of our higher education sector,” Mr. Pradhan said, maintaining that the challenge is to increase the number of students and the quality of education in the higher education sector. “Very soon, a new mechanism for institutional ranking will be placed. We will go by the theory of one nation, one data,” he noted.

The top 100 institutions in the overall category comprised 24 State universities, 22 private deemed universities, 19 IITs and the Indian Institute of Science (IISc), nine private universities, eight National Institutes of Technology, seven Central universities, five medical institutions, four Indian Institutes of Science Education and Research, one college, and the Indian Agriculture Research Institute.

The IISc, Bengaluru topped the Universities category for the tenth consecutive year and also stood first in the Research Institutions category for the fifth consecutive year. IIM Ahmedabad was the best institution for Man-

agement studies for the sixth consecutive year. The All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), New Delhi occupied the top slot among Medical institutions for the eighth consecutive year.

Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi is the best place for studying Pharmacy and IIT Roorkee retained its top position in Architecture and Planning. Hindu College in Delhi secured the first rank among Colleges for the second consecutive year, replacing Miranda House. The National Law School of India University, Bengaluru retained its first position in Law for the eighth consecutive year.

In the Universities category, IISc ranked first, followed by Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Manipal Academy of Higher Education, Manipal; Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; and University of Delhi, Delhi. Jadavpur University, Kolkata was declared the best among State Public Universities, followed by Anna University, Chennai; Punjab University, Chandigarh; Andhra University, Visakhapatnam; and Kerala University, Thiruvananthapuram.

The Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi was the best among Open Universi-

IIT-M ने NIRF रैंकिंग में शीर्ष स्थान हासिल किया; मंत्री ने इसके 'पीयर परसेप्शन' पैरामीटर की आलोचना की

2. India-China: the making of a border  
भारत-चीन: सीमा का निर्माण

3. As Oli flags Lipulekh pass, Xi brushes it off as an India-Nepal bilateral issue  
जब ओली ने लिपुलेख दर्रे का मुद्दा उठाया, शी ने इसे भारत-नेपाल का द्विपक्षीय मामला बताया

IIT-M tops NIRF rankings; Minister criticises its ‘peer perception’



## parameter

# IIT-M ने NIRF रैंकिंग में शीर्ष स्थान हासिल किया; मंत्री ने इसके 'पीयर परसेप्शन' पैरामीटर की आलोचना की

- For the **seventh straight year**, the **Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Madras** claimed the **top overall position** in the higher education rankings announced by the **National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF)** on Thursday. It also remained the country's **best engineering college** for the **10th straight year**.  
सातवें लगातार वर्ष के लिए, **भारतीय प्रौद्योगिकी संस्थान (IIT), मद्रास** ने गुरुवार को **राष्ट्रीय संस्थागत रैंकिंग ढांचा (NIRF)** द्वारा घोषित उच्च शिक्षा रैंकिंग में **कुल शीर्ष स्थान** हासिल किया। यह लगातार **10वें वर्ष** देश का सर्वश्रेष्ठ इंजीनियरिंग कॉलेज भी बना रहा।
- The **NIRF's methodology**, however, came in for some criticism from **Union Education Minister Dharmendra Pradhan**, who presented the **India Rankings 2025 awards**. He was especially sceptical about the **'peer perception' parameter**, that carries **10% of marks** for the ranking, and suggested that the **NIRF** should ensure that **government-funded institutions** do not fall behind because of this yardstick.  
हालांकि, **NIRF की कार्यप्रणाली** को **केंद्रीय शिक्षा मंत्री धर्मेंद्र प्रधान** से कुछ आलोचना मिली, जिन्होंने **इंडिया रैंकिंग्स 2025 पुरस्कार** प्रस्तुत किए। वह विशेष रूप से **'पीयर परसेप्शन' पैरामीटर** को लेकर संदेहपूर्ण थे, जो रैंकिंग के लिए **10% अंक** रखता है, और उन्होंने सुझाव दिया कि **NIRF** को यह सुनिश्चित करना चाहिए कि **सरकार द्वारा वित्त पोषित संस्थान** इस मानदंड के कारण पीछे न रह जाएं।
- After the **2024 rankings**, **States** and **State-run educational institutions** had alleged that the rankings reflected **"regional bias"** as **metropolitan education institutions** score higher on the **'peer perception' criteria**, in comparison to **suburban or State-run higher education institutions**.  
**2024 रैंकिंग्स** के बाद, **राज्यों** और **राज्य संचालित शैक्षणिक संस्थानों** ने आरोप लगाया कि रैंकिंग **"क्षेत्रीय पक्षपात"** को दर्शाती है क्योंकि **महानगरीय शैक्षणिक संस्थान 'पीयर परसेप्शन' मानदंड** पर **उपनगरीय या राज्य संचालित उच्च शिक्षा संस्थानों** की तुलना में अधिक अंक प्राप्त करते हैं।
- The other parameters that the **NIRF** currently considers for the overall category are **teaching, learning, and resources; research and professional practice; graduation outcomes; and research and inclusivity**.  
**NIRF** वर्तमान में समग्र श्रेणी के लिए जिन अन्य मानदंडों पर विचार करता है, वे हैं **शिक्षण, अधिगम और संसाधन; अनुसंधान और व्यावसायिक अभ्यास; स्नातक परिणाम; और अनुसंधान एवं समावेशिता**।
- Mr. Pradhan** said he was confident that the **NIRF** would evolve into one of the **best accreditation frameworks** by including more parameters such as **entrepreneurs created by an institution**, involving **more data-driven approaches**, and including more categories and institutions in the future.  
**श्री प्रधान** ने कहा कि उन्हें विश्वास है कि **NIRF** अधिक मानदंडों को शामिल करके, जैसे **किसी संस्थान द्वारा तैयार किए गए उद्यमियों की संख्या, अधिक डेटा-आधारित दृष्टिकोण** अपनाकर और भविष्य में अधिक श्रेणियां और संस्थान शामिल करके, **सर्वश्रेष्ठ मान्यता ढांचों** में से एक में विकसित होगा।
- In the **tenth edition** of the **NIRF rankings**, awards were given in **17 categories** and more institutions have joined in the process, he said.  
**NIRF रैंकिंग्स** के **दसवें संस्करण** में, **17 श्रेणियों** में पुरस्कार दिए गए और अधिक संस्थान इस प्रक्रिया में शामिल हुए, उन्होंने कहा।
- "This shows the **stable growth** of our **higher education sector**," **Mr. Pradhan** said, maintaining that the challenge is to **increase the number of students** and the **quality of education** in the higher education sector.  
**श्री प्रधान** ने कहा, "यह हमारे **उच्च शिक्षा क्षेत्र** की **स्थिर वृद्धि** को दर्शाता है," यह बताते हुए कि चुनौती **छात्रों की संख्या बढ़ाने** और उच्च शिक्षा क्षेत्र में **शिक्षा की गुणवत्ता सुधारने** की है।
- "Very soon, a **new mechanism** for institutional ranking will be placed. We will go by the **theory of one nation, one data**," he noted.  
उन्होंने कहा, "बहुत जल्द **संस्थागत रैंकिंग** के लिए **नया तंत्र** लागू किया जाएगा। हम **वन नेशन, वन डेटा** के सिद्धांत का पालन करेंगे।"
- The **top 100 institutions** in the overall category comprised **24 State universities, 22 private deemed universities, 19 IITs and the Indian Institute of Science (IISc), nine private**



universities, eight National Institutes of Technology, seven Central universities, five medical institutions, four Indian Institutes of Science Education and Research, one college, and the Indian Agriculture Research Institute.

समग्र श्रेणी में शीर्ष 100 संस्थानों में शामिल थे 24 राज्य विश्वविद्यालय, 22 निजी डीम्ड विश्वविद्यालय, 19 IIT और भारतीय विज्ञान संस्थान (IISc), नौ निजी विश्वविद्यालय, आठ राष्ट्रीय प्रौद्योगिकी संस्थान, सात केंद्रीय विश्वविद्यालय, पांच चिकित्सा संस्थान, चार भारतीय विज्ञान शिक्षा और अनुसंधान संस्थान, एक कॉलेज और भारतीय कृषि अनुसंधान संस्थान।

- The IISc, Bengaluru topped the **Universities category** for the **tenth consecutive year** and also stood **first in the Research Institutions category** for the **fifth consecutive year**.  
IISc, बेंगलुरु ने विश्वविद्यालय श्रेणी में लगातार दसवें वर्ष शीर्ष स्थान हासिल किया और लगातार पांचवें वर्ष अनुसंधान संस्थान श्रेणी में भी प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त किया।
- IIM Ahmedabad was the **best institution for Management studies** for the **sixth consecutive year**.  
IIM अहमदाबाद लगातार छठे वर्ष प्रबंधन अध्ययन के लिए सर्वश्रेष्ठ संस्थान रहा।
- The All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), New Delhi occupied the **top slot among Medical institutions** for the **eighth consecutive year**.  
अखिल भारतीय आयुर्विज्ञान संस्थान (AIIMS), नई दिल्ली ने लगातार आठवें वर्ष चिकित्सा संस्थानों में शीर्ष स्थान प्राप्त किया।
- **Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi is the best place for studying Pharmacy and IIT Roorkee retained its top position in Architecture and Planning**.  
जामिया हमदर्द, नई दिल्ली फार्मसी की पढ़ाई के लिए सर्वश्रेष्ठ स्थान है और IIT रुड़की ने आर्किटेक्चर और प्लानिंग में अपना शीर्ष स्थान बनाए रखा।
- **Hindu College, Delhi secured the first rank among Colleges for the second consecutive year, replacing Miranda House**.  
हिंदू कॉलेज, दिल्ली ने लगातार दूसरे वर्ष कॉलेजों में पहला स्थान हासिल किया, मिरांडा हाउस को पीछे छोड़ते हुए।
- The **National Law School of India University, Bengaluru retained its first position in Law for the eighth consecutive year**.  
नेशनल लॉ स्कूल ऑफ इंडिया यूनिवर्सिटी, बेंगलुरु ने लगातार आठवें वर्ष कानून में पहला स्थान बनाए रखा।
- In the **Universities category**, IISc ranked first, followed by **Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Manipal Academy of Higher Education, Manipal; Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; and University of Delhi, Delhi**.  
विश्वविद्यालय श्रेणी में, IISc पहले स्थान पर रहा, इसके बाद जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय, नई दिल्ली; मणिपाल एकेडमी ऑफ हायर एजुकेशन, मणिपाल; जामिया मिलिया इस्लामिया, नई दिल्ली; और दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय, दिल्ली का स्थान रहा।
- **Jadavpur University, Kolkata was declared the best among State Public Universities**, followed by **Anna University, Chennai; Panjab University, Chandigarh; Andhra University, Visakhapatnam; and Kerala University, Thiruvananthapuram**.  
जादवपुर विश्वविद्यालय, कोलकाता को राज्य सार्वजनिक विश्वविद्यालयों में सर्वश्रेष्ठ घोषित किया गया, इसके बाद अन्ना विश्वविद्यालय, चेन्नई; पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय, चंडीगढ़; आंध्र विश्वविद्यालय, विशाखापत्तनम; और केरल विश्वविद्यालय, तिरुवनंतपुरम का स्थान रहा।
- The **Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi was the best among Open Universities**.  
इंदिरा गांधी राष्ट्रीय मुक्त विश्वविद्यालय (IGNOU), नई दिल्ली ओपन यूनिवर्सिटी में सर्वश्रेष्ठ रहा।



# India-China: the making of a border

Being high up in the Himalayas, in a largely unpopulated area, the India-China border has been largely indeterminate and inaccurate. While at present peace and tranquillity at the boundary is what is important, the issue is far from being resolved

## INDIA-CHINA

### WORLD INSIGHT

Manoj Joshi

India has a complicated history with regards to its border with China. The border was the product of two empires – the Manchu and the British. Being in the Himalayas and in an unpopulated area, it was not precise. After independence, it would have been prudent for both countries to sit and lay down a precise and accurate border. Unfortunately, India took the position that it knew where the border was and that there was no need for negotiations. The Indian position was based on its confidence in British-era maps, but not on actual control on the ground.

### The beginning of the conflict

While neither India nor China had a permanent presence in the Aksai Chin, a barren, high-altitude desert, China in order to facilitate its control of Tibet built a highway through the Aksai Chin from Xinjiang and occupied it. Similarly, in the east, India established control over Tawang, a major monastery town in what is now Arunachal Pradesh. It did so on the basis of the fact that it had signed a border agreement with Tibet in 1914, at a time when Tibet had been independent, which defined the boundary by the so-called McMahon Line.

The Chinese suggested various ways to deal with what they said was an undefined border. In 1959, they proposed that the two sides accept a Line of Actual Control as the border and move forces 20 kms back from it. In 1960, Zhou Enlai, former Premier of China, came to New Delhi and proposed a swap where India would concede the Chinese position in Aksai Chin in exchange for Chinese acceptance of India's claim over Arunachal Pradesh.

However, India refused. When India belatedly tried to recapture Aksai Chin, it led to friction with China and eventually resulted in the 1962 India-China war. After the war, the Chinese withdrew to the areas north of the McMahon Line in the east, but in the west (Ladakh), they retained some areas they had captured in the war.

### Post war developments

For nearly one and a half decades, both sides stayed away from the border. In 1975, India constituted a high-level China Study Group to monitor the Sino-Indian border. It was under the directions of this body that the border was mapped with satellite imagery, and Indian police/Army patrols were ordered to regularly police the border by establishing patrolling points along it.

In February 1979, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who was the foreign minister of the then Janata Party government, visited Beijing and became the first senior Indian leader to go there since the war. Vajpayee, a veteran parliamentarian, had been a critic of Nehru's China policy. But in 1979, he saw his mission as one to restore normalcy with India's two neighbours, Pakistan and China. Though his visit had to be cut short because of the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, it did succeed in restoring a degree of normalcy in India-China ties. The Chinese motivation for accepting the Indian outreach was to ensure that New Delhi did not get too close to the Soviet Union which was, at the time, viewed as China's principal antagonist.

Deng Xiaoping, China's supreme leader, suggested a revival of the 1960 Zhou proposal. In June 1980, in an



**New relations:** Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru greeting Zhou Enlai, the Chinese Premier, on his arrival in New Delhi, on April 19, 1960. HINDU ARCHIVES

interview with Krishan Kumar, Editor of *Vikrant*, a now defunct defence journal, Deng said that China could recognise the McMahon Line if India was willing to recognise the existing status quo. The Chinese repeatedly tried to push this proposal but the Indian government, now headed by Indira Gandhi, comprised of officials who had not forgiven China for the 1962 "betrayal", saw this as an effort to trade one chunk of Indian territory for another.

In 1983, the Chinese went a step further and proposed not just a swap, but also that India should concede areas their forces had captured in 1962 in Ladakh. This proposal was named the 'LAC Plus', and it also was not accepted by the Indian government.

### A time for negotiations

Nevertheless, the two sides resumed their border talks with the first round being held in December of 1981. The initial talks did not yield much. The Chinese pushed their package deal, while India wanted the talks to be held sector by sector. Therefore, the two sides were unable to come to an agreement. By the fifth round of talks in September 1984, the Indian side felt that the Chinese were coming around to their view, but they were mistaken. Even as the sixth round began in November 1985, Chinese Vice-Minister Liu Shuqing informed his Indian counterpart, Secretary (East) A.P. Venkateswaran, that there was a bigger dispute in the eastern sector, and that India would have to make unspecified concessions here for the Chinese to be

able to give concessions in the west. Though they did not state it at the time, they were demanding that India concede the Tawang tract as part of the settlement.

The demand for Tawang was more fundamental, and represented a shift in China's domestic Tibet policy since the monastery was a major centre of Tibetan Buddhism and the area around it had been controlled by Tibet till well after the 1914 agreement.

Further on, Indian and Chinese troops clashed on the border in Nathu La and Cho La in Sikkim in 1967, but things settled down thereafter. In 1975, Sikkim was incorporated into the Indian Union, an action that led to Chinese protests.

In 1983, as part of a reset of the overall Indian security posture against China, Indian officials began visiting Wangdung in the region of the Namka Chu river where the first clashes of the 1962 war had occurred. In 1986, the Chinese occupied this region and triggered a crisis that saw the forward deployment of Indian forces at a pass overlooking Wangdung. Under Operation Falcon, India moved its forces forward along the entire LAC. The Chinese response was haphazard as they were clearly taken aback by this development. In any case, the two sides soon reached an agreement to de-escalate the situation. But the crisis did reveal that the Indian Army was now very different from the force that suffered disaster in 1962.

### Move towards complete normalcy

By 1985, it was clear to the Chinese that the Soviet Union's threat had reduced

because of their mis-adventure in Afghanistan. Now in order to check India's increasing closeness to the U.S., China invited Rajiv Gandhi to Beijing as a return for Zhou's 1960 Delhi visit. The Gandhi visit to China in December 1988 was seen as the beginning of the true normalisation of ties that had been sundered by the 1962 war. Deng told Rajiv "let both sides forget the unpleasant period in our past relations." The two sides agreed to restore, improve and develop good neighbourly relations.

As for the border, Premier Li Peng stated that it should be settled on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation (MUMA). Rajiv Gandhi's response to this was that there should be a "fair and reasonable... mutually acceptable solution to this question." In the meantime, the two sides agreed to develop bilateral relations in other fields which would create the conditions for a "fair and reasonable" settlement of the boundary issue.

This was a decisive break from the past, since till then India had insisted that without the settlement of the boundary issue, there could be no normalisation of ties. This situation suggested that the priority was to maintain peace and tranquillity on the borders. The two countries then eventually re-designated the meeting of their officials as a "joint working group" (JWG) on the border issue to work together for a settlement.

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### THE GIST

While neither India nor China had a permanent presence in the Aksai Chin, a barren, high-altitude desert, China in order to facilitate its control of Tibet built a highway through the Aksai Chin from Xinjiang and occupied it.

In 1960, Zhou Enlai, former Premier of China, came to New Delhi and proposed a swap where India would concede the Chinese position in Aksai Chin in exchange for Chinese acceptance of India's claim over Arunachal Pradesh.

When India belatedly tried to recapture Aksai Chin, it led to friction with China and eventually resulted in the 1962 India-China war.

## India-China: the making of a border भारत-चीन: सीमा का निर्माण



• Being **high up in the Himalayas**, in a largely **unpopulated area**, the **India-China border** has been largely **indeterminate and inaccurate**.

हिमालय की ऊँचाई पर, एक बड़े पैमाने पर निर्जन क्षेत्र में, भारत-चीन सीमा काफी हद तक अनिश्चित और अशुद्ध रही है।

• While at present **peace and tranquillity** at the boundary is what is important, the issue is **far from being resolved**.

यद्यपि वर्तमान में सीमा पर शांति और स्थिरता महत्वपूर्ण है, लेकिन यह मुद्दा सुलझने से बहुत दूर है।

## India-China Border Conflict

### भारत-चीन सीमा विवाद

- India has a complicated history with regards to its border with **China**. The **border was the product of two empires — the Manchu and the British**. Being in the **Himalayas** and in an unpopulated area, it was not precise.  
भारत का चीन के साथ सीमा को लेकर एक जटिल इतिहास रहा है। यह सीमा दो साम्राज्यों — मंचू और ब्रिटिश — की उपज थी। यह हिमालय और निर्जन क्षेत्र में स्थित होने के कारण सटीक नहीं थी।
- After **Independence**, it would have been prudent for both countries to sit and lay down a precise and accurate border. Unfortunately, **India took the position that it knew where the border was and that there was no need for negotiations**.  
स्वतंत्रता के बाद दोनों देशों के लिए यह समझदारी होती कि वे बैठकर एक सटीक और स्पष्ट सीमा तय करते। दुर्भाग्यवश, भारत ने यह रुख अपनाया कि उसे पता है सीमा कहाँ है और बातचीत की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है।
- The **Indian position was based on its confidence in British-era maps, but not on actual control on the ground**.  
भारत का रुख ब्रिटिश कालीन नक्शों पर विश्वास पर आधारित था, न कि ज़मीनी हकीकत पर।

## The Beginning of the Conflict

### संघर्ष की शुरुआत

- **While neither India nor China had a permanent presence in the Aksai Chin, a barren, high-altitude desert, China in order to facilitate its control of Tibet built a highway through the Aksai Chin from Xinjiang and occupied it**.  
न तो भारत और न ही चीन का अक्साई चिन (एक बंजर, उच्च ऊँचाई वाला रेगिस्तान) में स्थायी ठिकाना था, लेकिन तिब्बत पर अपने नियंत्रण को मजबूत करने के लिए चीन ने शिनजियांग से अक्साई चिन होते हुए एक राजमार्ग बनाया और उस पर कब्ज़ा कर लिया।
- **Similarly, in the east, India established control over Tawang, a major monastery town in present-day Arunachal Pradesh, on the basis of the 1914 border agreement with Tibet (when Tibet was independent), which defined the boundary by the McMahon Line**.  
इसी तरह, पूर्व में भारत ने वर्तमान अरुणाचल प्रदेश के प्रमुख मठ-नगर तवांग पर नियंत्रण स्थापित किया। यह 1914 के तिब्बत के साथ सीमा समझौते (जब तिब्बत स्वतंत्र था) के आधार पर था, जिसने सीमा को मैकमोहन रेखा से परिभाषित किया।
- The **Chinese suggested various ways to deal with what they said was an undefined border. In 1959, they proposed that the two sides accept a Line of Actual Control (LAC) as the border and move forces 20 kms back from it**.  
चीनी पक्ष ने इसे एक अपरिभाषित सीमा बताते हुए इससे निपटने के कई उपाय सुझाए। 1959 में उन्होंने प्रस्ताव रखा कि दोनों पक्ष वास्तविक नियंत्रण रेखा (LAC) को सीमा मानें और अपनी सेनाएँ इससे 20 किलोमीटर पीछे हटा लें।
- **In 1960, Zhou Enlai, former Premier of China, came to New Delhi and proposed a swap where India would concede the Chinese position in Aksai Chin in exchange for Chinese acceptance of India's claim over Arunachal Pradesh**.



1960 में चीन के तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री **झोउ एनलाई नई दिल्ली** आए और एक **विनिमय** का प्रस्ताव रखा कि भारत **अक्साई चिन** पर चीन के दावे को स्वीकार करे और बदले में चीन **अरुणाचल प्रदेश** पर भारत के दावे को मान ले।

- However, India refused. When India belatedly tried to recapture **Aksai Chin**, it led to friction with China and eventually resulted in the **1962 India-China war**.  
हालाँकि, भारत ने इसे अस्वीकार कर दिया। जब भारत ने देर से **अक्साई चिन** को पुनः हासिल करने की कोशिश की, तो इससे चीन के साथ तनाव पैदा हुआ और अंततः **1962 का भारत-चीन युद्ध** हुआ।
- After the war, the **Chinese** withdrew to the areas north of the **McMahon Line** in the east, but in the west (**Ladakh**), they retained some areas they had captured in the war.  
युद्ध के बाद **चीनी** पूर्व में **मैकमोहन रेखा** के उत्तर के क्षेत्रों तक पीछे हट गए, लेकिन पश्चिम (**लद्दाख**) में उन्होंने युद्ध के दौरान कब्जाएँ कुछ क्षेत्रों को बनाए रखा।

## Post war developments

### युद्ध के बाद की प्रगति

- For nearly one and a half decades, both sides stayed away from the border. लगभग **डेढ़ दशक** तक दोनों पक्ष सीमा से दूर रहे।
- In **1975**, India constituted a high-level **China Study Group** to monitor the Sino-Indian border.  
**1975** में, भारत ने चीन-भारत सीमा की निगरानी के लिए एक उच्च स्तरीय **चीन अध्ययन समूह** का गठन किया।
- It was under the directions of this body that the border was mapped with **satellite imagery**, and Indian police/Army patrols were ordered to regularly police the border by establishing **patrolling points** along it.  
इसी निकाय के निर्देश पर सीमा को **उपग्रह चित्रों** से मैप किया गया और भारतीय पुलिस/सेना को सीमा पर नियमित गश्त करने के लिए **पेट्रोलिंग प्वाइंट्स** स्थापित करने का आदेश दिया गया।
- In **February 1979**, **Atal Bihari Vajpayee**, who was the foreign minister of the then **Janata Party government**, visited **Beijing** and became the first senior Indian leader to go there since the war.  
**फरवरी 1979** में, **अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी**, जो उस समय की **जनता पार्टी सरकार** में विदेश मंत्री थे, ने **बीजिंग** का दौरा किया और युद्ध के बाद वहाँ जाने वाले पहले वरिष्ठ भारतीय नेता बने।
- Vajpayee, a veteran parliamentarian, had been a critic of **Nehru's China policy**. But in 1979, he saw his mission as one to restore normalcy with India's two neighbours, **Pakistan** and **China**.  
वाजपेयी, एक वरिष्ठ सांसद, **नेहरू की चीन नीति** के आलोचक रहे थे। लेकिन 1979 में, उन्होंने अपने मिशन को भारत के दो पड़ोसियों, **पाकिस्तान** और **चीन**, के साथ सामान्य स्थिति बहाल करने के रूप में देखा।
- Though his visit had to be cut short because of the **Chinese invasion of Vietnam**, it did succeed in restoring a degree of normalcy in India-China ties.  
हालाँकि उनकी यात्रा को **चीन द्वारा वियतनाम पर आक्रमण** के कारण छोटा करना पड़ा, लेकिन इससे भारत-चीन संबंधों में कुछ हद तक सामान्यता बहाल हो गई।
- The **Chinese** motivation for accepting the Indian outreach was to ensure that New Delhi did not get too close to the **Soviet Union**, which was at the time viewed as **China's principal antagonist**.  
भारतीय संपर्क को स्वीकार करने के लिए चीन की प्रेरणा यह सुनिश्चित करना था कि नई दिल्ली **सोवियत संघ** के बहुत करीब न जाए, जिसे उस समय चीन का मुख्य प्रतिद्वंद्वी माना जाता था।
- **Deng Xiaoping**, China's supreme leader, suggested a revival of the **1960 Zhou proposal**.  
चीन के सर्वोच्च नेता **देंग शियाओपिंग** ने **1960 झोउ प्रस्ताव** को पुनर्जीवित करने का सुझाव दिया।



- In **June 1980**, in an interview, Deng said that China could recognise the **McMahon Line** if India was willing to recognise the existing **status quo**.  
**जून 1980** में, एक साक्षात्कार में, देंग ने कहा कि यदि भारत मौजूदा **यथास्थिति** को मान्यता देने को तैयार है तो चीन **मैकमोन रेखा** को मान्यता दे सकता है।
- The Chinese repeatedly tried to push this proposal but the Indian government, headed by **Indira Gandhi**, saw this as an effort to trade one chunk of Indian territory for another.  
चीनियों ने बार-बार इस प्रस्ताव को आगे बढ़ाने की कोशिश की लेकिन **इंदिरा गांधी** के नेतृत्व वाली भारतीय सरकार ने इसे भारतीय क्षेत्र के एक हिस्से को दूसरे से बदलने के प्रयास के रूप में देखा।
- In **1983**, the Chinese proposed the '**LAC Plus**', where India should concede areas their forces had captured in **1962 in Ladakh**. This was not accepted by India.  
**1983** में, चीनियों ने '**एलएसी प्लस**' का प्रस्ताव रखा, जिसमें भारत को **1962 में लद्दाख** में कब्जे में लिए गए क्षेत्रों को छोड़ना था। इसे भारत ने स्वीकार नहीं किया।

### A time for negotiations बातचीत का समय

- The two sides resumed their border talks with the first round being held in **December 1981**.  
दोनों पक्षों ने **दिसंबर 1981** में पहली बैठक के साथ अपनी सीमा वार्ता फिर से शुरू की।
- The initial talks did not yield much. The Chinese pushed their **package deal**, while India wanted the talks to be held **sector by sector**.  
शुरुआती वार्ताओं से ज्यादा नतीजा नहीं निकला। चीनियों ने अपने **पैकेज डील** पर जोर दिया, जबकि भारत चाहता था कि वार्ता **क्षेत्रवार** हो।
- **By the fifth round in September 1984, the Indian side felt the Chinese were coming around to their view, but they were mistaken.**  
**सितंबर 1984** की पांचवीं बैठक तक भारतीय पक्ष को लगा कि चीनी उनकी राय मानने लगे हैं, लेकिन वे गलत थे।
- **In the sixth round (November 1985), Chinese Vice-Minister Liu Shuqing told Indian Secretary (East) A.P. Venkateswaran that there was a bigger dispute in the eastern sector and India would have to make concessions there.**  
**छठे दौर (नवंबर 1985)** में, चीनी उप-मंत्री **लियू शुकिंग** ने भारतीय सचिव (पूर्व) **ए.पी. वेंकटेश्वरन** से कहा कि **पूर्वी क्षेत्र** में बड़ा विवाद है और भारत को वहाँ रियायतें देनी होंगी।
- They were demanding that India concede the **Tawang tract** as part of the settlement. वे मांग कर रहे थे कि भारत समझौते के हिस्से के रूप में **तवांग क्षेत्र** छोड़ दे।
- **The demand for Tawang was fundamental, since it was a major centre of Tibetan Buddhism, and had been controlled by Tibet well after the 1914 agreement.**  
**तवांग** की मांग बुनियादी थी, क्योंकि यह **तिब्बती बौद्ध धर्म** का प्रमुख केंद्र था, और **1914 समझौते** के काफी बाद तक तिब्बत के नियंत्रण में था।
- **Indian and Chinese troops clashed in 1967 at Nathu La and Cho La in Sikkim, but things settled thereafter.**  
**1967** में सिक्किम के **नाथु ला** और **चो ला** में भारतीय और चीनी सैनिक भिड़े, लेकिन बाद में हालात सामान्य हो गए।
- In **1975**, Sikkim was incorporated into the **Indian Union**, which led to Chinese protests.  
**1975** में सिक्किम को **भारतीय संघ** में शामिल किया गया, जिससे चीन ने विरोध दर्ज कराया।
- **In 1983, Indian officials began visiting Wangdung in the Namka Chu river region (site of first clashes of 1962). In 1986, the Chinese occupied this region, triggering a crisis.**  
**1983** में भारतीय अधिकारियों ने **नमका चू नदी** क्षेत्र में **वांगडुंग** का दौरा करना शुरू किया (जहाँ



1962 की पहली झड़प हुई थी। 1986 में, चीनियों ने इस क्षेत्र पर कब्जा कर लिया, जिससे संकट पैदा हो गया।

- Under **Operation Falcon**, India moved its forces forward along the entire **LAC**. The Chinese were taken aback and responded haphazardly.  
**ऑपरेशन फाल्कन** के तहत भारत ने पूरी **एलएसी** पर अपनी सेनाएँ आगे बढ़ाईं। चीनी इस विकास से चौंक गए और असंगठित तरीके से प्रतिक्रिया दी।
- Both sides soon reached an agreement to de-escalate the situation. The crisis revealed that the **Indian Army** was now very different from the force that suffered disaster in **1962**.  
दोनों पक्ष जल्द ही स्थिति को शांत करने पर सहमत हो गए। इस संकट से यह स्पष्ट हुआ कि **भारतीय सेना** अब **1962** की हार झेलने वाली सेना से बिल्कुल अलग थी।

### Move towards complete normalcy पूर्ण सामान्यता की ओर बढ़ाव

- By **1985**, it was clear to the Chinese that the **Soviet Union's threat** had reduced because of their mis-adventure in **Afghanistan**.  
**1985** तक, चीनियों के लिए यह स्पष्ट हो गया कि **सोवियत संघ का खतरा** उनके **अफगानिस्तान** में गलत कदम के कारण कम हो गया था।
- Now in order to check India's increasing closeness to the **U.S.**, China invited **Rajiv Gandhi to Beijing** as a return for **Zhou's 1960 Delhi visit**.  
अब भारत की **अमेरिका** के साथ बढ़ती नज़दीकी को रोकने के लिए, चीन ने **राजीव गांधी** को **बीजिंग** आमंत्रित किया, जो **1960 में झोउ के दिल्ली दौरे** का प्रत्युत्तर था।
- The **Gandhi visit to China in December 1988** was seen as the beginning of the true normalisation of ties that had been sundered by the **1962 war**.  
**दिसंबर 1988** में गांधी का चीन दौरा उन संबंधों की वास्तविक सामान्यीकरण की शुरुआत माना गया जिन्हें **1962 के युद्ध** ने तोड़ दिया था।
- **Deng told Rajiv**, "let both sides forget the unpleasant period in our past relations." The two sides agreed to restore, improve and develop good neighbourly relations.  
**देंग** ने राजीव से कहा, "दोनों पक्ष हमारे पिछले संबंधों के अप्रिय दौर को भूल जाएं।" दोनों पक्ष अच्छे पड़ोसी संबंधों को बहाल, सुधार और विकसित करने पर सहमत हुए।
- As for the border, Premier **Li Peng** stated that it should be settled on the basis of **mutual understanding and mutual accommodation (MUMA)**.  
सीमा के संबंध में, प्रधानमंत्री **ली पेंग** ने कहा कि इसे **आपसी समझ और आपसी सहयोग (MUMA)** के आधार पर सुलझाया जाना चाहिए।
- **Rajiv Gandhi's** response to this was that there should be a "fair and reasonable... mutually acceptable solution to this question."  
इस पर **राजीव गांधी** की प्रतिक्रिया थी कि इस प्रश्न का एक "न्यायपूर्ण और तर्कसंगत... आपसी स्वीकार्य समाधान" होना चाहिए।
- In the meantime, the two sides agreed to develop **bilateral relations** in other fields which would create the conditions for a "fair and reasonable" settlement of the boundary issue.  
इस बीच, दोनों पक्षों ने अन्य क्षेत्रों में **द्विपक्षीय संबंधों** को विकसित करने पर सहमति जताई जिससे सीमा विवाद के "न्यायपूर्ण और तर्कसंगत" समाधान की परिस्थितियाँ बन सकें।
- This was a decisive break from the past, since till then **India had insisted** that without the settlement of the boundary issue, there could be no normalisation of ties.  
यह अतीत से एक निर्णायक बदलाव था, क्योंकि तब तक **भारत इस पर अड़ा हुआ था** कि सीमा विवाद के समाधान के बिना संबंधों का सामान्यीकरण संभव नहीं है।
- This situation suggested that the priority was to maintain **peace and tranquillity** on the borders.  
इस स्थिति से संकेत मिला कि प्राथमिकता सीमाओं पर **शांति और स्थिरता** बनाए रखना है।



- The two countries then eventually re-designated the meeting of their officials as a “joint working group (JWG)” on the border issue to work together for a settlement. बाद में दोनों देशों ने अपने अधिकारियों की बैठक को सीमा विवाद पर “संयुक्त कार्यकारी समूह (JWG)” के रूप में पुनः नामित किया ताकि वे समाधान के लिए मिलकर काम कर सकें।

# As Oli flags Lipulekh pass, Xi brushes it off as an India-Nepal bilateral issue

Nepal's claim meets a familiar response as the foreign policy tilt towards Beijing raises concerns in Kathmandu amid evolving regional dynamics; a recent deal between India and China on August 19 to reopen Lipulekh as a bilateral trade route had sparked widespread opposition in Nepal

GSI II: India-Nepal-China

NEWS ANALYSIS

Sanjeev Satgainya  
KATHMANDU

Nepal Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli on Saturday conveyed to Chinese President Xi Jinping that Lipulekh is Nepali territory, in the first such assertion by a Nepali leader before the Chinese President since 2015. Mr. Oli, who was on a five-day visit to China to participate in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) summit, also held bilateral talks with Mr. Xi in Tianjin in China on Saturday.

A statement issued by the Embassy of Nepal in Beijing said: “Referring to the recent understanding reached between India and China on border trade through the Lipulekh Pass, Prime Minister Oli stated that the territory belongs to Nepal and that the Government of Nepal has registered its strong objection to the same.”

A recent deal between India and China on August 19, during Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi's visit to New Delhi to reopen Lipulekh as a bilateral trade route, had sparked widespread opposition in Nepal.

India has historically claimed Lipulekh, along with Limpiyadhura and Kalapani, as its own. However, in 2020, Nepal published a map to lay claim to the territory.

Nepal's statement has no mention of the Chinese response.



In a first: Nepal Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli and Chinese President Xi Jinping hold a bilateral meeting, ahead of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Summit 2025, in Tianjin, China, on August 30. REUTERS

Nepal Foreign Secretary Amrit Bahadur Rai, however, told the media that Mr. Xi, in his response, said: “Lipulekh is a traditional border pass, and an agreement has been made to operate it accordingly. China respects Nepal's claim, but since the border dispute is a bilateral issue [between India and Nepal], it is something for the two sides to resolve.”

Nepali foreign policy watchers say the development is more likely to complicate the border issue than to resolve it.

Both Nepal and India have expressed willingness to resolve border issues, but with differing framing.

After the August 19 deal, Nepal's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the next day: “...the government of Nepal remains committed to resolving the boundary issue between the two countries through diplomatic

means, based on historical treaties and agreements, facts, maps and evidence.”

Delhi reacted the same day, saying India remains open to “constructive interaction” with Nepal on the agreed-upon outstanding boundary issues through dialogue and diplomacy. Nepal's territorial claims, India said, are “neither justified nor based on historical facts and evidence.”

Chandra Dev Bhatta, a Kathmandu-based political scientist, said the crux of the problem is how to find the door to dialogue. “Nepal's decision to publish the map and incorporate it in the constitution gives Delhi enough room to argue that the door has been closed,” said Mr. Bhatta. “And now, by raising the issue before the highest leadership of China – which says it's not a party to that dispute – Nepal seems to have complicated the mat-

ter further, deliberately or inadvertently.”

Earlier in June, India and China also agreed to resume the Kailash Mansarovar Yatra via Lipulekh. In 2015, Nepal's two neighbours had signed an agreement for trade via Lipulekh. The then-government in Kathmandu, led by the Nepali Congress's Sushil Koirala, had sent diplomatic notes to both Delhi and Beijing. This time too, Kathmandu sent notes to both of its neighbours, according to Foreign Ministry officials. The Ministry, however, has not made any formal announcement in that regard.

Sanjay Upadhyaya, a U.S.-based Nepali author, said that Mr. Xi reiterated Beijing's traditional affirmation that China has always supported Nepal's sovereignty and territorial integrity. While preparing the press releases, both sides

agreed to omit any reference to an issue that could affect – and even worsen – ties with India, according to him.

“As our Foreign Ministry took a calculated backseat in public, Nepal secured the ‘concession’ to allow its embassy in Beijing to issue a press release mentioning the Lipulekh issue, with our Foreign Secretary elaborating on the discussions between Mr. Oli and Mr. Xi, targeting a Nepali audience,” said Mr. Upadhyaya.

## Shifting sands

Though Mr. Oli was expected to meet Prime Minister Narendra Modi in China, it did not materialise. There is growing pressure in Nepal for Mr. Oli to raise the Lipulekh issue just as strongly with the Indian leadership during his upcoming visit to Bodhi Gaya.

Mr. Oli is set to visit India but the date has not been finalised yet.

Mr. Oli's relations with Delhi have not been smooth, largely due to his ultranationalist stance rooted in anti-India sentiment, coupled with a perceived tilt towards the north. But lately, the sands are shifting. In light of setbacks in the neighbourhood – vis-à-vis Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Maldives – and the United States' recent harsh tariff moves, New Delhi seems to be making a renewed push for its ‘Neighbourhood First’ policy.

Mr. Oli's visit to China – his second within a year – happened against this

backdrop.

Anurag Acharya, Director at Policy Entrepreneurs Inc, a Kathmandu-based think tank says Mr. Oli's participation in the SCO is a significant development for Nepal.

But regarding the boundary issue, Mr. Acharya adds that while Nepal is right to register its objection with the Chinese side, discretion should have been exercised on diplomatically sensitive matters.

The Chinese statement noting that Mr. Oli said “Nepal supports the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative (GSI) and the Global Civilization Initiative proposed by China” has further perplexed some experts. Mr. Oli also attended the Chinese Victory Parade in Beijing on Wednesday. Nepal, currently a dialogue partner, is seeking observer status in the SCO.

Experts say Nepal's efforts to seek observer status in the SCO, Mr. Oli's nod to participate in the Beijing Victory Parade, and his support for the GSI create a larger diplomatic picture that suggests a tilt towards China.

According to Mr. Bhatta, Nepal's diplomacy is on a tightrope – and in such times, the simultaneous nature of such moves could lead to increased concerns from India, the U.S., and other global partners about Nepal's alignment.

(Sanjeev Satgainya is a journalist based in Kathmandu)

## As Oli flags Lipulekh pass, Xi brushes it off as an India-Nepal bilateral issue

जब ओली ने लिपुलेख दर्रे का मुद्दा उठाया, शी ने इसे भारत-नेपाल का द्विपक्षीय मामला बताया



- **Nepal's claim** meets a familiar response as the **foreign policy tilt towards Beijing** raises concerns in **Kathmandu** amid evolving regional dynamics; **a recent deal between India and China on August 19 to reopen Lipulekh as a bilateral trade route had sparked widespread opposition in Nepal.**  
नेपाल के दावे को पहले जैसी प्रतिक्रिया मिली क्योंकि बीजिंग की ओर झुकी विदेश नीति ने बदलते क्षेत्रीय परिदृश्य के बीच काठमांडू में चिंताएं बढ़ा दी हैं; 19 अगस्त को भारत और चीन के बीच लिपुलेख को द्विपक्षीय व्यापार मार्ग के रूप में फिर से खोलने के लिए हुए समझौते ने नेपाल में व्यापक विरोध को जन्म दिया था।
- **Nepal Prime Minister K.P. Sharma Oli on Saturday conveyed to Chinese President Xi Jinping that Lipulekh is Nepali territory, in the first such assertion by a Nepali leader before the Chinese President since 2015.**  
नेपाल के प्रधानमंत्री के.पी. शर्मा ओली ने शनिवार को चीन के राष्ट्रपति शी जिनपिंग को यह कहा कि लिपुलेख नेपाली क्षेत्र है, यह 2015 के बाद किसी नेपाली नेता द्वारा चीनी राष्ट्रपति के सामने किया गया पहला ऐसा दावा है।
- **Mr. Oli, who was on a five-day visit to China to participate in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) summit, also held bilateral talks with Mr. Xi in Tianjin, China on Saturday.**  
श्री ओली, जो शंघाई सहयोग संगठन (एससीओ) सम्मेलन में भाग लेने के लिए चीन की पांच दिवसीय यात्रा पर थे, उन्होंने शनिवार को चीन के तियानजिन में श्री शी के साथ द्विपक्षीय वार्ता भी की।
- A statement issued by the Embassy of Nepal in Beijing said: "Referring to the recent understanding reached between India and China on border trade through the Lipulekh Pass, Prime Minister Oli stated that the territory belongs to Nepal and that the Government of Nepal has registered its strong objection to the same."  
बीजिंग स्थित नेपाली दूतावास द्वारा जारी एक बयान में कहा गया: "लिपुलेख दर्रे के माध्यम से सीमा व्यापार पर भारत और चीन के बीच हाल ही में हुई समझ का उल्लेख करते हुए, प्रधानमंत्री ओली ने कहा कि यह क्षेत्र नेपाल का है और नेपाल सरकार ने इसका कड़ा विरोध दर्ज कराया है।"
- A recent deal between India and China on August 19, during Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi's visit to New Delhi, to reopen Lipulekh as a bilateral trade route, had sparked widespread opposition in Nepal.  
19 अगस्त को चीनी विदेश मंत्री वांग यी की नई दिल्ली यात्रा के दौरान भारत और चीन के बीच लिपुलेख को द्विपक्षीय व्यापार मार्ग के रूप में फिर से खोलने के लिए हुए समझौते ने नेपाल में व्यापक विरोध को जन्म दिया था।
- **India has historically claimed Lipulekh, along with Limpiyadhura and Kalapani, as its own.**  
भारत ने ऐतिहासिक रूप से लिपुलेख, लिम्पियाधुरा और कालापानी पर अपना दावा किया है।
- However, in 2020, Nepal published a map to lay claim to the territory.  
हालांकि, 2020 में, नेपाल ने उस क्षेत्र पर दावा जताने के लिए एक मानचित्र प्रकाशित किया।
- Nepal's statement has no mention of the Chinese response.  
नेपाल के बयान में चीन की प्रतिक्रिया का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है।
- Nepal Foreign Secretary Amrit Bahadur Rai, however, told the media that Mr. Xi, in his response, said: "**Lipulekh is a traditional border pass, and an agreement has been made to operate it accordingly. China respects Nepal's claim, but since the border dispute is a bilateral issue [between India and Nepal], it is something for the two sides to resolve.**"  
नेपाल के विदेश सचिव अमृत बहादुर राय ने मीडिया को बताया कि श्री शी ने अपनी प्रतिक्रिया में कहा: "लिपुलेख एक पारंपरिक सीमा दर्रा है, और इसे उसी अनुसार संचालित करने के लिए एक समझौता किया गया है। चीन नेपाल के दावे का सम्मान करता है, लेकिन चूंकि सीमा विवाद एक द्विपक्षीय मुद्दा है [भारत और नेपाल के बीच], इसे दोनों पक्षों को ही हल करना होगा।"
- Nepali foreign policy watchers say the development is more likely to complicate the border issue than to resolve it.  
नेपाली विदेश नीति विशेषज्ञों का कहना है कि यह घटनाक्रम सीमा विवाद को हल करने के बजाय उसे और जटिल बनाने की संभावना अधिक रखता है।
- Both Nepal and India have expressed willingness to resolve border issues, but with differing framing.  
नेपाल और भारत दोनों ने सीमा मुद्दों को हल करने की इच्छा व्यक्त की है, लेकिन अलग-अलग दृष्टिकोणों के साथ।
- After the August 19 deal, Nepal's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the next day: "...the government of Nepal remains committed to resolving the boundary issue between the two countries through diplomatic means, based on historical treaties and agreements, facts, maps and evidence."



19 अगस्त के समझौते के बाद, नेपाल के विदेश मंत्रालय ने अगले दिन कहा: “...नेपाल सरकार दोनों देशों के बीच सीमा मुद्दे को ऐतिहासिक संधियों और समझौतों, तथ्यों, मानचित्रों और सबूतों के आधार पर कूटनीतिक तरीकों से हल करने के लिए प्रतिबद्ध है।”

- Delhi reacted the same day, saying India remains open to “constructive interaction” with Nepal on the agreed-upon outstanding boundary issues through dialogue and diplomacy.  
दिल्ली ने उसी दिन प्रतिक्रिया दी और कहा कि भारत सहमति से तय सीमा मुद्दों पर संवाद और कूटनीति के माध्यम से नेपाल के साथ “रचनात्मक बातचीत” के लिए तैयार है।
- Nepal’s territorial claims, India said, are “neither justified nor based on historical facts and evidence.”  
नेपाल के क्षेत्रीय दावे, भारत ने कहा, “न तो उचित हैं और न ही ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों और सबूतों पर आधारित हैं।”
- Chandra Dev Bhatta, a Kathmandu-based political scientist, said the crux of the problem is how to find the door to dialogue.  
काठमांडू स्थित राजनीतिक वैज्ञानिक चंद्र देव भट्ट ने कहा कि समस्या का मुख्य बिंदु यह है कि संवाद का द्वार कैसे खोजा जाए।
- “Nepal’s decision to publish the map and incorporate it in the constitution gives Delhi enough room to argue that the door has been closed,” said Mr. Bhatta.  
“नेपाल का मानचित्र प्रकाशित करने और उसे संविधान में शामिल करने का निर्णय दिल्ली को यह तर्क देने के लिए पर्याप्त आधार देता है कि संवाद का द्वार बंद हो गया है,” श्री भट्ट ने कहा।
- “And now, by raising the issue before the highest leadership of China — which says it’s not a party to that dispute — Nepal seems to have complicated the matter further, deliberately or inadvertently.”  
“और अब, चीन के सर्वोच्च नेतृत्व के सामने यह मुद्दा उठाकर — जो कहता है कि वह इस विवाद का पक्षकार नहीं है — नेपाल ने जानबूझकर या अनजाने में मामले को और जटिल बना दिया है।”
- **Earlier in June, India and China also agreed to resume the Kailash Mansarovar Yatra via Lipulekh.**  
पहले जून में, भारत और चीन ने लिपुलेख के माध्यम से कैलाश मानसरोवर यात्रा फिर से शुरू करने पर सहमति व्यक्त की।
- **In 2015, Nepal’s two neighbours signed an agreement for trade via Lipulekh.**  
2015 में, नेपाल के दो पड़ोसी देशों ने लिपुलेख के माध्यम से व्यापार के लिए एक समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर किए।
- The then-government in Kathmandu, led by Nepali Congress’s Sushil Koirala, had sent diplomatic notes to both Delhi and Beijing.  
तत्कालीन काठमांडू सरकार, जिसका नेतृत्व नेपाली कांग्रेस के सुशील कोइराला कर रहे थे, ने दिल्ली और बीजिंग दोनों को राजनयिक नोट भेजे थे।
- This time too, Kathmandu sent notes to both of its neighbours, according to Foreign Ministry officials.  
इस बार भी, काठमांडू ने अपने दोनों पड़ोसी देशों को नोट भेजे, विदेश मंत्रालय अधिकारियों के अनुसार।
- The Ministry, however, has not made any formal announcement in that regard.  
हालांकि, मंत्रालय ने इस संबंध में कोई औपचारिक घोषणा नहीं की है।
- Sanjay Upadhyaya, a U.S.-based Nepali author, said that Mr. Xi reiterated Beijing’s traditional affirmation that China has always supported Nepal’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.  
यू.एस. आधारित नेपाली लेखक संजय उपाध्याय ने कहा कि श्री सी ने बीजिंग की पारंपरिक पुष्टि को दोहराया कि चीन हमेशा नेपाल की संप्रभुता और क्षेत्रीय अखंडता का समर्थन करता आया है।
- While preparing the press releases, both sides agreed to omit any reference to an issue that could affect — and even worsen — ties with India, according to him.  
उनके अनुसार, प्रेस विज्ञप्तियां तैयार करते समय दोनों पक्ष इस बात पर सहमत हुए कि किसी भी ऐसे मुद्दे का उल्लेख नहीं किया जाएगा जो भारत के साथ संबंधों को प्रभावित — या और भी खराब — कर सकता है।
- “As our Foreign Ministry took a calculated backseat in public, Nepal secured the ‘concession’ to allow its embassy in Beijing to issue a press release mentioning the Lipulekh issue, with our Foreign Secretary elaborating on the discussions between Mr. Oli and Mr. Xi, targeting a Nepali audience,” said Mr. Upadhyaya.  
“जैसे ही हमारे विदेश मंत्रालय ने सार्वजनिक रूप से एक योजनाबद्ध पीछे हटने का रुख अपनाया, नेपाल ने बीजिंग में अपने दूतावास को लिपुलेख मुद्दे का उल्लेख करने वाली प्रेस विज्ञप्ति जारी करने की ‘छूट’



हासिल की, जिसमें हमारे विदेश सचिव ने श्री ओली और श्री शी के बीच हुई चर्चाओं को नेपाली दर्शकों के लिए विस्तार से बताया,” श्री उपाध्याय ने कहा।

### Shifting sands बदलती परिस्थितियां

- Though Mr. Oli was expected to meet Prime Minister Narendra Modi in China, it did not materialise.  
हालांकि श्री ओली के चीन में प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी से मिलने की उम्मीद थी, लेकिन यह नहीं हो सका।
- There is growing pressure in Nepal for Mr. Oli to raise the Lipulekh issue just as strongly with the Indian leadership during his upcoming visit to Bodh Gaya.  
नेपाल में श्री ओली पर यह दबाव बढ़ रहा है कि वे अपने आगामी बोधगया दौरे के दौरान भारतीय नेतृत्व के साथ भी लिपुलेख मुद्दे को उतनी ही दृढ़ता से उठाएं।
- Mr. Oli is set to visit India but the date has not been finalised yet.  
श्री ओली भारत की यात्रा पर जाएंगे लेकिन तारीख अभी तय नहीं हुई है।
- Mr. Oli's relations with Delhi have not been smooth, largely due to his ultranationalist stance rooted in anti-India sentiment, coupled with a perceived tilt towards the north.  
श्री ओली के दिल्ली के साथ संबंध सौहार्दपूर्ण नहीं रहे, मुख्यतः उनके भारत विरोधी भावना पर आधारित अति-राष्ट्रवादी रुख और उत्तर की ओर झुकाव की धारणा के कारण।
- But lately, the sands are shifting.  
लेकिन हाल ही में, परिस्थितियां बदल रही हैं।
- **In light of setbacks in the neighbourhood — vis-à-vis Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Maldives — and the United States' recent harsh tariff moves, New Delhi seems to be making a renewed push for its 'Neighbourhood First' policy.**  
पड़ोस में असफलताओं — विशेषकर बांग्लादेश, श्रीलंका और मालदीव के संदर्भ में — और संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका के हाल के कड़े टैरिफ कदमों को देखते हुए, नई दिल्ली अपनी 'पड़ोसी प्रथम' नीति को फिर से आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयास करती दिख रही है।
- Mr. Oli's visit to China — his second within a year — happened against this backdrop.  
श्री ओली की चीन यात्रा — एक वर्ष के भीतर उनकी दूसरी यात्रा — इसी पृष्ठभूमि में हुई।
- Anurag Acharya, Director at Policy Entrepreneurs Inc, a Kathmandu-based think tank, says Mr. Oli's participation in the SCO is a significant development for Nepal.  
अनुराग आचार्य, काठमांडू स्थित थिंक टैंक पॉलिसी एंटरप्रेन्योर्स इंक के निदेशक, कहते हैं कि श्री ओली का एससीओ में भाग लेना नेपाल के लिए एक महत्वपूर्ण विकास है।
- But regarding the boundary issue, Mr. Acharya adds that while Nepal is right to register its objection with the Chinese side, discretion should have been exercised on diplomatically sensitive matters.  
लेकिन सीमा मुद्दे के संदर्भ में, श्री आचार्य जोड़ते हैं कि हालांकि नेपाल का चीनी पक्ष के साथ अपना विरोध दर्ज कराना सही है, लेकिन कूटनीतिक रूप से संवेदनशील मामलों में विवेक का इस्तेमाल किया जाना चाहिए था।
- The Chinese statement noting that Mr. Oli said “Nepal supports the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative (GSI) and the Global Civilization Initiative proposed by China” has further perplexed some experts.  
चीनी बयान जिसमें यह कहा गया कि श्री ओली ने कहा “नेपाल चीन द्वारा प्रस्तावित ग्लोबल डेवलपमेंट इनिशिएटिव, ग्लोबल सिक्वोरिटी इनिशिएटिव (जीएसआई) और ग्लोबल सिविलाइजेशन इनिशिएटिव का समर्थन करता है”, ने कुछ विशेषज्ञों को और भ्रमित कर दिया है।
- Mr. Oli also attended the Chinese Victory Parade in Beijing on Wednesday.  
श्री ओली ने बुधवार को बीजिंग में चीनी विजय परेड में भी भाग लिया।
- Nepal, currently a dialogue partner, is seeking observer status in the SCO.  
नेपाल, जो वर्तमान में संवाद साझेदार है, एससीओ में पर्यवेक्षक का दर्जा प्राप्त करना चाहता है।
- Experts say Nepal's efforts to seek observer status in the SCO, Mr. Oli's nod to participate in the Beijing Victory Parade, and his support for the GSI create a larger diplomatic picture that suggests a tilt towards China.  
विशेषज्ञों का कहना है कि नेपाल के एससीओ में पर्यवेक्षक का दर्जा पाने के प्रयास, बीजिंग विजय परेड में भाग लेने के लिए श्री ओली की सहमति, और जीएसआई के प्रति उनका समर्थन एक बड़ा कूटनीतिक परिदृश्य बनाते हैं, जो चीन की ओर झुकाव का संकेत देते हैं।



- According to Mr. Bhatta, Nepal's diplomacy is on a tightrope — and in such times, the simultaneous nature of such moves could lead to increased concerns from India, the U.S., and other global partners about Nepal's alignment.  
श्री भट्ट के अनुसार, नेपाल की कूटनीति एक नाजुक स्थिति में है — और ऐसे समय में, इस तरह के कदमों की एकसाथ प्रकृति भारत, अमेरिका और अन्य वैश्विक साझेदारों की नेपाल के रुझान को लेकर बढ़ती चिंताओं का कारण बन सकती है।

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

1. **Auto, pharma hail GST revamp; airlines upset**  
ऑटो, फार्मा ने GST सुधार का स्वागत किया; एयरलाइंस नाखुश
2. **Centre and Manipur govt. ink peace pact with Kuki-Zo groups**  
केंद्र और मणिपुर सरकार ने कुकी-जो समूहों के साथ शांति समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर किए
3. **SC expresses concern over avalanche of illegally felled trees washed up by floods**  
बाढ़ में बहकर आए अवैध रूप से काटे गए पेड़ों के ढेर पर सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने चिंता व्यक्त की
4. **After SC caution, Centre says talks on with States for special NIA courts**  
SC की चेतावनी के बाद, केंद्र ने कहा कि विशेष NIA अदालतों के लिए राज्यों से बातचीत जारी है
5. **Cars get cheaper, festive sales likely to hit top gear**  
कारें हुईं सस्ती, त्योहारी बिक्री के उँचे स्तर पर पहुंचने की संभावना
6. **Centre approves creation of new, independent class of 'environment auditors'**  
केंद्र ने 'पर्यावरण ऑडिटर्स' की नई, स्वतंत्र श्रेणी के गठन को मंजूरी दी
7. **QUIZ**
8. **Cuts in time**  
समय पर कटौती
9. **Process as punishment**  
सज़ा के रूप में प्रक्रिया



- 10. Trump's tariff war as opportunity for the Global South**  
ग्लोबल साउथ के लिए अवसर के रूप में ट्रंप का टैरिफ युद्ध
- 11. GST 2.0 is a landmark in India's tax journey**  
भारत की कर यात्रा में जीएसटी 2.0 एक मील का पत्थर है
- 12. Should commercial speech on digital platforms be regulated?**

क्या डिजिटल प्लेटफॉर्म पर वाणिज्यिक भाषण को विनियमित किया जाना चाहिए?

- 13. Will Google lose its data moat after landmark U.S. court ruling?**  
क्या गूगल अपनी डेटा सुरक्षा (data moat) खो देगा ऐतिहासिक अमेरिकी अदालत के फैसले के बाद?

## Auto, pharma hail GST revamp; airlines upset

Auto-makers expect tax cut to boost demand; airlines slam higher GST on non-economy seats

Small entrepreneurs say the 12% to 18% GST levy on labour charges would hit them hard

Textile industry disappointed over the 18% duty for garments priced above ₹2,500

GS III: Taxation

### Likes & dislikes

The new GST rates were largely welcomed by most sectors, but there were also some discontents

POSITIVE	MIXED	UPSET
<b>Auto manufacturers:</b> Lower tax will boost demand	<b>Insurance sector:</b> Good for consumers, but could eat into profits of insurers	<b>Airlines:</b> 18% rate on non-economy tickets makes premium travel more expensive, potentially making some routes unviable
<b>Pharma:</b> Will make medicines more affordable	<b>Apparel makers:</b> Higher GST on expensive clothes a negative	<b>Vegetable oil makers:</b> Inverted duty structure should be removed for vegetable oils
<b>Consumer appliance firms:</b> Will lower prices ahead of the festive season	<b>Automobile dealers:</b> Though lower taxes are welcome, there are concerns about potential delays in purchases	<b>Micro and cottage entrepreneurs:</b> Increase in rate on labour charges will increase costs for MSMEs



Poor, neo middle-class, middle-class women, students, farmers, youth... everyone will benefit

**NARENDRA MODI**  
Prime Minister

**The Hindu Bureau**  
NEW DELHI

**W**hile the goods and services tax (GST) rate changes authorised by the GST Council on Wednesday night brought cheer to the auto, insurance, consumer appliances, pharmaceuticals, and renewable energy sectors, among others, some of that was tinged with reproach. A few sectors are outright upset with the tax changes. The stock market, too, reflected this mixed response on Thursday, initially reacting positively but ending the day nearly flat, with the Sensex up just 0.2% from the previous day.

The airlines slammed the higher GST on non-economy seats. Vegetable

oil producers called for the resolution of the inverted duty structure on edible oils, which means that the GST rate on raw materials in their industry is higher than the rate on the finished product.

This mismatch was something that the Council corrected for the fertilizer and man-made textiles industries.

The increase in the GST rate for labour charges, from 12% to 18%, has also led to some resistance, with small entrepreneurs saying that they would be hit hard by the change.

#### Mixed response

While the textile industry has welcomed the revision of GST rates for both man-made fibre and cotton sectors, it has also expressed its disappointment over

### INSIDE

GST 2.0 is a double dose of support and growth, says PM  
» PAGE 6

Congress demands States be compensated for five years  
» PAGE 6

Festive sales to hit top gear  
» PAGE 5

the 18% duty for garments priced above ₹2,500 each.

The Cloth Manufacturers Association of India pointed out that such garments are also consumed in large numbers by the common man, especially in the form of woollens, wedding wear, traditional clothing, handlooms, and embroidered clothes. Charging 18% GST on these will make them significantly more costly, it said.

This nuanced cheer can be seen in the auto sector as well.

Auto manufacturers have welcomed the rate rationalisation for the sector, along with the removal of the GST Compensation Cess applicable on cars.

As per the new rates, entry-level and mid-segment cars priced up to ₹14 lakh will see a tax reduction of up to 13 percentage points, while high-end cars with engines above 1200 cc too are set to see an 8 to 10 percentage point cut in their tax rate.

Auto dealers, however, have voiced some worries about consumers postponing their purchases until September 22, when the new rates come into force, and have called for greater clarity on what happens to the cess on vehicles they

have already bought from manufacturers but not yet sold to customers.

The renewable energy sector, too, has praised the decision to reduce taxes on renewable energy components from 12% to 5% as a progressive step towards accelerating India's clean energy transition by lowering costs for critical technologies such as solar cells and other renewable energy devices.

Consumer appliance makers were also upbeat about the GST rate cuts, saying they would boost demand, especially in the run-up to the festive season.

(With inputs from Sharad Raghavan, Jagriti Chandra, M. Soundariya Preetha, Lalatendu Mishra, Saptararno Ghosh, and Bindu Shajan Perappadan)

## Auto, pharma hail GST revamp; airlines upset

ऑटो, फार्मा ने GST सुधार का स्वागत किया; एयरलाइंस नाखुश

Auto-makers expect tax cut to boost demand; airlines slam higher GST on non-economy seats



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ऑटो-निर्माताओं को कर कटौती से मांग बढ़ने की उम्मीद; एयरलाइंस ने नॉन-इकोनॉमी सीटों पर ज्यादा GST की आलोचना की

Small entrepreneurs say the 12% to 18% GST levy on labour charges would hit them hard

छोटे उद्यमियों का कहना है कि 12% से 18% GST श्रम शुल्क पर लगना उन्हें बुरी तरह प्रभावित करेगा

Textile industry disappointed over the 18% duty for garments priced above ₹2,500

टेक्सटाइल उद्योग ₹2,500 से अधिक कीमत वाले परिधानों पर 18% शुल्क से निराश

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# Centre and Manipur govt. ink peace pact with Kuki-Zo groups

GS III: Insurgency

Vijaita Singh  
NEW DELHI

The Union Home Ministry and the Manipur government signed a Suspension of Operations (SoO) pact with the Kuki-Zo insurgent groups on Wednesday with "re-negotiated terms and conditions or ground rules", the Ministry said on Thursday. The development comes days ahead of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's expected visit to Manipur on September 13, his first visit since ethnic violence between the Kuki-Zo and Meitei people erupted in the State on May 3, 2023.

Security forces will conduct verification of cadres and de-list foreign nationals, if any, the Ministry said. A senior government official said that once identified, the foreign nationals would be deported. The revised ground rules reiterate territorial integrity of Manipur and relocation of camps run by insurgent groups.

Prior to May 3, 2023, the SoO groups demanded autonomous territorial councils within Manipur, but post-violence the demands changed.

Asked if the SoO groups have given up their demand for a separate administration or Union Territory with a legislature, Seilen Haokip, spokesperson Kuki National Organisation (KNO), one of the signatories, told *The Hindu*, "Though the agreement speaks about territorial integrity of Manipur, it also mentions political settlement within the Constitution of India. The Constitution speaks about the integrity of the country, not a district or a State."

He added that "negotiated political settlement within Constitution of India" is a new inclusion in

## Core pact

The agreement was signed with 're-negotiated terms and conditions or ground rules'

■ The revised ground rules reiterate territorial integrity of Manipur and relocation of camps run by insurgent groups



■ The rules also stress need for a negotiated solution to bring lasting peace and stability to the State

the agreement as it was not there in the 2008 text when the demand was for territorial councils in Manipur.

The Kuki-Zo Council (KZC), a conglomerate of civil society organisations, agreed to open the National Highway-2 (Imphal-Dimapur) passing through Kangpokpi district "for the free movement of commuters and essential goods", the Ministry said.

## Highway shut

The highway, key to connect the Imphal Valley, where the Meitei people live, to Nagaland and Assam, and critical for the supply of essentials and other commodities, has been shut for the past two years for the movement of the Meitei people.

"The decision came after a series of meetings between officials of MHA and a delegation of KZC in the last few days at New Delhi. KZC has given commitment to cooperate with Security Forces deployed by Government of India (GoI) to maintain peace along NH-02," the government said.

The KZC, however, said that the highway has never been blocked and remained open for commuters and for transportation of essential goods.

# Centre and Manipur govt. ink peace pact with Kuki-Zo groups केंद्र और मणिपुर सरकार ने कुकी-जो समूहों के साथ शांति समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर किए

• The **Union Home Ministry** and the **Manipur government** signed a **Suspension of Operations (SoO)** pact with the **Kuki-Zo insurgent groups** on Wednesday with "re-negotiated terms and conditions or ground rules", the Ministry said on Thursday.

केंद्रीय गृह मंत्रालय और मणिपुर सरकार ने गुरुवार को कहा कि बुधवार को कुकी-जो उग्रवादी समूहों के साथ "पुनः वार्ता की गई शर्तों या आधारभूत नियमों" के साथ संचालन निलंबन (SoO) समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर किए गए।

• The development comes days ahead of **Prime Minister Narendra Modi's** expected visit to **Manipur** on **September 13**, his first visit since **ethnic violence** between the **Kuki-Zo** and **Meitei people** erupted in the State on **May 3, 2023**.

यह घटनाक्रम प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी की 13 सितंबर को मणिपुर की प्रस्तावित यात्रा से कुछ दिन पहले हुआ है, जो 3 मई, 2023 को राज्य में कुकी-जो और मेइती समुदायों के बीच जातीय हिंसा भड़कने के बाद उनकी पहली यात्रा होगी।

• Security forces will conduct verification of cadres and de-list **foreign nationals**, if any, the Ministry said.

मंत्रालय ने कहा कि सुरक्षा बल कैडरों का सत्यापन करेंगे और यदि कोई विदेशी नागरिक होंगे, तो उन्हें सूची से हटा दिया जाएगा।

• A senior government official said that once identified, the **foreign nationals** would be **deported**. एक वरिष्ठ सरकारी अधिकारी ने कहा कि एक बार पहचान होने के बाद विदेशी नागरिकों को देश से निष्कासित कर दिया जाएगा।

• The revised ground rules reiterate **territorial integrity of Manipur** and **relocation of camps** run by insurgent groups.

संशोधित आधारभूत नियमों में मणिपुर की क्षेत्रीय अखंडता और उग्रवादी समूहों द्वारा चलाए जा रहे शिविरों के स्थानांतरण को दोहराया गया है।

• Prior to **May 3, 2023**, the **SoO groups** demanded **autonomous territorial councils** within Manipur, but post-violence the demands changed.

3 मई, 2023 से पहले SoO समूहों ने मणिपुर के भीतर स्वायत्त क्षेत्रीय परिषदों की मांग की थी, लेकिन हिंसा के बाद उनकी मांगें बदल गईं।

• Asked if the **SoO groups** have given up their demand for a **separate administration** or **Union Territory with a legislature**, **Seilen Haokip**, spokesperson **Kuki National Organisation (KNO)**, one of the signatories, told *The Hindu*, "Though the agreement speaks about territorial integrity of Manipur, it also mentions **political settlement within the Constitution of India**. The Constitution speaks about the integrity of the



country, not a district or a State.”

जब पूछा गया कि क्या SoO समूहों ने अलग प्रशासन या विधानमंडल के साथ केंद्र शासित प्रदेश की मांग छोड़ दी है, तो सेइलन हाओकिप, जो कुकी नेशनल ऑर्गनाइजेशन (KNO) के प्रवक्ता और समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर करने वालों में से एक हैं, ने द हिंदू से कहा, “हालांकि समझौते में मणिपुर की क्षेत्रीय अखंडता की बात की गई है, इसमें भारत के संविधान के भीतर राजनीतिक समाधान का भी उल्लेख है। संविधान देश की अखंडता की बात करता है, न कि किसी जिले या राज्य की।”

- He added that “negotiated political settlement within the Constitution of India” is a new inclusion in the agreement as it was not there in the 2008 text when the demand was for territorial councils in Manipur.

उन्होंने आगे कहा कि “भारत के संविधान के भीतर वार्तालाप आधारित राजनीतिक समाधान” समझौते में एक नया प्रावधान है क्योंकि यह 2008 के पाठ में नहीं था, जब मांग मणिपुर में क्षेत्रीय परिषदों की थी।

- The Kuki-Zo Council (KZC), a conglomerate of civil society organisations, agreed to open the National Highway-2 (Imphal-Dimapur) passing through Kangpokpi district “for the free movement of commuters and essential goods”, the Ministry said.

कुकी-जो काउंसिल (KZC), जो नागरिक समाज संगठनों का एक समूह है, ने कांगपोकपी जिला से गुजरने वाले राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग-2 (इम्फाल-डिमापुर) को “यात्रियों और आवश्यक वस्तुओं की स्वतंत्र आवाजाही” के लिए खोलने पर सहमति व्यक्त की, मंत्रालय ने कहा।

## Highway shut हाईवे बंद

- The highway, key to connect the Imphal Valley, where the Meitei people live, to Nagaland and Assam, and critical for the supply of essentials and other commodities, has been shut for the past two years for the movement of the Meitei people.

यह हाईवे, जो इम्फाल घाटी (जहां मेइती समुदाय रहता है) को नगालैंड और असम से जोड़ने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है और आवश्यक वस्तुओं तथा अन्य सामान की आपूर्ति के लिए अहम है, पिछले दो वर्षों से मेइती समुदाय की आवाजाही के लिए बंद है।

- “The decision came after a series of meetings between officials of MHA and a delegation of KZC in the last few days at New Delhi. KZC has given commitment to cooperate with Security Forces deployed by Government of India (GoI) to maintain peace along NH-02,” the government said.

“यह निर्णय पिछले कुछ दिनों में नई दिल्ली में गृह मंत्रालय (MHA) के अधिकारियों और KZC के प्रतिनिधिमंडल के बीच हुई बैठकों की श्रृंखला के बाद आया। KZC ने भारत सरकार (GoI) द्वारा तैनात सुरक्षा बलों के साथ NH-02 पर शांति बनाए रखने के लिए सहयोग करने की प्रतिबद्धता जताई है,” सरकार ने कहा।

- The KZC, however, said that the highway has never been blocked and remained open for commuters and for transportation of essential goods.

हालांकि, KZC ने कहा कि यह हाईवे कभी बंद नहीं हुआ और यह हमेशा यात्रियों के लिए खुला रहा और आवश्यक वस्तुओं के परिवहन के लिए भी।



**Alert mode:** A security official keeps watch as the Beas river flows in spate following incessant rain in Kullu district of Himachal Pradesh on Thursday. PTI

## SC expresses concern over avalanche of illegally felled trees washed up by floods

GS III: Environment

**Krishnadas Rajagopal**  
NEW DELHI

Pointing to media visuals of huge numbers of logs floating in floodwaters, the Supreme Court on Thursday expressed concern over illegal felling of Himalayan trees. "If this goes on, we will be left with no forests," it observed.

The court voiced deep anguish about floods in Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and Punjab. It said the visuals indicated that illegal felling of ecologically sensitive Himalayan forests was on amid the chaos and deaths caused by natural disasters.

"This is a very serious issue. Logs are seen flowing with the flood waters. If this goes on, we will not have any forests left. In Punjab, entire villages are inundated. Development is needed, but not at the cost of the environment and lives," Chief Justice of India B.R. Gavai observed.

Solicitor-General Tushar Mehta said he would speak with the Environ-

ment Secretary on the same day. The Secretary would get in touch with the Chief Secretaries of these States.

Mr. Mehta, who was present in the courtroom for the next case, intervened after the Bench, also comprising Justice Vinod Chandran, asked him to.

The top law officer agreed with the court that the situation cannot be allowed to continue. "This just cannot be," Mr. Mehta said.

The court also issued notice to the National Highway Authority of India (NHAI) after the petitioner, Anamika Rana, represented by advocate Akash Vashishtha, said there were 14 tunnels between Chandigarh and Manali that turn into death traps during floods.

### 'Payback from nature'

The petitioner's counsel said at least 300 people were stranded recently during the floods inside the tunnel.

"Therefore, we have issued notice to the NHAI,"

Chief Justice Gavai addressed him.

Mr. Mehta said the natural disasters were payback from nature.

"We are interfering with nature so much that nature is giving back," he remarked.

The CJI reiterated that the court was seriously concerned with the repetitive occurrence of landslides and floods in these ecologically sensitive areas. It listed the case in two weeks.

The petition has sought the immediate intervention of the apex court to constitute action plans, a Special Investigation Team enquiry and geological, geo-technical and ecological investigation to prevent future disasters and save the pristine, fragile Ecology of the Himalayan States.

"The Central and State governments, in spite of having dedicated disaster authorities, have no plan in place to prevent or mitigate the losses due to these disasters, whose frequency has increased alarmingly of late," the petition said.

## SC expresses concern over avalanche of illegally felled trees washed up by floods

### बाढ़ में बहकर आए अवैध रूप से काटे गए पेड़ों के ढेर पर सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने चिंता व्यक्त की

- Pointing to media visuals of huge numbers of logs floating in floodwaters, the **Supreme Court** on Thursday expressed concern over **illegal felling of Himalayan trees**. "If this goes on, we will be left with no forests," it observed.

मीडिया दृश्य में बाढ़ के पानी में बड़ी संख्या में लकड़ी के गट्टरों को बहते हुए देखते हुए, **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** ने गुरुवार को **हिमालयी पेड़ों की अवैध कटाई** पर चिंता व्यक्त की। "यदि यह चलता रहा, तो हमारे पास कोई जंगल नहीं बचेगा," कोर्ट ने कहा।

- The court voiced deep anguish about **floods in Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and Punjab**. It said the visuals indicated that **illegal felling of ecologically sensitive Himalayan forests** was on amid the chaos and deaths caused by **natural disasters**.

कोर्ट ने **उत्तराखंड, हिमाचल प्रदेश, जम्मू और कश्मीर तथा पंजाब** में आई बाढ़ को लेकर गहरी पीड़ा व्यक्त की। उसने कहा कि दृश्य इस बात का संकेत देते हैं कि **प्राकृतिक आपदाओं से हुई अराजकता और मौतों के बीच पर्यावरणीय रूप से संवेदनशील हिमालयी जंगलों की अवैध कटाई** हो रही है।

- "This is a very serious issue. Logs are seen flowing with the flood waters. If this goes on, we will not have any forests left. In **Punjab**, entire villages are inundated. Development is needed, but not at the cost of the environment and lives," **Chief Justice of India B.R. Gavai** observed.

"यह बहुत गंभीर मुद्दा है। लकड़ियों को



बाढ़ के पानी के साथ बहते हुए देखा गया है। यदि यह चलता रहा, तो हमारे पास कोई जंगल नहीं बचेगा। पंजाब में पूरे गांव डूबे हुए हैं। विकास की आवश्यकता है, लेकिन पर्यावरण और जीवन की कीमत पर नहीं,” भारत के मुख्य न्यायाधीश बी.आर. गवई ने कहा।

- **Solicitor-General Tushar Mehta** said he would speak with the **Environment Secretary** on the same day. The Secretary would get in touch with the **Chief Secretaries** of these States. **सॉलिसिटर जनरल तुषार मेहता** ने कहा कि वह उसी दिन **पर्यावरण सचिव** से बात करेंगे। सचिव इन राज्यों के **मुख्य सचिवों** से संपर्क करेंगे।
- Mr. Mehta, who was present in the courtroom for the next case, intervened after the **Bench**, also comprising **Justice Vinod Chandran**, asked him to.  
श्री मेहता, जो अगली सुनवाई के लिए अदालत में मौजूद थे, ने तब हस्तक्षेप किया जब **पीठ**, जिसमें **न्यायमूर्ति विनोद चंद्रन** भी शामिल थे, ने उनसे ऐसा करने को कहा।
- The top law officer agreed with the court that the situation cannot be allowed to continue. “This just cannot be,” Mr. Mehta said.  
शीर्ष कानून अधिकारी ने अदालत से सहमति जताई कि इस स्थिति को जारी नहीं रहने दिया जा सकता। श्री मेहता ने कहा, “यह बिल्कुल नहीं हो सकता।”
- The court also issued notice to the **National Highway Authority of India (NHAI)** after the petitioner, **Anamika Rana**, represented by advocate **Akash Vashishtha**, said there were **14 tunnels** between **Chandigarh and Manali** that turn into death traps during floods.  
अदालत ने याचिकाकर्ता **अनामिका राणा**, जिनका प्रतिनिधित्व अधिवक्ता **आकाश वशिष्ठा** कर रहे थे, के कहने पर **भारतीय राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग प्राधिकरण (NHAI)** को नोटिस जारी किया कि **चंडीगढ़ और मनाली** के बीच **14 सुरंगें** हैं जो बाढ़ के दौरान मौत के जाल में बदल जाती हैं।

### ‘Payback from nature’ ‘प्रकृति से प्रतिशोध’

- The petitioner’s counsel said at least **300 people** were stranded recently during the floods inside the tunnel.  
याचिकाकर्ता के वकील ने कहा कि हाल ही में बाढ़ के दौरान कम से कम **300 लोग** सुरंग के अंदर फंसे हुए थे।
- “Therefore, we have issued notice to the **NHAI**,” **Chief Justice Gavai** addressed him.  
“इसलिए, हमने **NHAI** को नोटिस जारी किया है,” **मुख्य न्यायाधीश गवई** ने कहा।
- Mr. Mehta said the natural disasters were payback from nature.  
श्री मेहता ने कहा कि प्राकृतिक आपदाएं प्रकृति से प्रतिशोध हैं।
- “We are interfering with nature so much that nature is giving back,” he remarked.  
उन्होंने कहा, “हम प्रकृति में इतनी हस्तक्षेप कर रहे हैं कि अब प्रकृति बदला ले रही है।”
- The **CJ** reiterated that the court was seriously concerned with the repetitive occurrence of **landslides and floods** in these ecologically sensitive areas. It listed the case in two weeks.  
**सीजेआई** ने दोहराया कि अदालत इन पर्यावरणीय रूप से संवेदनशील क्षेत्रों में बार-बार होने वाले **भूस्खलन और बाढ़** को लेकर गंभीर रूप से चिंतित है। इस मामले की अगली सुनवाई दो हफ्तों में निर्धारित की गई।
- The petition has sought the immediate intervention of the **apex court** to constitute **action plans**, a **Special Investigation Team enquiry** and **geological, geo-technical and ecological investigation** to prevent future disasters and save the pristine, fragile ecology of the **Himalayan States**.  
याचिका में भविष्य की आपदाओं को रोकने और **हिमालयी राज्यों** की स्वच्छ और नाजुक पारिस्थितिकी को बचाने के लिए **कार्रवाई योजनाएं**, **विशेष जांच दल की जांच** और **भूवैज्ञानिक, भू-तकनीकी और पर्यावरणीय जांच** के गठन हेतु **सर्वोच्च न्यायालय** के तत्काल हस्तक्षेप की मांग की गई है।
- “The **Central and State governments**, inspite of having dedicated disaster authorities, have no plan in place to prevent or mitigate the losses due to these disasters, whose frequency has increased alarmingly of late,” the petition said.  
याचिका में कहा गया, “**केंद्र और राज्य सरकारों** के पास समर्पित आपदा प्राधिकरण होने के बावजूद इन आपदाओं के कारण होने वाले नुकसान को रोकने या कम करने की कोई योजना नहीं है, जिनकी आवृत्ति हाल के दिनों में खतरनाक रूप से बढ़ गई है।”



# After SC caution, Centre says talks on with States for special NIA courts

**GS III: Internal Security**

**Krishnadas Rajagopal**  
NEW DELHI

The Union government on Thursday informed the Supreme Court that it has reached out to several States with a deal to set up “exclusive and special” **National Intelligence Agency (NIA) courts**.

The Centre’s overture to the States was in response to a direct caution from the Supreme Court in July 2025 that the judiciary would have no other choice but to release NIA undertrials on bail if there were not enough courts for timely completion of trial.

Appearing before a Bench of Justices Surya Kant and Joymalya Bagchi, Additional Solicitor General Aishwarya Bhati, appearing for the Union government, said hectic talks were on with 11 States. Talks with Kerala and Delhi, especially, were “good”, she said.



The Bench was hearing a plea for bail filed by Kailash Ramchandani, an accused arrested by the NIA in a case under the **Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA)**. His counsel, senior advocate Trideep Pais, has argued that Mr. Ramchandani had been incarcerated for six years owing to delay in trial.

The top court has repeatedly referred to the sheer burden on trial judges who have to multitask - hear ordinary criminal cases while sparing time to try terror and heinous offences. Delays in trial leave un-

dertrials languishing in prisons.

## Additional work

During the previous hearing in July, the top court had highlighted that trials failed to take off or remained stagnant mainly because existing courts had to double up as NIA and special courts.

“Designation of an existing court or entrustment of exclusive trials under the NIA Act to such designated courts would incontrovertibly be at the cost of other court cases including hundreds of undertrials who are languishing in jail, senior citizens, marginalised persons... If authorities fail to establish exclusive special courts with the prerequisite infrastructure for the purpose of conducting time-bound or expeditious trials under the NIA Act, the courts would invariably be left with no alternative but release the under-

trials on bail. After all, for how long can such individuals be kept in indefinite custody when no effective mechanism exists to ensure the timely conclusion of their trials?” Justice Kant had asked the Centre.

On Thursday, Ms. Bhati said that out of a little over 50 designated courts, only three were exclusively trying NIA cases.

Justice Kant responded that time-bound trials, particularly in heinous offences, would send a very good message to hardened criminals that they cannot hijack the entire system. But rudderless trial proceedings would, on the other hand, the judge warned, compel courts to grant bail to the accused persons.

The Bench urged the Centre not to wait for the States to put in their financial share for setting up NIA courts. “You should commence work with your budget,” Justice Kant said.

## After SC caution, Centre says talks on with States for special NIA courts

### SC की चेतावनी के बाद, केंद्र ने कहा कि विशेष NIA अदालतों के लिए राज्यों से बातचीत जारी है

- The **Union government** on Thursday informed the **Supreme Court** that it has reached out to several **States** with a deal to set up “**exclusive and special National Intelligence Agency (NIA) courts**”.  
केंद्र सरकार ने गुरुवार को **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** को बताया कि उसने कई **राज्यों** से संपर्क किया है ताकि “**विशेष और अलग राष्ट्रीय जांच एजेंसी (NIA) अदालतें**” स्थापित करने के लिए समझौता किया जा सके।
- The Centre’s overture to the States was in response to a **direct caution** from the **Supreme Court** in **July 2025** that the **judiciary** would have no other choice but to **release NIA undertrials on bail** if there were not enough courts for **timely completion of trial**.  
केंद्र का यह कदम जुलाई 2025 में **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** की सीधी चेतावनी के जवाब में था कि यदि समय पर



मुकदमे पूरे करने के लिए पर्याप्त अदालतें नहीं हुईं, तो न्यायपालिका के पास NIA के अधीन मुकदमों के आरोपियों को जमानत पर रिहा करने के अलावा कोई विकल्प नहीं होगा।

- Appearing before a Bench of Justices Surya Kant and Joymalya Bagchi, Additional Solicitor General Aishwarya Bhati, appearing for the Union government, said hectic talks were on with 11 States.  
न्यायमूर्ति सुर्यकांत और जॉयमाल्य बागची की पीठ के सामने पेश होते हुए, केंद्र सरकार की ओर से उपस्थित अतिरिक्त सॉलिसिटर जनरल ऐश्वर्या भाटी ने कहा कि 11 राज्यों के साथ गहन बातचीत चल रही है।
- Talks with Kerala and Delhi, especially, were “good”, she said.  
उन्होंने कहा कि खासतौर पर केरल और दिल्ली के साथ हुई बातचीत “अच्छी” रही।
- The Bench was hearing a plea for bail filed by Kailash Ramchandani, an accused arrested by the NIA in a case under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA).  
पीठ जमानत याचिका पर सुनवाई कर रही थी जिसे कैलाश रामचंदानी ने दायर किया था, जिन्हें NIA ने गैरकानूनी गतिविधियां (निवारण) अधिनियम (UAPA) के तहत एक मामले में गिरफ्तार किया था।
- His counsel, senior advocate Trideep Pais, has argued that Mr. Ramchandani had been incarcerated for six years owing to delay in trial.  
उनके वकील, वरिष्ठ अधिवक्ता त्रिदीप पाइस ने दलील दी कि श्री रामचंदानी मुकदमे में देरी के कारण छह साल से जेल में बंद हैं।
- The top court has repeatedly referred to the sheer burden on trial judges who have to multitask – hear ordinary criminal cases while sparing time to try terror and heinous offences.  
सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने बार-बार इस बात का उल्लेख किया है कि ट्रायल जजों पर भारी बोझ है, जिन्हें साधारण आपराधिक मामलों की सुनवाई के साथ-साथ आतंकी और जघन्य अपराधों की सुनवाई के लिए भी समय निकालना पड़ता है।
- Delays in trial leave undertrials languishing in prisons.  
मुकदमों में देरी के कारण आरोपी लंबे समय तक जेलों में पड़े रहते हैं।
- Additional work  
अतिरिक्त काम
- During the previous hearing in July, the top court had highlighted that trials failed to take off or remained stagnant mainly because existing courts had to double up as NIA and special courts.  
जुलाई में हुई पिछली सुनवाई के दौरान, सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने यह रेखांकित किया था कि मुकदमे शुरू नहीं हो पाते या ठप हो जाते हैं, मुख्यतः इसलिए क्योंकि मौजूदा अदालतों को NIA और विशेष अदालतों दोनों का काम करना पड़ता है।
- “Designation of an existing court or entrustment of exclusive trials under the NIA Act to such designated courts would incontrovertibly be at the cost of other court cases including hundreds of undertrials who are languishing in jail, senior citizens, marginalised persons...  
“मौजूदा अदालत को नामित करना या NIA अधिनियम के तहत विशेष मुकदमों की जिम्मेदारी सौंपना निश्चित रूप से अन्य मामलों की कीमत पर होगा, जिनमें जेल में बंद सैकड़ों कैदी, वरिष्ठ नागरिक, हाशिए पर रहने वाले लोग शामिल हैं...”
- If authorities fail to establish exclusive special courts with the prerequisite infrastructure for the purpose of conducting time-bound or expeditious trials under the NIA Act,  
यदि प्राधिकरण समयबद्ध या शीघ्र सुनवाई के लिए आवश्यक बुनियादी ढांचे के साथ विशेष अदालतों की स्थापना करने में विफल रहते हैं,  
the courts would invariably be left with no alternative but release the undertrials on bail.  
तो अदालतों के पास आरोपियों को जमानत पर रिहा करने के अलावा कोई विकल्प नहीं बचेगा।
- After all, for how long can such individuals be kept in indefinite custody when no effective mechanism exists to ensure the timely conclusion of their trials?” Justice Kant had asked the Centre.  
आखिरकार, जब मुकदमों को समय पर समाप्त करने के लिए कोई प्रभावी तंत्र मौजूद नहीं है, तब इन व्यक्तियों को अनिश्चितकालीन हिरासत में कितने समय तक रखा जा सकता है?” न्यायमूर्ति कांत ने केंद्र से पूछा।
- On Thursday, Ms. Bhati said that out of a little over 50 designated courts, only three were exclusively trying NIA cases.



गुरुवार को, सुश्री भाटी ने कहा कि 50 से थोड़ी अधिक नामित अदालतों में से केवल तीन अदालतें ही विशेष रूप से NIA मामलों की सुनवाई कर रही हैं।

- Justice Kant responded that time-bound trials, particularly in heinous offences, would send a very good message to hardened criminals that they cannot hijack the entire system.

न्यायमूर्ति कांत ने कहा कि समयबद्ध मुकदमे, विशेष रूप से जघन्य अपराधों में, कट्टर अपराधियों को यह संदेश देंगे कि वे पूरे सिस्टम को बंधक नहीं बना सकते।

- But rudderless trial proceedings would, on the other hand, the judge warned, compel courts to grant bail to the accused persons.

लेकिन बिना दिशा वाले मुकदमे की कार्यवाही, दूसरी ओर, न्यायाधीश ने चेतावनी दी, अदालतों को आरोपियों को जमानत देने के लिए मजबूर कर देगी।

- The Bench urged the Centre not to wait for the States to put in their financial share for setting up NIA courts.

पीठ ने केंद्र से आग्रह किया कि विशेष NIA अदालतों की स्थापना के लिए राज्यों से उनके वित्तीय योगदान की प्रतीक्षा न करें।

- "You should commence work with your budget," Justice Kant said.

"आपको अपने बजट से काम शुरू करना चाहिए," न्यायमूर्ति कांत ने कहा।

**UNCHANGED RATES**

Gold & silver at <b>3%</b>	Electric vehicles at <b>5%</b>
Articles of apparel and clothing accessories, knitted or crocheted, of sale value not exceeding ₹2,500 per piece at <b>5%</b>	Footwear of sale value exceeding ₹2,500 per pair at <b>18%</b>

**Major reductions in GST revamp**

A category-wise list of items whose prices are set to change. Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman said that the decisions would come into effect from Sept. 22 for most items

**FOOD**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Ultra-high temperature (UHT) milk	5%	0%
Butter, ghee, cheese, and dairy spreads	12%	5%
Dates, mangoes, citrus and other fruits	12%	5%
Vegetable products	18%	5%
Fish fats and oils	12%	5%
Refined sugar goods	12%	5%
Chocolates and cocoa products	18%	5%

**Item**

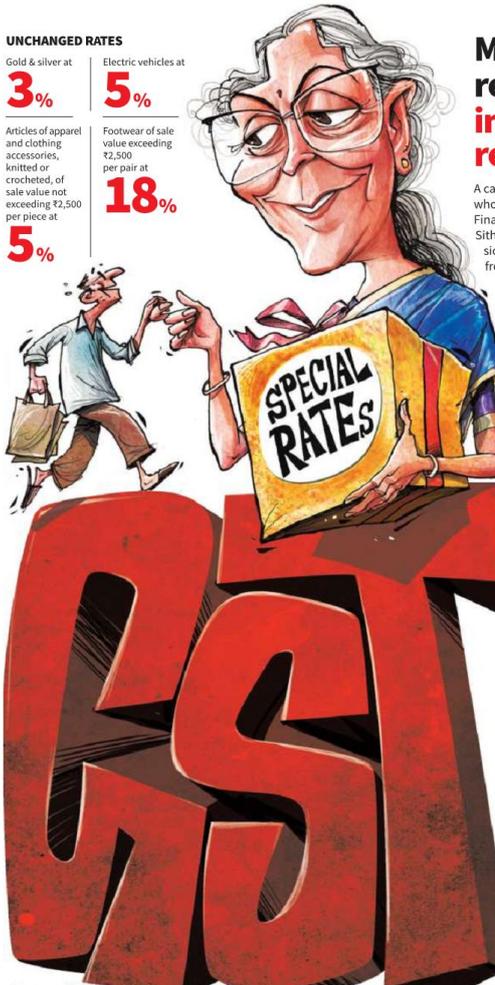
Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Cornflakes and cereal	18%	5%
Pastry, biscuits, and cakes	18%	5%
Nuts	12%	5%
Coffee and coffee extracts	18%	5%
Ice cream and other edible ice	18%	5%
Paratha, parotta and other Indian breads	18%	0%
Pan masala*	28%	40%
Soya milk drinks	12%	5%

**AUTOMOBILE**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Motor vehicles	28%	18%
Motorcycles of engine capacity exceeding 350 cc	28%	40%
Bicycles and other cycles	12%	5%

**CONSUMER ELECTRONICS**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Air conditioners, dishwashers, televisions sets, monitors	28%	18%



**Cars get cheaper, festive sales likely to hit top gear**

Sub-4 metre cars with engines below 1,200 cc and 1,500 cc to attract 18% GST; dealers expect increased buyer interest in price-sensitive segments; bigger cars will invite a 40% GST, but removal of cess will boost net savings on purchase

Jagriti Chandra  
NEW DELHI

The Goods and Services Tax (GST) overhaul will make cars cheaper this festive season across segments. Entry-level and mid-segment cars priced ₹14 lakh and below will see a reduction up to 13% in GST and cess, making them more attractive to a price-sensitive customer base. High-end cars with engines above 1,200 cc are set to become 5-10% cheaper. Small cars that run on petrol, LPG and CNG with engines below 1,200 cc, and diesel cars of up to 1,500 cc and with a length under 4 metres will attract a GST of 18% instead of 28%. The cess of 1% and 3% will no longer be applicable.

"The benefit is greater for entry and mid-level segment as

there is price sensitivity. The news will definitely bring cheer to buyers, and we expect more footfall at showrooms," said Vinkesh Gulati, vice-president, Automotive Skill Development Council, and former president of the Federation of Automobile Dealers Association.

Unsoo Kim, managing director of Hyundai Motor India Ltd., called the GST revision a move that will "strengthen consumer confidence". The company has 60% of its internal combustion engine portfolio under the 18% slab rate, with the remainder at 40%. All mid-sized and large cars, up to and above 1,500 cc and over 4 metres in length, will attract a higher GST of 40% instead of 28%. But the net savings of 5-10% come from a complete removal of cess, which stood at 17% for passenger vehicles with up to 1,500 cc engines, and 22% for SUVs.



"Government listened to the automotive industry's long-standing wish list of rationalising GST rates. This will induce the much-needed impetus by boosting consumption and bring momentum to the automotive industry which essentially remains the pulse of the Indian economy," said Santosh Iyer, managing director & CEO, Mercedes-Benz India, in a press statement.

The flat GST on electric vehicles remains unchanged at 5%. Higher GST for bikes However, motorbike enthusiasts have been left disappointed as high-end two-wheelers with bigger engines will invite a higher

GST of 40% instead of the prevalent 31% rate that includes 28% GST and 3% cess for bikes with engines above 350 cc.

There is also small relief expected in vehicle servicing and repair costs as the GST on spare parts has been brought down to 18% from 28%, but due to the varying taxation for different items such as rubber and fibre, the eventual benefit will accrue where there is a net drop.

The GST on commercial vehicles such as buses and trucks has dropped from 28% to 18%. "This will not only reduce logistics costs for the economy, but encourage customers to upgrade their fleets with modern, fuel efficient and safer trucks and buses," said Vinod Aggarwal, vice-chairman, EML, and managing director & CEO of VE Commercial Vehicles.

But dealerships rue that the implementation of the new rates comes into effect

three weeks later on September 22. They fear that this will result in some buyers postponing their purchase. Also, due to the removal of cess, dealerships are starting at a loss of ₹2,500 crore because of credit payments made on the cess for the inventory already purchased from automakers.

Dealers deposit the cess as a credit item at the time of their purchase and make the actual deposit on the GST portal once they sell the car to a buyer.

There is a lowering of tax on farm equipment too from 18% to 5% for tractors and parts. "These GST reforms will accelerate mechanisation by making tractors, harvesters, balers and implements more affordable, while lowering overall operating costs for farmers," said tractor and construction equipment maker CNH India's president & managing director, Narinder Mittal.

**HEALTHCARE**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
All drugs and medicines intended for personal use	12%	5%
Medical apparatus	18%	5%

**PERSONAL CARE**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Talcum powder, hair oil, shampoo, toothbrushes	18%	5%
Combs, diapers, napkins	12%	5%

**EDUCATION**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Mathematical boxes, geometry boxes and colour boxes	12%	5%
Maps, charts, and globes	12%	0%
Stationery products	12%	0%

**OTHERS**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Tables, paper products, cotton and jute handbags, tools	12%	5%

**TOBACCO**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Cigars, cigarettes, and nicotine-based substitutes	28%	40%
Beehives	28%	18%

**TEXTILES**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Sewing thread, twine, textile materials, fabrics, carpets	12%	5%
Quilted textile materials	12%	18%

**RENEWABLE ENERGY**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
All solar-power based devices such as cookers, water-heaters, lanterns	12%	5%
Windmills	12%	5%
Bio gas plants	12%	5%

**SPORTS & TOYS**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
Sports gloves, bicycles, dolls, playing cards	12%	5%

**SERVICES**

Item	Existing GST rate	New rate
All individual health insurance, along with reinsurance thereof	18%	0%
Air transport of passengers in other than economy class	12% with ITC*	18% with ITC
Hotel accommodation (₹7,500 or below)	12% with ITC	5% with ITC
Admission to casinos, race clubs, any place having casinos or race clubs, or sporting events like the IPL	28% with ITC	40% with ITC



## Cars get cheaper, festive sales likely to hit top gear कारें हुई सस्ती, त्योहारी बिक्री के ऊँचे स्तर पर पहुंचने की संभावना

- **Sub-4 metre cars** with engines below **1,200 cc** and **1,500 cc** to attract **18% GST**; dealers expect increased buyer interest in **price-sensitive segments**; bigger cars will invite a **40% GST**, but removal of cess will boost net savings on purchase.  
**4 मीटर से छोटी कारें** जिनके इंजन **1,200 सीसी** और **1,500 सीसी** से नीचे हैं, उन पर **18% जीएसटी** लगेगा; डीलरों को **कीमत-संवेदनशील सेगमेंट्स** में खरीदारों की रुचि बढ़ने की उम्मीद है; बड़ी कारों पर **40% जीएसटी** लगेगा, लेकिन **सेस** हटने से खरीद पर शुद्ध बचत बढ़ेगी।
- The **Goods and Services Tax (GST)** overhaul will make cars cheaper this festive season across segments. **माल और सेवा कर (जीएसटी)** सुधार इस त्योहारी सीजन में सभी सेगमेंट्स की कारों को सस्ता करेगा।
- **Entry-level and mid-segment cars** priced **₹14 lakh** and below will see a reduction up to **13%** in GST and cess, making them more attractive to a **price-sensitive customer base**.  
**₹14 लाख** और उससे कम कीमत वाली **एंटी-लेवल और मिड-सेगमेंट कारों** पर जीएसटी और सेस में **13%** तक की कमी होगी, जिससे वे **कीमत-संवेदनशील ग्राहकों** के लिए और अधिक आकर्षक बनेंगी।
- High-end cars with engines above **1,200 cc** are set to become **5-10% cheaper**.  
**1,200 सीसी** से अधिक इंजन वाली हाई-एंड कारें **5-10%** सस्ती होंगी।
- Small cars that run on **petrol, LPG and CNG** with engines below **1,200 cc**, and diesel cars of up to **1,500 cc** and with a length under **4 metres** will attract a GST of **18%** instead of **28%**.  
**पेट्रोल, एलपीजी और सीएनजी** से चलने वाली **1,200 सीसी** से नीचे इंजन वाली छोटी कारें और **1,500 सीसी** तक के इंजन वाली तथा **4 मीटर** से कम लंबाई वाली डीजल कारों पर अब **28%** की जगह **18% जीएसटी** लगेगा।
- The cess of **1%** and **3%** will no longer be applicable.  
**1%** और **3%** **सेस** अब लागू नहीं होगा।
- “The benefit is greater for entry and mid-level segments as there is price sensitivity.  
“**एंटी और मिड-लेवल सेगमेंट** के लिए लाभ अधिक है क्योंकि यहां कीमत संवेदनशीलता है।
- The news will definitely bring cheer to buyers, and we expect more footfall at showrooms,” said **Vinkesh Gulati**, vice-president, **Automotive Skill Development Council**, and former president of the **Federation of Automobile Dealers Association**.  
यह खबर निश्चित रूप से खरीदारों को खुशी देगी और हमें शोरूम में अधिक भीड़ की उम्मीद है,” **विनकेश गुलाटी**, **ऑटोमोटिव स्किल डेवलपमेंट काउंसिल** के उपाध्यक्ष और **फेडरेशन ऑफ ऑटोमोबाइल डीलर्स एसोसिएशन** के पूर्व अध्यक्ष ने कहा।
- **Unsoo Kim**, managing director of **Hyundai Motor India Ltd.**, called the GST revision a move that will “strengthen consumer confidence”.  
**हुंडई मोटर इंडिया लिमिटेड** के प्रबंध निदेशक **उनसू किम** ने जीएसटी संशोधन को “उपभोक्ता विश्वास को मजबूत करने वाला कदम” बताया।
- The company has **60%** of its internal combustion engine portfolio under the **18% slab rate**, with the remainder at **40%**.  
कंपनी के **60%** इंटरनल कंप्रेशन इंजन पोर्टफोलियो पर **18% स्लैब रेट** लागू होगा, जबकि शेष पर **40%**।
- All mid-sized and large cars, up to and above **1,500 cc** and over **4 metres** in length, will attract a higher GST of **40%** instead of **28%**.  
सभी मिड-साइज और बड़ी कारों, जिनके इंजन **1,500 सीसी** तक और उससे ऊपर तथा लंबाई **4 मीटर** से अधिक है, पर **28%** की जगह **40% जीएसटी** लगेगा।
- But the net savings of **5-10%** come from a complete removal of cess, which stood at **17%** for passenger vehicles with up to **1,500 cc** engines, **20%** with over **1,500 cc** engines, and **22%** for SUVs.  
लेकिन **5-10%** की शुद्ध बचत पूरी तरह से **सेस** हटने से होगी, जो पहले **1,500 सीसी** तक के इंजन वाली यात्री कारों पर **17%**, **1,500 सीसी** से अधिक पर **20%** और **एसयूवी** पर **22%** था।
- “The government listened to the automotive industry’s long-standing wish list of rationalising GST rates.  
“सरकार ने ऑटोमोटिव उद्योग की **जीएसटी दरों को तर्कसंगत बनाने** की लंबे समय से चली आ रही मांग को सुना।
- This will induce the much-needed impetus by boosting consumption and bring momentum to the automotive industry which essentially remains the pulse of the **Indian economy**,” said **Santosh Iyer**, managing director & CEO, **Mercedes-Benz India**, in a press statement.  
यह खपत को बढ़ाकर आवश्यक प्रोत्साहन देगा और ऑटोमोटिव उद्योग में गति लाएगा जो मूल रूप से **भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था** की धड़कन है,” **संतोष अय्यर**, प्रबंध निदेशक एवं सीईओ, **मर्सिडीज-बेंज इंडिया**, ने प्रेस बयान में कहा।
- The flat GST on **electric vehicles** remains unchanged at **5%**.  
**इलेक्ट्रिक वाहनों** पर फ्लैट जीएसटी **5%** पर अपरिवर्तित रहेगा।



## Higher GST for bikes बाइक्स पर अधिक जीएसटी

- However, motorbike enthusiasts have been left disappointed as **high-end two-wheelers** with bigger engines will invite a higher GST of **40%** instead of the prevalent **31%** rate that includes **28% GST** and **3% cess** for bikes with engines above **350 cc**.  
हालांकि, मोटरबाइक प्रेमियों को निराशा हुई है क्योंकि **350 सीसी** से अधिक इंजन वाली **हाई-एंड बाइक्स** पर अब **28% जीएसटी** और **3% सेस** मिलाकर बने मौजूदा **31%** की जगह **40% जीएसटी** लगेगा।
- There is also small relief expected in vehicle servicing and repair costs as the GST on **spare parts** has been brought down to **18%** from **28%**, but due to the varying taxation for different items such as rubber and fibre, the eventual benefit will accrue where there is a net drop.  
वाहन **सर्विसिंग और रिपेयर लागत** में भी थोड़ी राहत मिलने की उम्मीद है क्योंकि **स्पेयर पार्ट्स** पर जीएसटी **28%** से घटाकर **18%** कर दिया गया है, लेकिन रबर और फाइबर जैसे विभिन्न आइटम्स पर अलग-अलग कराधान के कारण, अंतिम लाभ वहीं मिलेगा जहां शुद्ध कमी होगी।
- The GST on **commercial vehicles** such as **buses and trucks** has dropped from **28% to 18%**.  
**बसों और ट्रकों** जैसे **वाणिज्यिक वाहनों** पर जीएसटी **28% से घटाकर 18%** कर दिया गया है।
- “This will not only reduce logistics costs for the economy, but encourage customers to upgrade their fleets with modern, fuel efficient and safer trucks and buses,” said **Vinod Aggarwal**, vice-chairman, **EML**, and managing director & CEO of **VE Commercial Vehicles**.  
“यह न केवल अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए **लॉजिस्टिक्स लागत** को कम करेगा, बल्कि ग्राहकों को अपने फ्लीट को आधुनिक, ईंधन-कुशल और सुरक्षित ट्रक और बसों के साथ अपग्रेड करने के लिए प्रोत्साहित करेगा,” **विनोद अग्रवाल**, उपाध्यक्ष, **ईएमएल** और **वीई कमर्शियल व्हीकल्स** के प्रबंध निदेशक एवं सीईओ ने कहा।
- But dealerships rue that the implementation of the new rates comes into effect three weeks later on **September 22**.  
लेकिन डीलरशिप्स दुखी हैं कि नई दरों का कार्यान्वयन **22 सितंबर** को यानी तीन सप्ताह बाद होगा।
- They fear that this will result in some buyers postponing their purchase.  
उन्हें डर है कि इससे कुछ खरीदार अपनी खरीद को टाल देंगे।
- Also, due to the removal of **cess**, dealerships are staring at a loss of **₹2,500 crore** because of credit payments made on the cess for the inventory already purchased from automakers.  
साथ ही, **सेस** हटने के कारण, पहले से खरीदे गए वाहनों की इन्वेंट्री पर किए गए क्रेडिट भुगतान की वजह से डीलरशिप्स **₹2,500 करोड़** के नुकसान का सामना कर रही हैं।
- Dealers deposit the **cess** as a credit item at the time of their purchase and make the actual deposit on the **GST portal** once they sell the car to a buyer.  
डीलर्स अपनी खरीद के समय **सेस** को क्रेडिट आइटम के रूप में जमा करते हैं और जब वे कार खरीदार को बेचते हैं, तब **जीएसटी पोर्टल** पर वास्तविक जमा करते हैं।
- There is a lowering of tax on **farm equipment** too from **18% to 5%** for **tractors and parts**.  
**ट्रैक्टर और उसके पार्ट्स** जैसे **कृषि उपकरणों** पर कर **18% से घटाकर 5%** कर दिया गया है।
- “These GST reforms will accelerate mechanisation by making tractors, harvesters, balers and implements more affordable, while lowering overall operating costs for farmers,” said tractor and construction equipment maker **CNH India’s** president & managing director, **Narinder Mittal**.  
“ये **जीएसटी सुधार** ट्रैक्टर, हार्वेस्टर, बेलर और उपकरणों को अधिक सुलभ बनाकर **मशीनीकरण** को तेज करेंगे, जबकि किसानों के लिए समग्र परिचालन लागत को कम करेंगे,” ट्रैक्टर और निर्माण उपकरण निर्माता **सीएनएच इंडिया** के अध्यक्ष एवं प्रबंध निदेशक **नरिंदर मित्तल** ने कहा।



# Centre approves creation of new, independent class of 'environment auditors'

## GS III: Environment

**Jacob Koshy**

NEW DELHI

The Environment Ministry has authorised the creation of a new, independent class of "environment auditors" to supplement the work of State pollution control Boards in inspecting and verifying projects for compliance with environmental laws. Private, accredited agencies can also undertake environment impact assessment studies that will then be appraised by expert committees.

Under the new rules, called the Environment Audit Rules, 2025, private agencies can get themselves accredited as auditors. Environment auditors can get licences and be authorised to evaluate project compliance with environmental laws and adherence to best practices in prevention, control, and abatement of pollution.



Audits by private agencies can be used for compliance with Green Credit Rules.

"The overall framework for monitoring and compliance within the existing environmental framework is presently supported by the Central Pollution Control Board, the Regional Offices of the Ministry, and the State PCBs/Pollution Control Committees, which are facing constraints in terms of manpower, resources, capacity, and infrastructure. These limitations hamper their ability to monitor and enforce environmental

compliance across the vast number of projects and industries operating," said a press statement by the Ministry.

"This scheme aims to bridge the manpower and infrastructure deficits, thereby strengthening the effective implementation of environmental compliance mechanisms. Furthermore, the scheme is designed to ensure greater transparency, accountability, and credibility in the compliance monitoring process, fostering trust among stakeholders and promoting sustainable environmental governance."

Audits undertaken can be used for compliance with Green Credit Rules, under which individuals and organisations can gain tradeable "credits" for afforestation, sustainable water management, and waste management, among other activities.

## Centre approves creation of new, independent class of 'environment auditors'

केंद्र ने 'पर्यावरण ऑडिटर्स' की नई, स्वतंत्र श्रेणी के गठन को मंजूरी दी

- The **Environment Ministry** has authorised the creation of a new, independent class of "environment auditors" to supplement the work of **State pollution control Boards** in



inspecting and verifying projects for compliance with **environmental laws**.

पर्यावरण मंत्रालय ने “पर्यावरण ऑडिटर्स” की एक नई, स्वतंत्र श्रेणी के गठन को मंजूरी दी है, जो राज्य प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्डों के कार्य को पर्यावरण कानूनों के अनुपालन के लिए परियोजनाओं के निरीक्षण और सत्यापन में सहयोग करेगी।

- **Private, accredited agencies can also undertake environment impact assessment studies that will then be appraised by expert committees.**

निजी, मान्यता प्राप्त एजेंसियां पर्यावरण प्रभाव आकलन अध्ययन भी कर सकती हैं, जिन्हें बाद में विशेषज्ञ समितियों द्वारा मूल्यांकित किया जाएगा।

- Under the new rules, called the **Environment Audit Rules, 2025**, private agencies can get themselves accredited as auditors.  
नए नियमों, जिन्हें पर्यावरण ऑडिट नियम, 2025 कहा गया है, के तहत निजी एजेंसियां स्वयं को ऑडिटर के रूप में मान्यता प्राप्त कर सकती हैं।

- **Environment auditors** can get licences and be authorised to evaluate project compliance with **environmental laws** and adherence to **best practices** in prevention, control, and abatement of **pollution**.

पर्यावरण ऑडिटर्स लाइसेंस प्राप्त कर सकते हैं और उन्हें पर्यावरण कानूनों के अनुपालन तथा प्रदूषण की रोकथाम, नियंत्रण और कमी में सर्वोत्तम प्रथाओं के पालन का मूल्यांकन करने के लिए अधिकृत किया जाएगा।

- “The overall framework for monitoring and compliance within the existing environmental framework is presently supported by the **Central Pollution Control Board, the Regional Offices of the Ministry, and the State PCBs/Pollution Control Committees**, which are facing constraints in terms of **manpower, resources, capacity, and infrastructure**.

“मौजूदा पर्यावरणीय ढांचे के भीतर निगरानी और अनुपालन के लिए समग्र ढांचा वर्तमान में केंद्रीय प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्ड, मंत्रालय के क्षेत्रीय कार्यालयों और राज्य प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्डों/प्रदूषण नियंत्रण समितियों द्वारा समर्थित है, जो जनशक्ति, संसाधन, क्षमता और बुनियादी ढांचे के संदर्भ में सीमाओं का सामना कर रहे हैं।

- These limitations hamper their ability to monitor and enforce **environmental compliance** across the vast number of projects and industries operating,” said a press statement by the Ministry.

ये सीमाएं बड़ी संख्या में संचालित परियोजनाओं और उद्योगों में पर्यावरणीय अनुपालन की निगरानी और प्रवर्तन करने की उनकी क्षमता में बाधा डालती हैं,” मंत्रालय के एक प्रेस बयान में कहा गया।

- “This scheme aims to bridge the **manpower and infrastructure deficits**, thereby strengthening the effective implementation of **environmental compliance mechanisms**.

“यह योजना जनशक्ति और बुनियादी ढांचे की कमी को दूर करने का लक्ष्य रखती है, जिससे पर्यावरणीय अनुपालन तंत्र के प्रभावी कार्यान्वयन को मजबूत किया जा सके।

- Furthermore, the scheme is designed to ensure greater **transparency, accountability, and credibility** in the compliance monitoring process, fostering **trust** among stakeholders and promoting **sustainable environmental governance**.”

इसके अलावा, यह योजना अनुपालन निगरानी प्रक्रिया में अधिक पारदर्शिता, जवाबदेही और विश्वसनीयता सुनिश्चित करने के लिए तैयार की गई है, जिससे हितधारकों के बीच विश्वास को बढ़ावा मिले और सतत पर्यावरणीय शासन को प्रोत्साहन मिले।”

- Audits undertaken can be used for compliance with **Green Credit Rules**, under which individuals and organisations can gain tradeable “credits” for **afforestation, sustainable water management, and waste management**, among other activities.

किए गए ऑडिट का उपयोग ग्रीन क्रेडिट नियमों के अनुपालन के लिए किया जा सकता है, जिनके तहत व्यक्ति और संगठन वनरोपण, सतत जल प्रबंधन और कचरा प्रबंधन सहित अन्य गतिविधियों के लिए व्यापार योग्य “क्रेडिट” प्राप्त कर सकते हैं।

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### GS III: S&T

#### Answers to previous edition's quiz:

1. What is one key difference between a migraine and a tension headache? **Ans: Additional symptoms**
  2. Name a common trigger that can lead to migraine attacks. **Ans: Stress, hormonal changes**
  3. The introduction of \_\_\_\_\_ in the 1990s revolutionised the treatment of migraines. **Ans: Triptans**
  4. Migraines can sometimes occur without any head pain. True or False? **Ans: True**
  5. What is the term for the sensory warning signs that may happen before a migraine? **Ans: Aura**
  6. Can strong smells trigger migraines in some people? **Ans: Yes**
  7. What is photophobia? **Ans: Photophobia means sensitivity to light**
  8. How can keeping a 'headache diary' help? **Ans: It helps track triggers, patterns and symptoms**
  9. What does the term "chronic migraine" mean? **Ans: It means having migraines on 15 or more days each month, for at least three months**
- Visual: Who is this British physician. **Ans: Thomas Willis**

## QUIZ

### Key Difference between Migraine and Tension Headache

#### Migraine

- **Migraine** typically involves **additional symptoms** beyond head pain—such as **nausea, sensitivity to light and sound (photophobia and phonophobia), and visual disturbances or aura**.
- These symptoms make migraines significantly more debilitating, often requiring sufferers to retreat to a **dark, quiet space**.

#### Tension Headache

- **Tension headaches** typically do **not accompany additional symptoms**. The discomfort is often described as a **constant, dull ache** or pressure, usually affecting **both sides** of the head.
- Nausea, light or sound sensitivity, and visual changes are **not common**, though mild photophobia or phonophobia can occasionally occur.

## Common Triggers of Migraine Attacks

**Stress** and **hormonal changes** are among the most common triggers that can lead to migraine attacks.

### Stress as a Trigger for Migraine

- Stress—both **emotional and psychological**—is one of the most frequent migraine triggers.
- Stress can increase the frequency and severity of attacks due to **cortisol release** and **nervous system sensitization**.
- Common situations: exam stress, job deadlines, lack of relaxation.
- Stress can also combine with other triggers such as **sleep disturbances** and **dietary factors**, making attacks more likely.

### Hormonal Changes as a Trigger for Migraine



- **Fluctuations in hormones**, especially **estrogen**, are strongly linked to migraine.
- This explains why migraines are more common in women, especially around:
  - **Menstruation** (drop in estrogen)
  - **Pregnancy** (hormonal shifts)
  - **Menopause** (irregular fluctuations)
    - Migraines that occur around the menstrual cycle are often called **menstrual migraines**.

## Why These Triggers Matter

- Identifying stress and hormonal triggers helps in **diagnosis and prevention**.
- Targeted treatments can be used:
  - Stress reduction through **yoga, meditation, exercise**.
  - For women, **hormonal migraine** can sometimes be managed with preventive medication or hormone stabilization.
    - Keeping a **headache diary** allows patients to link attacks with stressful events or hormonal cycles.

## Introduction of Triptans in Migraine Treatment

The introduction of **Triptans** in the **1990s** revolutionised the treatment of migraines. They became the **first migraine-specific drugs**, offering patients rapid relief compared to earlier, less effective medications.

## Historical Background

- Before the 1990s, treatment relied mainly on **non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs)**, **ergot alkaloids**, and painkillers, which had limited effectiveness and significant side effects.
- In **1991**, **Sumatriptan** became the first **triptan drug** approved for clinical use, marking a major medical breakthrough.
- By the mid-1990s, several other triptans such as **Zolmitriptan**, **Rizatriptan**, and **Naratriptan** became available worldwide.

## What are Triptans?

- Triptans are **serotonin (5-HT<sub>1B/1D</sub>) receptor agonists**.
- They act by:
  - Narrowing **dilated blood vessels** in the brain.
  - Blocking pain pathways in the **trigeminal nerve**.
  - Reducing the release of **inflammatory neuropeptides** that worsen migraine symptoms.
    - Unlike ordinary painkillers, triptans directly target the **migraine mechanism**.



# Can Strong Smells Trigger Migraines?

**Answer: Yes.** Strong smells, also known as **osmophobia**, are a well-documented trigger for migraines in many individuals.

## Basic Information

- **Osmophobia** refers to an increased sensitivity to smells, commonly reported in migraine patients.
- Around **25–50% of migraine sufferers** experience smell-triggered headaches.
- Smells can either **trigger the onset** of a migraine or **worsen existing symptoms**.

## Common Smell Triggers

- **Perfumes and deodorants** – common culprits in classrooms, offices, and public spaces.
- **Cigarette smoke** – irritates airways and activates nerve pathways linked to migraine.
  - **Strong food smells** – such as onions, garlic, fried food, or strong spices.
  - **Cleaning chemicals and paints** – exposure in workplaces or homes can initiate migraine attacks.
  - **Petrol and industrial fumes** – environmental triggers often seen in urban areas.

## Biological Mechanism

- Strong odors stimulate the **olfactory nerve**, which is closely connected to the **trigeminal nerve pathway**—the main nerve involved in migraine pain.
- This activation can cause:
  - **Neuroinflammation** (release of pain-related chemicals).
  - **Dilation of blood vessels** in the brain.
  - Heightened pain sensitivity during a migraine attack.
    - People with migraines often have a **hyperactive brainstem**, making them more sensitive to sensory triggers, including smells, light, and sound.

## Management Strategies

- **Avoidance** – staying away from known smell triggers (strong perfumes, smoke, chemicals).
- **Well-ventilated spaces** – ensuring good airflow in classrooms, offices, and homes.
- **Use of masks** – especially in public transport or workplaces with chemical exposure.
- **Preventive medication** – for those with frequent smell-triggered migraines.
- **Relaxation techniques** – yoga, meditation, and controlled breathing can reduce overall sensitivity.

## Photophobia

**Answer: Photophobia** means sensitivity to light.



## Basic Information

- **Photophobia** is not a fear of light, but rather an **abnormal sensitivity or intolerance to light**.

**GS III: Economy**

### Cuts in time

GST rate cuts will boost consumption at a time when exports face challenges

**T**he sweeping changes to the Goods and Services Tax (GST) regime, authorised by the GST Council on Wednesday, have come as a shot in the arm for the mood of the people, and, potentially, for the economy overall. Few things spur optimism and demand as effectively as tax cuts. The Centre did well to push the GST Council towards these reforms, which rose to the occasion and cleared them quickly. Criticism that these reforms have come too late is neither here nor there. The GST Council is a federal body, and any of the States could have suggested these rate cuts earlier but did not. The appropriateness of the Prime Minister's announcement of the reforms in his Independence Day speech, coming as it did before either the relevant Group of Ministers or the GST Council met, can be questioned. But here, too, the fact that the Council announced its decisions on the first day of what was supposed to be a two-day meeting shows that the States were on board. The minutes of the 56th meeting will reveal each member's stated position. The rate changes span nearly every sector, and are, overwhelmingly, in the downward direction. Very few items, such as high-end motorcycles and higher priced apparel, are set to become more expensive. Tempting as it was to pack the 40% bracket with more items, the GST Council did well to keep it narrow. Overall, these rate cuts, coupled with the income-tax rate cuts announced in Budget 2025, should serve as a much-needed boost to consumption at a time when other engines of growth such as exports and private investment are sputtering.

The government has maintained that the revenue implication of these GST rate cuts would be around ₹48,000 crore a year, based on 2023-24 consumption data. Given the scope of the cuts, this seems like an underestimation. However, only time will tell what the actual number will be. It is to be noted that the GST Council decided to do away with the compensation cess, despite Opposition-governed States calling for one to protect their revenues. Such a cess would have diluted the rate rationalisation and simplification efforts and is best eschewed. Instead, the States are now going to have to look to their own revenue sources, as well as the 16th Finance Commission, to offset the losses they face. The new GST 2.0 still has some anomalies, and is still more complicated than it needs to be, but the removal of duty inversions and the easing of paperwork are a huge improvement. The government should now revive the National Anti-Profitteering Authority, at least temporarily, to ensure that the rate cuts are passed on once they kick in on September 22.

- It is a **common symptom** seen in neurological and ophthalmic conditions such as **migraine, meningitis, eye infections, and corneal injuries**.
- People with photophobia often feel discomfort, pain, or the need to close or cover their eyes when exposed to **bright sunlight, fluorescent bulbs, or digital screens**.

## Causes of Photophobia

- **Neurological Causes**
  - Migraines (most common condition linked with light sensitivity).
  - Meningitis or encephalitis (serious brain infections).
  - Traumatic brain injuries.
- **Ophthalmic Causes**
  - Dry eyes.
  - Corneal abrasions (scratches on the eye surface).
  - Uveitis (inflammation inside the eye).
  - Conjunctivitis (pink eye).
- **Medication Side Effects**
  - Certain antibiotics, diuretics, and psychiatric drugs can increase light sensitivity.

## Biological Mechanism

- Light entering the eye is processed by the **retina** and transmitted via the **optic nerve** to the brain.
- In photophobia, the **trigeminal nerve pathway** (also linked to migraine pain) becomes overactive.
- This causes the brain to interpret normal light levels as **painful stimuli**, leading to discomfort.

## Cuts in time समय पर कटौती

- **GST rate cuts** will boost consumption at a time when **exports face challenges**  
**जीएसटी दरों में कटौती** उस समय खपत को बढ़ावा देगी जब **निर्यात चुनौतियों का सामना कर रहा है**

Sweeping GST Reforms  
व्यापक जीएसटी सुधार

- The sweeping changes to the **Goods and**



**Services Tax (GST)** regime, authorised by the **GST Council** on Wednesday, have come as a shot in the arm for the mood of the people, and, potentially, for the economy overall.

बुधवार को **जीएसटी परिषद** द्वारा अधिकृत **वस्तु एवं सेवा कर (GST)** व्यवस्था में व्यापक बदलाव लोगों के मनोबल और संभावित रूप से संपूर्ण अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए सहायक साबित हुए हैं।

- Few things spur optimism and demand as effectively as **tax cuts**. The Centre did well to push the GST Council towards these reforms, which rose to the occasion and cleared them quickly.

बहुत कम चीजें **कर कटौती (tax cuts)** जितनी प्रभावी ढंग से आशावाद और मांग को बढ़ावा देती हैं। केंद्र ने जीएसटी परिषद को इन सुधारों की ओर धकेलकर अच्छा किया, जिसने अवसर को भांपते हुए इन्हें जल्दी ही मंजूरी दी।

- Criticism that these reforms have come too late is neither here nor there. The GST Council is a **federal body**, and any of the States could have suggested these rate cuts earlier but did not.

यह आलोचना कि ये सुधार देर से आए हैं, अप्रासंगिक है। जीएसटी परिषद एक **संघीय निकाय** है और कोई भी राज्य इन दर कटौतियों का पहले सुझाव दे सकता था, लेकिन नहीं दिया।

- The appropriateness of the **Prime Minister's announcement** of the reforms in his **Independence Day** speech, coming as it did before either the relevant Group of Ministers or the GST Council met, can be questioned.

सुधारों की घोषणा का **प्रधानमंत्री द्वारा स्वतंत्रता दिवस** भाषण में करना, जब न तो संबंधित मंत्रियों का समूह और न ही जीएसटी परिषद बैठक कर चुकी थी, इसकी उपयुक्तता पर प्रश्न उठाए जा सकते हैं।

- But here, too, the fact that the Council announced its decisions on the **first day** of what was supposed to be a **two-day meeting** shows that the States were on board. लेकिन यहाँ भी, यह तथ्य कि परिषद ने अपनी घोषणा एक **दो दिवसीय बैठक** के **पहले दिन** ही कर दी, दर्शाता है कि राज्यों की सहमति थी।

- The minutes of the **56th meeting** will reveal each member's stated position. **56वीं बैठक** की कार्यवाही प्रत्येक सदस्य की स्थिति को प्रकट करेगी।

- The rate changes span nearly every sector, and are, overwhelmingly, in the **downward direction**. Very few items, such as **high-end motorcycles** and **higher priced apparel**, are set to become more expensive.

दरों में बदलाव लगभग हर क्षेत्र में फैला हुआ है और अधिकांशतः **निचली दिशा (downward direction)** में है। बहुत कम वस्तुएँ, जैसे **हाई-एंड मोटरसाइकिलें** और **महंगे परिधान**, महंगे होने वाले हैं।

- Tempting as it was to pack the **40% bracket** with more items, the GST Council did well to keep it narrow.

भले ही **40% स्लैब** में और वस्तुएँ डालने का प्रलोभन था, लेकिन जीएसटी परिषद ने इसे सीमित रखना ही बेहतर समझा।

- Overall, these **rate cuts**, coupled with the **income-tax rate cuts** announced in **Budget 2025**, should serve as a much-needed boost to **consumption** at a time when other engines of growth such as **exports** and **private investment** are sputtering.

समग्र रूप से, ये **दर कटौतियाँ** और **बजट 2025** में घोषित **आयकर दर कटौतियाँ**, **उपभोग** को आवश्यक बढ़ावा देगी, खासकर तब जब **निर्यात** और **निजी निवेश** जैसे अन्य विकास इंजन कमजोर हो रहे हैं।

## Revenue Implications and State Concerns

### राजस्व प्रभाव और राज्यों की चिंताएँ

- The government has maintained that the revenue implication of these **GST rate cuts** would be around **₹48,000 crore a year**, based on **2023-24 consumption data**.



सरकार का कहना है कि इन **जीएसटी दर कटौतियों** का राजस्व प्रभाव **₹48,000 करोड़ प्रति वर्ष** होगा, जो **2023-24 उपभोग आंकड़ों** पर आधारित है।

- Given the scope of the cuts, this seems like an underestimation. However, only time will tell what the actual number will be.  
कटौतियों के दायरे को देखते हुए, यह अनुमान कम लगता है। हालांकि, वास्तविक संख्या समय ही बताएगा।
- It is to be noted that the GST Council decided to do away with the **compensation cess**, despite **Opposition-governed States** calling for one to protect their revenues. ध्यान देने योग्य है कि जीएसटी परिषद ने **प्रतिपूर्ति उपकर (compensation cess)** को समाप्त करने का निर्णय लिया, जबकि **विपक्ष शासित राज्यों** ने अपने राजस्व की रक्षा के लिए इसकी मांग की थी।
- Such a cess would have diluted the **rate rationalisation and simplification** efforts and is best eschewed.  
ऐसा उपकर **दर युक्तिकरण और सरलीकरण** प्रयासों को कमजोर कर देता और इससे बचना ही उचित है।
- Instead, the States are now going to have to look to their own **revenue sources**, as well as the **16th Finance Commission**, to offset the losses they face.  
इसके बजाय, राज्यों को अब अपने **राजस्व स्रोतों** और **16वें वित्त आयोग** पर नुकसान की भरपाई के लिए निर्भर करना होगा।

### Towards GST 2.0 जीएसटी 2.0 की ओर

- The new **GST 2.0** still has some **anomalies**, and is still more complicated than it needs to be, but the removal of **duty inversions** and the easing of **paperwork** are a huge improvement.  
नया **जीएसटी 2.0** अब भी कुछ **विसंगतियों** से भरा है और जितना होना चाहिए उससे अधिक जटिल है, लेकिन **शुल्क उलटफेर (duty inversions)** को हटाना और **कागजी कार्यवाही** को सरल करना एक बड़ी प्रगति है।
- The government should now revive the **National Anti-Profitteering Authority**, at least temporarily, to ensure that the **rate cuts** are passed on once they kick in on **September 22**.  
सरकार को अब **राष्ट्रीय मुनाफाखोरी रोधी प्राधिकरण (National Anti-Profitteering Authority)** को कम से कम अस्थायी रूप से पुनर्जीवित करना चाहिए ताकि यह सुनिश्चित हो सके कि **दर कटौतियों** का लाभ उपभोक्ताओं तक पहुँचे जब ये **22 सितंबर** से लागू हों।



GS III: Internal Security

## Process as punishment

Repeated bail denial, as in Umar Khalid's case, enables state overreach

The Delhi High Court's decision to deny bail, once again, to former university scholar Umar Khalid and others in the "larger conspiracy" case relating to the 2020 Delhi riots is a grim affirmation of how special security laws, combined with a deferential judiciary, can transform pre-trial detention into extended punishment. The court's reasoning, which held that Khalid's five-year-long custody is not in itself sufficient grounds for bail, rests on the stringent provisions of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA). Section 43D(5) of the UAPA bars bail if there are "reasonable grounds" to believe the accusations are *prima facie* true, a clause that judicial interpretation since the Supreme Court's *Watali* (2019) judgment has hardened into a near-insurmountable barrier. By forbidding a detailed examination of evidence at the bail stage, the law effectively forces courts to accept the prosecution's narrative. If the charge sheet alleges a conspiracy and attaches voluminous material, the accused is jailed, sometimes indefinitely. With provisions that extend the investigation period to 180 days and prohibit anticipatory bail, the UAPA creates a legal framework where the process itself becomes the penalty – as in Khalid's case. Courts, however, possess the authority to counter such procedural constraints. Long incarceration without trial has been recognised in rulings as grounds for relief, even in serious cases.

A different Bench of the High Court, while granting bail in 2021 to three other activists in the same case, had ruled that the state, in its anxiety to suppress dissent, had "blurred the line between the constitutionally guaranteed right to protest and terrorist activity". It astutely observed that peaceful mobilisation, however inconvenient to the government, could not be casually categorised as a "terrorist act". The current Bench appears to have ignored this crucial distinction. In treating protest-related speech and organisational planning to blockade roads as sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case of terrorism, it punishes dissent, precisely where constitutional liberty should have the stronger claim. This approach echoes the dangers embedded in the *Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita's* Section 152, whose vague vocabulary invites the same broad strokes that have been weaponised under the UAPA. Incomprehensibly, the Bench even justified the trial's slow pace, calling it "natural". The price for Khalid is already severe, with his name fixed in the public imagination as a conspirator. When the judiciary defers to the state's anxieties and allows the line between protest and terrorism to be erased, the distinction between accusation and guilt collapses. If prolonged delay is permitted to be a substitute for conviction, the constitutional guarantees of liberty and free expression under Articles 19 and 21 are hollowed out for all citizens.

स्वीकार करने पर मजबूर करता है।

## Process as punishment सज़ा के रूप में प्रक्रिया

• Repeated bail denial, as in Umar Khalid's case, enables state overreach

बार-बार जमानत से इनकार, जैसे कि उमर खालिद के मामले में, राज्य के अतिक्रमण को सक्षम बनाता है

Delhi High Court Bail Denial in Umar Khalid Case  
दिल्ली हाई कोर्ट द्वारा उमर खालिद मामले में जमानत से इनकार

• The Delhi High Court's decision to deny bail, once again, to former university scholar Umar Khalid and others in the "larger conspiracy" case relating to the 2020 Delhi riots is a grim affirmation of how special security laws, combined with a deferential judiciary, can transform pre-trial detention into extended punishment.

दिल्ली हाई कोर्ट का निर्णय कि पूर्व विश्वविद्यालय स्कॉलर उमर खालिद और अन्य को 2020 दिल्ली दंगों से संबंधित "बड़ी साजिश" मामले में एक बार फिर जमानत से इनकार कर दिया जाए, यह गंभीर पुष्टि है कि विशेष सुरक्षा कानून और झुकाव रखने वाली न्यायपालिका कैसे ट्रायल से पहले की हिरासत को लंबी सज़ा में बदल सकते हैं।

• The court's reasoning, which held that Khalid's five-year-long custody is not in itself sufficient grounds for bail, rests on the stringent provisions of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA).

अदालत की दलील, जिसमें कहा गया कि खालिद की पांच साल लंबी हिरासत स्वयं में जमानत के लिए पर्याप्त आधार नहीं है, गैरकानूनी गतिविधियाँ (निवारण) अधिनियम (UAPA) के कठोर प्रावधानों पर आधारित है।

• Section 43D(5) of the UAPA bars bail if there are "reasonable grounds" to believe the accusations are *prima facie* true, a clause that judicial interpretation since the Supreme Court's *Watali* (2019) judgment has hardened into a near-insurmountable barrier.

UAPA की धारा 43D(5) जमानत पर रोक लगाती है यदि यह मानने के "युक्तिसंगत आधार" हों कि आरोप प्रथम दृष्टया सत्य हैं, और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के वाटाली (2019) फैसले के बाद न्यायिक व्याख्या ने इसे लगभग अजेय बाधा बना दिया है।

• By forbidding a detailed examination of evidence at the bail stage, the law effectively forces courts to accept the prosecution's narrative.

जमानत के चरण में सबूतों की विस्तृत जांच पर रोक लगाकर, कानून अदालतों को प्रभावी रूप से अभियोजन की कहानी



- If the **charge sheet** alleges a conspiracy and attaches voluminous material, the accused is jailed, sometimes **indefinitely**.  
यदि **चार्जशीट** किसी साजिश का आरोप लगाती है और भारी सामग्री संलग्न करती है, तो आरोपी को कभी-कभी **अनिश्चितकाल** के लिए जेल में डाल दिया जाता है।
- With provisions that extend the investigation period to **180 days** and prohibit **anticipatory bail**, the UAPA creates a legal framework where the **process itself becomes the penalty** — as in Khalid's case.  
ऐसे प्रावधानों के साथ जो जांच अवधि को **180 दिन** तक बढ़ाते हैं और **अग्रिम जमानत** पर रोक लगाते हैं, UAPA एक कानूनी ढांचा तैयार करता है जहाँ **प्रक्रिया ही दंड बन जाती है** — जैसा कि खालिद के मामले में हुआ।
- Courts, however, possess the authority to counter such procedural constraints.  
हालांकि, अदालतों के पास ऐसे प्रक्रियात्मक प्रतिबंधों का मुकाबला करने की शक्ति होती है।
- Long incarceration without trial has been recognised in rulings as grounds for relief, even in serious cases.  
बिना ट्रायल के लंबी कैद को फैसलों में राहत का आधार माना गया है, यहाँ तक कि गंभीर मामलों में भी।
- A different **Bench of the High Court**, while granting bail in **2021** to three other activists in the same case, had ruled that the state, in its anxiety to suppress dissent, had “blurred the line between the constitutionally guaranteed right to protest and terrorist activity”.  
**हाई कोर्ट की एक अलग पीठ** ने **2021** में इसी मामले में तीन अन्य कार्यकर्ताओं को जमानत देते हुए फैसला सुनाया था कि राज्य ने असहमति को दबाने की बेचैनी में “संवैधानिक रूप से गारंटीकृत विरोध के अधिकार और आतंकवादी गतिविधि के बीच की रेखा धुंधली कर दी थी।”
- It astutely observed that **peaceful mobilisation**, however inconvenient to the government, could not be casually categorised as a “**terrorist act**”.  
इसने बुद्धिमानी से देखा कि **शांतिपूर्ण लामबंदी**, चाहे सरकार के लिए कितनी भी असुविधाजनक हो, को सहज रूप से “**आतंकी कृत्य**” के रूप में वर्गीकृत नहीं किया जा सकता।
- The current Bench appears to have ignored this crucial distinction.  
वर्तमान पीठ ने इस महत्वपूर्ण अंतर को नज़रअंदाज़ कर दिया प्रतीत होता है।
- In treating **protest-related speech** and organisational planning to blockade roads as sufficient to establish a **prima facie case of terrorism**, it punishes dissent, precisely where constitutional liberty should have the stronger claim.  
**विरोध से संबंधित भाषण** और सड़कों को अवरुद्ध करने की संगठनात्मक योजना को **आतंकवाद का प्रथम दृष्टया मामला** स्थापित करने के लिए पर्याप्त मानकर, यह असहमति को दंडित करता है, ठीक वही जहाँ संवैधानिक स्वतंत्रता का अधिक मजबूत दावा होना चाहिए।
- This approach echoes the dangers embedded in the **Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita's Section 152**, whose vague vocabulary invites the same broad strokes that have been weaponised under the **UAPA**.  
यह दृष्टिकोण **भारतीय न्याय संहिता की धारा 152** में निहित खतरों की गूंज है, जिसकी अस्पष्ट शब्दावली उन्हीं व्यापक प्रहारों को आमंत्रित करती है जिन्हें **UAPA** के तहत हथियार बनाया गया है।
- Incomprehensibly, the Bench even justified the trial's slow pace, calling it “**natural**”.  
अकल्पनीय रूप से, पीठ ने यहाँ तक कि ट्रायल की धीमी गति को “**स्वाभाविक**” कहकर उचित ठहराया।
- The price for Khalid is already severe, with his name fixed in the **public imagination** as a **conspirator**.  
खालिद के लिए कीमत पहले से ही गंभीर है, क्योंकि उनका नाम **जनमानस** में एक **साजिशकर्ता** के रूप में तय हो गया है।
- When the judiciary defers to the state's anxieties and allows the line between protest and terrorism to be erased, the distinction between **accusation and guilt** collapses.  
जब न्यायपालिका राज्य की चिंताओं के आगे झुक जाती है और विरोध और आतंकवाद के बीच की रेखा मिटने देती है, तो **आरोप और अपराध** के बीच का अंतर ढह जाता है।



- If prolonged delay is permitted to be a substitute for conviction, the constitutional guarantees of **liberty and free expression under Articles 19 and 21** are hollowed out for all citizens.  
यदि लंबी देरी को दोषसिद्धि के विकल्प के रूप में अनुमति दी जाती है, तो **अनुच्छेद 19 और 21 के तहत स्वतंत्रता और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता की संवैधानिक गारंटी** सभी नागरिकों के लिए खोखली हो जाती है।

## Trump's tariff war as opportunity for the Global South

GS II: Global World  
Order

**A**lthough much has been made of what the United States and U.S. President Trump are doing, it is critical for India (and the world) to dissect the *raison d'être* behind the disruptions being imposed on them today. The economic, geopolitical and technological polycrisis necessitates a strategic recalibration, to insulate ourselves and to forge a more equitable world order.

Mr. Trump's economic warfare is motivated by three imperatives. First, he is consciously pandering to America's silent majority (and not just the 'Make America Great Again' Republicans) which feels shortchanged by globalisation's nucleus, namely capital accumulation, cheap labour, the environment's colonisation and trickle-down economics. This neo-liberal status quo has caused an unprecedented concentration of wealth and power on the one hand, and mushrooming inequalities on the other. Instead of comprehensively restructuring economic paradigms and thereby redressing legitimate grievances (which the Global South also feels acutely), he has unleashed xenophobic, racist and centrifugal politics, venerated by economic populism.

### Trump's motivations

Domestic politics partly explains why Mr. Trump hawkishly vilifies the liberal international order as antithetical to American interests. This has translated into sanctions on 30-plus nations and tariffs on nearly 70 (impairing the free movement of goods and ideas), the forging of trade blocs, the undermining of transnational organisations and treaties, circumscribing of foreign aid to vulnerable nations (reversing solidarity commitments dating back to the First World War) and a crackdown against immigration (impeding the free movement of labour). This 360° attack on the norms and institutions of the liberal world order is just a fig-leaf for the ruthless pursuit of sovereign self-interest.

Second, sidestepping that the tariffs are a camouflaged super-tax on American companies and consumers (who will collectively absorb 70% of tariffs costs, according to Goldman Sachs), they are designed to bolster America's economic strength by extorting nations and companies. Even though America accounts for 26% of global GDP, China, at 17%, is fast catching up (and nearly on a par with the other G-7 members, which collectively account for 20%-22% of global GDP). This is why America continues to heavily subsidise agricultural production, deepens unilateralist industrial, technology and climate change policies, bludgeons nations into making investment commitments, and strives to retrench the dollar's privileged position (including circumscribing global-currency alternatives). This coercive statecraft has historical precedent, with protectionism and punitive mercantile capitalism being leveraged to bolster economies and force sovereign nations to open markets. This hypocrisy continues and is exemplified in America pressuring India to eschew protections for the agricultural sector, while it imposes tariff



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walls of 350% on tobacco products, 200% on dairy products and 120% on fruits. India's textiles, jewellery and gems, auto components and metals sectors are being severely impacted by these discriminatory tariffs. Clearly, old (imperial) habits die hard.

Third, even though tariff-weaponisation is singularly Trumpian, reversing America's perceived deindustrialisation and checking China's ascendancy has bipartisan support. The escalating tariffs against India were purportedly designed to pressurise Russia to end the war with Ukraine (one of Mr. Trump's key election promises). However, despite the U.S.-Russia meeting on Ukraine, penalties against India continue (perhaps as leverage against nations pursuing multipolarity). Irrespective of when Mr. Trump can claim "peace in our time", his attention will inevitably shift to what America sees as its biggest challenge to a unipolar world – the China theatre. It is no coincidence that the tariffs also included provisions to check China's strategic influence while furthering American national security goals (as an investigation by *The Washington Post* on the U.S.'s "supplemental negotiation objectives" action memo reveals).

### What New Delhi must do

These upheavals hold multiple lessons for India. Its response to the epistemic polycrisis the world faces today has to address both the substantive and the symbolic. For example, the unstated assumption that Washington sees India as a democratic counterweight to China needs to be seriously re-examined. India needs to ask the degree of geopolitical convergence it has with America given that the U.S. has renewed its vows to Pakistan (possibly to retain an inside track with China), is trying to re-hyphenate India and Pakistan, may skip the Quad Summit that India will host later this year, and inhibits American companies manufacturing in India and having advanced technology collaboration. Mr. Trump's actions have disrupted the India-U.S. partnership built painstakingly over 25 years, compelling the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government to make major concessions to China to avoid a two-front problem (without any reciprocal concessions). America needs to accept that India's northern borders are live fault-lines. While India must defend its territorial integrity vigorously, for now, India must manage competition, avoid conflicts and substantively strengthen itself.

Second, the government must confront Mr. Trump more aggressively in the pursuit of India's national interest. It is no coincidence that America has not levied tariffs on China, even though their bilateral trade deficit is \$295 billion, while China imports oil from Russia and trades with Iran. This is partly because of Chinese restrictions on rare metals and magnets, which are critical to the U.S.'s defence and technology sectors. In contrast, the BJP government complied twice to American diktats, stopping oil imports from Iran and Venezuela and temporarily waiving the 11% import duty on cotton. The BJP would do well to learn that bullies only respond

to strength. Third, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's foreign policy adventurism (personalised diplomacy, manufactured diaspora events, and click-bait acronyms) have not furthered India's strategic interests and must be immediately re-calibrated. For example, the government and right-wing diaspora outfits tried in vain to ingratiate themselves to Republican legislators and right-wing influencers/lobbyists close to Mr. Trump. Likewise, BJP Ministers misread American support by myopically conflating India's economic size with strategic utility. And, equally problematically, the BJP partially eschewed non-alignment (now globally feted as multi-alignment) and sacrificed India's material interests for a symbolic seat at the high table. Sadly, the Modi-doctrine has bound China and Pakistan in an "iron-clad alliance" (creating a unified threat to India's northern flank), isolated India in its neighbourhood, put India's wealth-creators in the cross hairs of punishing tariffs, and subject American-Indians to virulent racism.

### India must capitalise on disruptions

India must leverage this polycrisis to reshape the world's geo-economic and political architecture. This window could narrow after America's mid-term elections next year. Therefore, India must champion multipolarity as an alternative to both unipolarity and bipolarity. India can also capitalise on this opportunity to forge a New Economic Deal that works equitably for all nations. After all, neoliberal globalisation has not worked well, especially for those in the Global South. This has been compounded by weak and imbalanced multilateral institutions, an extreme concentration of global power and wealth in the hands of a few in the Global North, the forced reduction of taxes and high levels of sovereign debt (leading to reduced government revenues, a scaling back of state-driven functions, and limited fiscal space to invest in national developmental goals).

But to do this effectively, the government must urgently redress India's structural problems. Manufacturing is at a four-decade low, unemployment is unacceptably high, private investment is stagnant, scientific research is abysmal and public sector units are still not being re-deployed strategically (such as China's State-Owned Enterprise). The government must make concerted efforts to restore trust in economic stakeholders, spearhead policies that ensure equitable growth (without which India will not appear as an attractive market to investors), and a bold new vision.

This necessitates eschewing transactional instrumentalities, and investing time in forging relationships with multiple stakeholders within and outside government. It also means making constructive efforts to forge a bipartisan consensus both domestically and with the Global South. To expedite the realisation of India's manifest destiny, the government must shed its partisan blinkers, reach across the aisle, and lead a unified approach in the national interest.

India must move swiftly, using the unfolding polycrisis to reshape the world's geo-economic and political architecture

## Trump's tariff war as opportunity for the Global South ग्लोबल साउथ के लिए अवसर के रूप में ट्रंप का टैरिफ युद्ध



## Trump's Economic Disruptions and Impact on India and the World ट्रम्प की आर्थिक बाधाएँ और भारत तथा विश्व पर प्रभाव

- Although much has been made of what the **United States** and **U.S. President Trump** are doing, it is critical for **India (and the world)** to dissect the *raison d'être* behind the disruptions being imposed on them today.  
हालांकि **संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका** और **अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति ट्रम्प** क्या कर रहे हैं, इस पर बहुत कुछ कहा गया है, लेकिन आज उन पर थोपे जा रहे व्यवधानों के पीछे के **कारणों** को समझना **भारत (और विश्व)** के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है।
- The **economic, geopolitical and technological polycrisis** necessitates a **strategic recalibration**, to insulate ourselves and to forge a more equitable world order.  
**आर्थिक, भू-राजनीतिक और तकनीकी बहु-संकट** एक **रणनीतिक पुनर्संतुलन** की आवश्यकता पैदा करता है, ताकि हम खुद को सुरक्षित कर सकें और एक अधिक न्यायसंगत विश्व व्यवस्था बना सकें।

## Trump's Motivations ट्रम्प की प्रेरणाएँ

- Mr. Trump's **economic warfare** is motivated by three imperatives.  
श्री ट्रम्प का **आर्थिक युद्ध** तीन आवश्यकताओं से प्रेरित है।
- First, he is consciously pandering to America's **silent majority** (and not just the **'Make America Great Again' Republicans**) which feels shortchanged by **globalisation's nucleus**, namely capital accumulation, cheap labour, environment's colonisation and trickle-down economics.  
पहला, वे जानबूझकर अमेरिका की **मौन बहुसंख्यक** (सिर्फ **'Make America Great Again' रिपब्लिकन** ही नहीं) को खुश करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, जिन्हें लगता है कि वे **वैश्वीकरण के केंद्र** — पूँजी संचय, सस्ता श्रम, पर्यावरण का दोहन और ट्रिकल-डाउन अर्थशास्त्र — से ठगे गए हैं।
- This **neo-liberal status quo** has caused an unprecedented concentration of **wealth and power** on one hand, and mushrooming **inequalities** on the other.  
यह **नवउदारवादी यथास्थिति** एक ओर **धन और शक्ति** का अभूतपूर्व केंद्रीकरण और दूसरी ओर बढ़ती **असमानताओं** का कारण बनी है।
- Instead of restructuring **economic paradigms** and redressing grievances (also felt by the **Global South**), he has unleashed **xenophobic, racist and centrifugal politics**, veneered by **economic populism**.  
**आर्थिक प्रतिमानों** को पुनर्गठित करने और शिकायतों (जो **ग्लोबल साउथ** भी गहराई से महसूस करता है) को दूर करने के बजाय, उन्होंने **विदेशी-विरोधी, नस्लवादी और अपकेंद्रीय राजनीति** को **आर्थिक लोकलुभावनवाद** की परत चढ़ाकर छोड़ दिया है।
- Domestic politics partly explains why Mr. Trump hawkishly vilifies the **liberal international order** as antithetical to **American interests**.  
घरेलू राजनीति आंशिक रूप से बताती है कि क्यों श्री ट्रम्प **उदार अंतरराष्ट्रीय व्यवस्था** को **अमेरिकी हितों** के विपरीत बताते हुए आक्रामक रूप से बदनाम करते हैं।
- This has translated into **sanctions on 30-plus nations** and **tariffs on nearly 70**, the forging of trade blocs, undermining of treaties, circumscribing foreign aid, and a crackdown against **immigration**.  
इसका परिणाम **30 से अधिक देशों पर प्रतिबंध** और लगभग **70 पर शुल्क**, व्यापार ब्लॉकों का निर्माण, संधियों को कमजोर करना, विदेशी सहायता को सीमित करना और **आप्रवासन** पर सख्ती के रूप में सामने आया है।
- This **360° attack** on liberal world order norms is a fig-leaf for ruthless pursuit of **sovereign self-interest**.  
यह **360° हमला** उदार विश्व व्यवस्था के मानदंडों पर, **सार्वभौम स्वार्थ** की निर्मम खोज का आवरण मात्र है।



- Second, even though **tariffs** are a camouflaged **super-tax** on **American companies and consumers** (who will absorb **70% of tariff costs**, as per Goldman Sachs), they are designed to bolster **America's economic strength** by extorting nations and companies.  
दूसरा, भले ही **टैरिफ अमेरिकी कंपनियों और उपभोक्ताओं** पर छुपा हुआ **सुपर-टैक्स** है (जिन्हें **टैरिफ लागत का 70%** वहन करना होगा, गोल्डमैन सैक्स के अनुसार), इन्हें राष्ट्रों और कंपनियों को दबाव में डालकर **अमेरिका की आर्थिक ताकत बढ़ाने** के लिए डिज़ाइन किया गया है।
- **Even though America accounts for 26% of global GDP, China at 17% is fast catching up (nearly on par with G-7's 20%-22%).**  
भले ही **अमेरिका वैश्विक GDP का 26%** हिस्सा रखता है, लेकिन **चीन 17%** के साथ तेजी से करीब पहुँच रहा है (लगभग **G-7 के 20%-22%** के बराबर)।
- This is why America subsidises agriculture, pursues unilateral industrial, technology and climate policies, pressures nations into investments, and seeks to protect the **dollar's privileged position** (restricting global currency alternatives).  
यही कारण है कि अमेरिका कृषि को सब्सिडी देता है, एकतरफा औद्योगिक, तकनीकी और जलवायु नीतियाँ अपनाता है, राष्ट्रों पर निवेश का दबाव डालता है और **डॉलर की विशेष स्थिति** की रक्षा करना चाहता है (वैश्विक मुद्रा विकल्पों को सीमित करते हुए)।
- This hypocrisy is exemplified in **America pressuring India** to remove protections for agriculture while it imposes **tariff walls of 350% on tobacco, 200% on dairy and 120% on fruits**.  
यह पाखंड स्पष्ट है जब **अमेरिका भारत पर दबाव डालता है** कि वह कृषि सुरक्षा हटा दे जबकि खुद **तंबाकू पर 350%, डेयरी पर 200% और फलों पर 120% टैरिफ** लगाता है।
- India's **textiles, jewellery, auto components and metals sectors** are severely impacted by these **discriminatory tariffs**.  
भारत के **कपड़ा, आभूषण, ऑटो पार्ट्स और धातु क्षेत्र** इन **भेदभावपूर्ण टैरिफों** से गंभीर रूप से प्रभावित हो रहे हैं।
- Third, even though **tariff-weaponisation** is singularly Trumpian, reversing **deindustrialisation** and checking **China's ascendance** has bipartisan support.  
तीसरा, भले ही **टैरिफ-हथियारीकरण** केवल ट्रम्पीय है, लेकिन **औद्योगीकरण में गिरावट को उलटने और चीन के उदय को रोकने** के लिए द्विदलीय समर्थन है।
- Escalating **tariffs against India** were said to pressurise **Russia** to end the **Ukraine war** (a Trump election promise).  
**भारत के खिलाफ बढ़ते टैरिफ** कथित तौर पर **रूस** पर दबाव डालने के लिए थे ताकि वह **यूक्रेन युद्ध** समाप्त करे (ट्रम्प का चुनावी वादा)।
- However, despite the **U.S.-Russia meeting on Ukraine**, penalties against **India continue** (perhaps as leverage against multipolarity).  
हालांकि **यूक्रेन पर अमेरिका-रूस बैठक** के बावजूद, **भारत के खिलाफ दंड** जारी हैं (शायद बहुध्रुवीयता के खिलाफ दबाव के रूप में)।
- Irrespective of "peace in our time", America's focus will shift to its biggest challenge — the **China theatre**.  
चाहे "हमारे समय में शांति" हो या न हो, अमेरिका का ध्यान उसकी सबसे बड़ी चुनौती — **चीन क्षेत्र** पर जाएगा।
- The tariffs also included provisions to check **China's strategic influence** while furthering **American national security goals** (as revealed by the **Washington Post memo**).  
इन टैरिफों में **चीन के सामरिक प्रभाव** की जाँच और **अमेरिकी राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा लक्ष्यों** को आगे बढ़ाने के प्रावधान भी शामिल थे (जैसा कि **वॉशिंगटन पोस्ट** ज्ञापन से पता चलता है)।

What New Delhi must do  
नई दिल्ली को क्या करना चाहिए



- These upheavals hold multiple lessons for India.  
ये उथल-पुथल भारत के लिए कई सबक समेटे हुए हैं।
- Its response to the **epistemic polycrisis** the world faces today has to address both the substantive and the symbolic.  
आज दुनिया जिस **ज्ञानात्मक बहु-संकट (epistemic polycrisis)** का सामना कर रही है, भारत की प्रतिक्रिया को इसमें ठोस और प्रतीकात्मक दोनों पहलुओं को संबोधित करना होगा।
- For example, the unstated assumption that **Washington** sees India as a democratic counterweight to **China** needs to be seriously re-examined.  
उदाहरण के लिए, यह अनकहा अनुमान कि **वॉशिंगटन** भारत को **चीन** के लिए एक लोकतांत्रिक संतुलन मानता है, गंभीरता से पुनः परीक्षण की आवश्यकता है।
- India needs to ask the degree of **geopolitical convergence** it has with **America** given that the **U.S.** has renewed its vows to **Pakistan** (possibly to retain an inside track with China), is trying to **re-hyphenate India and Pakistan**, may skip the **Quad Summit** that India will host later this year, and inhibits American companies manufacturing in India and having advanced technology collaboration.  
भारत को यह पूछना होगा कि उसका **अमेरिका** के साथ कितना **भू-राजनीतिक सामंजस्य (geopolitical convergence)** है, क्योंकि **अमेरिका** ने **पाकिस्तान** से अपने वादे नवीनीकृत किए हैं (संभवतः चीन के साथ अंदरूनी संपर्क बनाए रखने के लिए), भारत और पाकिस्तान को फिर से **जोड़ने (re-hyphenate)** की कोशिश कर रहा है, इस वर्ष बाद में भारत द्वारा आयोजित किए जाने वाले **क्वाड शिखर सम्मेलन (Quad Summit)** को छोड़ सकता है, और अमेरिकी कंपनियों को भारत में विनिर्माण और उन्नत तकनीकी सहयोग से रोक रहा है।
- **Mr. Trump's actions** have disrupted the **India-U.S. partnership** built painstakingly over **25 years**, compelling the **Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)** government to make major concessions to **China** to avoid a **two-front problem** (without any reciprocal concessions).  
**श्री ट्रम्प की कार्यवाहियों** ने **25 वर्षों** में कठिनाई से बनाई गई **भारत-अमेरिका साझेदारी** को बाधित किया है, जिससे **भारतीय जनता पार्टी (भाजपा)** सरकार को **दो-मोर्चे की समस्या (two-front problem)** से बचने के लिए **चीन** को बड़े रियायतें देनी पड़ीं (बिना किसी पारस्परिक रियायत के)।
- **America** needs to accept that **India's northern borders** are live **fault-lines**.  
**अमेरिका** को यह स्वीकार करना होगा कि **भारत की उत्तरी सीमाएँ जीवित संघर्ष रेखाएँ (fault-lines)** हैं।
- While India must defend its **territorial integrity** vigorously, for now, India must manage competition, avoid conflicts and substantively strengthen itself.  
भारत को अपनी **क्षेत्रीय अखंडता (territorial integrity)** का जोरदार बचाव करना चाहिए, लेकिन फिलहाल भारत को प्रतिस्पर्धा को प्रबंधित करना होगा, संघर्षों से बचना होगा और खुद को ठोस रूप से मजबूत बनाना होगा।

**Second, the government must confront Mr. Trump more aggressively in the pursuit of India's national interest.**

**दूसरा, सरकार को भारत के राष्ट्रीय हित की पूर्ति में श्री ट्रम्प का अधिक आक्रामक तरीके से सामना करना चाहिए।**

- It is no coincidence that **America** has not levied tariffs on **China**, even though their bilateral trade deficit is **\$295 billion**, while **China** imports oil from **Russia** and trades with **Iran**.  
यह कोई संयोग नहीं है कि **अमेरिका** ने **चीन** पर शुल्क नहीं लगाया है, भले ही उनका द्विपक्षीय व्यापार घाटा **295 अरब डॉलर** है, जबकि **चीन** **रूस** से तेल आयात करता है और **ईरान** से व्यापार करता है।
- This is partly because of **Chinese restrictions** on rare metals and magnets, which are critical to the **U.S.'s defence and technology sectors**.



इसका एक कारण **चीनी प्रतिबंध** हैं जो दुर्लभ धातुओं और चुम्बकों पर लगाए गए हैं, जो **अमेरिका के रक्षा और प्रौद्योगिकी क्षेत्रों** के लिए महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

- In contrast, the **BJP government** complied twice to **American diktats**, stopping oil imports from **Iran and Venezuela** and temporarily waiving the **11% import duty on cotton**.

इसके विपरीत, **भाजपा सरकार** ने दो बार **अमेरिकी आदेशों** का पालन किया, **ईरान और वेनेजुएला** से तेल आयात बंद किया और अस्थायी रूप से **कपास पर 11% आयात शुल्क** को माफ किया।

- The **BJP** would do well to learn that bullies only respond to **strength**.  
**भाजपा** को यह सीखना चाहिए कि दबंग केवल **शक्ति** का जवाब देते हैं।

### Third, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's foreign policy adventurism... तीसरा, प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी का विदेश नीति का साहसिक कदम...

- (personalised diplomacy, manufactured diaspora events, and click-bait acronyms) have not furthered India's **strategic interests** and must be immediately re-calibrated.  
(व्यक्तिगत कूटनीति, कृत्रिम प्रवासी आयोजन और क्लिक-बैट संक्षेपाक्षर) ने भारत के **रणनीतिक हितों** को आगे नहीं बढ़ाया है और इन्हें तुरंत पुनः-कैलिब्रेट किया जाना चाहिए।
- For example, the government and **right-wing diaspora outfits** tried in vain to ingratiate themselves to **Republican legislators** and **right-wing influencers/lobbyists** close to Mr. Trump.  
उदाहरण के लिए, सरकार और **दक्षिणपंथी प्रवासी संगठन** ने व्यर्थ ही श्री ट्रम्प के करीबी **रिपब्लिकन विधायकों** और **दक्षिणपंथी प्रभावशाली व्यक्तियों/लॉबिस्टों** को प्रसन्न करने की कोशिश की।
- Likewise, **BJP Ministers** misread **American support** by myopically conflating **India's economic size** with **strategic utility**.  
इसी प्रकार, **भाजपा मंत्रियों** ने **भारत के आर्थिक आकार** को **रणनीतिक उपयोगिता** से जोड़कर **अमेरिकी समर्थन** को गलत पढ़ा।
- And, equally problematically, the **BJP** partially eschewed **non-alignment** (now globally feted as **multi-alignment**) and sacrificed India's **material interests** for a **symbolic seat at the high table**.  
और उतना ही समस्या पैदा करने वाला, **भाजपा** ने आंशिक रूप से **गुटनिरपेक्षता (non-alignment)** (अब वैश्विक स्तर पर **बहु-संरेखण (multi-alignment)** के रूप में सम्मानित) को त्याग दिया और भारत के **भौतिक हितों** का बलिदान एक **प्रतीकात्मक उच्च पद** के लिए किया।
- Sadly, the **Modi-doctrine** has bound **China and Pakistan** in an "**iron-clad alliance**" (creating a unified threat to India's northern flank), isolated India in its neighbourhood, put India's wealth-creators in the cross hairs of **punishing tariffs**, and subject **American-Indians** to **virulent racism**.  
दुख की बात है कि **मोदी-सिद्धांत (Modi-doctrine)** ने **चीन और पाकिस्तान** को एक "**लौह-संघ (iron-clad alliance)**" में बाँध दिया है (जिससे भारत के उत्तरी हिस्से पर एकीकृत खतरा पैदा हुआ), भारत को उसके पड़ोस में अलग-थलग कर दिया, भारत के धन-सृजकों को **दंडात्मक शुल्क (punishing tariffs)** के निशाने पर डाल दिया, और **अमेरिकी-भारतीयों** को **घोर नस्लवाद** का शिकार बनाया।

### India must capitalise on disruptions भारत को व्यवधानों का लाभ उठाना चाहिए

- India must leverage this **polycrisis** to reshape the world's **geo-economic and political architecture**.  
भारत को इस **बहु-संकट (polycrisis)** का लाभ उठाकर दुनिया की **भू-अर्थव्यवस्था और राजनीतिक संरचना** को पुनः आकार देना चाहिए।



- This window could narrow after **America's mid-term elections** next year.  
यह अवसर की खिड़की अगले वर्ष **अमेरिका के मध्यावधि चुनावों** के बाद संकुचित हो सकती है।
- Therefore, India must champion **multipolarity** as an alternative to both **unipolarity** and **bipolarity**.  
इसलिए, भारत को **एकध्रुवीयता (unipolarity)** और **द्विध्रुवीयता (bipolarity)** दोनों के विकल्प के रूप में **बहुध्रुवीयता (multipolarity)** का समर्थन करना चाहिए।
- India can also capitalise on this opportunity to forge a **New Economic Deal** that works equitably for all nations.  
भारत इस अवसर का लाभ उठाकर एक **नया आर्थिक सौदा (New Economic Deal)** भी बना सकता है जो सभी राष्ट्रों के लिए न्यायसंगत रूप से काम करे।
- After all, **neoliberal globalisation** has not worked well, especially for those in the **Global South**.  
आखिरकार, **नवउदारवादी वैश्वीकरण (neoliberal globalisation)** ने विशेष रूप से **वैश्विक दक्षिण (Global South)** के लिए अच्छा काम नहीं किया है।
- This has been compounded by weak and imbalanced **multilateral institutions**, an extreme concentration of **global power and wealth** in the hands of a few in the **Global North**, the forced reduction of **taxes** and high levels of **sovereign debt** (leading to reduced government revenues, a scaling back of state-driven functions, and limited fiscal space to invest in national developmental goals).  
इसे और भी जटिल बना दिया गया है कमजोर और असंतुलित **बहुपक्षीय संस्थाओं** ने, **वैश्विक उत्तर (Global North)** में कुछ लोगों के हाथों में **वैश्विक शक्ति और संपत्ति** का अत्यधिक संकेंद्रण, **करों** में जबरन कटौती और उच्च स्तर का **संप्रभु ऋण**, जिससे सरकारी राजस्व में कमी आई, राज्य-प्रेरित कार्यों में कटौती हुई और राष्ट्रीय विकासात्मक लक्ष्यों में निवेश के लिए सीमित **राजकोषीय स्थान (fiscal space)** बचा।
- But to do this effectively, the government must urgently redress India's **structural problems**.  
लेकिन इसे प्रभावी ढंग से करने के लिए, सरकार को तुरंत भारत की **संरचनात्मक समस्याओं** का समाधान करना होगा।
- **Manufacturing** is at a **four-decade low**, **unemployment** is unacceptably high, **private investment** is stagnant, **scientific research** is abysmal and **public sector units** are still not being re-deployed strategically (such as **China's State-Owned Enterprise**).  
**विनिर्माण चार दशकों के निचले स्तर पर है**, **बेरोजगारी** अस्वीकार्य रूप से अधिक है, **निजी निवेश** ठहर गया है, **वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान** बेहद कमजोर है और **सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की इकाइयों** को अब तक रणनीतिक रूप से पुनः तैनात नहीं किया गया है (जैसे कि **चीन के राज्य-स्वामित्व वाले उद्यम**)।
- The government must make concerted efforts to restore **trust** in economic stakeholders, spearhead policies that ensure **equitable growth** (without which India will not appear as an attractive market to investors), and a bold new vision.  
सरकार को आर्थिक हितधारकों में **विश्वास** बहाल करने के लिए संगठित प्रयास करने चाहिए, **समान विकास (equitable growth)** सुनिश्चित करने वाली नीतियों का नेतृत्व करना चाहिए (जिसके बिना भारत निवेशकों के लिए एक आकर्षक बाजार के रूप में नहीं दिखेगा), और एक साहसिक नया दृष्टिकोण अपनाना चाहिए।
- This necessitates eschewing **transactional instrumentalities**, and investing time in forging relationships with **multiple stakeholders** within and outside government.  
इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि **लेन-देन आधारित उपकरणों (transactional instrumentalities)** को त्यागा जाए और सरकार के भीतर और बाहर **कई हितधारकों** के साथ संबंध बनाने में समय निवेश किया जाए।
- It also means making constructive efforts to forge a **bipartisan consensus** both domestically and with the **Global South**.



इसका अर्थ यह भी है कि देश के भीतर और वैश्विक दक्षिण (Global South) के साथ एक द्विदलीय सहमति (bipartisan consensus) बनाने के लिए रचनात्मक प्रयास किए जाएं।

To expedite the realisation of India's **manifest destiny**, the government must shed its **partisan blinkers**, reach across the aisle, and lead a **unified approach** in the **national interest**.

भारत की प्रकट नियति (manifest destiny) को शीघ्र पूरा करने के लिए, सरकार को अपने पक्षपातपूर्ण चश्मे (partisan blinkers) उतारने होंगे, विपक्ष तक पहुंचना होगा और राष्ट्रीय हित में एक एकीकृत दृष्टिकोण (unified approach) का नेतृत्व करना होगा।

## GST 2.0 is a landmark in India's tax journey

### GS III: Taxation

The 56th meeting of the GST Council on September 3, 2025 will be remembered as a defining milestone in India's tax history. These reforms go far beyond tax rates and structures. They represent a decisive shift towards a simpler, fairer, and growth-oriented system that is aligned with the aspirations of a Viksit Bharat 2047.

A long-standing demand of both industry and consumers has been simplification of the multiple GST slabs (5%, 12%, 18%, and 28%). The move to a transparent "Simple Tax", with just two rates, 18% as the Standard Rate and 5% as the Merit Rate, along with a 40% de-merit rate for a select few goods – is transformational.

This bold step reduces compliance burdens, enhances predictability for business, and makes the tax regime more citizen-friendly. It clearly signals the government's commitment to align Indian taxation with the best global practices.

### Relief for a range of income groups

The reforms directly touch the daily lives in Indian households. Common items such as soap, shampoo, toothpaste, a bicycle, and kitchenware are now in the 5% bracket. Essentials such as Ultra-High Temperature milk, *paneer*, *chapati* and *paratha* are exempt. Packaged foods, noodles, chocolates and beverages have seen notable rate cuts, boosting consumption and offering relief to families across income groups.

Equally impactful is the exemption of GST on all life and health insurance products. This single decision will make insurance more affordable, particularly for senior citizens and low-income families, raising India's insurance penetration and strengthening social security.

Health care has been given a powerful boost through exemptions and reductions on essential drugs, devices, and treatments for cancer, rare diseases and chronic conditions. These measures ensure wider access to modern medicine and diagnostics, easing financial burdens on



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households. Farmers stand to benefit from major reductions. Tractors, farm machinery, and other vital implements now attract only 5% GST, while fertilizers and inputs such as sulphuric acid and ammonia have moved from 18% to 5%. By correcting earlier inverted duty structures, these reforms lower cultivation costs and improve farm productivity.

Labour-intensive sectors such as handicrafts, marble, granite, and leather goods now enjoy reduced GST rates, which will stimulate demand and secure employment. By making traditional industries more competitive, the reforms safeguard livelihoods while opening new growth avenues.

### Changes in critical sectors

A particularly significant achievement is the correction of inverted duty structures in critical sectors. For instance, the GST reduction on man-made fibre and yarn to 5% eliminates a distortion that had long plagued the textile value chain. This move is expected to boost competitiveness, exports, job creation, and domestic value addition across textiles and apparel.

Cement, a cornerstone for housing and infrastructure, has shifted from 28% to 18% GST. This will drive multiplier effects across construction and infrastructure, while cuts for renewable energy devices and automotive components will accelerate India's green growth journey.

The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) has consistently called for such corrections and is gratified to see so many recommendations accepted that range from a rationalisation of auto parts to relief for hospitality and wellness services. These changes will harmonise markets and reduce unnecessary disputes.

The announcement that the Goods and Services Tax Appellate Tribunal (GSTAT) will become operational by year-end marks a historic

institutional advance. For tax-payers, this means faster dispute resolution, more consistent rulings, and enhanced trust in the system. Other process reforms, including provisional refunds for inverted duty structures, risk-based compliance checks, and harmonisation of valuation rules, further reduce uncertainty and compliance costs. Together, these measures reinforce India's position as one of the world's easiest large economies for doing business.

Over the past eight months, the CII has strongly advocated simplification into a two-rate structure, a correction of anomalies, a reduction of rates on essentials, support for labour-intensive sectors, and faster operationalisation of GSTAT. It is heartening that so many of these have now been adopted.

The Council's decisions reflect both responsiveness and a deep sense of partnership with industry. This is a proud moment for all stakeholders who have constructively engaged in shaping these reforms.

### Almost immediate benefits

Equally noteworthy is the careful phasing of reforms from September 22, 2025. This sequencing ensures revenue stability while allowing industry and consumers to benefit immediately from lower rates. The approach safeguards fiscal health while stimulating demand and investment.

These announcements are more than technical adjustments. They are a people's reform. They touch citizens, farmers, workers, businesses and entrepreneurs alike. By simplifying the structure, lowering rates on essentials, correcting distortions, and strengthening institutions, GST 2.0 has created a stronger foundation for India's growth journey.

The CII stands ready to support effective implementation, build awareness, and ensure that the benefits of these reforms flow seamlessly to every citizen.

## GST 2.0 is a landmark in India's tax journey

## भारत की कर यात्रा में जीएसटी 2.0 एक मील का पत्थर है

### The 56th meeting of the GST Council जीएसटी परिषद की 56वीं बैठक

- The 56th meeting of the GST Council on **September 3, 2025** will be remembered as a defining milestone in India's tax history.  
**3 सितंबर 2025** को हुई जीएसटी परिषद की 56वीं बैठक भारत के कर इतिहास में एक परिभाषित मील का पत्थर मानी जाएगी।



- These reforms go far beyond tax rates and structures. They represent a decisive shift towards a simpler, fairer, and growth-oriented system that is aligned with the aspirations of a **Viksit Bharat 2047**.  
ये सुधार केवल कर दरों और संरचनाओं तक सीमित नहीं हैं। ये एक सरल, न्यायसंगत और विकास-उन्मुख प्रणाली की ओर निर्णायक बदलाव का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, जो **विकसित भारत 2047** की आकांक्षाओं के अनुरूप है।
- A long-standing demand of both industry and consumers has been simplification of the multiple **GST slabs (5%, 12%, 18%, and 28%)**. The move to a transparent **“Simple Tax”**, with just **two rates (18% Standard Rate, 5% Merit Rate)**, along with **a 40% de-merit rate** for a select few goods — is transformational.  
उद्योग और उपभोक्ताओं दोनों की एक लंबे समय से मांग रही है कि कई **जीएसटी स्लैब (5%, 12%, 18% और 28%)** को सरल बनाया जाए। पारदर्शी **“सिंपल टैक्स”** की ओर बढ़ना, जिसमें केवल **दो दरें (18% मानक दर, 5% मेधा दर)** और कुछ विशेष वस्तुओं पर **40% डी-मेरिट दर** होगी — यह परिवर्तनकारी कदम है।
- This bold step reduces compliance burdens, enhances predictability for business, and makes the tax regime more citizen-friendly. It clearly signals the government’s commitment to align Indian taxation with the best global practices.  
यह साहसिक कदम अनुपालन बोझ को कम करता है, व्यवसाय के लिए पूर्वानुमेयता को बढ़ाता है, और कर व्यवस्था को अधिक नागरिक-हितैषी बनाता है। यह स्पष्ट रूप से संकेत देता है कि सरकार भारतीय करानुदान को सर्वोत्तम वैश्विक प्रथाओं के अनुरूप लाने के लिए प्रतिबद्ध है।

### Relief for a range of income groups विभिन्न आय वर्गों के लिए राहत

- The reforms directly touch the daily lives in Indian households. Common items such as **soap, shampoo, toothpaste, a bicycle, and kitchenware** are now in the **5% bracket**. Essentials such as **Ultra-High Temperature milk, paneer, chapati and paratha** are exempt. Packaged foods, noodles, chocolates and beverages have seen notable rate cuts, boosting consumption and offering relief to families across income groups.  
ये सुधार भारतीय परिवारों के दैनिक जीवन को सीधे प्रभावित करते हैं। सामान्य वस्तुएँ जैसे **साबुन, शैम्पू, टूथपेस्ट, साइकिल और रसोई का सामान** अब **5% स्लैब** में हैं। आवश्यक वस्तुएँ जैसे **अल्ट्रा-हाई टेम्परेचर दूध, पनीर, चपाती और पराठा** अब करमुक्त हैं। पैकेज्ड फूड, नूडल्स, चॉकलेट और पेय पदार्थों पर उल्लेखनीय दर कटौती की गई है, जिससे उपभोग बढ़ा है और सभी आय वर्गों के परिवारों को राहत मिली है।
- Equally impactful is the exemption of GST on all **life and health insurance** products. This single decision will make insurance more affordable, particularly for **senior citizens** and **low-income families**, raising India’s insurance penetration and strengthening social security.  
उतना ही प्रभावशाली है कि सभी **जीवन और स्वास्थ्य बीमा** उत्पादों पर जीएसटी से छूट दी गई है। यह एकल निर्णय बीमा को और अधिक सुलभ बनाएगा, विशेषकर **वरिष्ठ नागरिकों** और **कम आय वाले परिवारों** के लिए, जिससे भारत की बीमा पैठ बढ़ेगी और सामाजिक सुरक्षा मजबूत होगी।
- Health care has been given a powerful boost through exemptions and reductions on essential **drugs, devices, and treatments for cancer, rare diseases and chronic conditions**. These measures ensure wider access to modern medicine and diagnostics, easing financial burdens on households.  
स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं को आवश्यक **दवाओं, उपकरणों और उपचारों** (जैसे **कैंसर, दुर्लभ रोग और पुरानी बीमारियों**) के लिए पर छूट और कटौती के माध्यम से एक बड़ा प्रोत्साहन मिला है। इन उपायों से आधुनिक चिकित्सा और डायग्नोस्टिक्स तक व्यापक पहुँच सुनिश्चित होती है और परिवारों पर वित्तीय बोझ कम होता है।



- Farmers stand to benefit from major reductions. **Tractors, farm machinery, and other vital implements** now attract only **5% GST**, while **fertilizers and inputs** such as **sulphuric acid and ammonia** have moved from **18% to 5%**. By correcting earlier **inverted duty structures**, these reforms lower cultivation costs and improve farm productivity.  
किसानों को बड़े पैमाने पर कटौतियों से लाभ मिलेगा। **ट्रैक्टर, कृषि मशीनरी और अन्य आवश्यक उपकरणों** पर अब केवल **5% जीएसटी** लगेगा, जबकि **उर्वरक और इनपुट** जैसे **सल्फ्यूरिक एसिड और अमोनिया** को **18% से घटाकर 5%** कर दिया गया है। पहले की **उलटी शुल्क संरचना** को ठीक करके, ये सुधार खेती की लागत कम करते हैं और कृषि उत्पादकता को बढ़ाते हैं।
- Labour-intensive sectors such as **handicrafts, marble, granite, and leather goods** now enjoy reduced GST rates, which will stimulate demand and secure employment. By making traditional industries more competitive, the reforms safeguard livelihoods while opening new growth avenues.  
श्रम-प्रधान क्षेत्रों जैसे **हस्तशिल्प, संगमरमर, ग्रेनाइट और चमड़े के सामान** पर अब कम जीएसटी दरें लागू हैं, जिससे मांग बढ़ेगी और रोजगार सुरक्षित होगा। पारंपरिक उद्योगों को अधिक प्रतिस्पर्धी बनाकर, ये सुधार आजीविकाओं की रक्षा करते हैं और नए विकास मार्ग खोलते हैं।

### Changes in critical sectors महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्रों में परिवर्तन

- A particularly significant achievement is the correction of **inverted duty structures** in critical sectors. For instance, the GST reduction on **man-made fibre and yarn to 5%** eliminates a distortion that had long plagued the textile value chain. This move is expected to boost competitiveness, exports, job creation, and domestic value addition across textiles and apparel.  
एक विशेष रूप से महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्रों में **उलटी शुल्क संरचना** का सुधार है। उदाहरण के लिए, **मैन-मेड फाइबर और यार्न पर जीएसटी को 5%** करने से वह विकृति समाप्त हो गई है जो लंबे समय से वस्त्र मूल्य श्रृंखला को प्रभावित कर रही थी। यह कदम प्रतिस्पर्धा, निर्यात, रोजगार सृजन और वस्त्र व परिधान क्षेत्र में घरेलू मूल्य संवर्धन को बढ़ाने की उम्मीद है।
- **Cement**, a cornerstone for housing and infrastructure, has shifted from **28% to 18% GST**. This will drive multiplier effects across construction and infrastructure, while cuts for **renewable energy devices and automotive components** will accelerate India's green growth journey.  
**सीमेंट**, जो आवास और बुनियादी ढाँचे के लिए आधारशिला है, पर जीएसटी **28% से घटाकर 18%** कर दिया गया है। यह निर्माण और बुनियादी ढाँचे में गुणक प्रभाव पैदा करेगा, जबकि **नवीकरणीय ऊर्जा उपकरणों और ऑटोमोटिव घटकों** पर कटौती भारत की हरित विकास यात्रा को तेज करेगी।
- The **Confederation of Indian Industry (CII)** has consistently called for such corrections and is gratified to see so many recommendations accepted that range from a rationalisation of auto parts to relief for **hospitality and wellness services**. These changes will harmonise markets and reduce unnecessary disputes.  
**भारतीय उद्योग परिसंघ (CII)** ने लगातार ऐसे सुधारों की माँग की है और यह देखकर संतुष्ट है कि **ऑटो पार्ट्स के युक्तिसंगतकरण से लेकर आतिथ्य और वेलनेस सेवाओं** तक कई सिफारिशों को स्वीकार किया गया है। ये बदलाव बाजारों को संतुलित करेंगे और अनावश्यक विवादों को कम करेंगे।
- The announcement that the **Goods and Services Tax Appellate Tribunal (GSTAT)** will become operational by **year-end** marks a historic institutional advance. For taxpayers, this means faster dispute resolution, more consistent rulings, and enhanced trust in the system. Other process reforms, including **provisional refunds, risk-based compliance checks, and harmonisation of valuation rules**, further reduce uncertainty and compliance costs.  
यह घोषणा कि **वस्तु एवं सेवा कर अपीलिय अधीकरण (GSTAT)** वर्ष के अंत तक कार्यात्मक हो जाएगा, एक ऐतिहासिक संस्थागत प्रगति को दर्शाता है। करदाताओं के लिए इसका अर्थ है तेज विवाद



समाधान, अधिक सुसंगत निर्णय और प्रणाली में बढ़ा हुआ विश्वास। अन्य प्रक्रिया सुधार जैसे **अस्थायी रिफंड, जोखिम-आधारित अनुपालन जांच और मूल्यांकन नियमों का सामंजस्य** अनिश्चितता और अनुपालन लागत को और कम करते हैं।

- Together, these measures reinforce India's position as one of the world's **easiest large economies** for doing business.  
सामूहिक रूप से, ये उपाय भारत की स्थिति को व्यापार करने के लिए दुनिया की **सबसे आसान बड़ी अर्थव्यवस्थाओं** में से एक के रूप में मजबूत करते हैं।
- Over the past **eight months**, the CII has strongly advocated simplification into a **two-rate structure**, a correction of anomalies, a reduction of rates on essentials, support for labour-intensive sectors, and faster operationalisation of GSTAT. It is heartening that so many of these have now been adopted.  
पिछले **आठ महीनों** में, CII ने जोरदार तरीके से **दो-दर संरचना**, विसंगतियों के सुधार, आवश्यक वस्तुओं पर दरों में कटौती, श्रम-प्रधान क्षेत्रों के लिए समर्थन और GSTAT के शीघ्र संचालन की वकालत की है। यह देखकर उत्साहजनक है कि इनमें से कई अब अपनाए गए हैं।
- The Council's decisions reflect both responsiveness and a deep sense of partnership with industry. This is a proud moment for all stakeholders who have constructively engaged in shaping these reforms.  
परिषद के निर्णय उद्योग के साथ उत्तरदायित्व और गहरे साझेदारी की भावना को दर्शाते हैं। यह उन सभी हितधारकों के लिए गर्व का क्षण है जिन्होंने रचनात्मक रूप से इन सुधारों को आकार देने में योगदान दिया है।

### Almost immediate benefits लगभग तात्कालिक लाभ

- Equally noteworthy is the careful phasing of reforms from **September 22, 2025**. This sequencing ensures revenue stability while allowing industry and consumers to benefit immediately from lower rates. The approach safeguards **fiscal health** while stimulating demand and investment.  
उतना ही उल्लेखनीय है कि सुधारों को **22 सितंबर 2025** से सावधानीपूर्वक चरणबद्ध किया गया है। यह क्रमबद्धता राजस्व स्थिरता सुनिश्चित करती है, जबकि उद्योग और उपभोक्ताओं को कम दरों से तुरंत लाभ उठाने की अनुमति देती है। यह दृष्टिकोण **राजकोषीय स्वास्थ्य** की रक्षा करता है और माँग व निवेश को प्रोत्साहित करता है।
- These announcements are more than technical adjustments. They are a **people's reform**. They touch citizens, farmers, workers, businesses and entrepreneurs alike. By simplifying the structure, lowering rates on essentials, correcting distortions, and strengthening institutions, **GST 2.0** has created a stronger foundation for India's growth journey.  
ये घोषणाएँ केवल तकनीकी समायोजन से अधिक हैं। ये एक **जन-सुधार** हैं। ये नागरिकों, किसानों, श्रमिकों, व्यवसायों और उद्यमियों सभी को प्रभावित करती हैं। संरचना को सरल बनाकर, आवश्यक वस्तुओं पर दरें घटाकर, विकृतियों को सुधारकर और संस्थाओं को मजबूत बनाकर, **जीएसटी 2.0** ने भारत की विकास यात्रा के लिए एक मजबूत नींव बनाई है।
- The **CII** stands ready to support effective implementation, build awareness, and ensure that the benefits of these reforms flow seamlessly to every citizen.  
**CII** प्रभावी कार्यान्वयन का समर्थन करने, जागरूकता बढ़ाने और यह सुनिश्चित करने के लिए तैयार है कि इन सुधारों के लाभ हर नागरिक तक सुगमता से पहुँचें।



# Should commercial speech on digital platforms be regulated?

GS III: eCommerce

PARLEY



**Apar Gupta**

is advocate and founder-director of the Internet Freedom Foundation



**Jay Vinayak Ojha**

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**I**n August 25, the Supreme Court urged the Union government to frame guidelines for regulating social media, noting that influencers often commercialise free speech in ways that may offend the sentiments of vulnerable groups. A Bench of Justices Surya Kant and Joymalya Bagchi directed that these regulations be drafted in consultation with the National Broadcasters and Digital Association. The order stemmed from an intervention application filed by a non-profit representing persons with Spinal Muscular Atrophy, which alleged that comedians Samay Raina, Vipul Goyal, Balraj Paramjeet Singh Ghai, Sonali Thakkar, and Nishant Jagdish Tanwar had made derogatory remarks about those living with the disorder. Should commercial speech on digital platforms be regulated? Apar Gupta and Jay Vinayak Ojha discuss this question in a conversation moderated by **Aaratrika Bhaumik**. Excerpts:

### Is there a regulatory vacuum that necessitates new guidelines?

**Apar Gupta:** No. The circumstances underlying the present order demonstrate that legal mechanisms for prosecution already exist. The very basis on which the Supreme Court entertained this matter was the FIRs lodged by the State governments of Maharashtra and Assam under various provisions of the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS), and the Information Technology (IT) Act, 2000, in connection with a stand-up skit uploaded on YouTube titled *India's Got Latent*. The IT Act further establishes a censorship framework that permits the removal of online content pursuant to court orders or executive directions. In practice, this mechanism is frequently invoked in secrecy and without adequate adherence to principles of natural justice. Thus, the court's apprehension... appears misplaced.

**Jay Vinayak Ojha:** I believe one ought not to attempt to "fix what is not broken". While the wisdom of individual provisions may certainly be debated, their existence cannot be denied. In my view, Mr. Raina's jokes were in exceptionally poor taste. Yet, to construct an elaborate framework of legislation, subordinate rules, or guidelines on the basis of a single incident would be an overreaction.

### Is protecting individual dignity a constitutionally permissible ground to restrict speech?

**JVO:** The reasonable restrictions on free speech under Article 19(2) of the Constitution are exhaustive, encompassing security of the state,



Safeguards must begin with strong review mechanisms. GETTY IMAGES

public order, decency, morality, and other grounds. They do not, however, include the protection of individual dignity. It is a slippery slope to suggest that speech may be curtailed on the basis of a somewhat amorphous concept such as dignity, which lacks a precise legal definition. That said, concerns regarding the participation of differently abled persons in public life and the preservation of their dignity are legitimate. Moreover, the court possesses inherent jurisdiction under the Constitution to do "complete justice", a mandate that empowers it to account for the wider social ramifications of online speech.

**AG:** Any limitation on the freedom of speech and expression must be imposed through a duly enacted law, and such restrictions must also withstand the test of proportionality. In *Subramanian Swamy v. Union of India* (2016), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of criminal defamation, recognising individual dignity as one of the bases for sustaining the remedy. However, to treat dignity as an independent ground for restricting speech, particularly when invoked on the basis of individual sensibilities, risks inviting expansive censorship.

### Could such regulations be used to silence speech deemed unpalatable?

**JVO:** Yes, such regulations are likely to exert a chilling effect on speech. Restrictions based on morality or defamation may legitimately intersect with questions of dignity, and in those instances, the Constitution permits limits on expression. The difficulty arises when dignity is invoked as an independent basis for restriction, which is not constitutionally defensible. Such a move would inevitably curtail the freedom of comedians, satirists, and other artists, and discourage them from performing with candour.

**AG:** I do not endorse the jokes aired in this



particular show. Yet, we must recognise that literature and stand-up comedy often confront society with uncomfortable truths and compel us to reflect. The Supreme Court itself has acknowledged the importance of protecting even unpalatable speech. In March, it quashed a criminal case initiated by the Gujarat Police against Congress MP Imran Pratapadhi, accused of inciting discord through a poem. A Bench headed by Justice A.S. Oka emphasised that Article 19(1)(a) protects not only agreeable speech but also views that may offend or disturb. Moreover, concerns persist that the Union government may revive the Broadcasting Services (Regulation) Bill, criticised for placing even independent creators under government scrutiny. If we concede that online content must serve only a "social value" defined by the majority, we risk sliding into mass censorship or worse, the arbitrary suppression of voices the state finds inconvenient.

JAY VINAYAK OJHA

**Does the profit-driven nature of commercial speech justify its regulation?**  
**AG:** Commercial speech should not be dismissed as irrelevant to public discourse. Our society runs on commerce and trade, and free expression itself is often likened to a "marketplace of ideas". A classic example is *Sakal Papers v. Union of India* (1962), where the government sought to limit the number of pages a newspaper could publish by tying it to its price. The Supreme Court struck this down as unconstitutional, holding that such a measure curtailed both the dissemination of news and the circulation of newspapers. It affirmed that the freedom to publish any number of pages and to reach as many readers as possible is an essential component of the right to free speech under Article 19(1)(a). The same logic extends to other forms of expression. For instance, a stand-up comedian must earn a livelihood to pay for performance venues. But the fact that speech is commercial, or perceived to be driven by profit, cannot in itself justify regulation.

**JVO:** ...the Supreme Court's jurisprudence has consistently recognised that even commercial speech falls within the ambit of Article 19(1)(a). Moreover, speech of comedians, journalists, or satirists has never traditionally been categorised as commercial speech.

### Does the Supreme Court's polyvocality (divergent views expressed by coordinate Benches) inevitably lead to inconsistent precedents?

**AG:** A polyvocal court does not detract from its status as a court of record, which obliges it to follow the law laid down in earlier decisions. Even when a precedent is inapplicable to a new fact situation or requires incremental modification, its essence remains intact. However, what is troubling in this case is that the court has directed the executive to frame regulations. Such regulations would carry not only the ordinary presumption of constitutionality but also reinforced legitimacy. This court-mandated exercise blurs institutional boundaries and renders any future constitutional challenge doubly difficult.

**JVO:** The dichotomy between legal certainty and the development of law through individual judicial perspectives has always been contentious. However, we should not conflate the polyvocal nature of courts with the problem of coordinate Benches issuing conflicting judgments. When a Bench of equal strength delivers a ruling that departs from an earlier coordinate Bench, it is a breach of judicial discipline. In such cases, the only proper course is to refer the matter to a larger Bench.

### What safeguards should these regulations embody to prevent misuse?

**JVO:** Safeguards must begin with strong review mechanisms. The regulations should also reflect a clear respect for constitutional values of free speech, and that ethos must extend to those charged with enforcing them. Equally important is meaningful stakeholder consultation, which must be confined to groups favouring restrictions while excluding those most affected.

**AG:** The court's order states that all stakeholders will be invited in framing these regulations, but it neither specifies who those stakeholders are nor how they will be consulted. Moreover, the existing takedown regime under Section 69A of the IT Act and the Blocking Rules, 2009, is already opaque. Aggrieved individuals are often not given notice before their content is removed. Such opacity in takedown orders, censorship, and website blocking has become a recurring feature of India's regulatory landscape. These deficiencies must be addressed in the new regulations.



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## Should commercial speech on digital platforms be regulated?

## क्या डिजिटल प्लेटफॉर्म पर वाणिज्यिक भाषण को विनियमित किया जाना चाहिए?

### Regulation of Social Media and Free Speech सोशल मीडिया और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता का विनियमन

- On **August 25**, the **Supreme Court** urged the Union government to frame guidelines for regulating social media, noting that influencers often commercialise free speech in ways that may offend the sentiments of vulnerable groups.  
**25 अगस्त को सुप्रीम कोर्ट** ने केंद्र सरकार से सोशल मीडिया को नियंत्रित करने के लिए दिशानिर्देश बनाने का आग्रह किया, यह कहते हुए कि इन्फ्लुएंसर अक्सर अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता का व्यावसायीकरण इस तरह से करते हैं, जो कमजोर वर्गों की भावनाओं को ठेस पहुँचा सकता है।
- A Bench of **Justices Surya Kant and Joymalya Bagchi** directed that these regulations be drafted in consultation with the **National Broadcasters and Digital Association**.



न्यायमूर्ति सूर्यकांत और जॉयमाल्या बागची की पीठ ने निर्देश दिया कि ये विनियम नेशनल ब्रॉडकास्टर्स एंड डिजिटल एसोसिएशन से परामर्श करके तैयार किए जाएँ।

- The order stemmed from an intervention application filed by a non-profit representing persons with **Spinal Muscular Atrophy**, which alleged that comedians **Samay Raina, Vipul Goyal, Balraj Paramjeet Singh Ghai, Sonali Thakkar, and Nishant Jagdish Tanwar** had made derogatory remarks about those living with the disorder. यह आदेश **स्पाइनल मस्कुलर एट्रॉफी** से पीड़ित व्यक्तियों का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाले एक गैर-लाभकारी संगठन द्वारा दायर एक हस्तक्षेप आवेदन से उत्पन्न हुआ, जिसमें आरोप लगाया गया था कि कॉमेडियन **समय रैना, विपुल गोयल, बलराज परमारजीत सिंह घई, सोनाली ठक्कर और निशांत जगदीश तनवर** ने इस बीमारी से पीड़ित लोगों के बारे में अपमानजनक टिप्पणी की थी।
- Should commercial speech on digital platforms be regulated? **Apar Gupta and Jay Vinayak Ojha** discuss this question in a conversation moderated by **Aaratrika Bhaumik**. क्या डिजिटल प्लेटफॉर्म पर वाणिज्यिक अभिव्यक्ति को विनियमित किया जाना चाहिए? इस प्रश्न पर **अपर गुप्ता और जय विनायक ओझा** ने **आरात्रिका भौमिक** द्वारा संचालित एक बातचीत में चर्चा की।

Is there a regulatory vacuum that necessitates new guidelines?

क्या नए दिशानिर्देशों की आवश्यकता को दर्शाने वाला कोई नियामक शून्य है?

- **Apar Gupta:** No. The circumstances underlying the present order demonstrate that legal mechanisms for prosecution already exist. The very basis on which the Supreme Court entertained this matter was the **FIRs** lodged by the State governments of **Maharashtra and Assam** under various provisions of the **Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS)**, and the **Information Technology (IT) Act, 2000**, in connection with a stand-up skit uploaded on **YouTube** titled *India's Got Latent*. **अपर गुप्ता:** नहीं। वर्तमान आदेश के अंतर्निहित परिस्थितियाँ दर्शाती हैं कि अभियोजन के लिए कानूनी तंत्र पहले से ही मौजूद हैं। जिस आधार पर सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने इस मामले पर विचार किया, वह था **महाराष्ट्र और असम** की राज्य सरकारों द्वारा **भारतीय न्याय संहिता (BNS)** और **सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी अधिनियम, 2000** के विभिन्न प्रावधानों के तहत दर्ज **एफआईआर**, जो **यूट्यूब** पर *इंडियाज गॉट लेटेंट* नामक एक स्टैंड-अप स्किट से संबंधित थी।
- The **IT Act** further establishes a censorship framework that permits the removal of online content pursuant to court orders or executive directions. In practice, this mechanism is frequently invoked in secrecy and without adequate adherence to principles of natural justice. Thus, the court's apprehension appears misplaced. **आईटी अधिनियम** आगे एक सेंसरशिप ढांचा स्थापित करता है जो न्यायालय के आदेशों या कार्यपालिका के निर्देशों के अनुसार ऑनलाइन सामग्री को हटाने की अनुमति देता है। व्यवहार में, इस तंत्र का अक्सर गुप्त रूप से और प्राकृतिक न्याय के सिद्धांतों का पर्याप्त पालन किए बिना उपयोग किया जाता है। इस प्रकार, अदालत की आशंका अनुचित प्रतीत होती है।
- **Jay Vinayak Ojha:** I believe one ought not to attempt to "fix what is not broken". While the wisdom of individual provisions may certainly be debated, their existence cannot be denied. In my view, **Mr. Raina's jokes** were in exceptionally poor taste. Yet, to construct an elaborate framework of legislation, subordinate rules, or guidelines on the basis of a single incident would be an overreaction. **जय विनायक ओझा:** मेरा मानना है कि जिसे "ठीक करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, उसे ठीक करने का प्रयास नहीं करना चाहिए"। यद्यपि व्यक्तिगत प्रावधानों की विवेकशीलता पर निश्चित रूप से बहस हो सकती है, लेकिन उनके अस्तित्व से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता। मेरे विचार में, **श्री रैना के चुटकुले** अत्यंत खराब स्वाद वाले थे। फिर भी, एक ही घटना के आधार पर विस्तृत कानून, अधीनस्थ नियम या दिशानिर्देश बनाना एक अतिप्रतिक्रिया होगी।



## Is protecting individual dignity a constitutionally permissible ground to restrict speech?

क्या व्यक्तिगत गरिमा की रक्षा अभिव्यक्ति पर रोक लगाने का संवैधानिक आधार हो सकती है?

- JVO:** The reasonable restrictions on free speech under **Article 19(2)** of the Constitution are exhaustive, encompassing security of the state, public order, decency, morality, and other grounds. They do not, however, include the protection of individual dignity.

**JVO:** संविधान के **अनुच्छेद 19(2)** के तहत अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता पर उचित प्रतिबंध व्यापक हैं, जिनमें राज्य की सुरक्षा, सार्वजनिक व्यवस्था, शालीनता, नैतिकता और अन्य आधार शामिल हैं। हालाँकि, इनमें व्यक्तिगत गरिमा की रक्षा शामिल नहीं है।
- It is a slippery slope to suggest that speech may be curtailed on the basis of a somewhat amorphous concept such as dignity, which lacks a precise legal definition. यह तर्क देना कि अभिव्यक्ति को गरिमा जैसे किसी धुंधले विचार के आधार पर सीमित किया जा सकता है, जिसके पास कोई सटीक कानूनी परिभाषा नहीं है, एक खतरनाक रास्ता है।
- That said, concerns regarding the participation of differently abled persons in public life and the preservation of their dignity are legitimate. Moreover, the court possesses inherent jurisdiction under the Constitution to do "complete justice", a mandate that empowers it to account for the wider social ramifications of online speech. यह कहा गया, सार्वजनिक जीवन में दिव्यांग व्यक्तियों की भागीदारी और उनकी गरिमा की रक्षा से जुड़ी चिंताएँ वैध हैं। इसके अलावा, अदालत के पास संविधान के तहत "पूर्ण न्याय" करने का निहित अधिकार क्षेत्र है, जो उसे ऑनलाइन अभिव्यक्ति के व्यापक सामाजिक प्रभावों पर विचार करने का अधिकार देता है।
- AG:** Any limitation on the freedom of speech and expression must be imposed through a duly enacted law, and such restrictions must also withstand the test of proportionality.

**AG:** अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता पर कोई भी सीमा केवल विधिवत अधिनियमित कानून द्वारा ही लगाई जानी चाहिए, और ऐसे प्रतिबंधों को अनुपातिकता की कसौटी पर भी खरा उतरना चाहिए।
- In **Subramanian Swamy v. Union of India (2016)**, the **Supreme Court** upheld the constitutionality of **criminal defamation**, recognising individual dignity as one of the bases for sustaining the remedy.

**सुब्रमण्यम स्वामी बनाम भारत संघ (2016)** में, **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** ने **आपराधिक मानहानि** की संवैधानिकता को बरकरार रखा, और व्यक्तिगत गरिमा को इस उपाय को बनाए रखने के आधारों में से एक माना।
- However, to treat dignity as an independent ground for restricting speech, particularly when invoked on the basis of individual sensibilities, risks inviting expansive censorship. हालाँकि, गरिमा को अभिव्यक्ति पर रोक लगाने के एक स्वतंत्र आधार के रूप में मानना, विशेषकर जब इसे व्यक्तिगत संवेदनशीलताओं के आधार पर लागू किया जाए, तो यह व्यापक सेंसरशिप को आमंत्रित करने का जोखिम उठाता है।

## Could such regulations be used to silence speech deemed unpalatable?

क्या ऐसे नियमों का उपयोग अप्रिय मानी जाने वाली अभिव्यक्ति को चुप कराने के लिए किया जा सकता है?

- JVO:** Yes, such regulations are likely to exert a **chilling effect** on speech. Restrictions based on morality or defamation may legitimately intersect with questions of dignity, and in those instances, the **Constitution** permits limits on expression.

**JVO:** हाँ, ऐसे नियम अभिव्यक्ति पर **चिलिंग इफ़ेक्ट** डाल सकते हैं। नैतिकता या मानहानि पर



आधारित प्रतिबंध गरिमा के प्रश्नों से वैध रूप से जुड़े हो सकते हैं, और उन मामलों में **संविधान** अभिव्यक्ति पर सीमाएँ लगाने की अनुमति देता है।

- The difficulty arises when dignity is invoked as an independent basis for restriction, which is not constitutionally defensible. Such a move would inevitably curtail the freedom of **comedians, satirists, and other artists**, and discourage them from performing with candour.

कठिनाई तब उत्पन्न होती है जब गरिमा को प्रतिबंध का स्वतंत्र आधार माना जाता है, जो संवैधानिक रूप से उचित नहीं है। ऐसा कदम अनिवार्य रूप से **कॉमेडियन्स, व्यंग्यकारों और अन्य कलाकारों** की स्वतंत्रता को सीमित कर देगा और उन्हें खुलेपन से प्रदर्शन करने से हतोत्साहित करेगा।

- **AG:** I do not endorse the jokes aired in this particular show. Yet, we must recognise that **literature and stand-up comedy** often confront society with uncomfortable truths and compel us to reflect.

**AG:** मैं इस विशेष शो में प्रस्तुत चुटकुलों का समर्थन नहीं करता। फिर भी, हमें यह मानना चाहिए कि **साहित्य और स्टैंड-अप कॉमेडी** अक्सर समाज को असहज सच्चाइयों से सामना कराते हैं और हमें आत्मचिंतन करने के लिए मजबूर करते हैं।

- The **Supreme Court** itself has acknowledged the importance of protecting even unpalatable speech. In **March**, it quashed a criminal case initiated by the **Gujarat Police** against **Congress MP Imran Pratapgadhi**, accused of inciting discord through a poem.

स्वयं **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** ने अप्रिय अभिव्यक्ति की भी रक्षा करने के महत्व को स्वीकार किया है। **मार्च** में, उसने **गुजरात पुलिस** द्वारा **कांग्रेस सांसद इमरान प्रतापगढ़ी** के खिलाफ कविता के माध्यम से अशांति भड़काने के आरोप में दर्ज आपराधिक मामला खारिज कर दिया।

- A Bench headed by **Justice A.S. Oka** emphasised that **Article 19(1)(a)** protects not only agreeable speech but also views that may offend or disturb.

**न्यायमूर्ति ए.एस. ओका** की अध्यक्षता वाली पीठ ने जोर देकर कहा कि **अनुच्छेद 19(1)(a)** केवल सहमतिपूर्ण अभिव्यक्ति की ही नहीं बल्कि उन विचारों की भी रक्षा करता है, जो आहत या विचलित कर सकते हैं।

- Moreover, concerns persist that the Union government may revive the **Broadcasting Services (Regulation) Bill**, criticised for placing even independent creators under government scrutiny.

इसके अलावा, यह चिंता बनी हुई है कि केंद्र सरकार **ब्रॉडकास्टिंग सर्विसेज़ (रेगुलेशन) बिल** को फिर से लागू कर सकती है, जिसकी आलोचना इसलिए की गई है क्योंकि यह स्वतंत्र रचनाकारों को भी सरकारी निगरानी के दायरे में लाता है।

- If we concede that online content must serve only a “**social value**” defined by the majority, we risk sliding into **mass censorship** or worse, the arbitrary suppression of voices the state finds inconvenient.

यदि हम यह स्वीकार कर लें कि ऑनलाइन सामग्री को केवल बहुमत द्वारा परिभाषित “**सामाजिक मूल्य**” की सेवा करनी चाहिए, तो हम **व्यापक सेंसरशिप** या इससे भी बुरी स्थिति—राज्य द्वारा असुविधाजनक मानी जाने वाली आवाज़ों के मनमाने दमन—की ओर बढ़ने का जोखिम उठाएँगे।

**Does the profit-driven nature of commercial speech justify its regulation?**

**क्या व्यावसायिक अभिव्यक्ति का लाभ-प्रेरित स्वरूप उसके नियमन को उचित ठहराता है?**

- **AG:** Commercial speech should not be dismissed as irrelevant to public discourse. Our society runs on **commerce and trade**, and free expression itself is often likened to a “**marketplace of ideas**”.

**AG:** व्यावसायिक अभिव्यक्ति को सार्वजनिक विमर्श से अप्रासंगिक मानकर खारिज नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। हमारा समाज **व्यापार और वाणिज्य** पर चलता है, और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता को अक्सर “**विचारों का बाज़ार**” कहा जाता है।

- A classic example is **Sakal Papers v. Union of India (1962)**, where the government sought to limit the number of pages a newspaper could publish by tying it to its price.



एक क्लासिक उदाहरण है **साकाल पेपर्स बनाम भारत संघ (1962)**, जहाँ सरकार ने अखबार के पन्नों की संख्या को उसकी कीमत से जोड़कर सीमित करने की कोशिश की।

- The **Supreme Court** struck this down as unconstitutional, holding that such a measure curtailed both the dissemination of news and the circulation of newspapers. **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** ने इसे असंवैधानिक ठहराया, यह मानते हुए कि ऐसा कदम समाचार के प्रसार और अखबारों के प्रसार दोनों को सीमित करता है।
- It affirmed that the freedom to publish any number of pages and to reach as many readers as possible is an essential component of the right to free speech under **Article 19(1)(a)**.

इसने पुष्टि की कि किसी भी संख्या में पन्ने प्रकाशित करने और अधिक से अधिक पाठकों तक पहुँचने की स्वतंत्रता **अनुच्छेद 19(1)(a)** के तहत अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता का एक आवश्यक घटक है।

- The same logic extends to other forms of expression. For instance, a **stand-up comedian** must earn a livelihood to pay for performance venues. But the fact that speech is commercial, or perceived to be driven by profit, cannot in itself justify regulation.

यही तर्क अभिव्यक्ति के अन्य रूपों पर भी लागू होता है। उदाहरण के लिए, एक **स्टैंड-अप कॉमेडियन** को प्रदर्शन स्थलों का भुगतान करने के लिए आजीविका अर्जित करनी होती है। लेकिन केवल यह तथ्य कि अभिव्यक्ति व्यावसायिक है या लाभ से प्रेरित मानी जाती है, अपने आप में नियमन को उचित नहीं ठहरा सकता।

- **JVO**: ...the **Supreme Court's jurisprudence** has consistently recognised that even commercial speech falls within the ambit of **Article 19(1)(a)**. Moreover, speech of **comedians, journalists, or satirists** has never traditionally been categorised as commercial speech.

**JVO**: ... **सुप्रीम कोर्ट** की न्यायशास्त्र ने लगातार यह स्वीकार किया है कि व्यावसायिक अभिव्यक्ति भी **अनुच्छेद 19(1)(a)** के दायरे में आती है। इसके अलावा, **कॉमेडियन्स, पत्रकारों या व्यंग्यकारों** की अभिव्यक्ति को परंपरागत रूप से कभी व्यावसायिक अभिव्यक्ति की श्रेणी में नहीं रखा गया है।

- Does the Supreme Court's polyvocality (divergent views expressed by coordinate Benches) inevitably lead to inconsistent precedents?  
क्या सर्वोच्च न्यायालय की बहुस्वरता (समान पीठों द्वारा व्यक्त किए गए भिन्न विचार) अनिवार्य रूप से असंगत नज़ीरों की ओर ले जाती है?

- **AG**: A polyvocal court does not detract from its status as a **court of record**, which obliges it to follow the law laid down in earlier decisions. Even when a precedent is inapplicable to a new fact situation or requires incremental modification, its essence remains intact.

**AG**: एक बहुस्वर न्यायालय अपने **अभिलेख न्यायालय (court of record)** होने की स्थिति से वंचित नहीं होता, जो इसे पहले के निर्णयों में स्थापित कानून का पालन करने के लिए बाध्य करता है। भले ही कोई नज़ीर नई तथ्यात्मक परिस्थिति में लागू न हो या उसमें क्रमिक संशोधन की आवश्यकता हो, उसकी मूल भावना बरकरार रहती है।

- However, what is troubling in this case is that the court has directed the **executive** to frame regulations. Such regulations would carry not only the ordinary presumption of **constitutionality** but also reinforced legitimacy. This court-mandated exercise blurs institutional boundaries and renders any future constitutional challenge doubly difficult.

हालाँकि, इस मामले में चिंताजनक यह है कि न्यायालय ने **कार्यपालिका (executive)** को विनियम बनाने का निर्देश दिया है। ऐसे विनियम केवल साधारण **संवैधानिकता (constitutionality)** की धारणा ही नहीं बल्कि सशक्त वैधता भी रखते होंगे। न्यायालय द्वारा अनिवार्य यह अभ्यास संस्थागत सीमाओं को धुंधला करता है और किसी भी भविष्य की संवैधानिक चुनौती को दोगुना कठिन बना देता है।

- **JVO**: The dichotomy between **legal certainty** and the development of law through individual judicial perspectives has always been contentious. However, we should not conflate the polyvocal nature of courts with the problem of coordinate Benches



issuing conflicting judgments. When a Bench of equal strength delivers a ruling that departs from an earlier coordinate Bench, it is a breach of **judicial discipline**. In such cases, the only proper course is to refer the matter to a larger Bench.

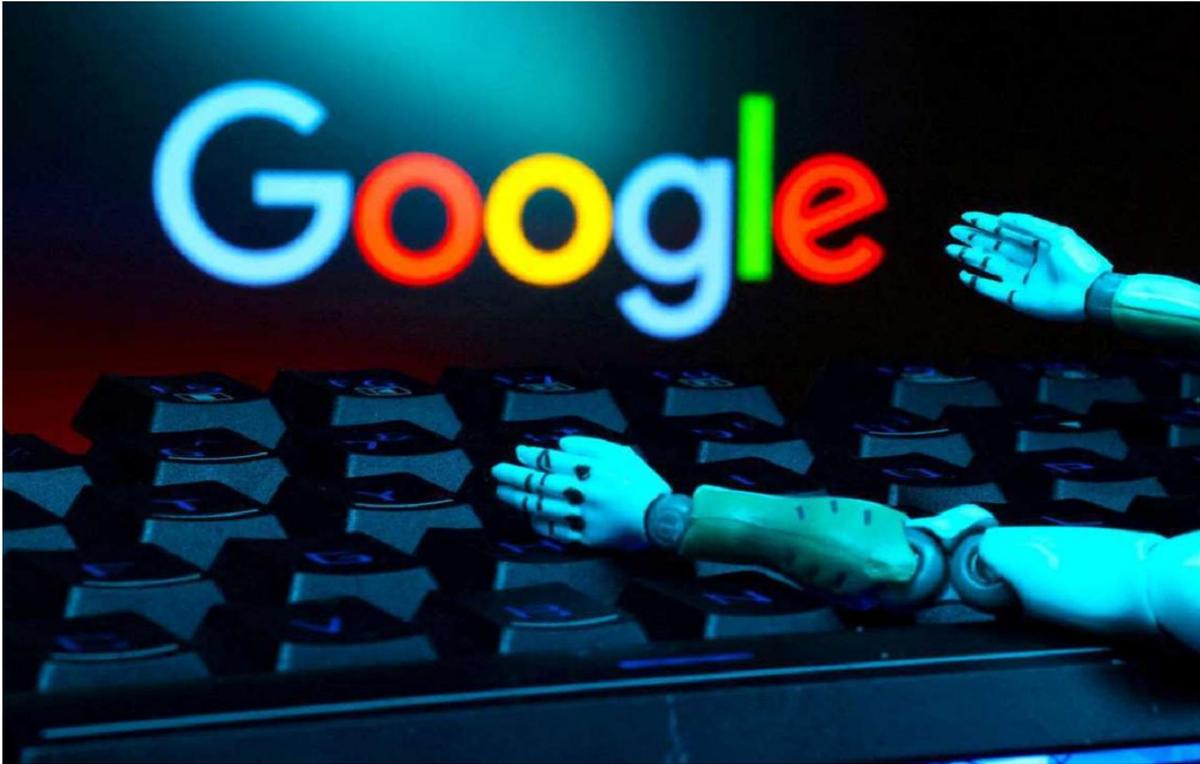
**JVO: कानूनी निश्चितता (legal certainty)** और व्यक्तिगत न्यायिक दृष्टिकोणों के माध्यम से कानून के विकास के बीच का द्वंद्व हमेशा विवादास्पद रहा है। हालाँकि, हमें न्यायालयों की बहुस्वरता को समान पीठों द्वारा परस्पर विरोधी निर्णय देने की समस्या से नहीं मिलाना चाहिए। जब समान शक्ति वाली कोई पीठ किसी पूर्ववर्ती समान पीठ से अलग निर्णय देती है, तो यह **न्यायिक अनुशासन (judicial discipline)** का उल्लंघन होता है। ऐसे मामलों में, एकमात्र उचित रास्ता यह है कि मामलों को बड़ी पीठ के पास भेजा जाए।

### What safeguards should these regulations embody to prevent misuse? दुरुपयोग को रोकने के लिए इन विनियमों में कौन-से सुरक्षा उपाय निहित होने चाहिए?

- **JVO:** Safeguards must begin with strong **review mechanisms**. The regulations should also reflect a clear respect for constitutional values of **free speech**, and that ethos must extend to those charged with enforcing them. Equally important is meaningful **stakeholder consultation**, which must not be confined to groups favouring restrictions while excluding those most affected.  
**JVO:** सुरक्षा उपायों की शुरुआत मजबूत **समीक्षा तंत्र (review mechanisms)** से होनी चाहिए। विनियमों में **अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता (free speech)** के संवैधानिक मूल्यों का स्पष्ट सम्मान झलकना चाहिए, और यह भावना उन तक भी पहुँचे जो उन्हें लागू करने के लिए उत्तरदायी हैं। उतना ही महत्वपूर्ण है सार्थक **हितधारक परामर्श (stakeholder consultation)**, जो केवल प्रतिबंधों का समर्थन करने वाले समूहों तक सीमित न हो बल्कि सबसे अधिक प्रभावित लोगों को भी शामिल करे।
- **AG:** The court's order states that all **stakeholders** will be invited in framing these regulations, but it neither specifies who those stakeholders are nor how they will be consulted. Moreover, the existing takedown regime under **Section 69A of the IT Act** and the **Blocking Rules, 2009**, is already opaque. Aggrieved individuals are often not given notice before their content is removed. Such opacity in takedown orders, censorship, and website blocking has become a recurring feature of India's regulatory landscape. These deficiencies must be addressed in the new regulations.  
**AG:** न्यायालय के आदेश में कहा गया है कि सभी **हितधारकों (stakeholders)** को इन विनियमों को बनाने में आमंत्रित किया जाएगा, लेकिन यह न तो स्पष्ट करता है कि वे हितधारक कौन होंगे और न ही यह कि उनसे परामर्श कैसे किया जाएगा। इसके अलावा, **आईटी अधिनियम की धारा 69A** और **ब्लॉकिंग नियम, 2009** के तहत मौजूदा हटाने (takedown) की व्यवस्था पहले से ही अपारदर्शी है। अक्सर प्रभावित व्यक्तियों को उनकी सामग्री हटाए जाने से पहले कोई सूचना नहीं दी जाती। हटाने के आदेशों, सेंसरशिप और वेबसाइट ब्लॉकिंग में ऐसी अपारदर्शिता भारत के नियामक परिदृश्य की एक बार-बार सामने आने वाली विशेषता बन गई है। इन कमियों को नए विनियमों में संबोधित करना आवश्यक है।



CACHE



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# Will Google lose its data moat after landmark U.S. court ruling?

Over the past two decades, Google has become synonymous with searching the internet, so much so that 'googling' has entered the global lexicon. Challenging this dominance, the U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ) and a coalition of states sued the Alphabet-owned company in 2020

**GS III: Monopoly**  
**John Xavier**

**T**he decision by U.S. District Court Judge Amit Mehta, compelling the Silicon Valley giant to share its search data with rivals, appears on the surface to be a significant blow. However, a deeper look into the mechanics of modern search and the trajectory of Artificial Intelligence (AI) suggests that while the landscape is changing, Google's fortress may be far from breached.

Over the past two decades, Google has become synonymous with searching the internet, so much so that "googling" has entered the global lexicon. The company reached this zenith by relentlessly refining its search engine, feeding it an ever-increasing volume of user queries and interaction patterns.

This information cemented Google's dominant position, keeping it years ahead as competitors languished. This technical superiority was reinforced by exclusive deals with device manufacturers, making Google the default search engine, pre-empting new users from ever testing alternative platforms.

Challenging this dominance, the U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ) and a coalition of states sued the Alphabet-owned company in 2020. In a pivotal moment, Judge Mehta ruled that "Google is a monopolist, and it has acted as one to maintain its monopoly." The court found that Google had spent billions on distribution deals to be the

"out-of-the-box" search engine at all key entry points.

While the DoJ sought a structural breakup, including the divestment of the Chrome browser, the court instead ordered behavioural remedies aimed at restoring competition by lowering barriers for Google's rivals. The centre-piece of this remedy is the requirement for Google to open its vast trove of search data to "qualified competitors," a move designed to help them build more capable search products.

#### The old moat and the new frontier

To understand the ruling's true impact, one must first appreciate the architecture of Google's dominance. It rests on two pillars: a colossal, continuously updated index of the web and an unparalleled volume of user interaction data. The index is the library and the user data is the librarian's knowledge of which books are most useful for which questions.

Every search query, every click, every moment a user lingers on a page, and even how they refine a failed search provides a signal. This real-time feedback loop, collected from billions of devices through its default-by-design strategy, is the lifeblood that allows Google's algorithms to learn, adapt, and deliver superior relevance.

Judge Mehta's remedy, by forcing Google to share query and interaction data, is a direct assault on this data moat. The intention is to give competitors the

raw material they need to train their own algorithms and build more comprehensive indexes. In theory, this levels the playing field. In practice, however, it may be a solution for a problem that is already being superseded by a new technological paradigm.

#### From search engine to GPT engine

The future of information retrieval is not a list of 10 blue links – it will be a direct, synthesised answer. We are witnessing the evolution from search engines to what can be described as GPT-powered answer engines. Driven by Large Language Models (LLMs), these new systems don't just point you to information; they understand, summarise, and generate it for you. Features like Google's AI Overviews are the opening act of this transformation. Users are no longer just "searching", they are engaging in a dialogue with an AI that provides a consolidated, conversational response.

In this new world, the nature of competitive advantage shifts dramatically. While the historical query data and web index that the court is ordering Google to share are valuable for building a foundational, traditional search engine, they are less critical for perfecting a generative AI-powered one. The new data is not what people searched for yesterday, but how they interact with the AI-generated answers of today.

#### Why Google's lead is set to expand

This is where Google's incumbency

becomes an almost insurmountable advantage. The company's data moat isn't just its historical archive; it is its real-time, global-scale user-testing platform. As Google rolls out AI Overviews and other generative features across its products – Search, Chrome, Android – it gains access to a feedback loop of unparalleled scale.

Every time a user accepts an AI-generated answer, refines their prompt, or clicks on a source link within an overview, they are providing a signal that fine-tunes Google's models. This is Reinforcement Learning from Human Feedback (RLHF) on a scale that no competitor can hope to replicate.

Rivals, even with access to Google's historical query logs, are essentially being given the blueprints to a 2020-era engine while Google is building a next decade's answer engine. The data that truly matters for winning the AI race is the nuanced, personalised, real-time interaction data with generative models.

Google's distribution deals, while now deemed anti-competitive, have secured it the prime real estate to collect this next-generation data from billions of users.

The court's remedy may help a few competitors to build a better classic search engine, but it does little to help them challenge Google in the transition to an AI-first answer engine.

The moat, therefore, is not being drained; it is simply being re-engineered around a new, more advanced, and even more defensible technology.

**Will Google lose its data moat after landmark U.S. court**



ruling?

## क्या गूगल अपनी डेटा सुरक्षा (data moat) खो देगा ऐतिहासिक अमेरिकी अदालत के फैसले के बाद?

- Over the past two decades, **Google** has become synonymous with searching the internet, so much so that 'googling' has entered the global lexicon.  
पिछले दो दशकों में, **गूगल** इंटरनेट पर खोज करने का पर्याय बन गया है, इतना कि 'गूगलिंग' वैश्विक शब्दावली में शामिल हो गया है।
- Challenging this dominance, the **U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ)** and a coalition of states sued the **Alphabet-owned company in 2020**.  
इस प्रभुत्व को चुनौती देते हुए, **अमेरिकी न्याय विभाग (DoJ)** और कई राज्यों के गठबंधन ने **Alphabet-स्वामित्व वाली कंपनी पर 2020 में मुकदमा किया।**

**The decision by U.S. District Court Judge Amit Mehta**  
**अमेरिकी जिला न्यायालय के न्यायाधीश अमित मेहता का निर्णय**

- The decision by **U.S. District Court Judge Amit Mehta**, compelling the **Silicon Valley giant to share its search data with rivals, appears on the surface to be a significant blow**.  
**अमेरिकी जिला न्यायालय के न्यायाधीश अमित मेहता** का निर्णय, जिसमें **सिलिकॉन वैली की दिग्गज कंपनी** को अपने खोज डेटा को प्रतिद्वंद्वियों के साथ साझा करने के लिए मजबूर किया गया, सतह पर एक महत्वपूर्ण झटका प्रतीत होता है।
- However, a deeper look into the mechanics of modern search and the trajectory of **Artificial Intelligence (AI)** suggests that while the landscape is changing, **Google's fortress** may be far from breached.  
हालांकि, आधुनिक खोज की यांत्रिकी और **कृत्रिम बुद्धिमत्ता (AI)** की दिशा पर गहराई से नज़र डालने से पता चलता है कि जबकि परिदृश्य बदल रहा है, **गूगल का किला** टूटने से अभी बहुत दूर है।
- Over the past two decades, **Google** has become synonymous with searching the internet, so much so that "googling" has entered the global lexicon.  
पिछले दो दशकों में, **गूगल** इंटरनेट पर खोज का पर्याय बन गया है, इतना कि "गूगलिंग" वैश्विक शब्दावली में प्रवेश कर गया है।
- The company reached this zenith by relentlessly refining its search engine, feeding it an ever-increasing volume of user queries and interaction patterns.  
कंपनी ने अपने खोज इंजन को लगातार परिष्कृत करके, और इसे लगातार बढ़ती हुई उपयोगकर्ता क्वेरी और इंटरैक्शन पैटर्न से पोषित करके यह शिखर हासिल किया।
- This information cemented **Google's dominant position**, keeping it years ahead as competitors languished.  
इस जानकारी ने **गूगल की प्रमुख स्थिति** को मजबूत किया, जिससे यह प्रतिस्पर्धियों से वर्षों आगे बना रहा।
- This technical superiority was reinforced by exclusive deals with device manufacturers, making **Google the default search engine**, pre-empting new users from ever testing alternative platforms.  
इस तकनीकी श्रेष्ठता को उपकरण निर्माताओं के साथ विशेष सौदों से मजबूत किया गया, जिसने **गूगल को डिफॉल्ट खोज इंजन** बना दिया, जिससे नए उपयोगकर्ता कभी वैकल्पिक प्लेटफॉर्म का परीक्षण ही नहीं कर सके।
- Challenging this dominance, the **U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ)** and a coalition of states sued the **Alphabet-owned company in 2020**.  
इस प्रभुत्व को चुनौती देते हुए, **अमेरिकी न्याय विभाग (DoJ)** और राज्यों के एक गठबंधन ने **Alphabet-स्वामित्व वाली कंपनी पर 2020 में मुकदमा किया।**



- In a pivotal moment, **Judge Mehta** ruled that “**Google is a monopolist, and it has acted as one to maintain its monopoly.**”  
एक महत्वपूर्ण क्षण में, **न्यायाधीश मेहता** ने निर्णय दिया कि “**गूगल एक एकाधिकारवादी है, और उसने अपने एकाधिकार को बनाए रखने के लिए ऐसा ही कार्य किया है।**”
- The court found that **Google** had spent **billions** on distribution deals to be the “out-of-the-box” search engine at all key entry points.  
अदालत ने पाया कि **गूगल** ने सभी प्रमुख प्रवेश बिंदुओं पर “आउट-ऑफ-द-बॉक्स” खोज इंजन बनने के लिए वितरण सौदों पर **अरबों डॉलर** खर्च किए थे।
- While the **DoJ** sought a structural breakup, including the divestment of the **Chrome browser**, the court instead ordered **behavioural remedies** aimed at restoring competition by lowering barriers for Google’s rivals.  
जबकि **DoJ** ने संरचनात्मक विभाजन की मांग की थी, जिसमें **क्रोम ब्राउज़र** का विक्रय शामिल था, अदालत ने इसके बजाय **व्यवहार संबंधी उपाय** लागू करने का आदेश दिया, जिसका उद्देश्य गूगल के प्रतिद्वंद्वियों के लिए बाधाओं को कम करके प्रतिस्पर्धा बहाल करना था।
- The centre-piece of this remedy is the requirement for **Google** to open its vast trove of search data to “**qualified competitors**,” a move designed to help them build more capable search products.  
इस उपाय का मुख्य बिंदु यह है कि **गूगल** को अपने विशाल खोज डेटा को “**योग्य प्रतिद्वंद्वियों**” के लिए खोलना होगा, ताकि वे अधिक सक्षम खोज उत्पाद विकसित कर सकें।

### The old moat and the new frontier पुराना सुरक्षा कवच और नया मोर्चा

- To understand the ruling’s true impact, one must first appreciate the architecture of **Google’s dominance**.  
इस निर्णय के वास्तविक प्रभाव को समझने के लिए, सबसे पहले **गूगल के प्रभुत्व** की संरचना को समझना होगा।
- It rests on two pillars: a **colossal, continuously updated index of the web and an unparalleled volume of user interaction data**.  
यह दो स्तंभों पर टिका है: **वेब का विशाल, लगातार अपडेट किया गया इंडेक्स और अद्वितीय उपयोगकर्ता इंटरैक्शन डेटा की मात्रा**।
- The index is the library and the user data is the librarian’s knowledge of which books are most useful for which questions.  
इंडेक्स पुस्तकालय है और उपयोगकर्ता डेटा लाइब्रेरियन का ज्ञान है कि कौन सी किताबें किन प्रश्नों के लिए सबसे उपयोगी हैं।
- Every search query, every click, every moment a user lingers on a page, and even how they refine a failed search provides a signal.**  
हर खोज क्वेरी, हर क्लिक, हर क्षण जब उपयोगकर्ता किसी पेज पर रुकता है, और यहां तक कि वे असफल खोज को कैसे परिष्कृत करते हैं, यह सब एक संकेत प्रदान करता है।
- This real-time feedback loop, collected from billions of devices through its default-by-design strategy, is the lifeblood that allows Google’s algorithms to learn, adapt, and deliver superior relevance.**  
यह **रीयल-टाइम फीडबैक लूप**, जिसे **डिफॉल्ट-बाय-डिज़ाइन रणनीति** के माध्यम से अरबों उपकरणों से एकत्र किया गया है, वह जीवनरेखा है जो **गूगल के एल्गोरिद्म** को सीखने, अनुकूलित होने और बेहतर प्रासंगिकता प्रदान करने में सक्षम बनाती है।
- Judge Mehta’s remedy**, by forcing **Google** to share query and interaction data, is a direct assault on this **data moat**.  
**न्यायाधीश मेहता का उपाय**, जिसमें **गूगल** को क्वेरी और इंटरैक्शन डेटा साझा करने के लिए मजबूर किया गया है, इस **डेटा सुरक्षा कवच** पर सीधा आघात है।
- The intention is to give competitors the raw material they need to train their own algorithms and build more comprehensive indexes.



इसका उद्देश्य प्रतिद्वंद्वियों को वह कच्चा माल देना है जिसकी उन्हें अपने एल्गोरिद्म को प्रशिक्षित करने और अधिक व्यापक इंडेक्स बनाने के लिए आवश्यकता है।

- In theory, this levels the playing field. In practice, however, it may be a solution for a problem that is already being superseded by a new technological paradigm.  
सिद्धांत रूप में, यह खेल का मैदान बराबर करता है। लेकिन व्यवहार में, यह एक ऐसी समस्या का समाधान हो सकता है जिसे पहले से ही एक नई तकनीकी प्रतिमान द्वारा प्रतिस्थापित किया जा रहा है।

### From search engine to GPT engine सर्च इंजन से GPT इंजन तक

- The future of information retrieval is not a list of **10 blue links** — it will be a direct, synthesised answer.  
सूचना प्राप्ति का भविष्य **10 नीले लिंक** की सूची नहीं है — यह एक प्रत्यक्ष और संयोजित उत्तर होगा।
- We are witnessing the evolution from **search engines** to what can be described as **GPT-powered answer engines**.  
हम **सर्च इंजन से GPT-संचालित उत्तर इंजन** तक के विकास को देख रहे हैं।
- Driven by **Large Language Models (LLMs)**, these new systems don't just point you to information; they understand, summarise, and generate it for you.  
**लार्ज लैंग्वेज मॉडल्स (LLMs)** द्वारा संचालित ये नए सिस्टम केवल सूचना की ओर संकेत नहीं करते; वे उसे समझते हैं, सारांशित करते हैं और आपके लिए उत्पन्न भी करते हैं।
- Features like **Google's AI Overviews** are the opening act of this transformation.  
**गूगल के AI ओवरव्यूज़** जैसी विशेषताएँ इस परिवर्तन का प्रारंभिक चरण हैं।
- Users are no longer just "searching", they are engaging in a dialogue with an AI that provides a consolidated, conversational response.  
उपयोगकर्ता अब केवल "सर्च" नहीं कर रहे, वे एक ऐसे AI के साथ संवाद कर रहे हैं जो एकीकृत और संवादात्मक उत्तर देता है।

### Why Google's lead is set to expand गूगल की बढ़त क्यों और बढ़ने वाली है

- This is where **Google's incumbency** becomes an almost insurmountable advantage.  
यही वह जगह है जहाँ **गूगल की स्थापित स्थिति** लगभग अजेय लाभ बन जाती है।
- The company's **data moat** isn't just its historical archive; it is its **real-time, global-scale user-testing platform**.  
कंपनी की **डेटा खाई** केवल इसका ऐतिहासिक संग्रह नहीं है; यह इसका **रियल-टाइम, वैश्विक स्तर का यूज़र-टेस्टिंग प्लेटफ़ॉर्म** है।
- As Google rolls out **AI Overviews** and other **generative features** across its products — **Search, Chrome, Android** — it gains access to a **feedback loop of unparalleled scale**.  
जब गूगल अपने उत्पादों — **सर्च, क्रोम, एंड्रॉयड** — में **AI ओवरव्यूज़** और अन्य **जनरेटिव फीचर्स** लॉन्च करता है, तो उसे **अतुलनीय पैमाने का फीडबैक लूप** मिलता है।
- Every time a user accepts an **AI-generated answer**, refines their prompt, or clicks on a source link within an overview, they are providing a signal that fine-tunes Google's models.  
हर बार जब कोई उपयोगकर्ता **AI-निर्मित उत्तर** स्वीकार करता है, अपने प्रॉम्प्ट को सुधारता है, या ओवरव्यू में किसी स्रोत लिंक पर क्लिक करता है, तो वह एक संकेत प्रदान करता है जो गूगल के मॉडलों को और सटीक बनाता है।
- This is **Reinforcement Learning from Human Feedback (RLHF)** on a scale that no competitor can hope to replicate.



यह मानव फीडबैक से सुदृढीकरण शिक्षण (RLHF) का ऐसा पैमाना है जिसकी नकल करने की उम्मीद कोई प्रतिद्वंद्वी नहीं कर सकता।

- Rivals, even with access to Google's **historical query logs**, are essentially being given the blueprints to a **2020-era engine** while Google is building the **next decade's answer engine**.  
प्रतिद्वंद्वी, भले ही उन्हें गूगल के ऐतिहासिक केरी लॉग्स तक पहुँच मिल जाए, वास्तव में उन्हें **2020-युग के इंजन** की रूपरेखा दी जा रही है, जबकि गूगल **अगले दशक का उत्तर इंजन** बना रहा है।
- The data that truly matters for winning the **AI race** is the nuanced, personalised, real-time interaction data with generative models.  
**AI दौड़** जीतने के लिए वास्तव में जो डेटा महत्वपूर्ण है वह जनरेटिव मॉडलों के साथ सूक्ष्म, व्यक्तिगत और रियल-टाइम इंटरैक्शन डेटा है।
- **Google's distribution deals**, while now deemed anti-competitive, have secured it the **prime real estate** to collect this next-generation data from **billions of users**.  
यद्यपि अब **गूगल के वितरण समझौते** प्रतिस्पर्धा-विरोधी माने जा रहे हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने इसे **अरबों उपयोगकर्ताओं** से अगली पीढ़ी का डेटा एकत्र करने के लिए **सर्वोत्तम स्थान** प्रदान किया है।
- The court's remedy may help a few competitors to build a better classic search engine, but it does little to help them challenge Google in the transition to an **AI-first answer engine**.  
अदालत का उपाय कुछ प्रतिद्वंद्वियों को एक बेहतर पारंपरिक सर्च इंजन बनाने में मदद कर सकता है, लेकिन यह उन्हें **AI-प्रथम उत्तर इंजन** में बदलाव के दौरान गूगल को चुनौती देने में बहुत कम मदद करता है।
- The moat, therefore, is not being drained; it is simply being re-engineered around a new, more advanced, and even more defensible technology.  
इसलिए, खाई को खाली नहीं किया जा रहा है; इसे केवल एक नई, अधिक उन्नत और और भी अधिक रक्षात्मक तकनीक के आसपास पुनः-इंजीनियर किया जा रहा है