

ForumIAS

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Mains Marathon

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HISTORY
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Examine the necessity of establishing robust research pipelines connecting industry outlays to campus strengths in India. Justify how this sustained link is vital for translating science into industrial growth.

Introduction

India's GERD remains around 0.65% of GDP (UNESCO, 2023), far below OECD averages, highlighting the urgent need to align industry R&D expenditure with academic research pipelines to catalyse innovation-driven industrial growth.

Why robust industry-campus research pipelines are necessary

- 1. India's structural R&D gap:** Indian enterprises contribute only **two-fifths of national R&D**, whereas South Korea, Japan and the U.S. see **70–75% industry share** (OECD STI Indicators). Episodic CSR-style research spending lacks **predictability, scale and sectoral continuity**, weakening long-term technological advancement.
- 2. Unlocking campus strengths and translational research:** India hosts some of the world's strongest HEIs: IITs, IISc, IISERs, Centrally Funded Institutes. Yet university research often remains **lab-bound**, missing pathways to prototyping, pilot-scale manufacturing, or commercialization. Robust pipelines—joint centres, pre-competitive research consortia, shared pilot lines—convert **basic science into usable technologies**, a core pillar of the **Triple Helix Model (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff)**.
- 3. Learning from global benchmarks:** Meta (\$44 billion), Huawei (179.7 billion yuan), BYD (54.2 billion yuan) show large, predictable R&D outlays connected to academic ecosystems. The NSF IUCRC Program and the Semiconductor Research Corporation (SRC) demonstrate how long-horizon industry-university consortia solve sectoral problems while training talent—critical for U.S. semiconductor and digital leadership. These models validate that **science becomes industry only when stable industrial demand meets campus research capacity**.

Evidence of India's potential and emerging platforms

Early Indian success stories

- 1. IIT Madras Research Park;** 200+ firms, daily lab-industry interaction, 12x higher IP output than standalone institutes.
- 2. iDEX (Ministry of Defence):** connects start-ups, defence labs, and academia for dual-use technologies.
- 3. India Semiconductor Mission (ISM):** Micron's ATMP facility in Sanand integrates industry investment with skill and academic links.

Sectoral leaders point to scalable models

- 1. Tata Motors (6.7% R&D intensity), BEL (6.24%), Sun Pharma (6.7%), Dr. Reddy's (8.2%)** show that Indian firms with high R&D intensity outperform peers in global competitiveness.
- Linking these outlays to HEIs can produce **predictable knowledge pipelines** crucial for automobiles, pharma, defence, electronics and renewable energy.

Why sustained linkages are vital for converting science into industrial growth

1. **Creates innovation supply chains:** Stable funding enables HEIs to maintain doctoral cohorts, multi-year projects, and shared testbeds—forming a **national innovation supply chain** rather than sporadic research bursts.
2. **Builds absorptive capacity in industry:** Cohen & Levinthal's theory highlights that firms with continuous academic engagement develop **absorptive capacity**—the ability to internalise scientific breakthroughs and convert them into products.
3. **Reduces duplication and accelerates time-to-market:** Joint IP frameworks, shared pilot lines and open labs reduce risk, widen experimentation, and shrink product-development cycles—key for sectors like **semiconductors, EVs, biologics, and green hydrogen**.
4. **Aligns skill pipelines with industrial needs:** Dual-track roles, industry-sponsored PhDs, and joint curriculum design ensure that **talent supply matches frontier technologies**, solving India's chronic skill mismatch.

Conclusion

As the National Innovation Survey and Joseph Schumpeter's insights emphasise, sustained industry–university collaboration is essential for innovation-led growth. Strengthening these pipelines will anchor India's scientific potential to durable industrial competitiveness.

Examine the trade-offs and dilemmas faced by energy policy in the age of AI and climate change. Critically analyze the security implications of overdependence on a single cheapest supplier for the green transition.

Introduction

IEA's **World Energy Outlook 2024** highlights how AI expansion and climate change are reshaping energy systems, compelling countries like India to balance economic growth, decarbonization, technological diffusion, energy security and geopolitical vulnerabilities simultaneously.

The New Energy Landscape: AI and Climate Change as Dual Disruptors

Growing AI-driven electricity demand

1. India earlier prioritised **access, affordability and supply security**, but today must integrate **decarbonisation, digital infrastructure, grid modernisation and resilient supply chains**.
2. AI data centres consume **10–50 times** more electricity than traditional centres (IEA, 2023).
3. Google's **\$15 billion Visakhapatnam AI hub** and upcoming industry clusters require **gigawatt-scale renewable power**, demanding upgraded transmission, battery storage and smart grids.
4. **Policy dilemma:** rapid AI growth vs. insufficient renewable capacity and grid readiness.

Climate commitments vs. socio-political realities

1. Coal India employs **3.5 lakh** workers, with millions dependent on coal-linked ecosystems—a major political economy constraint.
2. Simultaneously, six of the world's ten most polluted cities are in India (World Air Quality Report 2024).
3. Under the **Paris Agreement**, India's NDC targets **50% non-fossil electricity capacity by 2030**.
4. **Dilemma**: environmental urgency vs. livelihood dependence and electoral constraints.

Key Trade-offs in Contemporary Energy Policy

1. **Affordability vs. deep decarbonisation**: Renewables are cheaper (solar below ₹2.5/kWh), but integrating them requires: Grid-scale **battery storage**, **Green hydrogen** infrastructure, **Flexible thermal backup**, High-voltage transmission corridors. **Trade-off**: low-cost generation vs. high-cost integration.
2. **Fragmented governance vs. integrated energy planning**: Multiple ministries (Coal, MNRE, Petroleum, Power) lead to siloed decisions, slowing coordination required for AI-climate era challenges such as: Cross-sectoral energy demand, Technology transfer and Critical mineral supply chains. A shift towards a **whole-of-government energy governance architecture** is essential.
3. **Accelerated transition vs. political and fiscal constraints**: Rapid decarbonisation risks job losses and regional imbalances; slow transition jeopardises sustainability targets and ESG-linked investments.
4. **Overdependence on a Single Cheapest Supplier: Security risks like China controls**: **80%** of solar panels, **95%** of polysilicon wafers, **80%** of lithium-ion processing. Dominant shares in **rare earths**, battery chemicals and critical minerals.

Security Implications

1. **Geopolitical vulnerability**: Overdependence creates strategic risks similar to Europe's pre-2022 reliance on Russian gas. China's dominance can be leveraged for coercive diplomacy or supply disruption during crises.
2. **Supply chain fragility**: Disruptions—pandemic shocks, export restrictions or geopolitical tensions—can stall India's green transition infrastructure, from **solar parks to EV manufacturing**.
3. **Technology lock-in**: Relying on ultra-cheap imports discourages: Domestic manufacturing under PLI for Solar Modules, Innovation in next-gen technologies (perovskites, sodium-ion batteries) and competitive value chains.
4. **Economic risks**: Price manipulations or cartel-like behaviour can undermine domestic industry, increasing long-term import dependence and eroding energy sovereignty.

Conclusion

As **Vaclav Smil notes in Energy and Civilization**, resilient energy systems underpin national power. India must diversify supply chains, strengthen domestic capacity and adopt integrated governance to balance competing energy dilemmas effectively.

Examine how mandating 100 minimum sitting days for Parliament can reinvigorate parliamentary democracy. Justify its role in strengthening checks and balances and ensuring legislative scrutiny.

Introduction

India's Parliament averaged **only 55 sitting days in the 17th Lok Sabha**, sharply below global democracies. Declining sittings, hurried legislations, weak scrutiny and rising executive dominance underscore the urgency of mandating a minimum 100 sitting days annually.

Why Minimum Sitting Days Matter for Parliamentary Democracy

(a) Restoring Executive Accountability: A parliamentary system works on **continuous executive responsibility to the legislature** (Art. 75). When sittings fall, **Question Hour, Zero Hour and debates shrink**, weakening real-time accountability. PRS data shows **Question Hour productivity fell to 7% in some sessions (2023)**—a sign of declining oversight.

(b) Strengthening Deliberation and Quality of Law-making: **35% of Bills in 17th Lok Sabha passed with less than one hour of debate**, reflecting “fast-track legislation.” Only **16% bills** were referred to **Standing Committees**, against the ideal of 60% recommended by the **NCRWC (2002)**. More sittings enable: Deeper clause-by-clause discussion, Wider participation and reduced legislative errors (e.g., hurried passage of the Aadhaar Act, Farm Laws)

(c) Reviving Parliamentary Committees and Pre-legislative Scrutiny: Committees are Parliament's “mini think tanks.” More sittings allow committee reports to be tabled, debated and implemented. The **UK and Australian Parliaments** ensure fixed, intensive committee periods ensuring robust scrutiny—India lags far behind.

How 100 Sitting Days Strengthen Checks & Balances

(a) Reinforcing the Separation of Powers: As the **executive dominates agenda-setting**, reduced sittings invert the constitutional balance. More sittings restore Parliament's role as the **counter-majoritarian** check on executive overreach.

(b) Enhancing Federal Oversight: Centralisation of fiscal powers (GST Council dominance, declining tax devolution) demands stronger parliamentary debates on federal issues. A structured calendar gives Opposition-ruled states a forum for redress.

(c) Preventing Abuse of Parliamentary Procedures: Rising suspensions of MPs and frequent disruptions undermine deliberative democracy. A mandated minimum reduces the incentive to rush business through short or “special” sessions.

Institutional and Comparative Justifications

Global practice

1. **UK House of Commons:** ~150 sitting days/year.
2. **US Congress:** ~165 days/year.
3. **Japan Diet:** ~150 days/year. India's ~60 days is an outlier for a major democracy.

Indian institutional recommendations

1. **National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution (NCRWC)** → minimum 120 days.
2. **Second Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC)** → structured parliamentary calendar.
3. **Sri Krishna Committee (2010)** → more sittings essential to reduce “ordinance raj.”

Mandated Sitting Days-

It is a path to democratic renewal it enables:

1. **Thorough legislative scrutiny** and reduced judicial litigation over poorly drafted laws.
2. **Deliberative democracy** in line with Ambedkar’s vision of “constitutional methods.”
3. **Reduced dependence on ordinances** (Art. 123), ensuring Parliament—not the executive—makes laws.
4. **Greater transparency** through televised debates, committee reports, and public participation.

Conclusion

Mandating 100 sitting days **revives Ambedkar’s deliberative vision and fortifies democratic** checks. As emphasised in the **NCRWC report**, sustained legislative engagement is indispensable to counter executive dominance and uphold constitutional accountability.

Examine the necessity of protecting the fiscal space of States to meet multiple challenges. Justify the need for increasing tax receipts for both the Union and State governments.

Introduction

India’s States undertake nearly 60% of public expenditure, including health, education and infrastructure, yet their fiscal space has declined in recent Finance Commission cycles, necessitating strengthened transfers and enhanced tax revenues for national development.

Why Protecting States’ Fiscal Space Is Crucial

1. **States are Primary Providers of Public Services: States finance 85% of law and order, 80% of health, and 70% of education services** (RBI State Finances Report). Flagship outcomes—learning levels, NCD control, skilling—depend heavily on adequate State resources.
2. **Growing Responsibilities Amid Shrinking Revenues:** Despite the 14th Finance Commission raising tax devolution from **32% to 42%**, States’ actual fiscal space fell during the **15th FC** period: States’ revenue share dipped from **68.08% (14th FC)** to **67.39% (15th FC)**. Decline resulted from: Rising **cesses and surcharges**, which are **non-divisible** under Article 270. Reduced states’ own revenue, especially **post-GST compensation cess withdrawal in 2022**. High-income States (Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Haryana) saw a decline of **0.38 percentage points** in fiscal space.
3. **Federal Balance and Cooperative Federalism:** Squeezing State finances disrupts the constitutional vision of a **Union of States** (Article 1). Over-centralised schemes, conditional grants, and discretionary transfers undermine fiscal autonomy.

4. **Meeting New Developmental Challenges:** To address multidimensional issues, States need stable finances: **Climate adaptation and disaster management** (example: Kerala floods, Himachal landslides). **Social sector stress** post-pandemic. **Urbanisation pressures**—Indian cities need **USD 840 billion by 2036 (World Bank)**. **Infrastructure under PM-Gati Shakti framework**, requiring State-level logistics reforms. Without fiscal space, States cannot deliver on SDGs, NIP projects, or public welfare.

Why Both Union and States Need Higher Tax Receipts

(a) Revenue–Expenditure Gap Widening Across Levels: India's **tax-to-GDP ratio remains around 11–12%**, far below OECD average of 34%. States' tax capacity is constrained post-GST, with **70% of indirect tax base centralised**.

(b) Meeting National Commitments: Both levels require enhanced taxes for: Defence modernisation (Union Budget's capital outlay rising steadily). Green transitions, energy storage, and COP30 commitments. Social protection for 800 million people (**NFSA, PMGKAY**). Infrastructure: India needs **USD 1.4 trillion under National Infrastructure Pipeline (NIP)**.

(c) Need for Predictable and Equitable Transfers: 16th FC must re-evaluate **horizontal devolution formula**, especially "distance criterion," to protect high-performing States. The Centre must reduce reliance on cesses/surcharges and expand the **divisible pool**. Strengthening GST 2.0 with fewer slabs and expanded base will enhance national tax productivity.

(d) Improving Tax Administration: Increased receipts should come through: Digitised compliance (e-invoicing, AI-based audits). Tackling tax evasion (India loses billions to GST fraud cases yearly). Broadening direct-tax base: only **6.5 crore** Indians file returns in a population of 1.4 billion.

Way Forward

1. Expand divisible pool by limiting cesses.
2. Reform GST for buoyancy and stability.
3. Strengthen FC recommendations for equity and efficiency.
4. Enhance States' capacity to raise own-source revenues (property tax reforms, better excise systems).
5. Build predictable Centre–State fiscal cooperation mechanisms via Inter-State Council and GST Council 2.0.

Conclusion

Ensuring States' **fiscal space is foundational to cooperative federalism**. As emphasised in the RBI and 15th FC reports, sustainable development demands strengthening tax capacity across government tiers to balance autonomy, equity, and national priorities.

Examine the potential of the Colombo Security Conclave (CSC) as a template for Indian Ocean security cooperation. Critically analyze the challenges hindering deeper member-country engagement.

Introduction

Over 80% of global seaborne trade passes through the **Indian Ocean (UNCTAD)**, making cooperative security frameworks critical. The **Colombo Security Conclave (CSC)** emerges as a promising Indo-Pacific mechanism addressing shared non-traditional maritime threats.

CSC as a Template for Indian Ocean Security Cooperation

1. **A regionalised, issue-specific security architecture:** CSC's focus on **maritime security, counterterrorism, cyber security, and trafficking** aligns with the IMO's assessment that coastal nations face interconnected non-traditional threats such as **Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing**, piracy, and narcotics flows. Its **NSA-level mechanism** ensures political oversight.
2. **Expanding membership and convergence:** From a **2011 trilateral initiative (India-Sri Lanka-Maldives)** to its evolution into a **five-member grouping (India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Mauritius, Bangladesh) plus Seychelles**, CSC reflects rising willingness for functional cooperation in the Indian Ocean. The admission of Malaysia as a guest signals its potential Indo-Pacific outreach.
3. **Alignment with India's 'Security and Growth for All in the Region' (SAGAR):** CSC operationalises SAGAR's principles by focusing on **capacity-building, white-shipping agreements, joint patrols, and maritime domain awareness (MDA)**—key for small littoral economies dependent on blue-economy sectors.
4. **Complementarity with other regional mechanisms:** CSC can bridge gaps left by fragmented IOR institutions:
 - **IORA** (economic focus)
 - **IAFNet, IFC-IOR, IOR Information Fusion Center** (information-sharing)
 - **QUAD and AUKUS** (broader strategic groupings) CSC's niche in **operational cooperation** fills a structural void.
5. **Addressing growing China presence in the Indian Ocean:** CSC offers a platform to discuss **dual-use infrastructure, PLA Navy's deployment, string-of-pearls strategy, and port-led dependencies**, without direct militarisation.

Challenges Hindering Deeper Engagement

1. **Divergent threat perceptions (China factor):** India views expanding Chinese naval activity—from **Hambantota to Gwadar**—as a strategic challenge. However, **Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bangladesh, and Mauritius** view China as a **developmental partner**, not a security threat. This asymmetry limits consensus on maritime posture, joint exercises, and strategic messaging.
2. **Weak institutionalization:** CSC currently functions through **summit-level engagement**. Absence of: a **permanent secretariat, standard operating procedures, enforceable information-sharing protocols**, reduces continuity, making cooperation personality-driven.
3. **Domestic political volatility:** Political changes in **Sri Lanka (2015–19), Maldives (2023)**, and Bangladesh's current instability have historically derailed trilateral cooperation. External alignment swings—**e.g., Maldives' "India Out" campaign**—affect CSC cohesion.
4. **Resource and capability asymmetry:** Small island nations lack: coastal surveillance infrastructure, hydrographic capacities, cyber-forensics capabilities. Without sustained financing and technology-sharing by India, uneven participation persists.

5. Overlapping regional architectures: Member countries already engage with: **China's Belt and Road Initiative, Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific, US Indo-Pacific Strategy**, creating competing incentives and diluted commitment.

6. Reluctance toward security alignment: Smaller states prefer **non-alignment** in security affairs to protect strategic autonomy. This restricts CSC's evolution beyond **non-traditional security cooperation**.

Conclusion

The **ocean's geopolitical centrality, CSC's promise** depends on institutionalisation, shared threat perception, and India-led capacity building to transform Indian Ocean cooperation into a resilient regional security architecture.

Examine the challenges to privacy in the contemporary 'fishbowl society'. Critically analyze the sufficiency of SOPs to curb Non-Consensual Intimate Image Abuse, advocating for comprehensive action.

Introduction

In India's digitally saturated "fishbowl society," where **over 820 million citizens use the Internet (TRAI, 2024)**, privacy risks intensify as AI-driven deepfakes and surveillance capitalism erode autonomy beyond conventional data-protection frameworks.

Privacy Challenges in a Contemporary 'Fishbowl Society'

1. From loss of privacy to loss of autonomy: Deepfake technologies powered by **Generative AI, GANs, and synthetic imaging** increasingly violate personal autonomy. The Puttaswamy judgment (2017) recognised privacy as intrinsic dignity; however, **AI-enabled impersonation** diminishes bodily integrity, consent, and agency far beyond "data misuse."

2. Absence of obscurity in digital ecosystems: "Digital obscurity"—the right to remain unnoticed—has collapsed. As Meredith Broussard warns in Artificial Unintelligence, over-reliance on opaque algorithms exposes individuals to perpetual scrutiny, escalating **anxiety, psychological trauma, and social stigma**.

3. Rapid spread of Non-Consensual Intimate Image Abuse (NCII): Deepfake pornography disproportionately targets women and transgender persons. CyberPeace Foundation (2023) found **over 90% of deepfake victims were women**, highlighting gendered vulnerability. However, **no granular NCRB data** exists for NCII, limiting evidence-based policymaking.

4. Structural factors worsening vulnerability: **Low digital literacy** among young women regarding voyeurism, morphing, deepfakes. **Patriarchal norms**, victim-blaming, and fear of reputational loss. **Social-media virality**, platform opacity, and lack of traceability of synthetic content. **Undertrained police and limited cyber-forensics capacity**.

5. Fragmented legal framework: Although India has: **IT Act 2000, DPDP Act 2023, Puttaswamy privacy jurisprudence, Intermediary Guidelines 2021/2025** the framework does not fully address **synthetic media, algorithmic risk, or non-consensual AI-generated imagery**.

SOPs on NCII: A Welcome Step but Not Sufficient

The Ministry's **2025 SOPs** requiring 24-hour takedown of NCII content and multiple reporting channels are positive but inadequate in addressing structural and technological complexities.

1. **Lack of enforceability and accountability:** SOPs do not define: **Platform liability, Punitive measures, Standards for AI model governance, Responsibility of developers**, unlike EU's **Digital Services Act**.
2. **Gender-non-inclusive framework:** Despite Supreme Court recognition of transgender persons (**NALSA vs Union of India, 2014**), SOPs lack **gender-neutral language**, ignoring evidence that transwomen face disproportionate deepfake harassment.
3. **Absence of technical safeguards:** The SOPs do not mandate: **Proactive detection tools, Hash-matching, Content provenance, watermarking of AI-generated media**, as adopted under the **Coalition for Content Provenance and Authenticity (C2PA)** globally.
4. **Weak institutional capacity:** Without investment in: **cyber labs, trained police, ML-based forensics**, response will remain symbolic. NCRB data shows a **94% pendency in cybercrime cases (2022)** due to investigation delays.
5. **Reporting barriers and social stigma:** OPs do not address psychological and socio-cultural barriers—fear, shame, moral policing—that deter victims from approaching authorities.
6. **Fragmented federal coordination:** Since policing is a **State List subject**, SOPs cannot ensure harmonised implementation. RTI responses revealing lack of State-level data highlight systemic coordination failures.

The Way Forward: Comprehensive, Multi-Level Action

1. **Legal Reforms:** Enact a **dedicated NCII and Deepfake Regulation Law** incorporating definitions, graded punishments, and platform duties. Mandate **algorithmic transparency, risk assessments, and AI audit trails**.
2. **Institutional Strengthening:** Establish **digital forensic units** in every district. Integrate NCII modules in police academies, judicial training, and community policing.
3. **Platform Accountability:** Proactive filtering, hash-databases, watermarking, and reporting dashboards. Penalties for negligent moderation.
4. **Victim-Centric Mechanisms:** Gender-neutral protection, psychological support, safe reporting channels, immediate access to legal aid, anonymised complaint procedures. **Public digital literacy campaigns**.

Conclusion

As Shoshana Zuboff warns in **The Age of Surveillance Capitalism**, privacy cannot survive without structural safeguards. SOPs are foundational but insufficient; only comprehensive, rights-based, gender-inclusive reforms can counter NCII harms.

Examine the factors driving the Rupee's depreciation against the dollar, specifically persistent dollar outflows and trade deal delays. Analyze the policy measures needed to stabilize the external sector.

Introduction

Despite India's strong 8.2% GDP growth and inflation below 1%, the rupee breached ₹90 per dollar in 2025, reflecting global risk aversion, dollar outflows, widening trade deficit and delayed Indo-US trade negotiations.

Factors Driving the Rupee's Depreciation

- 1. Persistent Foreign Portfolio Investor (FPI) Outflows:** FPIs withdrew ₹1.48 lakh crore from Indian equities since January 2025 (NSDL), treating India as a "liquidity source." India underperformed major global equity markets, causing capital flight towards higher-yielding US assets. According to the **Mundell-Fleming model**, in an open economy with flexible exchange rates, capital outflows directly weaken the domestic currency by raising dollar demand. Fall in forex reserves by \$12.1 billion (Sept–Nov 2025) signals pressure on the RBI's intervention capacity.
- 2. Delay in Finalising the India–US Trade Deal:** Uncertainty around tariffs and market access has weakened investor confidence. The US imposed 50% tariffs on key Indian exports, hurting export competitiveness. Market participants fear that prolonged delay may widen India's trade deficit, making the rupee act as the system's "natural pressure valve."
- 3. Widening Trade Deficit:** Merchandise exports fell 11.8% YoY in Oct 2025 to \$34.4 billion. Imports surged 16.6% YoY to a record \$76.1 billion. Gold imports tripled to \$14.7 billion, driven by festive demand and record prices. As the **Elasticity Approach** suggests, a deficit widens the demand for USD, weakening INR.
- 4. Sectoral Export Weakness:** Oil exports declined 10.5%, non-oil by 12%, engineering goods, textiles, gems, chemicals all contracted. Shrinking demand from the US and EU worsened the external position. Export contraction parallels global slowdown reflected in **WTO forecasts** of sluggish merchandise trade.
- 5. Rising Gold Prices and Speculative Import Behaviour:** Domestic gold at ₹128,000 per 10 grams spurred speculative stocking. Large gold imports distort the **current account**, pressuring the rupee.
- 6. RBI's "Soft Touch" Intervention Strategy:** RBI intervened minimally, allowing gradual depreciation to keep exports competitive amid tariff disadvantages. With forward book drawn down, RBI is conserving reserves for disorderly volatility. This influenced short-term sentiment, adding to rupee's slide.

Policy Measures Needed to Stabilize the External Sector

- 1. Finalise and Diversify Trade Agreements:** Fast-track India–US trade pact to restore predictability. Expand partnerships via FTAs with EU, UK, EFTA, encouraging tariff-free access. Promote **China+1 export diversification**.
- 2. Boost Export Competitiveness:** Incentivise manufacturing under **PLI schemes**. Improve logistics using the **National Logistics Policy 2022** to lower export costs. Expand export credit under **ECGC** with risk-mitigation tools.

3. **Manage Gold Import Volatility:** Strengthen **Gold Monetisation Scheme**, promote digital gold, curb speculative imports through duties or quantitative measures. Encourage formal recycling ecosystem.
4. **Strengthen Foreign Exchange Buffers:** Build reserves through: Sovereign bonds in overseas markets (similar to **Japan's Samurai bonds**). Encouraging **NRI deposits**, bilateral swap lines.
5. **Attract Long-Term Stable Capital:** Promote **FDI over FPI**, especially in electronics, renewable energy, semiconductors. Simplify regulations, ensure policy certainty, deepen domestic bond markets.
6. **Improve Domestic Financial Market Depth:** Expand rupee trade settlement frameworks with UAE, Russia, Sri Lanka to reduce USD dependence. Promote **INR internationalisation**, leveraging India's rising economic size.
7. **Calibrated RBI Intervention:** RBI should smooth volatility while avoiding sharp depletion of reserves. Deploy **OMO tools**, **NDF market intervention**, forward purchases to signal stability.

Conclusion

External stability requires credibility and structural resilience. India must combine trade clarity, export strength, capital stability, and calibrated RBI strategy to anchor the rupee.

Examine the impact of the surge in GPS jamming and spoofing incidents on flight safety. Critically analyze the efficacy of current mitigation measures and redundancies adopted by the aviation sector.

Introduction

IATA's 2024 data shows a **220% rise in GPS interference events since 2021**, signalling an evolving aviation safety risk that disrupts navigation, burdens pilots, and threatens global flight operations amid intensifying geopolitical and technological vulnerabilities.

Impact of Rising GPS Jamming and Spoofing on Flight Safety

1. **Threat to Position, Navigation, Timing (PNT) Accuracy:** GNSS—GPS, Galileo, GLONASS, BeiDou—forms the backbone of modern aviation by providing **precision PNT data**. Spoofing injects counterfeit signals, causing the **Flight Management System (FMS)** to miscalculate position. Jamming overwhelms GNSS receivers, making navigation temporarily unusable. These distortions impair aircraft trajectories, altitude awareness, and timing-dependent systems.
2. **Increased Pilot and ATC Workload:** According to **EASA (2024 Safety Risk Summary)**, interference events are rising over Eastern Mediterranean, West Asia, Baltic and Arctic regions. Effects include: False **Terrain Avoidance and Warning System (TAWS)** alerts, Abnormal ground-speed versus airspeed discrepancies, Time-shift anomalies such abnormalities trigger multiple cockpit warnings, burdening pilots with rapid cross-verification.
3. **Risk of Misrouting and Reduced Separation:** Incorrect PNT inputs can inadvertently shift aircraft tracks, risking **loss of separation**—especially in dense airspace. The **UK CAA (2023)** reported multiple misalignment incidents during GPS outages over the Middle East.

4. **Operational Disruptions:** Over 580,000 GPS signal loss instances recorded globally (IATA GADM-FDX, 2021–2024). India recorded 450 GNSS interference events along border regions (2023–25), with recent intrusions near Delhi, Mumbai, Bengaluru, Chennai, Kolkata. **Consequences;** diversions and rerouting, Delayed approaches and aborted GPS-based landing procedures. Such disruptions increase fuel burn, cost, and congestion.

Efficacy of Current Mitigation Measures and Redundancies

1. **Pilot Training and Procedural Protocols – Effective but Limited:** Pilots cross-verify GNSS data with: **Inertial Reference System (IRS), Radio Navigation Aids (VOR/DME),** ATC surveillance inputs. Training allows identification of spoofing indicators—position inconsistencies, false TAWS warnings, speed/time mismatches. **Limitation:** Highly sophisticated spoofing may generate subtle anomalies, escaping early detection.

2. **Ground-Based Navigation Aids (GBNAs): A Necessary Safety Net:** IATA recommends retaining **Minimum Operating Network (MON)** assets. India maintains: VOR/DME, Instrument Landing System (ILS). Radar surveillance networks. These systems are resilient because they are **not satellite-dependent**. **Limitation;** Many countries have decommissioned legacy systems during GNSS-modernization, creating regional gaps. GBNA coverage may be weaker in remote or mountainous areas.

3. **Airspace Management and ATC Monitoring:** ATC uses **Secondary Surveillance Radar (SSR)** and multilateration to cross-verify aircraft positions. **Limitation:** Radar has range limitations and cannot always substitute GNSS accuracy for RNAV/RNP operations.

4. **Technological Reinforcements:** Modern aircraft employ: **Anti-jamming antennas, Frequency-hopping receivers, WAAS and GBAS augmentation.** These significantly enhance resilience. **Limitation:** Not uniformly installed across older fleets and developing-country carriers.

5. **Regulatory Mandates and Reporting Mechanisms:** DGCA (India) made **mandatory reporting of GNSS interference** in 2023. EASA and ICAO are developing global protocols and threat-mapping tools. **Limitation:** Lack of unified global GNSS interference database and limited enforcement against state-sponsored interference.

Conclusion

As highlighted in ICAO's **Global Air Navigation Plan**, resilient navigation requires multilayered defence. Strengthening legacy infrastructure, advanced avionics, coordinated regulation, and global data-sharing remain essential to safeguard flight safety amid expanding GNSS threats.

Examine how India's 'relative isolation' in global affairs exacerbates its tryst with terror. Critically analyze the role of internal socio-cultural fault lines in national security.

Introduction

Amid shifting geopolitics and declining regional stability, India's reduced influence in global conflict-resolution forums coincides with rising cross-border threats and revived urban terror, as highlighted in the Global Terrorism Index 2024 and regional security assessments.

India's Relative Isolation and Its Security Implications

1. Reduced Diplomatic Leverage Amid Global Turbulence: India's limited role in shaping outcomes in **West Asia, Ukraine conflict, and Indo-Pacific security** restricts its ability to secure favourable geopolitical environments. Despite being a key voice of the Global South, India remains **absent from major ceasefire negotiations or maritime security arrangements**. Such marginalization weakens India's deterrent messaging, encouraging adversarial adventurism.

2. Hostile Neighbourhood Entrapment: India today faces unprecedented regional instability.

- **Pakistan** has institutionalized military dominance through the **27th Constitutional Amendment**, centralizing power in the new **Chief of Defence Forces**, heightening risks of strategic adventurism—similar to patterns seen under Ayub Khan and Zia-ul-Haq (per the Kargil Review Committee Report).
- **Bangladesh's interim regime** has shown signs of drift, including renewed India-scepticism and naval cooperation with Pakistan.
- The revival of extremist networks in Afghanistan and Myanmar's instability deepen India's vulnerability to radicalization and weapons flows.

· India's **limited influence** in shaping these neighbourhood dynamics enhances the probability of **proxy-based terror spill-overs**, as seen repeatedly since the 1990s.

3. International Power Shifts Eroding India's Counter-terror Environment: Growing Chinese influence in the subcontinent—through BRI, naval visits, dual-use ports like Hambantota, and backing for Pakistan in multilateral forums—creates strategic asymmetry. India's exclusion from certain global coalitions or crisis groups reduces its ability to diplomatically isolate terrorism sponsors, unlike the success after the 26/11 attacks.

Internal Socio-Cultural Fault Lines and National Security Risks

1. Emerging Urban Terror by Indigenous Actors: The recent Srinagar–Faridabad–Delhi module—run by **educated professionals and doctors**—marks a dangerous shift: **Homegrown radicalization**, digital indoctrination, encrypted recruitment, and transnational online influence. This represents a qualitative departure from the “lumpen” networks of 1993 or Pakistan-led 2008 attacks.

2. Communal Polarization as a Force Multiplier: Socio-cultural fault lines—identity grievances, historical injustices, religious polarization—act as **radicalization accelerants**. The module's ideological motivation tied to **Babri Masjid (1992)** indicates enduring emotive triggers. Scholars like Paul Brass emphasize how “institutionalized communal narratives” can feed alienation and violence.

3. Vulnerability of Youth and Professionals: The radicalization of educated youth reflects: High emotional mobilization, Identity-based victimhood narratives, Transnational Islamist influence and weak social cohesion mechanisms. This mirrors trends noted in the **UNODC 2023 Radicalisation Pathways Study**, where professional classes formed a rising share of extremist recruits in conflict-adjacent regions.

4. Institutional Gaps and Urban Security Fragility: The ability of the group to stockpile **3,000 kg of explosives**, bypass checkpoints, and plant devices near **Red Fort** underscores: Intelligence gaps. Urban surveillance weaknesses, Inter-agency coordination challenges and limits of community policing. These structural gaps magnify the consequences of socio-cultural polarization.

Conclusion

Internal cohesion is the foundation of external strength. India's security strategy must integrate diplomacy, counter-radicalization, neighbourhood management, and societal harmony to prevent deeper fissures.

Examine the fundamental need to reform urban governance in India. Critically analyze the implications of having no elected official for citizens in crisis and for improving civic infrastructure.

Introduction

With India projected to host 416 million new urban residents by 2050 (UN-DESA), weak municipal capacities and absent empowered mayors increasingly undermine service delivery, crisis response, and sustainable infrastructure creation across rapidly expanding cities.

Why Urban Governance Reform Is a Fundamental Necessity

1. Rapid Urbanisation Without Institutional Redesign: India's urban population will cross **50% by 2047**, yet municipal governance structures remain anchored in pre-independence templates. The **74th Constitutional Amendment** envisioned "urban self-government," but in practice, cities remain subordinated to State governments, limiting autonomy, finances, and accountability.

2. Historical Centralisation of Power: From Mumbai to Hyderabad to Delhi, **Chief Ministers and State bureaucracies** control critical city functions—transport, water, policing, land regulation—leaving mayors symbolically elected but administratively irrelevant. The article notes that decisions affecting cities are routinely taken in the **Chief Minister's office**, not in municipal councils.

3. Democratic Deficit Due to Weak Local Representation: Cities like **Bengaluru** have gone **4–5 years without municipal elections**. This undermines constitutional mandates and leaves citizens without a directly accountable authority. Global contrast: **New York City, London, Paris, Tokyo** have financially empowered, directly elected mayors with executive authority, enabling responsiveness.

Implications of No Elected, Empowered Officials During Crises

1. Absence of a Single Point of Accountability: During floods, epidemics, water shortages or infrastructure failures, citizens in Indian cities have **no elected official** to turn to. Residents oscillate between: Ward offices, Parastatals (BWSSB, DDA, MMRDA, DMRC), State ministers, MLAs/MPs. This fragmented administrative architecture defeats responsiveness and transparency. For example: **Chennai floods 2015 & 2023, Delhi's Yamuna floods 2023, and Mumbai monsoon failures** all revealed absence of a unified command structure comparable to empowered city mayors abroad.

2. Bureaucratic Overcentralization Reduces Crisis Agility: Crisis management in India depends heavily on State bureaucracy. However, IAS-led parastatals—unaccountable to municipal councils—delay decision-making. Technical agencies overshadow democratic bodies, undermining participatory governance.

Implications for Civic Infrastructure and Urban Public Goods

1. Weak Municipal Finances: Property tax contributes only **0.2–0.3% of GDP** in India (World Bank), far below OECD average of 1–3%. Without predictable funding, municipalities cannot independently build roads, drainage networks, waste systems. The article notes persistent struggle for **ward offices** to secure funds—reflecting poor fiscal decentralisation.

2. Fragmentation Through Parastatals: Urban services are run by State-controlled agencies, not municipalities. Result: misaligned priorities, duplication of functions, and zero local accountability. Ex: **Bengaluru Development Authority, Hyderabad Metro Rail Ltd, Delhi Jal Board** — all act autonomously of municipal bodies.

3. Manipulation of Municipal Boundaries to Delay Elections: Division of Bengaluru into five corporations, merging 27 municipalities into GHMC, or restructuring Delhi's MCD disproportionately serve political objectives rather than functional governance. Such actions postpone elections and weaken the legitimacy of local governments.

The Core Reforms Needed

1. **Directly elected, executive mayors** with fixed tenure.
2. **Fiscal decentralisation** with predictable transfers and strengthened property tax regime.
3. **Clear functional devolution** as per the 12th Schedule.
4. **Sunset clauses for parastatals** and accountability to municipal councils.
5. **Legally binding timelines for municipal elections.**
6. **Urban governance report cards** for transparency.

Conclusion

As the JNNURM and MoHUA Urban Reform Reports affirm, India's cities need empowered, accountable local governments. Echoing Benjamin Barber's **If Mayors Ruled the World, effective urban democracy is indispensable.**

Examine the significance of Karnataka's Hate Speech Bill in addressing a legislative gap in India. Critically analyze the challenges in regulating hate speech without its formal definition in criminal law.

Introduction

India's rising hate speech cases, with only 20.2% conviction under BNS 196 (formerly IPC 153A, NCRB 2020), highlight a legislative vacuum. Karnataka's 2025 Bill marks India's first targeted statutory response.

Significance of Karnataka's Hate Speech Bill

1. Addresses the long-pending legislative vacuum: Despite frequent political and communal incidents, **India lacks a statutory definition of hate speech.** Karnataka's Bill introduces a clear definition based on **protected characteristics—religion, caste, gender, disability, sexual orientation**—aligning with **global legal standards (e.g., EU Framework Decision 2008).**

2. Expands protected categories beyond existing laws: Current BNS provisions (196, 299, 353) focus on public order, not discrimination. The new Bill incorporates **gender identity, sexual orientation and**

disability, aligning with: **NALSA (2014) transgender rights** judgment, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (**ICCPR**), **Article 20**

3. Introduces organisational collective liability: A unique feature is holding **office-bearers accountable when hate speech is institution-linked**, useful in cases involving organised groups, extremist cells, or digital campaigns.

4. Integrates digital ecosystem regulation: The Bill empowers blocking and removal of online hateful content—critical in an era where **67% hate speech in India originates online** (BMGF-IIDS 2023 study). This bridges gaps left **after Section 66A (IT Act)** was struck down in **Shreya Singhal (2015)**.

5. Aligns with Law Commission recommendations: The Bill reflects the **Law Commission's 267th Report (2017)** proposing **Sections 153C and 505A**, and **echoes the 2022 Private Member's Bill** in defining hate crimes.

Challenges of Regulating Hate Speech Without Formal Definition

1. Over-reliance on public order provisions leads to misuse: Current BNS provisions (**earlier IPC 153A, 295A**) aim to prevent public disorder, not hate speech per se. Their **vagueness** allows selective targeting: Minor speeches prosecuted while majoritarian calls **often ignored (as highlighted by SC bench in 2022)**. 80% of cases end without conviction (NCRB), indicating **poor legal clarity**.

2. Judicial inconsistency due to definitional ambiguity: Supreme Court's response has oscillated: **Joseph-Roy bench (2022):** directed suo motu FIRs due to **climate of hate**. **Vikram Nath bench (2023):** refused continuous monitoring, shifted responsibility to police and High Courts. Without a statutory definition, courts struggle to apply the imminent threat test from **Shreya Singhal (2015)** consistently.

3. Difficulty balancing free speech vs. hate speech: Article 19(1)(a) freedom often clashes with 19(2) restrictions. Ambiguous definitions create fears of: **over-criminalisation** (stifling dissent), **under-criminalisation** (inability to curb targeted hatred)

4. Enforcement asymmetry and police discretion: Cognisable offences and broad police powers lead to **subjective application**, often influenced by political environment. Without explicit criteria, frontline enforcement becomes arbitrary.

5. Regulating online hate without clear parameters: Algorithms amplify harmful content, but **absence of clear definitions** makes platform moderation inconsistent. India lacks a **comprehensive online harm law**, unlike the **UK's Online Safety Act (2023)**.

Conclusion

Democracies falter when hate shapes public life. India's challenge is crafting precise, constitutional definitions that curb hate without stifling liberty.

Critically analyze the proposition that data collection and surveillance technologies cast a shadow over digital constitutionalism. Examine how AI threatens core constitutional principles.

Introduction

Rising digitalisation, from **India's 20.4 lakh cybercrimes (2024 NCRB)** to expanding biometric ecosystems, has amplified debates on digital constitutionalism—where unchecked data collection and AI-driven surveillance challenge liberty, dignity and democratic accountability.

Threats to Digital Constitutionalism by Data Collection & Surveillance

1. Erosion of Privacy and Personal Autonomy: The **Puttaswamy (2017) judgement** established privacy as a **fundamental right**, but pervasive digital systems—Aadhaar databases, Sanchar Saathi-like pre-installed apps, metadata tracking, and geolocation logs—blur constitutional boundaries. **Broad exemptions** in the **Digital Personal Data Protection Act (DPDP), 2023** weaken individual autonomy through **state-centric processing**, limited oversight, and weak remedies.

2. Rise of Invisible and Predictive Surveillance: Surveillance is no longer Orwell's overt 1984 model; it is silent and inferential. Tools such as **facial recognition systems (FRS)**, CCTVs, predictive policing, and behavioural analytics operate without meaningful notice, consent or audit. Studies (ACLU, MIT Media Lab) reveal **racial and gender bias**, leading to wrongful arrests in the U.S.; similar concerns arise with **India's FRS pilots in Telangana, Delhi Police and DigiYatra**. This undermines **Article 14's non-arbitrariness** and produces a chilling effect on **Article 19 freedoms**.

3. Expansion of State Power and Weak Accountability: Digital governance centralises power among State and private platforms, threatening the **rule of law**. Absence of a **comprehensive surveillance law** or mandatory **judicial warrants** creates an asymmetry between State authority and citizen rights. **Parliamentary Standing Committee (2021)** flagged insufficient safeguards for government surveillance under IT Act, 2000 and Telegraph Act, 1885.

4. Loss of Meaningful Consent and Shrinking Citizen Agency: Purpose limitation and informed consent—pillars of digital constitutionalism—**collapse with routine click-through** agreements, opaque algorithmic processing, and unrestricted data retention. Citizens become **passive data subjects**, contradicting the constitutional idea of **active rights-bearing individuals**.

How Artificial Intelligence Threatens Core Constitutional Principles

1. Violation of Equality (Article 14): AI models often train on biased datasets, producing discriminatory outcomes in welfare delivery, credit scoring, hiring, predictive policing, and automated moderation. **Example:** Algorithmic errors in welfare systems in Rajasthan and Jharkhand caused exclusion of **genuine beneficiaries** (IDS report 2022). **Black-box algorithms** deny transparency, violating **reasonableness** and **equality before law**.

2. Undermining Due Process & Natural Justice: AI-driven decisions frequently lack the **right to explanation**, **right to appeal**, and **procedural fairness**. Automated deletions of political content or wrongful police profiling compromise natural justice principles recognised in **Maneka Gandhi (1978)**.

3. Chilling of Free Speech and Expression (Article 19): Continuous algorithmic monitoring on social media, automated content moderation, and metadata surveillance generate fear and self-censorship. The **UN Special Rapporteur (2019) warned of algorithmic censorship** affecting democratic discourse.

4. Threat to Dignity and Personhood: AI-enabled behavioural profiling and biometric surveillance erode informational self-determination—central to dignity, which the Supreme Court considers a **fundamental value of the Constitution**.

Conclusion

As **Shoshana Zuboff warns in The Age of Surveillance Capitalism**, unregulated data and AI regimes distort democratic accountability; strengthening constitutional safeguards is essential to ensure technology remains citizen-centric.

Examine the core tenet of Indian Secularism that emphasizes protection of all faiths. Critically analyze how this model ensures the supreme political identity remains “Indian”.

Introduction

India, with over **1.3 billion people and 22 major religions (Pew, 2021)**, adopted a unique secularism model ensuring equal respect for all faiths, safeguarding fraternity and national identity amidst deep cultural-religious diversity.

Core Tenet of Indian Secularism: Protection of All Faiths

1. “Sarva Dharma Sambhava” – Equal Respect, Not Hostility: Unlike Western secularism’s strict church-state separation, Indian secularism is **principled distance** (Rajeev Bhargava), enabling the state to engage with all religions without privileging or persecuting any. Examples: State management of diverse religious institutions, Protection of minorities under Articles 25–30, Government facilitation of religious events (**Kumbh Mela logistics, Haj committee until 2018**).

2. Constitutional Foundations Rooted in Equality and Liberty: Key provisions reflect protective secularism: **Article 25:** Freedom of conscience and free profession of religion, **Article 26:** Autonomy of religious denominations, **Article 27:** No compulsion to pay for another religion’s promotion, **Article 28:** Secular education in state institutions. The Supreme Court in *S.R. Bommai* (1994) affirmed secularism as a **basic feature**.

3. Preventing Hierarchies and Majoritarian Domination: Indian secularism protects all groups from both state domination and intra-religious hierarchies. Examples from the article and beyond:

- **Ambedkar** advocating **state intervention against caste oppression**.
- **Periyar** campaigning for **temple-entry reforms**.
- **Hindu women’s rights** expansion under reformist **Hindu Code Bill (1955)**.
- **Muslim women’s rights** upheld through **Shah Bano and Muslim Women Act** reforms

State neutrality prevents any group from acquiring **constitutional superiority**.

4. Religion Flourishing Publicly Without Controlling the State: India never restricted public religiosity—**Hindu festivals, Muslim Muharram processions, Sikh Nagar Kirtans and Christian Christmas** celebrations

remain vibrant. This model encourages cultural pluralism while ensuring the **state itself remains non-religious**.

How This Ensures the Supreme Political Identity Remains “Indian”

- 1. Prevents Religious Identity from Becoming the Basis of Citizenship:** By disconnecting political rights from religion, secularism ensures **citizenship ≠ faith**. Thus, Indian identity is civic, not theological.
- 2. Preserves National Fraternity in a Deeply Plural Society:** According to the **Sachar Committee Report (2006)** and **Pew Global Attitudes (2021)**, Indians overwhelmingly support religious coexistence. A secular state reduces fears of exclusion, anchoring loyalty to the nation rather than a sect.
- 3. Enables Balanced State Intervention to Maintain Equality:** The doctrine of **principled intervention** ensures the state can step in to: abolish untouchability (Article 17), outlaw triple talaq (2019), enforce anti-conversion laws where coercion exists. These interventions strengthen equal citizenship and protect minorities within majority and minority religions alike.
- 4. Prevents Religious Polarisation from Weakening the Republic:** The Constitution-makers feared the divisive impact of religion-based politics seen during Partition. A secular state reduces polarisation, ensuring the citizen's primary allegiance is the **Constitution, not the community**.

Conclusion

As **Nehru wrote in The Discovery of India**, India's unity thrives on cultural multiplicity. Indian secularism safeguards all faiths, ensuring that constitutional citizenship—not religious identity—remains the nation's supreme unifying force.

Examine the reasons why mere laws are insufficient for women to access justice. Critically analyze the need to reform the gendered culture and court environment itself.

Introduction

Despite **India enacting 40+ women-protective laws since Independence (NCRB, 2023)**, only **7% of women report violence (NFHS-5)**, showing that legal provisions alone cannot ensure meaningful access to justice for women.

Why Mere Laws Are Insufficient for Women to Access Justice

- 1. Procedural Barriers and Systemic Delays:** Women face chronic delays—pendency of **over 4.7 crore cases (NJDG, 2024)**. Example from article: A survivor waited **eight years** after leaving a decade-long abusive marriage. Delays create **justice fatigue**, financial burden, and dependency on the very families they escaped.
- 2. Patriarchal Attitudes Within Legal Institutions:** Courts often reproduce social prejudices rather than neutral adjudication. Examples:

- Lawyer telling woman to “**untie her hair**”.
- **Mediator trivialising suffering** through beauty stereotypes.
- **Advice to “compromise” in domestic violence cases.**

These align with the idea of “**institutional patriarchy**” highlighted by the **Justice Verma Committee (2013)**, which argued that insensitive court culture often deters women more than perpetrators.

3. Power Asymmetries Between Lawyers and Women Litigants: Women—especially from poorer backgrounds—lack bargaining power. Fear of losing representation leads to silence even against harassment by their own lawyers. This mirrors the “**gendered client–counsel dependency**” highlighted in **FLT (Feminist Legal Theory)**.

4. Economic and Social Vulnerabilities: Accessing courts involves: litigation costs, travel, lost wages, child-care burdens. Women often struggle financially after leaving abusive homes. UN Women (2021) notes that **economic vulnerability is the single biggest barrier to legal redress** for women across developing nations.

5. Lack of Safe, Supportive Court Infrastructure: Many courts lack: gender-sensitive waiting areas, child-care rooms, counsellors, women-friendly police desks. Article shows women feeling unsafe inside the court itself—revealing how intimidation, surveillance, and male dominance shape the space.

6. Societal Norms Encouraging Compromise Over Justice: Women are repeatedly advised to “adjust,” even in cases of sexual abuse. This culturally ingrained **valorisation of female endurance** is noted in **NFHS-5 findings** where **45% women justify some form of domestic violence**.

Why Reforming Gendered Court Culture Is Essential

1. Humanising the Justice System: Empathy training for judges, prosecutors, and police is necessary. **Justice Verma Committee** recommended mandatory **gender-sensitisation modules** and accountability mechanisms for insensitive conduct.

2. Building Trauma-Informed Courtrooms: Trauma-informed approaches reduce re-victimization through: confidential spaces, victim advocates, protection from aggressive cross-examination. This aligns with global best practices from the **UN Handbook for Women’s Access to Justice (2016)**.

3. Increasing Women’s Representation in Judiciary: Only **13% of High Court judges** and **36% of lower court judges** are women (2024). More women on benches improves trust, empathy, and interpretation of gender-sensitive laws.

4. Strengthening Legal Aid and Community Support: Effective legal aid, paralegal volunteers, and trained counsellors can reduce dependence on exploitative lawyers. NLSIU’s access to justice studies show women are more confident when accompanied by trained support workers.

5. Creating Accountability and Citizen Feedback Mechanisms: Complaint cells against insensitive court officers, public audits, and internal disciplinary action can transform court culture from within.

Conclusion

As **Amartya Sen** argues in **The Idea of Justice**, laws matter only when institutions embody fairness. Reforming court culture is essential to ensure women experience justice not as text, but as lived reality.

Examine the factors leading to the 'reengineering' of the India-Russia strategic relationship. Critically analyze the key takeaways and geopolitical implications of their recent summit.

Introduction

Despite Western sanctions reducing Russia's global partnerships and India diversifying foreign relations, bilateral trade touching **\$65 billion (2023-24)** and 60% of India's defence platforms of Russian origin demonstrate a structural necessity reengineering their ties.

Factors Leading to the 'Reengineering' of India-Russia Strategic Relationship

1. Geopolitical Realignment after the Ukraine War: The Ukraine conflict placed India's key partners—the U.S., Europe, and Russia—at odds. India adopted **strategic autonomy**, maintaining neutrality while expanding imports of discounted Russian crude (over **40% of India's crude basket in 2023**, OPEC Data). With Russia's global isolation increasing, India emerged as one of its few stable major partners—creating space to reshape ties.

2. Energy Security Imperatives: India is the world's **second-largest fossil fuel importer**. Russia possesses the world's largest natural gas reserves and vast untapped Arctic & Siberian energy resources. Energy cooperation—oil, LNG, nuclear, and Arctic shipping—has become a **core reengineering driver** for India's long-term economic security.

3. Complementarity in Defence and Emerging Technologies: Despite diversification, **60–70% of India's military inventory** remains Russian-origin. Russia provided:

- BrahMos joint development
- S-400 Triumf (vital in Operation Sindoor, 2025)
- High localisation & technology transfer compared to Western suppliers

India's push for **Atmanirbhar Bharat in defence** requires continued Russian support during the transition, producing a recalibration rather than replacement.

4. Changing Demographics and Labour Dynamics in Russia: Russia faces a severe demographic decline, worsened by war-related casualties and declining migration from Central Asia. This enabled the new agreement to export **skilled Indian workforce to Russia**, particularly in the Far East—an important new pillar.

5. China Factor and Eurasian Balance: Both countries share unease over China's growing dominance. Russia fears overdependence and India seeks to prevent a China-Russia axis from becoming unbalanced. Hence, they seek **strategic diversification to preserve manoeuvrability** in Eurasia.

Key Takeaways from the Recent Summit

1. Programme 2030: The adoption of the **Programme for Development of Strategic Areas of Economic Cooperation till 2030** aims for: \$100 billion trade target, Diversification beyond hydrocarbon, Removal of non-tariff barriers and rupee-Ruble settlement mechanisms.

2. Strengthening Strategic Infrastructure Links: Chennai-Vladivostok Maritime Corridor, Northern Sea Route (Arctic) and expansion of shipbuilding cooperation. These reduce dependence on the Suez route and counterbalance China's BRI.

3. Energy and Critical Mineral Security: Russia offers access to fertilizers, critical minerals, rare earths—areas where India lags behind China and the U.S.

4. Defence Cooperation Recalibrated Towards Niche Technologies: Future collaborations may include cyber defence, AI-enabled systems, underwater platforms, and hypersonics.

5. Soft Power, Mobility and Tourism Cooperation: Visa easing, training of Indian seafarers, cultural exchanges, and skilled workforce mobility widen societal linkages beyond traditional security areas.

Geopolitical Implications

1. India's Enhanced Role as a Global Balancer: New Delhi demonstrated it can engage the U.S. and Russia simultaneously—reflecting **multi-alignment**, not non-alignment.

2. Endorsement of Peace Efforts: India's support for peace negotiations (linked to the Trump-Witkoff initiative) signals its aspiration for **norm-shaping in conflict diplomacy**.

3. Europe's Unease and Strategic Hedging: While the U.S. may accept India's position, Europe remains wary. India must balance gains with Russia without eroding its deepening EU partnerships.

4. Preventing a China-Centric Eurasian Order: India-Russia cooperation helps moderate Beijing's overwhelming influence in the region.

Conclusion

India's foreign policy now blends autonomy with ambition. The summit shows that reengineered ties are pragmatic tools to navigate a transforming global order.

Examine the necessity of strengthening the 'roots' of STEM education in India for sustained progress. Justify prioritization of fundamental improvements over seeking merely glamorous scientific pursuits.

Introduction

India ranks **40th on the Global Innovation Index 2024**, yet persistent gaps in research funding, fellowships, basic infrastructure, and industry-academia linkages show that STEM advancement requires strengthening foundational systems rather than chasing glamorous technological breakthroughs.

Necessity of Strengthening the 'Roots' of STEM Education in India

1. Basic Research is the Foundation of Future Innovation: Scientific innovation typically arises from decades of foundational inquiry. The **2023 Nobel Prize in Physics** stemmed from work on quantum mechanics done in the 1980s—long before quantum computing existed. India's own success stories—**ISRO's cryogenic engine, Green Revolution technologies, CSIR drug discovery platforms**—originated from sustained basic

research, not quick-fix missions. Thus, long-term national technological capacities require a strong base of curiosity-driven research.

2. Structural Weaknesses Undermine India's Research Ecosystem

a. Fellowship Delays and Poor Funding (Hygiene Factors – Herzberg's Theory): Government fellowships often arrive after **months of delay**, demotivating researchers. Non-NET fellowships remain at **₹8,000/month since 2012**, below minimum wage, forcing scholars into extra jobs and reducing time for research. Basic financial stability is a hygiene factor essential for meaningful scientific output.

b. Weak University Infrastructure: Over **70% of India's PhD students** are in state universities where lab infrastructure, libraries, and supervisory capacities are inadequate (AISHE, 2023). Strong roots require strengthening these institutions, not only elite IITs or IISERs.

3. Over-politicisation and Narrow Topic Selection Hampers Scientific Temper: Restricting research topics to “national priorities” only addresses present needs, not future unknowns. Advanced scientific nations—from the U.S. (Bell Labs) to Japan—succeeded by allowing researchers freedom to explore non-applied questions. Innovation emerges from ecosystems, not command-and-control research agendas.

4. Disconnect Between Industry and Academia: India suffers from: Minimal industry-funded PhDs (almost none outside IITs), Weak R&D expenditure (**0.65% of GDP**, OECD 2023), Poor collaborative culture. Strengthening roots requires building **translational research ecosystems**, research parks, and industry-ready PhD training—not announcing glamorous “quantum missions” without foundational capacity.

5. Need to Strengthen Non-STEM Disciplines for High-Quality STEM: Humanities and social sciences enable ethical reasoning, social analysis, design thinking, and policy understanding essential for STEM leadership. Countries with strong STEM capabilities—Germany, South Korea—invest equally in critical thinking and liberal arts. Weakness in these disciplines narrows scientific imagination.

Why Fundamental Improvements Must Be Prioritised Over Glamorous Scientific Pursuits

1. Without Basics, Megaprojects Collapse: Ambitious missions in AI, quantum, space, semiconductors or biotech require: Stable scholarships, Strong university laboratories, High-quality supervisors and transparent funding mechanisms. Without these roots, high-tech missions become dependent on foreign technology.

2. Glamour Cannot Substitute Systemic Repair: Announcing new missions while researchers go unpaid for months is counterproductive. Sustained progress needs: Predictable funding cycles, Meritocratic selection of supervisors, Upgraded labs. Reliable procurement systems. These ensure scientific continuity.

3. Long-term National Competitiveness Relies on Foundational Quality: Countries like China built world-class technology by first investing massively in: PhD training, Faculty hiring, Research funding and university ecosystems. India must replicate this foundational model, not only aspire for high-end technological milestones.

Conclusion

As **K. VijayRaghavan** notes in **The Scientific Indian**, enduring innovation emerges from strong ecosystems, not sporadic breakthroughs. Strengthening India's STEM roots is indispensable for genuine scientific self-reliance and long-term technological leadership.

Examine the assertion that improving the productivity of smallest enterprises is key to India's job growth. Justify a policy shift from focusing solely on large industry to the MSME sector.

Introduction

With over **7.3 crore unincorporated enterprises employing 12 crore workers (ASUSE 2024)** and MSMEs contributing **30% to GDP (MSME Annual Report 2023)**, India's employment landscape highlights the centrality of productivity-driven small enterprise growth.

Why the Smallest Enterprises Matter for Job Growth

1. **Labour Absorption Capacity:** Nearly **80% of India's workforce** is engaged in informal or self-employed activities (Periodic Labour Force Survey, 2023). **Own Account Enterprises (OAEs)** constitute **87% of all non-agricultural enterprises**, yet operate with **low capital, low technology, and minimal hiring**.
2. **Productivity-Employment Link:** ASUSE data shows: **A 10% increase in GVA of small enterprises leads to 4.5% growth in hired workers**. Transitioning OAEs into **Hired Worker Enterprises (HWEs)** can dramatically expand employment.
3. **Large Industries Are Capital-Intensive, Not Labour-Intensive:** India's modern manufacturing (steel, autos, refineries) follows **capital deepening**, creating fewer jobs per crore of investment. RBI (2022) notes large firms increasingly automate to stay globally competitive, limiting labour absorption.

2. Why Productivity of Smallest Enterprises Remains Low

a) Constraints to Credit Access: Only **10–12%** of unincorporated enterprises have formal credit (ASUSE). **Credit gap of \$530 billion** in MSME sector (IFC, 2018). Without credit → no capital deepening → firms remain trapped at subsistence level.

b) Technology Deficit: Only **6%** of micro-enterprises use basic digital tools (NASSCOM, 2023). ICT adoption increases operational efficiency, market access, and GVA significantly.

c) Informality & Non-Registration: **UDYAM registration** still covers only a minor share of micro enterprises. Perceived **high compliance burdens** and **lack of invoice recovery** deter formalisation (RBI MSME Report, 2019).

Why Policy Must Shift from Large Industry to MSMEs

1. **MSMEs Have Higher Employment Elasticity:** Employment elasticity in MSMEs is **0.75**, compared to **0.20** in large firms (ILO, 2021). Example: **Leather clusters in Kanpur** and **handloom in Tamil Nadu** demonstrate high labour intensity.

2. **Decentralised, Equitable Growth:** MSMEs promote **regional dispersal**, unlike large industries concentrated in coastal belts. Example: **ODOP in Uttar Pradesh** created local job ecosystems in districts.
3. **Role in Exports & Supply Chains:** MSMEs contribute **45% of India's exports**. Integration through **ONDC, Digital MSME**, and **GeM** can boost market linkages.
4. **Transitioning OAEs to Small & Small to Medium Firms:** Policy must enable **enterprise upgrading**, not just enterprise creation. Key reforms:
 - **Targeted credit** aligned to enterprise lifecycle (Shishu–Kishor–Tarun framework).
 - **Cluster-based skill development** (e.g., SFURTI, MSE-CDP).
 - **End-to-end digital onboarding** on UPI, ONDC, GSTN.
 - **Vocal for Local + global value chain integration.**

Conclusion

As **Amar Singh's The Invisible Workforce** and **OECD's MSME Outlook** highlight, India's employment future lies in empowering micro-enterprises, where productivity enhancement can unlock inclusive, decentralised and sustainable job-led growth.

Examine the necessity for the State to reclaim its role in shaping digital markets. Justify how the zero-cost rail ethos of UPI reflects a commitment to open and accessible public digital infrastructure.

Introduction

As India's digital economy expands to **\$1 trillion by 2030 (IAMAI, MeitY)**, concerns over monopolistic ecosystems, data concentration, and platform lock-ins highlight the imperative for the State to architect open, contestable, citizen-centric digital markets.

Why the State Must Reclaim Its Market-Shaping Role

1. **Platformisation and Private Ecosystem Dominance:** Digital markets are increasingly governed by **ecosystem orchestrators** — global tech giants controlling **operating systems, app stores, cloud layers, data flows**, and algorithmic governance. Their **bundling, self-preferencing, exclusionary access and interoperability restrictions** reduce competition. Studies by **OECD (2023)** and **Competition Commission of India (CCI)** show digital markets tend to become **"winner-takes-most"** due to **network effects**.
2. **Illusion of Competition:** Multiple platforms (e.g., Android–iOS, Amazon–Flipkart) appear competitive but follow similar strategies: Data hoarding, Vertical integration, Lock-in through default settings. Thus, competition becomes **intra-ecosystem**, not market-wide.

3. **Public Interest Risks:** Unregulated digital architectures affect: **Consumer choice, SME access to markets, Data sovereignty, Algorithmic fairness.** They can shape everything from credit access to mobility patterns.
4. **Limitations of Ex-post Regulation:** Traditional regulation—antitrust investigations, penalties, data protection laws—comes **after harm**, often too late in fast-moving digital markets. Hence, a **proactive, architectural role** of the State is necessary.

Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) as a Market-Shaping Tool

1. India pioneered **Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI)**—digital identity (Aadhaar), payments (UPI), digital documents (DigiLocker), and data empowerment (DEPA).
2. These systems create **public rails**, enabling private innovation **without dependence on a dominant private orchestrator.**
3. The India Stack has enabled **over 2,000 fintechs**, while reducing transaction frictions.

State as Architect, Not Just Regulator

DPI demonstrates three foundational functions:

1. **Catalytic Anchor Client** – Government adoption (e.g., Aadhaar authentication) seeded early network effects.
2. **Institutional Continuity** – Through entities like **NPCI**, a non-profit public utility.
3. **Design for Inclusion** – Low-cost, multilingual, mobile-first design ensures accessibility.

This shifts the paradigm from “**regulating after exclusion**” to “**designing out exclusion from the start**”.

UPI Zero-Cost Rail Ethos as Proof of Public Commitment

1. **Democratization of Payments:** UPI’s **zero MDR (Merchant Discount Rate)** model ensures no user—consumer or merchant—pays for digital payments. Over **12 billion monthly transactions** (NPCI, 2024). **Small merchants** onboarded without cost barriers.
2. **Contestability and Level Playing Field:** By keeping the rails **open, interoperable, and free**, UPI prevents the formation of payment monopolies. Allowed entry of PhonePe, Google Pay, Paytm, banks, fintech startups. Prevented dominance of card networks’ fee-driven model.
3. **Public Purpose Orientation:** Reaffirmation by **RBI in 2024** to keep UPI zero-cost signals a commitment to: **Financial inclusion, Digital equity, Market neutral design.**
4. **Global Recognition:** World Bank (2023) calls UPI “**the world’s most inclusive real-time payment system**”; G20 recognises DPI as a replicable model.

Conclusion

States must shape markets, not merely regulate them. India’s UPI-centred DPI exemplifies how openness, neutrality and public purpose can govern future digital architectures responsibly.

Examine the detailed pathways suggested for improving Delhi's air quality. Critically analyze the relevance of global case studies from cities with similar geographical challenges.

Introduction

Delhi's annual PM_{2.5} levels remain nearly **eight times the WHO limit**, with an average AQI of **235 (2015–2025)**. Addressing its complex pollution crisis requires integrated pathways combining science-based governance, regulatory reform, and global learning.

Pathways Suggested for Improving Delhi's Air Quality

1. Strengthening Governance and Institutional Capacity: The SFC report highlights that India's pollution management has long been **externally driven**—via PILs, Supreme Court directions and EPCA—rather than internally institutionalised. **Resource-poor regulators:** Only **5,941 of 12,016** sanctioned posts in SPCBs are filled; CPCB functions with **504 staff**. This weakens **ground-level compliance monitoring**, environmental audits, and industrial inspections.

Pathway:

1. Strengthen SPCBs through staffing, funding, and technological support (remote sensing, CEMS).
2. Create **mission-mode governance**, similar to Beijing's centralised approach to pollution reduction (2013–2017).

2. Prioritising PM_{2.5} Over PM₁₀: India's NCAP focuses on **PM₁₀ reduction**, largely because PM_{2.5} monitoring infrastructure is limited. Yet PM_{2.5} is **more harmful**, penetrating lungs, bloodstream, vital organs. WHO (2021) identifies PM_{2.5} as responsible for **one-third of global pollution-linked deaths**.

Pathway:

1. Shift metrics to PM_{2.5} reduction.
2. Expand monitoring stations and adopt **source apportionment** and **airshed-level planning**.

3. Tackling Key Emission Sources: Delhi's pollution arises from: Transport (38%), Industry and power plants, Biomass burning, Waste burning, Dust and Geographical trapping in the Indo-Gangetic airshed.

Pathway:

1. EV transition (like Mexico City's fleet).
2. Strengthened **Clean Fuel Mandates, vehicle inspection systems**, and **industrial relocation** outside the airshed (as Beijing successfully did).
3. **Agricultural mechanisation** and crop diversification to curb stubble burning.

4. Science-Based Standards and Transparency: Mexico City adopted **health-based standards**, catalytic converters, unleaded fuels, metro expansion, and **ProAire**—a long-term action plan.

Pathway:

1. Delhi needs predictable, time-bound, health-linked targets rather than ad-hoc seasonal actions.
2. Public communication of health impacts to increase political salience.

Relevance of Global Case Studies with Similar Geography

1. Mexico City (Valley Basin, Mountain-locked): Similar to Delhi's position in the **Indo-Gangetic Basin**, Mexico City is surrounded by mountains that trap pollutants. **Relevance:** Demonstrates that even severe **topographic disadvantages** can be mitigated through: Coordinated multi-sector plan (ProAire), Fuel improvement, Mass transit expansion and Vehicle emissions standards. Delhi can adopt a similar **multi-decadal, science-led programme**.

B. Beijing (Mountain-locked with Winter Inversions): Beijing reduced PM2.5 by 35% in 5 years (2013–17) through: Industrial relocation, Household coal bans, Heavy regulatory enforcement and Strict local and national targets. **Relevance:** shows that **political will + whole-of-government mobilisation** can overcome geographical constraints.

C. Krakow, Poland (Civil Society-Led Reform): Despite EU standards, Poland lagged until civil society (PSA movement) pushed reforms. **Relevance:** Highlights the need for **citizen pressure**, decentralised accountability, and local action plans—critical for Delhi where political competition over pollution remains weak.

Critical Analysis

Global examples reveal that:

1. **Geography aggravates pollution but does not preclude success.**
2. **Institutional capacity, political will, and scientific standards** matter more than geography.
3. Delhi lacks consistent national-local coordination, long-term planning, and strong enforcement—gaps which cities like Beijing and Mexico City overcame.

Conclusion

As the **Lancet Commission stresses**, air pollution control is a governance challenge, not a technological one. Learning from cities like Beijing and Mexico City can help Delhi institutionalise durable, science-driven, multisectoral reforms.

Examine the implications of Pakistan's internal dysfunction and the military's new role for India's national security. Justify a policy of firmness without agitation in future statecraft.

Introduction

With Pakistan's political volatility intensifying after Imran Khan's imprisonment and the military consolidation under General Asim Munir, India faces a nuclear-armed neighbour whose instability, as per SIPRI 2024, raises unpredictable cross-border security risks.

Implications of Pakistan's Internal Dysfunction for India's National Security

A. Civil-Military Disequilibrium Intensifying Strategic Ambiguity

1. Pakistan's elevation of Asim Munir as the first **Chief of Defence Forces** formalises Rawalpindi's primacy over political institutions.
2. Strategic decisions—including Kashmir policy, ceasefire violations, and terror sponsorship—are now shaped by a narrower, security-maximalist military calculus.
3. A "military-first state" tends to employ **diversionary tactics**, historically seen after domestic crises (Kargil 1999, Operation Parakram 2001, Pathankot 2016).

B. Erosion of Civilian Legitimacy fuels Impulsive Behaviour

1. A weakened Shehbaz Sharif government, lacking electoral credibility, reduces Pakistan's diplomatic bandwidth.
2. Foreign policy becomes **reactive**, raising the possibility of **uncoordinated escalations**, particularly after incidents like the Pahalgam attack.
3. Nuclear signalling may be used to compensate for internal fragility, increasing crisis instability in the Subcontinent.

Regional Security Spillovers from Pakistan's Domestic Crisis

1. **Rise of Non-State Actors and Unchecked Terror Ecosystems:** Domestic dysfunction creates permissive environments for groups like: **TTP** (with safe havens in Afghanistan), **LeT/JeM** elements historically sheltered by Pakistan's deep state. With Pakistan accusing Kabul of hosting TTP, the risk of **two-front militancy** increases. For India, this heightens threats along the LoC and raises infiltration probabilities.
2. **Economic Distress and Strategic Adventurism:** Pakistan's chronic economic crisis—debt, IMF conditionalities, 30% inflation—creates incentives for **externalisation of internal pressures**. According to World Bank 2024, states with declining economic resilience often resort to **risk-prone foreign policy**. India must anticipate sudden escalatory postures from a fiscally cornered neighbour.
3. **External Actors Recalibrating Policies:** **China** remains invested through CPEC but is increasingly risk-averse after repeated attacks on Chinese workers. **Saudi Arabia's** growing warmth toward India limits Pakistan's financial leverage. **The U.S.** maintains tactical ties, especially for counter-terror cooperation. This multipolarity fragments Pakistan's external anchors, amplifying unpredictability for India.

Why India Requires a Policy of "Firmness Without Agitation"

1. **Managing a Nuclear-Neighbour with Multiple Power Centres:** India cannot allow domestic turbulence in Pakistan to provoke **emotion-driven escalation**, especially when "command cohesion" is

uncertain. Controlled firmness—calibrated military responses, robust border management, and counter-terror intelligence—ensures deterrence without spiralling crises.

2. **Preserving Strategic Focus in the Indo-Pacific and West Asia:** A reactive Pakistan-centric posture could dilute India's capacity for: Indo-Pacific partnerships (Quad, IPEF), West Asian outreach (I2U2, oil-security ties), Central Asian engagement. Composure ensures India's **strategic bandwidth** is not hijacked by a weakened neighbour.

3. **Behavioural Realism and Crisis Stability:** Successful statecraft requires **signals without provocation**: targeted retaliation (Balakot model), denial capabilities (counter-infiltration grid), diplomatic isolation of terror networks, maintaining backchannel communication for crisis de-escalation. This reflects the doctrine of **offensive defence + strategic restraint**.

Conclusion

Unstable neighbours demand calibrated diplomacy. India's future policy must blend quiet strength, crisis stability, and strategic patience to safeguard long-term national security.

Examine how the growing costs of education highlighted by the NSS 80th Round exacerbate inequalities in access to quality education in India. Critically analyze the policy response required.

Introduction

NSS 80th Round (2025) reveals steep rises in private schooling and coaching costs, contradicting Article 21A's mandate of free education. Coupled with MPCE disparities and ASER learning gaps, educational inequality intensifies across socio-economic groups.

Rising Costs as a Driver of Inequality:

1. **Present Observations:** The NSS 80th Round shows **only 55.9% of students remain in government schools**, while **31.9% are in private unaided schools** charging substantial fees. Annual private school fees range from **₹17,988 to ₹49,075**, often equaling or exceeding the **monthly expenditure of the poorest 5% households (HCES 2023-24)**.

2. **Rural-Urban Divide: Private school enrolment:** 24.3% (rural) vs 51.4% (urban). Urban households spend **2-3× more** on schooling, deepening spatial inequalities. Similar patterns were documented by **UNESCO's 2023 South Asia Education Report**, which warned of **"creeping privatisation" and "structural exclusion."**

3. **Private Coaching as an Inequality Multiplier:** **25.5% rural** and **30.7% urban** students take private coaching. Expenditure: **₹7,066 (rural)** vs **₹13,026 (urban)** annually. Higher-income households disproportionately access coaching. The **World Bank's "Learning Poverty" (2022)** notes such parallel markets create "shadow education systems" benefitting the affluent.

4. **Learning Outcomes Worsen Inequality:** ASER 2023 found: Only **43% of Class 5** students can read Class 2 text. Students from private schools + coaching consistently outperform poorer peers — reproducing the **"Matthew Effect"** (advantaged learners gain more advantage).

5. **Feminisation of Educational Exclusion:** Even though gender gaps in enrolment are small, **girls disproportionately drop out** when schooling becomes costly. NSS data show **lower female enrolment in private schools**—indicating intra-household discrimination.

Why Government Schools Are Losing Ground

1. Declining trust due to **teacher absenteeism**, poor infrastructure, and limited digital access.
2. Underfunding: India spends **2.9% of GDP on education** (below NEP's recommended 6%).
3. Excessive reliance on private providers has shifted education from a right to a market good.

Policy Response Required — A Critical Analysis

1. **Strengthen Public Education Quality (Core Reform):** Expand **school infrastructure norms** under the RTE Act 2009. Implement **School Quality Assessment and Accreditation Framework (SQAAP)** nationwide. States like **Delhi and Kerala** show improved learning outcomes after targeted investments.
2. **Regulate the Private Sector:** Enforce **fee regulation laws**, transparency norms, and teacher qualification standards. Crack down on exploitative private coaching centres; integrate tutoring into school support systems. Introduce **Learning Outcome Guarantees** linked to school recognition.
3. **Reduce Financial Barriers:** Targeted **education vouchers**, **DBT-based scholarships**, and **transport allowances** for poor households. Expand **Samagra Shiksha** to cover coaching support for disadvantaged groups.
4. **Address Shadow Education Inequality:** Strengthen **remedial teaching**, foundational literacy & numeracy under **NIPUN Bharat**. Leverage **AI-enabled personalised learning tools** for low-income children (as piloted in Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh).
5. **Enhance Governance and Teacher Quality:** Recruit trained teachers; incentivise rural postings. Institute **performance-linked professional development** and **teacher mentoring systems**.

Conclusion

As Nobel laureate **Amartya Sen** argues in **Development as Freedom**, equitable education underpins capability expansion. NSS evidence underscores that only strong public systems can prevent unequal access and secure inclusive national development.

Examine the rationale behind exploring Space Data Centres like Project Suncatcher to meet the demands of the AI boom. Analyze the technological and security trade-offs of this approach.

Introduction

Goldman Sachs projects a 165% surge in global data-centre electricity demand by 2030, intensifying environmental and infrastructural stresses. Amid the AI boom, initiatives like Google's Project Suncatcher explore extraterrestrial data centres to overcome terrestrial constraints.

Rationale for Space Data Centres

1. **Environmental Sustainability and Energy Security:** Traditional data centres consume enormous energy and water. A **2023 IEA report** estimated data centres may use **over 1,000 TWh electricity by 2026**, equal to Japan's annual demand. Space-based centres leverage **continuous solar radiation**, bypassing land-based ecological stress, water scarcity and fossil-fuel dependence. **Technical keywords:** energy redundancy, negative externalities, solar flux stability, environmental offloading.
2. **Rising AI Computation Demands:** AI training requires high-volume, low-precision processors. Google's plan to place **TPU-enabled constellations linked by optical lasers** allows large-scale **distributed computing** in orbit. NVIDIA's 60-kg **Starcloud satellite** with an H100 GPU confirms feasibility of orbital AI inference.
3. **Climate and Disaster Resilience:** Earth-based infrastructure faces risks from **hurricanes, heatwaves, undersea cable ruptures**, and grid failures. Space offers **predictable sunlight, lower environmental volatility**, and immunity from terrestrial hazards.
4. **Data Sovereignty and Legal Loopholes:** The **Outer Space Treaty (1967)** prohibits national appropriation but leaves scope for private data hosting. Companies can bypass local data-residency restrictions, offering **multi-country hosting** in a non-sovereign domain — a major commercial incentive.
5. **Falling Launch Costs and Advancing Space Tech:** SpaceX's reusable rockets have cut launch costs by **over 80% since 2010**. This makes experimental payloads like **Lonestar's lunar micro-datacentre** and Google's 2027 prototypes economically feasible.

Technological Trade-Offs

1. **Latency and Real-Time Constraints:** The **Earth-Moon latency (~1.3 seconds round-trip)** makes space data centres unsuitable for real-time banking, gaming, or critical defence networks. Highly delayed inference limits practical deployment for latency-sensitive AI applications.
2. **Repair, Maintenance and Cost Escalation:** Orbital infrastructure requires expensive **on-site robotic maintenance**, specialized shielding, and radiation-resistant hardware. Failures may lead to **space debris**, amplifying the Kessler Syndrome risk.
3. **Power and Thermal Regulation Challenges:** Cooling large processing clusters in vacuum is complex. Systems must manage **thermal dissipation without convection**, requiring sophisticated radiators that add weight and cost.

Security Trade-Offs

1. **Cybersecurity in an Extra-Terrestrial Domain:** Space networks face risks of **satellite hacking, jamming, spoofing, and cyber-kinetic attacks**. The 2022 attack on **Viasat satellites** during the Ukraine war highlights vulnerabilities.
2. **Militarisation and Geopolitical Risks:** Data-centre satellites may become targets in conflicts, challenging the **peaceful-use principle** of outer space. Rival nations could claim that dual-use computation threatens strategic stability.

3. **Data Governance and Jurisdictional Ambiguity:** Ambiguous ownership under international space law complicates: liability norms, enforcement of data protection standards, cross-border disputes. This can undermine user trust and regulatory compliance.

Conclusion

Technological leaps reshape human systems. Space data centres offer promise but demand careful balancing of sustainability, security, and governance to ensure resilient and ethical AI-driven digital futures.

Examine the hits and misses of the Sabka Bima Sabki Raksha Bill, 2025 in reforming the Indian insurance sector. Critically analyze its potential impact on policyholder protection and market competition.

Introduction

“India’s insurance penetration remains **around 4.2% of GDP (IRDAI, 2023)**, far below global averages. The Sabka Bima Sabki Raksha Bill, 2025 seeks structural reform, but reveals both ambition and constraint.”

Hits: Strengthening Capital, Regulation and Policyholder Protection

1. The Sabka Bima Sabki Raksha Bill, 2025 marks the most consequential reform of India’s insurance architecture since the **IRDAI Act, 1999**. Its most transformative provision is the **enhancement of FDI limits to 100%**, aligning India with global insurance hubs such as Singapore and the UK.
2. According to **Swiss Re’s Sigma Report (2023)**, emerging markets require sustained foreign capital to expand insurance density, particularly in health and catastrophe coverage.
3. Full FDI is likely to strengthen insurers’ balance sheets, introduce advanced actuarial models, and accelerate digital claims processing, thereby improving consumer experience.
4. A second major reform lies in **strengthening the enforcement powers of Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority of India**. Granting IRDAI disgorgement powers, akin to those exercised by Securities and Exchange Board of India, enhances regulatory deterrence and protects policyholders from mis-selling, fraud, and unjust enrichment.
5. The introduction of structured **Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs)** for regulation-making further improves transparency, predictability, and regulatory legitimacy.
6. The Bill also rationalises compliance through **one-time registration for intermediaries** and raises the threshold for regulatory approval of equity transfers from 1% to 5%. These measures reduce transaction costs, encourage ease of doing business, and align with the **OECD’s recommendations on proportional regulation**.
7. Further, reducing the **Net Owned Funds requirement for foreign reinsurers** from ₹5,000 crore to ₹1,000 crore can deepen India’s reinsurance market, currently dominated by General Insurance Corporation of India. Greater reinsurance capacity improves systemic resilience against climate-induced disasters, a growing concern flagged by the **IPCC Sixth Assessment Report**.

Misses: Structural Rigidities and Incomplete Market Deepening

1. Despite these gains, the Bill stops short of addressing long-standing structural inefficiencies. The most significant omission is the absence of **composite licensing**, which continues the rigid separation between life and non-life insurance. Internationally, composite insurers dominate markets such as Australia and Germany, offering bundled products and benefiting from economies of scope.
2. In India, this siloed structure limits innovation, restricts cross-risk pooling, and increases distribution costs for consumers.
3. Another missed opportunity is the failure to **lower minimum capital requirements for new insurers**. The current ₹100–200 crore thresholds discourage niche, regional, and micro-insurance players.
4. Evidence from **Kenya's micro-insurance reforms** shows that lighter capital norms for specialised insurers significantly expanded coverage among informal workers and rural households. India's insurance density — about **\$91 compared to a global average of \$890 (Swiss Re)** — suggests the need for such targeted entrants.
5. The Bill is also silent on **captive insurance companies**, a globally accepted risk-management tool used by multinational corporations. Their exclusion limits India's ability to develop a sophisticated corporate risk ecosystem and retain premium outflows offshore.
6. Additionally, restrictions on **multi-company agency distribution** and cross-selling of financial products remain, constraining competition and consumer choice, particularly in underpenetrated regions.

Impact on Policyholders and Competition

1. While enhanced regulatory powers and capital inflows strengthen **policyholder protection**, the limited structural reform may blunt competitive intensity.
2. Market concentration risks persist, potentially favouring large incumbents over innovation-driven challengers.
3. True consumer welfare requires not only stronger regulation but also **contestable markets**, product diversity, and last-mile outreach.

Conclusion

Regulation must enable markets, not entrench power. **IRDAI data and Swiss Re surveys** suggest deeper competition is essential for universal insurance access.

Examine the significance of the people-led climate intelligence movement in enhancing climate governance. Critically analyze how the community-driven MRV framework in Tamil Nadu facilitates real-time environmental data.

Introduction

Climate governance increasingly hinges on credible **Monitoring, Reporting and Verification (MRV)**. As underscored by the **Paris Agreement and COP30 outcomes**, granular, inclusive data systems are vital for accountability, adaptation, and climate finance access.

Significance of People-Led Climate Intelligence

1. Bridging the Scale and Knowledge Gap: Climate impacts manifest first at **micro-ecological scales** — villages, forests, wetlands and coastal belts — while policymaking relies on aggregated datasets. People-led climate intelligence captures **hyper-local signals** such as rainfall variability, salinity ingress, biodiversity loss and livelihood stress that satellite or administrative data often miss.

2. Enhancing Democratic Legitimacy: Community-generated data transforms citizens from passive beneficiaries into **co-producers of governance knowledge**. This aligns with climate justice principles and the doctrine of **subsidiarity**, improving trust, compliance and policy legitimacy.

3. Strengthening Adaptation and Resilience: Unlike mitigation-focused emissions accounting, people-led intelligence improves **adaptation MRV**, which remains underdeveloped globally. IPCC AR6 notes that adaptation effectiveness depends on locally relevant indicators — something community systems provide naturally.

4. Unlocking Climate Finance: Robust, verifiable local data strengthens project pipelines for **results-based finance**, including adaptation funding, nature-based solutions and community-centred carbon markets. This responds to developing countries' demand for equity in climate finance access.

Community-Driven MRV (CbMRV) Framework in Tamil Nadu

1. Concept and Design: Tamil Nadu's Community-based MRV (CbMRV) initiative integrates **community-generated environmental data** into formal climate governance. Initiated under the UK PACT in partnership with Keystone Foundation, it operationalises bottom-up climate intelligence across diverse ecological landscapes.

2. Data Generation and Indicators: CbMRV combines **traditional ecological knowledge (TEK)** with scientific monitoring of: Rainfall and temperature patterns, Soil and water health, Biodiversity and fish catch, Cropping systems and livelihoods, Carbon stocks and emissions. This produces **real-time, longitudinal datasets**, enabling trend analysis rather than episodic assessments.

3. Community Climate Stewards: A core innovation is the training of **community climate stewards** — farmers, fishers, women, youth and tribal elders — who collect, interpret and communicate environmental data. This builds a **distributed green workforce** and institutional memory at the village level.

4. Governance Integration: CbMRV data feeds into: **Gram Panchayat Development Plans**, Climate-resilient village programmes, District-level watershed and disaster planning, State Action Plan on Climate Change and climate investment platforms. Digital dashboards ensure vertical integration from village to State, enhancing **evidence-based policymaking**.

Critical Evaluation

1. While transformative, CbMRV faces challenges of **scalability, data standardisation, long-term financing and data governance**.

2. Ensuring interoperability with national MRV systems, preventing elite capture, and maintaining data quality require strong institutional safeguards.

3. Without sustained capacity-building, volunteer-based systems risk fatigue.

Conclusion

People-led climate intelligence redefines governance from control to collaboration. As Elinor Ostrom argued in **Governing the Commons**, durable institutions emerge from shared stewardship — a principle CbMRV brings alive in climate action.

Examine the assertion that the shift from MGNREGA to RAM G transforms an employment guarantee into labour control. Critically analyze its implications for landless labourers and agricultural wages.

Introduction

India's **out-of-pocket health expenditure remains around 47% of total health spending (NHA 2021)**, exposing limits of insurance-led UHC and underscoring the need for universal, publicly financed healthcare.

Conceptual Distinction: Universal Healthcare vs Universal Health Coverage

1. **Universal Healthcare (UHCare):** Goes beyond financial risk protection to ensure **equitable access to preventive, promotive, curative, rehabilitative and palliative care**.
2. **Universal Health Coverage (UHC):** Focuses primarily on **insurance-based financial protection**, often hospital-centric and disease-package driven.

Normative Foundation: Health as a Right

1. Health is a **human right**, reaffirmed by World Health Organization through the Alma-Ata Declaration.
2. Later global shifts, especially WHO (2010), prioritised **risk pooling and insurance**, diluting the primary healthcare vision.

Limitations of Insurance-Centric Approach in India

1. **Hospital Bias:** Schemes like Ayushman Bharat-PMJAY emphasise tertiary care, neglecting primary and secondary levels.
2. **Persistent Out-of-Pocket Expenditure:** NSS data show costs for diagnostics, medicines, and follow-ups remain uncovered.
3. **Supplier-Induced Demand:** Evidence of unnecessary procedures and inflated billing in private hospitals.
4. **Equity Concerns:** Informal workers, migrants and women face exclusion due to documentation and awareness gaps.

Importance of Primary and Secondary Care

1. **Gatekeeping Function:** Strong primary care reduces avoidable hospitalisation and costs.
2. **Cost-Effectiveness:** WHO estimates every \$1 invested in primary care yields up to \$9 in health and economic benefits.
3. **Epidemiological Transition:** Rising NCDs require **continuous, community-based care**, not episodic hospital treatment.

Asian Models: Insurance Embedded in Strong Public Systems

1. **China:** After near-universal insurance, high fiscal stress led to renewed investment in township hospitals and family doctors.
2. **South Korea:** Single-payer insurance supported by robust public provisioning and regulated private sector.
3. **Thailand:** Tax-funded Universal Coverage Scheme with strong district health systems drastically reduced catastrophic health spending.
4. **Key Lesson:** Insurance works best **within a publicly funded service-delivery backbone.**

Role of Public Spending

1. India spends about **2.1% of GDP on health**, below WHO's recommended 3–4%.
2. Higher public spending enables: Human resource expansion (doctors, nurses, ASHAs), Infrastructure at Health and Wellness Centres and Free drugs and diagnostics, reducing OOPE.
3. Strong public sector acts as a **price and quality regulator** for private healthcare.

Indian Context: Legacy and Missed Opportunity

1. **Bhore Committee:** Advocated comprehensive, state-funded healthcare before insurance.
2. **Chronic Underfinancing:** Weakened public provisioning pushed poor households towards costly private care.
3. **COVID-19 Lessons:** Highlighted limits of insurance when public hospitals and primary care are weak.

Way Forward: From Coverage to Care

1. Increase public health expenditure to **at least 3% of GDP.**
2. Strengthen Health and Wellness Centres as first point of care.
3. Integrate insurance schemes with **referral-linked public systems.**
4. Invest in social determinants: nutrition, sanitation, housing.

Conclusion

As argued in **Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom** and WHO's Primary Health Care approach, health systems anchored in public provision are essential for equity, efficiency and genuine universal healthcare.

Examine the assertion that the shift from MGNREGA to RAM G transforms an employment guarantee into labour control. Critically analyze its implications for landless labourers and agricultural wages.

Introduction

MGNREGA provided legal wage security to nearly 26 crore workers annually; World Bank and ILO studies credit it with poverty reduction, wage stabilisation and counter-cyclical employment, making its dilution a serious socio-economic concern.

Rights-based Guarantee vs Scheme-based Control

1. **MGNREGA Framework:** A justiciable right to work, demand-driven, with time-bound wage payments and unemployment allowance.
2. **RAM G Shift:** Converts a statutory right into a conditional, allocation-driven scheme, weakening enforceability.
3. **Core Assertion:** From worker entitlement to state-managed labour supply.

Fiscal Federalism and Cost Burden

1. **Earlier Model:** Centre bore 100% unskilled wage cost, ensuring uniform wage assurance.
2. **RAM G Cost Sharing:** 60:40 (general states), 90:10 (special states), shifting ₹50,000+ crore burden to states.
3. **Implication:** Poorer states may ration work → reduced bargaining power of labour.

Demand-driven Employment vs Budget Caps

1. **MGNREGA Principle:** Work followed demand; fiscal stress did not extinguish rights.
2. **RAM G Normative Allocation:** Pre-fixed ceilings decided by Centre; excess spending penalised.
3. **Outcome:** "When funds run out, rights run out."

Labour Control through Work Suspension

1. **Mandatory 60-day No-Work Period:** Coinciding with peak agricultural seasons.
2. **Economic Effect:** Forces landless workers into private farms.
3. **ILO Insight:** Public employment programmes raise rural wages by strengthening fallback options; withdrawal depresses wages.

Impact on Landless Labourers

1. **Loss of Fallback Employment:** Landless households rely most on MGNREGA during lean seasons.
2. **Increased Vulnerability:** Greater dependence on landlords, advances, tied labour.
3. **Empirical Evidence:** Studies by Azim Premji University show MGNREGA increased women's participation and reduced distress migration.

Agricultural Wages and Labour Markets

1. **MGNREGA Effect:** Raised real agricultural wages (especially SC/ST and women workers).
2. **RAM G Risk:** Artificial labour oversupply during sowing/harvest → wage suppression.
3. **Case Study:** Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh showed wage convergence upwards due to MGNREGA floor wages.

Decentralisation vs Technocratic Centralisation

1. **Earlier System:** Gram Panchayat-led planning via Gram Sabhas.
2. **RAM G Tools:** GIS layers, PM Gati Shakti, biometrics, AI audits.
3. **Concern:** Tech failures → exclusion without grievance redressal; people reduced to datasets.

Social Inclusion and Representation

1. **MGNREGA Councils:** Mandated representation of women, SCs, STs, OBCs, minorities.

2. **RAM G Central Council:** Omission of reservation criteria signals elite capture.
3. **Normative Risk:** Weakening voice of the most affected workers.

Political Economy Perspective

1. **Employment Guarantee:** Strengthens labour's exit option (Amartya Sen).
2. **Labour Control Regime:** Aligns with landlord interests by disciplining labour supply.
3. **Governance Shift:** From welfare state logic to managerial state logic under Narendra Modi's development narrative.

Conclusion

Dismantling social protection re-commodifies labour; evidence from NSS, ILO and World Bank suggests RAM G risks reversing MGNREGA's hard-won gains in dignity and wages.

Examine the link between administrative neglect in Fifth Schedule areas and the rise of Maoist insurgencies. Critically analyze the role of effective governance and tribal representation in local bodies for ensuring stability in post-Maoist India.

Introduction

Fifth Schedule areas, home to over **100 million adivasis**, witnessed intense **Maoist mobilisation**; Planning Commission (2008) and MPI data reveal chronic governance deficits, not mere poverty, as key drivers of insurgency.

Fifth Schedule: Constitutional Promise

1. **Original Vision:** Envisaged as a special social contract ensuring protection of tribal land, culture and autonomy.
2. **Key Instruments:** Tribal Advisory Councils, Governor's discretionary powers, Tribal Sub-Plan.
3. **Reality:** Provisions remained largely on paper, eroding constitutional credibility.

Administrative Neglect and Governance Failure

1. **Colonial Administrative Continuity:** Retention of alien bureaucratic rules and justice systems unsuitable for low-literacy tribal societies.
2. **Service Delivery Deficits:** Weak health, education, policing and revenue institutions in Scheduled Areas.
3. **Empirical Evidence:** Planning Commission Expert Group (2008) termed governance failure as "central to alienation".

Land Alienation and Resource Dispossession

1. **Structural Exploitation:** Despite safeguards, large-scale land acquisition for mining and infrastructure persisted.
2. **Scholarly Findings:** Walter Fernandes documented maximum tribal displacement post-liberalisation.
3. **Outcome:** Loss of livelihood → distrust in state institutions.

Representation Deficit in Local Governance

1. **Administrative Exclusion:** Bureaucracy and frontline officials overwhelmingly non-tribal.
2. **Critical Observation:** B.D. Sharma highlighted outsider bias in governance.
3. **Institutional Failure:** Governors rarely exercised Fifth Schedule powers.

PESA: Missed Opportunity for Self-Governance

1. **Intent of PESA (1996):** Empower Gram Sabhas over land, forests, minor minerals and development decisions.
2. **Ground Reality:** Routine violations, especially in land acquisition and mining approvals.
3. **Case Study:** Chhattisgarh shows highest PESA violations alongside intense Maoist presence.

Governance Vacuum and Maoist Mobilisation

1. **Parallel Institutions:** Maoists provided dispute resolution, schools, ration distribution (Janatana Sarkar).
2. **Ideological Appeal:** "Jal, Jungle, Zameen" resonated amid state absence.
3. **Trust Deficit:** Tribals perceived Maoists as accessible justice providers.

Security-Development Paradigm: Incomplete

1. **State Response:** Two-pronged approach: security operations + welfare delivery.
2. **Limitation:** Welfare without accountability failed to rebuild institutional trust.
3. **Policy Gap:** Governance reforms remained secondary.

Post-Maoist Governance Imperatives

1. **Strengthening Representation:** Real administrative and fiscal autonomy to local bodies.
2. **Rights-based Governance:** Effective implementation of FRA and PESA.
3. **Institutional Innovation:** Learning from Sixth Schedule Autonomous Councils.
4. **Human Resource Reform:** Greater recruitment of tribal officials in permanent bureaucracy.

Conclusion

Legitimacy flows from local knowledge and autonomy; post-Maoist stability demands governance that empowers adivasis, not merely administers them.

Examine the shift from MGNREGA to the VB-G RAM G Bill, 2025. Analyze the implications of the 60:40 funding split on state finances and evaluate how the 60-day agricultural pause impacts the statutory guarantee of 125 days of work.

Introduction

MGNREGA, covering over 8.6 crore job cards, has functioned as a rights-based safety net; the VB-G RAM G Bill, 2025 marks a paradigm shift toward shared financing and centrally managed employment.

Nature of the Policy Shift

1. **Rights-based to Scheme-based Framework:** MGNREGA created a legal entitlement to work; VB-G RAM G redefines it as a centrally sponsored programme.

2. **Demand-driven to Allocation-driven:** Labour budgets based on demand are replaced by “normative allocation” decided by the Centre.

Key Structural Changes

1. **Guaranteed Days of Employment:** Increase from 100 to 125 days, but practical access remains constrained.
2. **Joint Financing Model:** Centre–State funding at 60:40 (90:10 for special category States).
3. **Seasonal Pause Clause:** Mandatory 60-day suspension during peak agricultural seasons.

Implications of 60:40 Funding Split

1. **Fiscal Stress on States:** States face an estimated additional burden of ₹30,000–50,000 crore annually amid shrinking fiscal space.
2. **GST and Revenue Constraints:** Post-GST regime and cess-based transfers limit states’ autonomous revenues.
3. **Unequal Capacity Across States:** Poorer, high-demand states like Bihar and Rajasthan risk under-provisioning of work.
4. **Moral Hazard in Federalism:** Centre claims policy credit while shifting expenditure responsibility downward.

Impact on Cooperative Federalism

1. **Erosion of State Autonomy:** Normative allocation caps state spending even when demand rises.
2. **Departure from Fiscal Federal Norms:** Earlier full wage support by the Centre recognised asymmetric state capacities.
3. **Risk of Regional Inequality:** States with stronger finances may sustain employment; others may ration work.

60-Day Agricultural Pause: Policy Rationale

1. **Labour Availability for Agriculture:** Aimed at preventing farm labour shortages during sowing and harvesting.
2. **Alignment with Rural Livelihood Cycles:** Seeks convergence between public works and private agriculture.

Impact on Statutory Employment Guarantee

1. **Effective Reduction in Work Window:** 125-day guarantee shrinks to around 65 operational days in practice.
2. **Violation of Demand-driven Principle:** Workers cannot seek employment during notified pause periods.
3. **Regional Inflexibility:** Diverse agro-climatic calendars make a uniform pause impractical.
4. **Adverse Impact on Landless Labourers:** Forced dependence on private landlords may depress bargaining power and wages.

Labour Market and Wage Effects

1. **Downward Pressure on Agricultural Wages:** Public employment historically set a wage floor; its suspension weakens this effect.
2. **Reduced Worker Choice:** Public works cease to be an alternative livelihood during critical months.
3. **Evidence from Past Studies:** NSS and ILO studies show MGNREGA raised rural wages, especially for women and SC/ST workers.

Governance and Implementation Concerns

1. **Centralised Planning Tools:** GIS-based plans and national infrastructure stacks reduce local discretion.
2. **Digital Exclusion Risks:** Biometric and tech failures may exclude the poorest workers.
3. **Weakened Panchayati Raj Role:** Gram Sabha primacy diluted in favour of top-down templates.

Way Forward

1. **Restore Demand-driven Guarantees:** Employment ceilings should be flexible and locally responsive.
2. **Reconsider Funding Responsibilities:** Wage costs should remain a central obligation.
3. **Context-specific Agricultural Adjustments:** Seasonal pauses, if any, must be optional and region-specific.
4. **Strengthen Federal Consultation:** States must be equal partners in rural employment design.

Conclusion

As Amartya Sen notes in *Development as Freedom*, social security enhances agency; diluting employment guarantees risks converting a right into a rationed privilege, weakening both equity and federal trust.

Examine the Supreme Court's advisory opinion on the Governor's role against the Constituent Assembly's vision of an 'ornamental' office. Evaluate if elevating this office to 'Olympian heights' disrupts the federal balance and the democratic mandate.

Introduction

India's federal design envisaged Governors as nominal heads, yet recurring Centre–State conflicts and recent judicial interpretations have reopened debates on gubernatorial discretion, accountability, and democratic legitimacy within the constitutional framework.

Constituent Assembly's Vision: 'Ornamental' Governor

1. **Intent of the Framers:** B R Ambedkar asserted Governors would have no independent discretion, acting solely on ministerial advice.
2. **Rationale for Nomination:** Limited powers made election unnecessary; the office was designed as ceremonial, not political.
3. **Westminster Model Logic:** Borrowed from British constitutionalism, emphasising executive accountability to elected legislatures.

Constitutional Position of the Governor

1. **Article 200 – Assent to Bills:** Governor may assent, withhold, or reserve bills, but the Constitution is silent on timelines.

2. **Article 143 – Advisory Jurisdiction:** Enables the President to seek non-binding opinions from the Supreme Court.
3. **Aid and Advice Principle:** Reinforced by multiple judgments that discretionary powers are exceptional, not routine.

Supreme Court's Advisory Opinion: Key Features

1. **No Mandatory Timelines:** Court held it cannot prescribe rigid deadlines for Governors or the President.
2. **'Limited Mandamus' Doctrine:** Judicial intervention only in "prolonged, unexplained, indefinite" inaction.
3. **Ambiguity in Standards:** No definition of what constitutes "reasonable time", leaving scope for arbitrariness.

Departure from Constituent Assembly Intent

1. **From Nominal to Assertive Role:** Advisory opinion implicitly legitimises prolonged gubernatorial inaction.
2. **Ignoring Constituent Debates:** Framers' explicit rejection of discretionary authority finds little reflection.
3. **Comparative Constitutional Practice:** Unlike the UK monarch, Indian Governors now exercise substantive veto-like influence.

Federal Balance: Structural Implications

1. **Centre-State Asymmetry:** Governors often act in alignment with the Union executive, skewing cooperative federalism.
2. **Opposition-Ruled States Impacted:** Examples include Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, where bills remained pending for years.
3. **Commissions' Warnings Ignored:** Sarkaria Commission and Punchhi Commission cautioned against politicisation of gubernatorial office.

Democratic Mandate and Accountability

1. **Unelected Authority vs Elected Legislature:** Allowing Governors to stall laws undermines popular sovereignty.
2. **Legislative Supremacy Diluted:** State Assemblies' law-making power becomes contingent on executive discretion.
3. **Judicial Minimalism Questioned:** Excessive deference risks normalising constitutional obstruction.

Case Studies and Judicial Trends

1. **Tamil Nadu Bills Case (2024):** Earlier two-judge bench imposed a three-month norm to prevent paralysis.
2. **Nabam Rebia Judgment (2016):** Reaffirmed limited discretion of Governors, especially in legislative matters.
3. **International Comparison:** Federal systems like Canada restrict gubernatorial equivalents to ceremonial roles.

Way Forward

1. **Codifying Timelines:** Parliament may legislate clear limits under Article 200.
2. **Revisiting Governor's Role:** Appointment process and accountability mechanisms need reform.
3. **Judicial Clarification:** Future benches must harmonise constitutional text with framers' intent.

Conclusion

As **Granville Austin** noted in **The Indian Constitution**: Cornerstone of a Nation, federal stability depends on restraint; empowering unelected offices risks eroding democratic legitimacy and the delicate constitutional balance.

Critically analyze the marital rape exception as a colonial legacy rooted in patriarchal notions of female identity. Evaluate whether the pursuit of 'matrimonial sanctity' justifies the infringement of a woman's fundamental right to bodily autonomy and dignity.

Introduction

Despite constitutional guarantees of equality and dignity, Indian criminal law retains the marital rape exception, a colonial remnant that continues to deny bodily autonomy to married women, contradicting constitutional morality and human rights.

Colonial Legacy of the Marital Rape Exception

1. **Victorian Patriarchal Roots:** The exception originated in 19th-century English common law, treating wives as husbands' property with irrevocable sexual consent.
2. **Continuation in Indian Law:** Carried from the Indian Penal Code to Section 63 of the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita without substantive reform.
3. **Doctrine of Coverture:** Presumed marital unity erased a woman's independent legal identity.

Patriarchal Construction of Female Identity

1. **Marriage as Sexual Contract:** Law assumes perpetual consent, subordinating women's agency to marital status.
2. **Gendered Power Asymmetry:** Reflects control over female sexuality as central to patriarchal family structures.
3. **Normalization of Domestic Sexual Violence:** Reinforces silence by framing abuse as a "private" marital matter.

Constitutional Incompatibility

1. **Article 14 – Equality Before Law:** Differential treatment between married and unmarried women is manifestly arbitrary.
2. **Article 21 – Life and Personal Liberty:** Supreme Court jurisprudence links dignity, privacy, and bodily autonomy as core rights.
3. **Transformative Constitutionalism:** Exception contradicts evolving constitutional morality prioritising individual agency.

Empirical Evidence of Harm

1. **Magnitude of the Problem:** NFHS-5 shows 83% of women reporting sexual violence identified their husbands as perpetrators.
2. **Invisible Victimhood:** Criminal law denial leads to under-reporting and institutional neglect.
3. **Case Reality:** Separated or deserted women face forced “conjugal claims” without criminal remedy.

Judicial and Committee Positions

1. **Justice Verma Committee (2013):** Justice Verma Committee unequivocally recommended criminalising marital rape.
2. **Supreme Court Trends:** Judgments on privacy (Puttaswamy), sexual autonomy (Independent Thought), and consent weaken the doctrinal basis of the exception.
3. **Judicial Hesitation:** Despite progressive rulings, final legislative correction remains pending.

‘Matrimonial Sanctity’ Argument: A Critical Appraisal

1. **False Dichotomy:** Protecting marriage cannot mean sacrificing individual dignity.
2. **Consent as Continuous:** Marriage does not extinguish the right to say “no”.
3. **Violence vs Stability:** Criminalising marital rape strengthens, not weakens, ethical marital relationships.

International Human Rights Obligations

1. **CEDAW Commitments:** CEDAW mandates elimination of discrimination within marriage.
2. **Comparative Jurisdictions:** Over 150 countries, including the UK, criminalise marital rape.
3. **Constitutional Mandate:** Articles 51 and 253 support harmonisation with international law.

Misuse Argument: A Weak Justification

1. **Speculative Fear:** Misuse exists in all criminal laws, including dowry and domestic violence statutes.
2. **Due Process Safeguards:** Investigation standards, judicial scrutiny, and evidentiary thresholds address misuse.
3. **Rights Cannot Be Conditional:** Potential abuse cannot justify denial of fundamental protection.

Way Forward

1. **Legislative Repeal of the Exception:** Explicit criminalisation with gender-neutral safeguards.
2. **Victim-Centric Procedures:** Trauma-informed policing and judicial processes.
3. **Societal Reorientation:** Education on consent, equality, and marital ethics.

Conclusion

As Martha Nussbaum argues in *Sex and Social Justice*, dignity demands bodily sovereignty; preserving ‘marital sanctity’ by legalising sexual violence betrays constitutional morality and India’s commitment to gender justice.

Examine how the India–Oman trade deal strengthens India’s West Asia strategy amid rising Western trade curbs. Evaluate the role of such regional partnerships in ensuring economic diversification and energy security for India

Introduction

Amid rising tariffs in the US and carbon-linked non-tariff barriers in the EU, India's trade deal with Oman reflects a strategic pivot towards West Asia to secure markets, diversify exports, and safeguard energy security.

Context: Rising Western Trade Curbs

1. **Protectionism in the West:** Increasing tariffs in the US and carbon border taxes (CBAM) in the EU are constraining India's labour- and energy-intensive exports.
2. **Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs):** Stringent environmental and technical standards raise compliance costs, disproportionately affecting MSMEs.
3. **Strategic Trade Reorientation:** West Asia offers relatively liberal standards, faster market access, and high import dependence.

India-Oman Deal: Strategic Significance

1. **Second Anchor in West Asia:** After the India-UAE CEPA, the Oman deal consolidates India's footprint in the Gulf.
2. **Gateway Geography:** Oman's location near the Strait of Hormuz enables access to West Asia and East Africa supply chains.
3. **High Market Access:** Zero-duty access on 98% tariff lines boosts competitiveness of Indian machinery, ceramics, steel, and consumer goods.

Trade Diversification Benefits

1. **Export Basket Expansion:** India's exports to Oman doubled from \$3 billion to \$6 billion in five years, dominated by machinery, transport equipment, rice, and value-added manufactures.
2. **Services-Led Growth:** Strong commitments in IT, professional services, education, health, and R&D align with India's comparative advantage.
3. **Mobility Provisions (Mode 4):** Enhanced movement of professionals reduces remittance volatility and supports India's human capital exports.

Energy Security Dimension

1. **Stable Energy Supplies:** Oman exports crude oil, LNG, fertilisers, and petrochemical inputs—critical for India's energy and agriculture sectors.
2. **Risk Diversification:** Long-term energy linkages with politically stable Gulf partners reduce overdependence on volatile markets.
3. **Strategic Reserves & Refining:** Gulf partnerships complement India's refinery capacity and strategic petroleum reserve planning.

Geopolitical and Economic Leverage

1. **Bypassing Western Barriers:** Oman's FTA with the US allows indirect value-chain integration for Indian firms.
2. **Partial GCC Integration:** With deals with Oman and the UAE, India circumvents stalled negotiations with the Gulf Cooperation Council.
3. **South-South Trade Logic:** Reinforces India's leadership among emerging economies amid global trade fragmentation.

Limitations and Risks

1. **Small Market Size:** Oman's \$40-billion import market limits scale benefits.
2. **Quality Upgradation Imperative:** Zero tariffs alone cannot substitute for competitiveness, branding, and standards compliance.
3. **FTA Proliferation Risks:** Multiple bilateral deals may complicate rules of origin and raise administrative costs.

Way Forward

1. **Value Chain Integration:** Use Oman as a logistics and re-export hub for Africa and West Asia.
2. **Energy–Trade Synergy:** Link FTAs with long-term LNG, fertiliser, and green hydrogen cooperation.
3. **FTA Complementarity:** Align Oman deal with Digital Public Infrastructure exports and PM Gati Shakti logistics vision.

Conclusion

As argued in **The World Is Flat by Thomas Friedman**, diversified connectivity defines resilience; India–Oman partnerships exemplify how regional FTAs can counter protectionism while reinforcing energy security and strategic autonomy.

Examine the strategic significance of the India–Russia RELOS agreement in expanding India's maritime footprint from the Arctic to the Indo-Pacific. Analyze its impact on India's 'Strategic Autonomy' amidst shifting global geopolitical alignments and security architectures.

Introduction

Amid intensifying great-power rivalry and maritime competition from the Arctic to the Indo-Pacific, the India–Russia RELOS agreement marks a critical step in enhancing India's operational reach while preserving strategic autonomy.

RELOS: Nature and Scope

1. **Reciprocal Logistics Framework:** The Reciprocal Exchange of Logistics Support enables mutual access to bases, ports, airfields, refuelling, repairs, and maintenance during exercises, deployments, and HADR operations.
2. **Institutionalised Military Mobility:** It regulates movement of troops, warships, and aircraft, reducing operational friction and response time.
3. **Legal and Strategic Depth:** Ratified by Russia's parliament and signed by Vladimir Putin, RELOS formalises long-term defence cooperation.

Expanding India's Maritime and Strategic Footprint

1. **Arctic Access:** Entry to Russian bases like Murmansk enhances India's presence in the Arctic, vital amid climate change, Northern Sea Route expansion, and resource geopolitics.
2. **Indo-Pacific Reach:** Access to Vladivostok strengthens India's eastern maritime posture, complementing its Indo-Pacific vision.
3. **Operational Endurance:** Refuelling and maintenance abroad enable longer deployments for the Indian Navy and Air Force, especially for Russian-origin platforms.

Complementing India's Indo-Pacific Strategy

1. **Beyond the QUAD Lens:** While India cooperates with the US, Japan, and Australia, RELOS shows Indo-Pacific engagement need not be bloc-centric.
2. **Multipolar Maritime Presence:** India leverages Russia's global base network to avoid overdependence on any single partner.
3. **HADR and SLOC Security:** Logistics access improves India's capacity for humanitarian missions and sea lane protection.

Strategic Autonomy in a Fragmented World Order

1. **Multi-Alignment Doctrine:** RELOS aligns with India's practice of engaging rival power centres without formal alliances.
2. **Parallel Logistics Pacts:** Similar to LEMOA, COMCASA and BECA, but tailored to India-Russia dynamics.
3. **Autonomy through Options:** Diversified logistics access enhances bargaining power and reduces strategic vulnerability.

Implications for Global Security Architecture

1. **Balancing China without Provocation:** Russia's Arctic and Pacific access indirectly counters China's growing footprint, without overt alignment.
2. **Russia in the Indian Ocean:** RELOS facilitates Russian presence in the Indian Ocean, reinforcing Moscow's multipolar ambitions.
3. **Signal of Independent Foreign Policy:** India engages Russia despite Western sanctions, underscoring issue-based realism.

Concerns and Constraints

1. **Western Perception Risks:** Deepening defence ties with Russia may raise concerns among QUAD partners.
2. **Operational Compatibility:** Logistical interoperability must navigate differences in platforms, standards, and doctrines.
3. **Geopolitical Volatility:** Russia's global position may affect long-term utilisation.

Way Forward

1. **Arctic Strategy Integration:** Align RELOS with India's Arctic Policy on research, energy, and shipping.
2. **Balanced Defence Diplomacy:** Maintain transparency with Western partners to reassure commitment to a free Indo-Pacific.
3. **HADR and Confidence-Building Use:** Prioritise non-combat applications to legitimise presence.

Conclusion

As Henry Kissinger notes in **World Order**, stability flows from balance, not blocs; RELOS strengthens India's maritime reach while preserving strategic autonomy in an increasingly fragmented global security order.

Examine the strategic significance of the India–Russia RELOS agreement in expanding India’s maritime footprint from the Arctic to the Indo-Pacific. Analyze its impact on India’s ‘Strategic Autonomy’ amidst shifting global geopolitical alignments and security architectures.

Introduction

India’s maritime strategy is evolving amid great-power rivalry, Arctic opening, and Indo-Pacific militarisation. The India–Russia RELOS agreement reflects India’s pursuit of extended naval reach while preserving strategic autonomy.

RELOS: Nature of the Agreement

1. **Reciprocal Logistics Support:** India–Russia **Reciprocal Exchange of Logistics Support (RELOS)** enables mutual access to bases for refuelling, repairs, and maintenance during exercises, deployments, and HADR.
2. **Institutionalised Military Mobility:** Covers warships, military aircraft, and formations, creating predictable logistics interoperability without alliance commitments.

Expanding India’s Maritime Footprint

1. **Arctic Access:** Access to Russian facilities like Murmansk enhances India’s reach into the Arctic, a region gaining salience due to energy resources and new sea routes. Complements India’s Arctic Policy (2022) focused on energy security and climate research.
2. **Indo-Pacific Reach:** Russian bases in the Far East (e.g., Vladivostok) support India’s eastern maritime operations, reinforcing presence beyond the Indian Ocean.
3. **Blue-Water Capability:** RELOS supports long-range deployments, critical for India’s transition from a regional to a net security provider (SAGAR doctrine).

Comparative Strategic Context

1. **Parallel Logistics Pacts:** RELOS mirrors India’s logistics agreements such as **LEMOA** with the US and similar arrangements with France, Australia, and Japan.
2. **Multi-Alignment Strategy:** Unlike alliance-based architectures, RELOS fits India’s issue-based partnerships across competing power blocs.

Impact on Strategic Autonomy

1. **Preservation of Decision-Making Sovereignty:** RELOS does not mandate joint operations, basing rights, or automatic military support.
2. **Hedging in a Polarised World:** Even as India deepens engagement with the **QUAD**, RELOS sustains defence ties with Russia, avoiding over-dependence on any single power.
3. **Operational Flexibility:** Enhances India’s ability to operate across theatres without being constrained by bloc politics.

Geopolitical Significance amid Global Flux

1. **Multipolar Security Architecture:** Russia’s strategic footprint from the Arctic to the Indian Ocean complements India’s vision of a multipolar order.

2. **Balancing China Factor:** While Russia–China proximity has grown, RELOS ensures India retains strategic leverage in Eurasian geopolitics.
3. **Global Commons Governance:** Supports freedom of navigation, HADR missions, and maritime domain awareness in contested spaces.

Strategic and Operational Benefits

1. **Force Sustainment:** Reduces logistical strain during long deployments, especially for Russian-origin platforms used by India.
2. **Interoperability without Alignment:** Builds operational familiarity while stopping short of alliance-style integration.
3. **Energy and Trade Security (Indirect):** Maritime reach supports protection of sea lanes critical for energy imports.

Concerns and Limitations

1. **Perception Management:** Risk of misinterpretation by Western partners amid sanctions on Russia.
2. **Russia's Strategic Constraints:** Russia's growing dependence on China may limit long-term strategic convergence.
3. **Operational Scope:** Effectiveness depends on political will during crises, not merely legal provisions.

Way Forward

1. **Doctrine Integration:** Align RELOS with India's maritime doctrine and Arctic engagement strategy.
2. **Transparency and Balance:** Clearly communicate non-alliance nature to partners in the Indo-Pacific.
3. **Capacity Building:** Use logistics access to enhance joint exercises, HADR readiness, and maritime diplomacy.

Conclusion

As Kautilya noted in the *Arthashastra*, power lies in flexibility. RELOS strengthens India's maritime reach while preserving autonomy—an adaptive strategy suited to an increasingly fragmented global order.

Examine how a robust Defence Industrial Base (DIB) serves as a catalyst for India's strategic autonomy and economic growth. Evaluate the role of the Atmanirbhar Bharat initiative in mitigating supply-chain vulnerabilities within the contemporary global security landscape.

Introduction

Amid wars, sanctions, and weaponised supply chains, India's pursuit of strategic autonomy hinges on a strong Defence Industrial Base, reinforced through *Atmanirbhar Bharat* to secure growth, resilience, and national security.

Defence Industrial Base (DIB): Conceptual Overview

1. **Definition:** DIB refers to the ecosystem of public, private, MSMEs, startups, R&D institutions, and supply chains supporting defence production.
2. **Strategic Asset:** Modern security links military power with industrial depth, technology absorption, and logistics resilience.

DIB as a Catalyst for Strategic Autonomy

1. **Reduced Import Dependence:** India remains among the top global arms importers (SIPRI), making indigenisation vital for crisis-time availability.
2. **Operational Sovereignty:** Indigenous platforms like Tejas and Arjun reduce vulnerability to sanctions, spares denial, and end-use restrictions.
3. **Decision-Making Freedom:** A strong DIB enables independent foreign policy choices without external military pressure.
4. **Technology Control:** Retention of source codes, upgrades, and lifecycle management enhances long-term autonomy.

Economic Growth Linkages of a Robust DIB

1. **Manufacturing Multiplier:** Defence manufacturing has high backward and forward linkages across metallurgy, electronics, AI, and space.
2. **Employment Generation:** Creates high-skill jobs in engineering, design, testing, and precision manufacturing.
3. **Export Earnings:** Defence exports crossed ₹21,000 crore (2023–24), reaching over 80 countries.
4. **Global Value Chains (GVCs):** Indian firms are integrating into aerospace and naval supply chains, enhancing competitiveness.

Atmanirbhar Bharat: Policy Framework

1. **Structural Reforms:** Corporatisation of Ordnance Factory Board into DPSUs. Liberalised FDI norms (up to 74% automatic route).
2. **Procurement Reorientation:** Indigenisation lists banning import of 500+ defence items. Expansion of 'Make' and 'Make-I/II' categories.
3. **Innovation Push:** iDEX, SPARK, and startup-focused defence innovation corridors.

Mitigating Supply-Chain Vulnerabilities

1. **Lessons from Global Conflicts:** Ukraine war exposed fragility of global arms supply chains and ammunition shortages.
2. **Domestic Manufacturing Resilience:** Indigenous production ensures continuity during geopolitical disruptions.
3. **Diversification of Suppliers:** Reduces over-dependence on single-country sourcing.
4. **DRDO-Industry Synergy:** DRDO shifting towards frontier R&D while industry handles production and scaling.

Geopolitical and Strategic Context

1. **Sanctions Era Security:** Defence self-reliance shields India from coercive economic measures.
2. **Credible Defence Exports:** Exports strengthen diplomatic influence and strategic partnerships.
3. **Indian Ocean Security:** Indigenous naval platforms support sustained maritime presence.

Persistent Challenges

1. **Regulatory Complexity:** Licensing, testing, and certification delays.
2. **MSME Constraints:** Limited access to finance and export insurance.

3. **Technology Gaps:** Engines, semiconductors, and advanced materials still need attention.

Way Forward

- **Long-Term Capability Roadmaps**
- **Single-Window Export Facilitation**
- **International Certification Alignment**
- **Public-Private-Academic Innovation Triad**

Conclusion

As argued by Paul Kennedy in *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, economic strength underwrites military power. *Atmanirbhar Bharat* anchors India's DIB as the foundation of autonomy and growth.

Examine the strategic shift in India's West Asia diplomacy from a Pakistan-centric approach to a multifaceted long-term partnership. Critically analyze how this transformation enhances India's energy security, regional influence, and economic integration with the Gulf monarchies

Introduction

India's **West Asia policy has transformed from political caution to strategic activism**, leveraging economic interdependence, diaspora diplomacy, and security cooperation to enhance energy security, regional influence, and Gulf-centric economic integration.

Earlier Paradigm: Pakistan-Centric & Risk-Averse

1. **Hyphenated Diplomacy:** Gulf states viewed India largely through Pakistan's religious and political prism.
2. **Strategic Hesitation:** India avoided deep political engagement due to sensitivities over Kashmir and Palestine.
3. **Transactional Engagement:** Focus limited to oil imports and remittances, lacking strategic depth.

Strategic Shift Post-2014: "Think West"

1. **Political Entrepreneurship:** Leadership-driven diplomacy under Narendra Modi repositioned India as a civilisational and economic partner.
2. **De-hyphenation from Pakistan:** Gulf monarchies now treat India as an autonomous strategic actor.
3. **Geographic Expansion:** Engagement widened beyond GCC to Egypt, Jordan, and North Africa.

Energy Security Gains

1. **Supply Diversification:** Long-term crude contracts with Saudi Arabia and the UAE reduce volatility risks.
2. **Strategic Petroleum Reserves (SPR):** ADNOC stored oil in India's SPR at Mangaluru — strategic trust beyond trade.
3. **Gas & Renewables Cooperation:** LNG contracts, green hydrogen partnerships align with energy transition goals.
4. **Resilience Indicator:** Despite West Asian conflicts, India ensured uninterrupted energy supplies.

Economic Integration with Gulf Monarchies

1. **Trade Expansion:** India–GCC trade reached \$184 billion (2023–24).
2. **FDI Inflows:** Gulf sovereign funds invested in infrastructure, fintech, logistics, and startups.
3. **Trade Agreements:** CEPA with the United Arab Emirates and economic partnership with Oman enhance market access.
4. **Diaspora Economics:** Over 9 million Indians in the Gulf act as economic and cultural bridges.

Regional Influence & Strategic Role

1. **Net Security Provider:** Indian Navy's anti-piracy missions protect sea lanes in the Gulf of Aden.
2. **Defence Cooperation:** Joint exercises with Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Egypt signal trust.
3. **Balancing China:** India offers a non-intrusive alternative to China's port-led influence.
4. **Diplomatic Credibility:** Neutral stance in regional rivalries (Iran–Saudi) enhances India's acceptability.

Political & Normative Outcomes

1. **Kashmir Diplomacy:** Post-2019, Gulf states avoided criticism; UAE termed it India's internal matter.
2. **Consular Protection:** High-level interventions (e.g., Qatar naval veterans) show diplomatic maturity.
3. **Palestine-Israel Balance:** India maintains principled support for Palestine while deepening ties with Israel.

Critical Assessment

1. **Over-Personalisation Risk:** Heavy reliance on leader-level diplomacy may limit institutional continuity.
2. **Regional Instability:** Wars in Gaza and Red Sea tensions pose economic and security risks.
3. **Energy Transition Challenge:** Fossil fuel dependence must be balanced with renewables cooperation.

Way Forward

1. **Institutionalise Strategic Dialogues**
2. **Deepen Defence Industrial Cooperation**
3. **Leverage IMEC & Multimodal Connectivity**
4. **Expand Rupee-Based Trade Mechanisms**

Conclusion

Echoing Kautilya's Mandala Theory, India's West Asia diplomacy reflects pragmatic alignment. As noted by the World Bank on South–South ties, sustained engagement secures India's energy, influence, and economic future.

Examine the Viksit Bharat Shiksha Adhishthan Bill, 2025, in light of the proposed transition to a single regulatory body for higher education. Critically analyze whether this reform promotes administrative efficiency or leads to excessive centralization, undermining federal diversity and institutional autonomy.

Introduction

India's **higher education system, comprising over 1,160 universities, faces regulatory fragmentation; the Viksit Bharat Shiksha Adhishthan Bill, 2025** seeks structural overhaul amid debates on efficiency, autonomy, and federal balance.

Context: Fragmented Higher Education Governance

1. **Multiplicity of Regulators:** Overlapping mandates of University Grants Commission, All India Council for Technical Education and National Council for Teacher Education caused compliance burden.
2. **Scale Challenge:** India hosts 1,168 universities and 45,000+ colleges (AISHE 2021–22).
3. **Global Benchmark Gap:** QS rankings highlight governance inefficiencies affecting global competitiveness.

Core Proposal of the Bill

1. **Single Umbrella Body:** Creation of Viksit Bharat Shiksha Adhishthan with three councils: Regulation, Standards, Accreditation.
2. **Functional Separation:** Distinct roles for authorisation, learning outcomes, and quality assurance.
3. **Expanded Jurisdiction:** Coverage extends to Central, State, private universities and INIs (excluding medical, legal fields).
4. **Enforcement Powers:** Penalties up to ₹2 crore for non-compliance—significant deterrence upgrade.

Arguments Supporting Administrative Efficiency

1. **Regulatory Rationalisation:** Eliminates duplication, contradictory norms, and forum-shopping by institutions.
2. **Ease of Doing Academia:** Single-window approvals align with NEP's "light but tight" regulation principle.
3. **Conflict of Interest Reduction:** De-linking rule-making from grant-giving removes regulatory capture risks.
4. **Global Practice Alignment:** UK's Office for Students model shows benefits of unified oversight.
5. **Quality Assurance Push:** Uniform accreditation framework may bring elite institutions into accountability net.

Concerns of Excessive Centralisation

1. **Federal Marginalisation:** States have minimal representation; education is a Concurrent List subject.
2. **Funding Central Control:** Direct grant disbursal by Ministry raises concerns of political leverage.
3. **Institutional Autonomy Risks:** INIs historically enjoyed freedom under Parliamentary Acts; regulatory oversight may dilute autonomy.
4. **Precedent of Failure:** Higher Education and Research Bill, 2011 withdrawn due to centralisation concerns flagged by Standing Committee.
5. **Academic Freedom Debate:** FEDCUTA warns of executive dominance over academic decision-making.

Comparative & Policy Perspective

1. **NEP 2020 Vision:** Recommended Higher Education Commission with independent funding council—missing in current Bill.
2. **CAG (2012) Lessons:** Over-centralised regulators risk inefficiency and accountability deficits.

3. **International Experience:** US decentralised accreditation preserves diversity while ensuring quality.

Way Forward: Balancing Efficiency with Diversity

1. **Strengthen Cooperative Federalism:** Mandatory state representation in all councils.
2. **Independent Funding Mechanism:** Arm's-length grants commission as per NEP spirit.
3. **Differentiated Regulation:** Vertical-specific norms for technical, teacher, and research institutions.
4. **Phased Integration:** Gradual absorption of AICTE/NCTE expertise to avoid regulatory shock.
5. **Parliamentary Oversight:** Annual reporting to ensure transparency and accountability.

Conclusion

As cautioned by **Amartya Sen in The Idea of Justice**, institutional reform must preserve pluralism. The Bill's success hinges on balancing regulatory efficiency with autonomy, federal trust, and academic freedom.

Examine the resurgence of Electoral Trusts as a primary channel for political funding following the scrapping of the Electoral Bond Scheme. Critically analyze how this shift impacts transparency in election finance and the Right to Information of voters.

Introduction

Following the Supreme Court's February 2024 verdict striking down electoral bonds, corporate political funding has shifted sharply towards electoral trusts, reviving debates on transparency, voter information, and democratic accountability in India's election finance regime.

Background: Political Funding Architecture in India

1. **Chronic Opacity Problem:** ADR reports repeatedly flagged opaque funding as a threat to free and fair elections.
2. **Evolution of Instruments:** Electoral Trusts (2013, UPA) → Electoral Bonds (2018, NDA) → Return to Trusts (2024).
3. **Judicial Trigger:** SC held electoral bonds unconstitutional for violating voters' **Right to Information (Article 19(1)(a))**.

Electoral Trusts: Structure and Functioning

1. **Legal Basis:** Notified in 2013; governed by **Income Tax Act, 1961 (Section 17CA)**.
2. **Eligible Donors:** Indian citizens, domestic companies, firms, HUFs, associations.
3. **Operational Rules:** Minimum **95% fund disbursal** to registered political parties. Mandatory PAN/passport disclosure.
4. **Regulatory Oversight:** Annual audited reports to **ECI** and **CBDT**.

Resurgence After Electoral Bonds Verdict

1. **Sharp Funding Increase:** Contributions rose from ₹1,218 crore (2023–24) to ₹3,811 crore (2024–25).
2. **Corporate Dominance:** Three trusts accounted for **98% contributions**, indicating concentration.
3. **Major Donors:** Tata Group (Progressive Trust), Mahindra Group (New Democratic Trust).
4. **Reason for Preference:** Legal certainty + transparency without judicial risk.

Positive Impact on Transparency

1. **Donor Disclosure:** Unlike bonds, donor identity is known to regulators.
2. **Traceable Money Trail:** Banking channels only; audited financials.
3. **Voter Information Enhancement:** Enables civil society (ADR) to analyse party–corporate linkages.
4. **Compliance with SC Judgment:** Aligns with constitutional emphasis on informed voting.

Limitations and Democratic Concerns

1. **Indirect Opacity:** Voters access data indirectly via **ECI disclosures—not real-time.**
2. **Corporate Influence Risk:** Concentration of funding may enable policy capture.
3. **Uneven Political Playing Field:** Larger parties attract disproportionate trust donations.
4. **No Spending Cap on Donations:** **Law Commission (255th Report)** warned against unlimited corporate funding.

Comparison with Electoral Bonds

- **Electoral Bonds:** Absolute donor anonymity; asymmetrical transparency.
- **Electoral Trusts:** Regulated disclosure but mediated through institutions.
- **Net Assessment:** Trusts are **less opaque**, but not fully voter-centric.

Way Forward: Strengthening Election Finance Transparency

- **Public Disclosure Reforms:** Mandatory real-time online donor disclosure.
- **Donation Caps:** Revisit corporate funding limits as suggested by Election Commission.
- **State Funding Debate:** Partial public funding to reduce private influence.
- **ECI Empowerment:** Greater enforcement powers and audit capacity.

Conclusion

As **Robert Dahl** argued in **On Democracy**, informed citizens are democracy's backbone. Electoral trusts improve transparency post-bonds, yet deeper reforms are essential to fully realise voters' right to know.

Examine the role of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as a mandatory obligation for environmental restoration in India. Critically analyze how directing CSR funds toward grassland conservation can balance ecological health with corporate accountability under the 'Polluter Pays' principle.

Introduction

India's environmental governance is evolving as the Supreme Court increasingly interprets Corporate Social Responsibility under the Companies Act, 2013, as a binding obligation, aligning corporate conduct with constitutional duties and ecological restoration imperatives.

CSR: From Voluntary Philanthropy to Legal Obligation

1. **Statutory Basis:** Section 135, Companies Act, 2013 mandates CSR spending for eligible firms.
2. **Judicial Reinterpretation:** Supreme Court (2024) read CSR as **enforceable responsibility**, not charity.

3. **Constitutional Linkage: Article 51A(g): duty** to protect environment extended to corporations as “legal persons”.
4. **Paradigm Shift:** CSR framed as **compliance-based obligation**, not discretionary benevolence.

Environmental Restoration through CSR

1. **Expanded CSR Scope:** Schedule VII includes environmental sustainability, biodiversity, ecological balance.
2. **Judicial Precedent:** Great Indian Bustard (GIB) cases (2021–2024) linked corporate activity to wildlife harm.
3. **Restoration Logic:** CSR funds can support: Grassland restoration, Species recovery programmes and Habitat maintenance and monitoring.
4. **Global Parallel:** OECD guidelines endorse corporate contribution to ecosystem services.

Grasslands: The Ecological Rationale

1. **Neglected Ecosystems:** Grasslands cover ~10% of India but receive minimal conservation funding.
2. **Biodiversity Value:** Home to GIB, blackbuck, florican.
3. **Climate Co-benefits:** Carbon sequestration, drought resilience, soil conservation.
4. **Policy Gap:** Forest-centric conservation ignores open natural ecosystems.

CSR and the ‘Polluter Pays’ Principle

1. **Doctrinal Origin:** Recognised in **Vellore Citizens’ Welfare Forum v. Union of India (1996)**.
2. **Operationalisation via CSR:** Corporate financing for mitigation and restoration.
3. **Judicial Reinforcement:** SC linked corporate infrastructure (power lines) to ecological harm.
4. **Accountability Mechanism:** CSR becomes a tool for **cost internalisation**.

Balancing Ecology and Corporate Accountability

1. **Positive Outcomes:** Predictable funding for long-term restoration. Aligns ESG goals with legal compliance. Reduces burden on public exchequer.
2. **Administrative Flexibility: Expert committees (2024)** balance renewable energy goals with biodiversity.
3. **Case Study:** Undergrounding transmission lines in priority GIB habitats.

Critical Challenges and Limitations

1. **Implementation Ambiguity:** No clarity on: Which firms pay, Quantum of contribution and Geographic targeting.
2. **Audit and Outcome Gap: CSR compliance ≠ ecological success.**
3. **Federal Concerns:** Centralised judicial mandates may bypass state conservation priorities.
4. **Risk of Greenwashing:** Spending without measurable ecological outcomes.

Way Forward

1. **Clear Regulatory Framework:** Linking CSR to Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) outcomes.
2. **Outcome-based Metrics:** Biodiversity indicators, habitat recovery indices.
3. **Institutional Coordination:** MoEFCC, State governments, utilities, corporates.

4. **Strengthened Monitoring:** Independent ecological audits of CSR-funded projects.

Conclusion (30 words)

As **Justice P.N. Bhagwati envisioned in environmental jurisprudence, law must serve ecology.** Judicially enforced CSR can advance restoration, but only robust governance can translate corporate accountability into living grasslands.

Examine the significance of the LVM3-M6 mission in consolidating India's position in the global commercial space market. Analyze how launching the BlueBird Block-2 satellite demonstrates ISRO's cost-competitive heavy-lift capabilities and its potential to bridge the global digital divide.

Introduction

India's space economy, valued at about **\$8.4 billion (World Economic Forum)**, is entering a decisive phase as **ISRO's LVM3-M6 mission** showcases heavy-lift, low-cost capabilities amid rising global demand for LEO constellations.

LVM3-M6 Mission: Strategic Context

1. **Heaviest Commercial Payload:** BlueBird Block-2 (~6,100 kg) is ISRO's heaviest satellite launch.
2. **Low Earth Orbit Focus:** Injection into ~520 km LEO aligns with the global shift toward satellite constellations.
3. **Human-Rated Platform:** LVM3 is also Gaganyaan-certified, enhancing reliability perception.

Consolidating India's Global Commercial Space Position

1. **Market Opportunity:** Satellite launch market projected to cross \$30 billion by 2030 (Euroconsult).
2. **Vacuum in Launch Services:** Post-Ukraine war disruption of **Russian launchers and Ariane-5 retirement.**
3. **ISRO's Track Record:** OneWeb launches (2022-23) established credibility in bulk LEO deployments.
4. **Institutional Support:** IN-SPaCE and NSIL facilitate commercialisation of launch services.

Cost-Competitive Heavy-Lift Capability

1. **Cost Advantage:** LVM3 launch cost (~\$4,000-5,000 per kg) undercuts many global competitors.
2. **Engineering Optimisation:** Upgraded cryogenic **C32 stage (22-tonne thrust).** Proposed semi-cryogenic **SCE-200 engine using LOX-kerosene.**
3. **Operational Efficiency:** Shortest gap between two LVM3 launches indicates improved assembly cadence.

4. **Comparative Edge:** Competitive alternative to SpaceX Falcon-9 for non-reusable, reliable missions.

Technological Significance of BlueBird Block-2

1. **Direct-to-Mobile (D2M) Technology:** Enables 4G/5G connectivity without ground relay stations.
2. **Largest LEO Communication Satellite:** Demonstrates ISRO's precision payload handling.
3. **Multi-Orbit Capability:** Bootstrap cryogenic reignition enhances mission flexibility.

Bridging the Global Digital Divide

1. **Connectivity Gaps:** ITU reports ~2.6 billion people globally lack reliable internet.
2. **LEO Advantage:** Low latency, global coverage, disaster-resilient networks.
3. **Indian Use-Cases:** Remote Himalayan regions, islands, border areas.
4. **Global South Leadership:** Affordable satellite broadband aligns with India's development diplomacy.

Strategic and Geopolitical Implications

1. **Space as Strategic Commons:** Enhances India's soft power and norm-setting role.
2. **Supply-Chain Resilience:** Indigenous launch capability reduces external dependence.
3. **Commercial-Strategic Synergy:** Supports Bharatiya Antariksh Station and defence-civil dual use.

Challenges and Constraints

1. **Reusability Gap:** SpaceX's reusable boosters remain a benchmark.
2. **Scaling Commercial Cadence:** Sustained private participation needed.
3. **Space Sustainability:** LEO congestion and space debris management.

Way Forward

1. **Accelerate Semi-Cryogenic Integration.**
2. **Expand PPP Models.**
3. **Strengthen Space Situational Awareness (SSA).**
4. **Leverage D2M for Digital Public Infrastructure.**

Conclusion

Echoing President **A.P.J. Abdul Kalam's** vision of space for societal good, **LVM3-M6** proves that affordable access to space can power connectivity, equity, and India's rise as a trusted global launch partner.

Examine how the proliferation of 'digital breadcrumbs'—from OTPs to food orders—is reshaping modern policing in India. Evaluate the tension between investigative efficiency and the Right to Privacy, in light of the Digital Personal Data Protection (DPDP) Act, 2023.

Introduction

With over **1.2 billion mobile connections** and cybercrime cases doubling **between 2022-24 (MHA data)**, India's policing increasingly relies on digital footprints, raising critical questions of efficiency, legality and privacy.

Digital Breadcrumbs: Meaning and Scope

1. **Electronic Residue:** OTPs, FASTag logs, delivery app data, e-commerce histories, GPS metadata.
2. **Always-On Surveillance Effect:** Nearly every transaction creates a data exhaust usable for investigation.
3. **From Physical to Data-Driven Policing:** Shift from stakeouts to algorithmic triangulation and metadata analysis.

How Digital Breadcrumbs Are Reshaping Policing

1. **Enhanced Investigative Efficiency:** Faster criminal tracing, **BlueChip Group fraud**; food delivery data led to arrest after year-long evasion. **Network mapping**, OTPs and app usage helped unravel ₹5,300-crore GST fraud across states. **Movement reconstruction**, FASTag toll data tracks vehicular mobility in real time. **Cross-Border cybercrime detection**, WhatsApp metadata and app logs exposed Malaysia-based fraud syndicates.
2. **Evidence-Based Prosecution:** Corroborative digital evidence as it supports circumstantial chains under Section 65B of the Indian Evidence Act. **Reduced** reliance on confessions and limits custodial excesses, aligns with **procedural fairness**.
3. **Regulatory and Institutional Enablers:** **Telecommunication Cybersecurity Amendment Rules, 2025**, introduced **Telecommunication Identifier User Entity (TIUE)**. **SIM-to-Device binding**, strengthens identity verification, reduces SIM-based anonymity. **Platform cooperation**, privacy policies permit lawful data sharing with enforcement agencies.
4. **Tension with the Right to Privacy:** Constitutional Concerns like **Puttaswamy Judgment (2017)**; privacy recognised as a fundamental right under Article 21. **Test of proportionality**, any intrusion must satisfy legality, necessity, and least-restrictive means.
5. **Risks of Overreach: Function creep** such as data collected for convenience repurposed for surveillance. **Chilling effect**, continuous tracking may deter free expression and association. **Opacity in data requests**, Lack of transparency on volume, scope, and oversight of police data access.

DPDP Act, 2023: Safeguard or Facilitator?

1. **Protective Features:** Purpose limitation & data minimisation, consent-based processing, data fiduciary accountability and penalties for data breaches.

2. Grey Areas:

- **Broad 'Lawful Purpose' Exemptions:** State agencies exempted for law enforcement and national security.
- **Absence of Judicial Pre-Authorization:** Executive discretion dominates access mechanisms.
- **Weak Independent Oversight:** Data Protection Board lacks strong autonomy.

Comparative and Global Perspective

1. **EU GDPR:** Stronger safeguards, judicial oversight, and transparency reports.
2. **US Policing:** Courts increasingly scrutinise digital dragnet searches.
3. **India's Challenge:** Balancing digital sovereignty with civil liberties in a scale-heavy ecosystem.

Way Forward

1. **Judicial Warrant Requirement:** For access to granular personal data.
2. **Clear Data Retention Limits.**
3. **Transparency Reports by Platforms.**
4. **Capacity Building in Cyber Forensics.**
5. **Privacy-by-Design Policing Framework.**

Conclusion

As **Justice D.Y. Chandrachud** warned, technology must empower, not enslave citizens. Digital breadcrumbs can strengthen policing, but only a rights-based, proportionate framework can preserve India's constitutional soul.

Examine how ring-fenced central loan programmes for capital expenditure facilitate the economic convergence of lower-income states. Critically analyze the role of such fiscal instruments in 'crowding in' state-level investments while balancing the imperatives of cooperative federalism and fiscal discipline.

Introduction

With inter-state income disparities persisting, evidence from FY19–FY25 shows lower-income states growing faster, driven by state capital expenditure, aided significantly by ring-fenced central capex loans supporting convergence-led growth.

Economic Convergence and the Role of State Capex

1. **Concept of Convergence:** As per neoclassical growth theory (Solow), poorer regions grow faster when capital accumulation rises.
2. **India's Federal Growth Reality:** National GDP is an aggregation of State GDPs; divergence weakens macro stability.
3. **Recent Empirical Shift:** Post-pandemic data shows UP, Bihar, Rajasthan, Assam outperforming richer peers in growth rates.

Ring-Fenced Central Capex Loan Programme: Design and Rationale

1. **What the Programme Is:** Interest-free/low-cost loans from Centre to states exclusively for capital expenditure.
2. **Ring-Fencing Mechanism:** Funds cannot be diverted to revenue expenditure or populist transfers.
3. **Scale and Expansion:** Outlays increased from ₹12,000 crore (FY21) to ₹1.5 trillion (FY26).
4. **Alignment with Finance Commission Framework:** Complements tax devolution (41% divisible pool) without distorting fiscal autonomy.

How Capex Loans Facilitate Convergence

1. **Infrastructure-Led Growth:** Physical capital creation; roads, urban transport, logistics, power, irrigation. **Case Evidence;** UP and Bihar ramped up road and urban infra capex, improving logistics efficiency. **Multiplier effect,** RBI studies estimate capex multiplier at 2.5–3.0, higher than revenue spending.
2. **Crowding-In Private Investment: Signaling effect;** higher state capex signals policy credibility and reform intent. **Complementarity;** center builds highways; states invest in urban links and industrial clusters. Outcome will be, increased private investment proposals in emerging states post-2020.
3. **Fiscal Comfort for Laggard States: Revenue Smoothing:** Capex loans offset GST compensation withdrawal. **Counter-cyclical role,** supported investment even during pandemic-induced slowdown.

Cooperative Federalism: Strengthened or Strained?

1. **Positive Dimensions: Shared growth objective,** aligns central macro goals with state development needs. **Flexibility with accountability,** states choose projects, Centre ensures purpose discipline. **NITI Aayog's competitive federalism,** encourages reform-oriented states to leverage infrastructure-led growth.
2. **Concerns of Centralisation: Conditionality risks;** excessive central influence over state spending priorities. **Asymmetric capacity,** poorer administrative capacity may limit effective utilisation.

Fiscal Discipline: A Delicate Balance

1. **Rising Fiscal Deficits:** States widened deficits in FY25 to protect capex.
2. **Pressure from Revenue Schemes:** Election-linked cash transfers risk crowding out capex.
3. **Debt Sustainability:** FRBM targets demand careful calibration of loan expansion.

Critical Evaluation

1. **Strengths:** Targeted, growth-oriented, non-distortionary. Encourages long-term asset creation over consumption.
2. **Limitations:** Dependence on Centre's fiscal health. Risk of capex slowdown if tax buoyancy weakens.
3. **Way Forward:** Multi-year capex loan visibility. Performance-linked flexibility. Stronger project appraisal and outcome monitoring.

Conclusion

As **B.R. Ambedkar noted, federalism thrives on shared purpose**. Well-designed capex loans can reconcile growth, discipline, and autonomy—provided infrastructure creation, not fiscal populism, remains the guiding compass.

Examine the Viksit Bharat Shiksha Adhishtan Bill, 2025, in light of its emphasis on transparency and student-centric reforms. Evaluate whether mandated public self-disclosures and robust grievance redressal can effectively enhance institutional accountability without infringing upon the academic autonomy of universities.

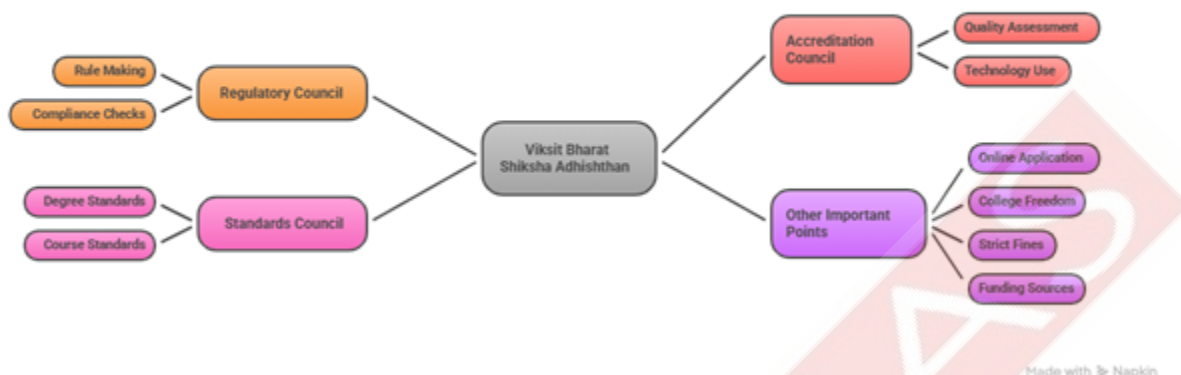
Introduction

India's higher education system, with over 4.3 crore students (AISHE 2021-22), faces deficits in transparency and accountability, prompting the VBSA Bill, 2025 to reimagine regulation through disclosure, autonomy and student-centric governance.

Why Reform Was Necessary

1. **Fragmented Regulation:** Multiple regulators (UGC, AICTE, NCTE) created overlaps, compliance burden and regulatory arbitrage.
2. **Trust Deficit:** NAAC, NBA inconsistencies; several private universities accused of opaque finances.
3. **NEP 2020 Vision:** Advocated "light but tight" regulation, institutional autonomy, and outcome-based evaluation.

Structure of Viksit Bharat Shiksha Adhishthan



Key Transparency Provisions under VBSA Bill

Mandatory Public Self-Disclosure

1. **Scope of Disclosure:** Academic outcomes, faculty credentials, finances, governance decisions.
2. **Modes:** Online and offline public access.
3. **Expected Outcomes:** Reduced information asymmetry for students and parents. Benchmarking and peer comparison among HEIs.
4. **Global Parallel:** UK's Office for Students mandates public disclosure without micromanaging curricula.

Student-Centric Reforms

1. **Guaranteed Access:** Statutory right to fair and time-bound grievance resolution.
2. **Institutional Accountability:** Moves beyond internal committees to regulator-monitored systems.
3. **Equity Dimension:** Protects first-generation learners, marginalised groups.
4. **Judicial Backing:** **Unni Krishnan vs State of Andhra Pradesh (1993)** recognised education as integral to dignity.

Enhancing Accountability: Likely Gains

1. **Transparency as a Governance Tool: Prevention over punishment**, continuous disclosure discourages malpractice. **Data-Driven oversight**, enables outcome-based regulation aligned with global best practices (OECD).
2. **Student Empowerment:** Informed choice; disclosure improves decision-making in admissions. **Voice mechanism**, grievance systems institutionalize student participation.

3. **Institutional Credibility: Internationalization;** supports Indian universities opening overseas campuses.
4. **Investor and Philanthropy Confidence:** Clear finances attract endowments and research funding.

Concerns: Autonomy vs Oversight

1. **Risk of Over-Centralisation:** Appointments by centre has potential perception of bureaucratic influence. Funding Control like direct ministry disbursal may indirectly shape institutional priorities.
2. **Compliance Overload:** Administrative burden, smaller state universities may struggle with disclosure norms. Standardisation risk, over-emphasis on metrics could stifle academic diversity.
3. **Federal Sensitivities:** State universities, fear dilution of powers under State Acts. Past precedent, higher Education and Research Bill, 2011 withdrawn over federal concerns.

Balancing Accountability with Autonomy

1. **Graded Autonomy Model:** High-performing institutions face lighter oversight.
2. **Outcome-Based Regulation:** Focus on learning outcomes, not pedagogy control.
3. **Technology-Driven Single Window:** Reduces inspector-raj tendencies.
4. **Safeguard Needed:** Clear separation between academic freedom and administrative disclosure.

Critical Evaluation

1. **Strengths:** Trust-building, student empowerment, regulatory clarity.
2. **Weaknesses:** Risk of bureaucratic overreach if rules are rigid.
3. **Way Forward:** Independent appointments, minimal compliance templates, strong appellate mechanisms.

Conclusion

As **Justice J.S. Verma** observed, autonomy thrives with accountability. If implemented in NEP's "**light but tight**" spirit, VBSA's transparency reforms can deepen trust without diluting universities' intellectual freedom.

Examine the economic challenges of unlocking India's nuclear energy sector through private participation. Analyze how moving away from administered pricing and mandated procurement can protect the fiscal health of State Discoms while attracting sustainable long-term investment.

Introduction

India targets **net-zero by 2070**, yet nuclear contributes barely **3% of electricity**. As per IEA and NITI Aayog, **private participation and pricing reform** are crucial to scale nuclear energy sustainably.

Context of Nuclear Sector Liberalisation

1. **SHANTI Act, 2024:** Ends six-decade state monopoly, allows **private investment**, and grants **statutory independence to AERB**, marking a structural reform since the **Atomic Energy Act, 1962**.
2. **Strategic importance:** Nuclear offers **clean baseload power**, energy security, and complements intermittent renewables, as highlighted in India Energy Outlook, IEA.

Economic Challenges in Unlocking Nuclear Energy

1. **High capital intensity:** Nuclear projects involve **₹15–20 crore per MW**, long gestation periods, and cost overruns, making them unattractive without predictable revenue streams.
2. **Liability-related uncertainty:** Pre-SHANTI **CLND Act, 2010**, especially Section 17(b), deterred foreign OEMs like **Westinghouse and EDF**, stalling projects at **Jaitapur and Kovvada**.
3. **Regulatory ambiguity:** Undefined terms such as “**strategic**” and “**sensitive activities**” raise risks for investors, especially **SMRs**, discouraging R&D and innovation.

Problems with Administered Pricing

1. **Distortion of market signals:** Section 37 of SHANTI Act overrides the **Electricity Act, 2003**, creating a parallel tariff regime despite electricity being a **fungible commodity**.
2. **Discom fiscal stress:** State Discoms already face losses exceeding **₹5 lakh crore (PFC Report, 2023)**; mandating procurement of high-cost nuclear power worsens their viability.
3. **Moral hazard:** Fixed tariffs insulate generators from efficiency pressures, contradicting lessons from **renewable energy reforms**, where competitive bidding reduced solar tariffs by over **80% since 2010**.

Benefits of Moving Away from Mandated Procurement

1. **Discom protection:** Allowing Discoms to choose power sources prevents **forced offtake of expensive baseload**, supporting reforms under **Revamped Distribution Sector Scheme (RDSS)**.
2. **Market-based efficiency:** Competitive contracting encourages **cost discipline, innovation, and optimal project sizing**, especially relevant for **SMRs**.
3. **Risk sharing:** Commercial contracts allocate risks between **producers and consumers**, rather than transferring them to financially weak public utilities.

Role of Private-to-Private Power Markets

1. **Targeted demand matching:** **Data centres, SEZs, industrial clusters, and GCCs** seek reliable, 24x7 clean power and can pay a premium for nuclear baseload.
2. **Captive and open access models:** Enabled under Electricity Act, these models mirror success of **renewables and proposed offshore wind framework**.

3. **Investment confidence:** Long-term PPAs between willing parties improve **bankability**, a key concern for pension funds and sovereign investors.

Global and Domestic Lessons

1. **International experience:** Countries like **France and UK** rely on **contract-for-difference or market-linked pricing**, not mandatory utility procurement.
2. **Indian precedent:** Renewable energy growth post-2003 Electricity Act shows **regulatory certainty and price discovery** attract massive private capital.

Way Forward

1. **Tariff reform:** Amend or notify exemption under **Section 37** for private transactions, retaining price control only for PSU-linked sales.
2. **Regulatory clarity:** Define supplier roles, strategic activities, and strengthen **AERB independence** through transparent appointments.
3. **Blended finance:** Use **green bonds, sovereign guarantees, and viability gap funding** selectively, not blanket price control.

Conclusion

As **Justice B.N. Srikrishna** noted, sound regulation balances risk and reward. Echoing NITI Aayog and **President Droupadi Murmu's clean energy vision**, market-linked nuclear pricing can ensure fiscal prudence and long-term investment confidence.

Analyze the 'trust deficit' in Indian policing and evaluate how a shift from an authority-driven 'Force' to a citizen-centric 'Service' model can restore institutional legitimacy."

Introduction

India's police face a **deepening trust deficit**, reflected in the India Justice Report 2022 and declining public confidence, necessitating a shift from **coercive control to legitimacy-based, citizen-centric policing** in a constitutional democracy.

Trust Deficit in Indian Policing

1. **Erosion of legitimacy:** Public faith is weakened by **custodial violence, discrimination, politicisation, and lack of accountability**, as highlighted by **NHRC data** and repeated **judicial concerns**.
2. **Colonial legacy:** The **Police Act, 1861** institutionalised an authority-driven "force" model prioritising control over citizen rights, which clashes with the **due process jurisprudence** laid down in **Maneka Gandhi v. Union of India**.
3. **Internal morale crisis:** Events like the **suicide of an IG-rank officer in Haryana amid caste discrimination allegations** point to serious issues within the police hierarchy, indicating **lack of inclusiveness and internal trust**.

From “Force” to “Service” Model

1. **Normative policing:** Modern democracies rely on **procedural justice** where compliance stems from **perceived fairness**, not fear (Tom Tyler’s theory of legitimacy).
2. **Service orientation:** A citizen-centric approach focuses on **problem-solving, empathy, and responsiveness**, fulfilling the constitutional obligation under **Article 21**.
3. **Judicial mandate:** The **Supreme Court in Prakash Singh v. Union of India (2006)** mandated reforms for **professional, accountable, and autonomous policing**, reinforcing the service ideal.

Role of Visibility

1. **Approachable presence:** Programs like **Kerala’s Janamaithri Suraksha** demonstrate how **beat-level interaction** enhances public trust.
2. **Operational signalling:** Initiatives like **“Trackdown” and “Hotspot Domination” in Haryana** showcase police presence in vulnerable areas, signaling that **state control persists**.
3. **Digital visibility:** **Social media outreach**, grievance redress portals, and dashboard reporting systems build **transparency and public engagement**, especially with youth and urban populations.

Role of Transparency

1. **Explainable policing:** Citizens respond better when police explain **rationale behind actions**, especially during **raids, lockdowns, or traffic enforcement**.
2. **Institutional openness:** Transparent recruitment, postings, and inquiry processes reduce perceptions of arbitrariness and improve internal morale.
3. **Technology as enabler:** **Body-worn cameras, CCTNS, and e-FIR portals** ensure accountability, but require strong **data governance and ethical oversight**.

Role of Fairness

1. **Non-discrimination:** **Identity-based bias** erodes public confidence; the police must function as an **inclusive and impartial institution**, especially in caste- and community-sensitive environments.
2. **Internal equity:** Officers must be judged by **performance and integrity**, not identity or political links, to uphold **professional dignity**.
3. **Judicial oversight:** In **D.K. Basu v. State of West Bengal (1997)**, the SC laid down **custodial safeguards**—reaffirming that **fairness is intrinsic to the rule of law**.

Challenges in Transition

1. **Political interference:** Despite **SC’s directives on Police Establishment Boards**, frequent transfers erode operational independence.

2. **Resource constraints:** As per India Justice Report 2022, **police-population ratio** is below UN norms; training and forensic infrastructure remain inadequate.

3. **Cultural inertia:** Rigid hierarchies and lack of community connect make transition to a service model slow and difficult.

Way Forward

1. **Structural reforms:** Enforce **Police Reforms (Prakash Singh guidelines)**, update **Police Acts**, and empower **independent oversight mechanisms**.

2. **Capacity building:** Embed **ethics, sensitivity, and service values** in police training and leadership programs.

3. **Community partnership:** Institutionalise **community policing**, involving **local stakeholders in co-producing safety**, especially in urban poor and rural areas.

Conclusion

As **Justice J.S. Verma** said, “Lawful authority must flow from constitutional legitimacy.” Only a **visible, transparent, and fair police** can reclaim **public trust and institutional legitimacy** in a democracy.

Examine the potential of Carbon Credits as a sustainable revenue stream for Indian rice farmers through methane emission reduction. Evaluate the challenges in implementing monitoring, reporting, and verification (MRV) systems to ensure transparency and inclusivity for smallholder farmers.

Introduction

India contributes nearly **12% of global methane emissions**, with rice cultivation a major source. According to **FAO and IPCC**, climate-smart practices and carbon markets can align farmer incomes with mitigation goals.

Carbon Credits and Methane Emissions in Rice Cultivation

1. **Rice agriculture and methane:** Flooded paddy fields create anaerobic conditions that favour **methanogenic microbes**, releasing methane with **28 times the global warming potential of CO₂ (IPCC AR6)**. India, the world’s largest rice exporter, thus holds significant mitigation potential.

2. **Alternate Wetting and Drying (AWD):** AWD periodically dries fields, disrupting methane formation while conserving water. Studies by **IRRI** and recent field evidence from Telangana show **30–50% methane reduction, 35–40% water savings, and no yield penalty**, making it a “low-effort, high-impact” intervention.

Carbon Credits as a Sustainable Revenue Stream

1. **Additional income:** Methane abatement credits currently trade at **\$15–25 per tonne of CO₂ equivalent**. With AWD reducing around **2–3 tonnes CO₂e per hectare per crop**, farmers can earn **₹3,000–4,000 per hectare**, supplementing volatile farm incomes.

2. **Climate-finance linkage:** Carbon markets internalise environmental externalities, operationalising the “polluter pays” and “beneficiary pays” principles. Buyers such as **airlines, data centres, and global corporations** use these credits to meet net-zero commitments under ESG frameworks.

3. **Alignment with national goals:** This supports India’s **Nationally Determined Contributions, National Mission on Sustainable Agriculture, and LiFE (Lifestyle for Environment)** vision articulated by the President of India.

Inclusivity for Small and Marginal Farmers

1. **Structural advantage:** Over **86% of Indian farmers are smallholders**, often excluded from carbon markets due to scale constraints. Aggregation models led by FPOs, startups, and public-private partnerships help pool emission reductions and transaction costs.

2. **Co-benefits:** AWD improves **water-use efficiency**, reduces irrigation costs, and enhances resilience in water-stressed regions like **Telangana, Punjab, and eastern India**, aligning with **SDGs 2, 6, and 13**.

Challenges in Monitoring, Reporting, and Verification (MRV)

1. **High transaction costs:** Direct methane measurement using chambers, gas chromatography, and satellite validation is **capital-intensive**, potentially excluding marginal farmers without institutional support.

2. **Technical complexity:** MRV requires **geo-tagging, baseline estimation, additionality proof, permanence, and leakage control**, as prescribed under **Article 6 of the Paris Agreement**.

3. **Standardisation deficit:** Lack of harmonised methodologies across voluntary carbon markets risks **double counting, greenwashing, and credibility loss**, as flagged by reports of the **Integrity Council for Voluntary Carbon Markets (ICVCM)**.

4. **Digital divide:** Smallholders face barriers in data literacy, smartphone access, and awareness, undermining informed consent and equitable benefit-sharing.

Way Forward

1. **Public support for MRV:** Government-backed MRV infrastructure through **ICAR, ISRO remote sensing, and state agriculture departments** can reduce costs and enhance trust.

2. **Farmer-centric aggregation:** Strengthening **FPO-led carbon pools** ensures scale, bargaining power, and transparency.

3. **Regulatory clarity:** A domestic compliance carbon market under **India Carbon Market framework** can provide price stability and legal certainty.

4. **Capacity building:** Extension services must integrate climate literacy with agronomy to ensure informed participation.

Conclusion

As Justice **P.N. Bhagwati** emphasised social justice, climate markets must empower the weakest. Echoing **IPCC** and **FAO**, transparent MRV and farmer-first design can turn mitigation into rural opportunity.

Examine how the 'great Indian research deficit' hampers the realization of its strategic and economic ambitions. Evaluate the role of governance reforms, such as the ANRF, in incentivizing private sector participation to build a robust national innovation ecosystem.

Introduction

Despite housing **17.5% of the world's population**, India spends only **0.6–0.7% of GDP on &D** (UNESCO). This structural deficit undermines ambitions of **Viksit Bharat** and technological sovereignty.

Scale of the Indian Research Deficit

1. **Low R&D intensity:** India's **GERD-to-GDP ratio** remains stagnant at below **1%**, far behind **China (2.4%)**, **USA (3.5%)**, and **Israel (5.4%)**, limiting frontier innovation capacity.
2. **Output mismatch:** India produces barely **3% of global research output** and around **1.8% of global patent filings** (WIPO, 2023), revealing weak conversion of demographic dividend into knowledge capital.

Impact on Strategic and Economic Ambitions

1. **Technological dependence:** Low indigenous R&D forces reliance on **technology imports and licensing**, constraining self-reliance in **semiconductors, defence, AI, and quantum technologies**.
2. **National security risks:** As highlighted in the **National Security Advisory Board reports**, inadequate R&D weakens strategic autonomy in dual-use technologies critical for defence preparedness.
3. **Lost economic value:** Absence of deep-tech innovation restricts India to **low-value manufacturing and services**, limiting productivity growth and global value-chain upgrading.

Weak Private Sector Participation

1. **Skewed funding structure:** Nearly **64% of R&D spending** comes from government and public institutions, while the private sector contributes only **~36%**, unlike OECD economies where industry dominates.
2. **Risk-averse corporate culture:** Indian firms prioritise **incremental innovation**, short-term profitability, and foreign technology absorption over **disruptive, long-gestation research**.
3. **Missed scale effect:** As noted by **Jensen Huang**, Huawei's single-company R&D spend exceeds India's national R&D outlay, underscoring the absence of corporate-scale innovation bets.

Governance and Institutional Bottlenecks

1. **Academia-industry disconnect:** Reports like the **N.R. Narayana Murthy Committee** flagged weak technology transfer mechanisms, poor commercialisation, and limited industry-funded research.

2. **Brain drain:** According to **OECD migration data**, top Indian researchers migrate due to inadequate funding, infrastructure, and career incentives.
3. **Bureaucratic inefficiencies:** Delays in approvals, fragmented funding, and rigid audit norms discourage ambitious, interdisciplinary research.

Role of ANRF and Governance Reforms

1. **ANRF mandate:** The **Anusandhan National Research Foundation**, under the National Education Policy 2020, aims to **coordinate, fund, and scale research** across disciplines.
2. **Crowding-in private investment:** By offering **co-funding models, mission-mode grants, and industry-linked research clusters**, ANRF can de-risk private R&D expenditure.
3. **Strategic mission approach:** Focused national missions in **AI, semiconductors, green hydrogen, advanced materials**, similar to **DARPA (USA)**, can align innovation with national priorities.
4. **Institutional autonomy:** Streamlined governance, peer-reviewed funding, and outcome-based evaluation can enhance trust among private players.

Way Forward

1. **Raise R&D spending:** Commit to **2% of GDP within five years**, as recommended by the **Economic Survey**.
2. **Incentivise industry:** Expand **R&D tax credits**, patent commercialisation rewards, and sovereign risk-sharing mechanisms.
3. **University transformation:** Build **research universities**, industry chairs, and deep-tech incubators to bridge the “valley of death”.
4. **IP ecosystem strengthening:** Faster patent processing, enforcement, and monetisation support to reward innovation.

Conclusion

As Justice **K. Subba Rao** stressed institutional foresight, innovation demands sustained commitment. Echoing **APJ Abdul Kalam**, only robust R&D governance can convert India’s talent into transformative national power.

Examine the significance of domestic content requirements and upstream integration in strengthening India’s clean energy manufacturing. Evaluate how ensuring contractual sanctity and robust payment security mechanisms in the power sector are pivotal for achieving a sustainable energy transition.

Introduction

India's clean energy transition underpins its **Net-Zero 2070** pledge. With renewables attracting **80% of power-sector FDI (FY25)**, manufacturing depth and power-sector credibility are now decisive for sustainability and investor confidence.

Domestic Content Requirements (DCR): Strategic Significance

1. **Reducing import dependence:** For years, India relied heavily on **Chinese solar modules and cells**, exposing energy security risks. DCR under schemes like **PLI for High-Efficiency Solar PV Modules** has catalysed domestic capacity addition of **25.3 GW in 2024**.
2. **Industrial value creation:** DCR pushes firms to invest locally, generating **jobs, MSME linkages, and technology absorption**, aligning with **Atmanirbhar Bharat** and **Make in India** objectives.
3. **Technology upgrading:** Adoption of **TOPCon and bifacial technologies** indicates movement up the value chain, preventing India from being locked into low-tech assembly roles.

Upstream Integration: The Missing Link

1. **Structural imbalance:** While module capacity has surged, **wafer capacity remains at ~2 GW**, with negligible polysilicon production, creating a "hollow manufacturing ecosystem".
2. **Strategic vulnerability:** Dependence merely shifts from modules to **wafers and polysilicon**, risking supply shocks, price volatility, and trade coercion.
3. **Global lessons:** China's dominance stems from **vertically integrated solar value chains**, supported by patient capital and coordinated industrial policy.
4. **Way forward:** Targeted incentives for **polysilicon refining, ingot-wafer manufacturing**, and shared infrastructure clusters can correct asymmetries.

Contractual Sanctity: Foundation of Investor Trust

1. **Policy credibility:** Attempts by States to **renegotiate PPAs** post-auctions undermine confidence, raising perceptions of regulatory risk.
2. **Legal certainty:** The Supreme Court in **Gujarat Urja Vikas Nigam Ltd. v. Essar Power (2016)** emphasised that contracts underpin market stability in power markets.
3. **Cost of capital:** Weak sanctity increases financing costs; India's renewable capital cost is nearly **80% higher than advanced economies**, eroding tariff competitiveness.

Payment Security Mechanisms: Financial Backbone

1. **DISCOM distress:** Chronic delays in payments create liquidity stress for developers, despite reforms like **Late Payment Surcharge Rules (2022)**.
2. **Investor risk:** Without assured cash flows, banks price in risk premiums, slowing project execution and grid expansion.

3. **Best practices:** Mechanisms such as **payment security funds, escrow accounts, and letter-of-credit enforcement** must be uniformly applied.

Grid and Curtailment Risks

1. **Transmission deficit:** Around **60 GW of renewable capacity** is stranded due to inadequate transmission, undermining utilisation efficiency.
2. **Curtailment uncertainty:** Absence of clear compensation norms for forced curtailment distorts financial modelling and discourages long-term investment.
3. **International experience:** Countries like Germany provide **priority dispatch and curtailment compensation**, reducing investor risk.

Implications for Sustainable Energy Transition

1. **Manufacturing resilience:** DCR plus upstream integration ensures **energy sovereignty and supply-chain resilience**.
2. **Market confidence:** Contractual sanctity and payment security reduce systemic risk, enabling **low-cost finance and scale**.
3. **Climate leadership:** Stable power markets are prerequisites for scaling **green hydrogen, storage, and round-the-clock renewables**.

Conclusion

Institutional trust sustains markets. Echoing **President Droupadi Murmu**, India's energy transition will succeed only when policy credibility matches climate ambition.

Analyze India's evolving Artificial Intelligence regulatory framework under the IT and data protection laws. Evaluate how enhancing resource accessibility and workforce upskilling can balance the dual imperatives of fostering innovation and ensuring responsible, ethical digital governance.

Introduction

India's AI governance is evolving through **IT Rules, financial regulation, and data protection law**, even as it ranks among top AI adopters but lags behind the **US-China** axis in frontier model development.

Existing AI Regulatory Framework in India

1. **IT Act and IT Rules, 2021:** India regulates AI indirectly by imposing **due diligence obligations** on intermediaries, mandating removal of unlawful content, curbing **deepfakes**, and requiring labelling of **synthetically generated content**.

2. **Data Protection Regime:** The **Digital Personal Data Protection Act, 2023** embeds principles of **lawful processing, purpose limitation, and accountability**, indirectly governing AI systems that rely on personal data and automated decision-making.
3. **Sectoral Regulation:**
 - **RBI:** Introduced model risk management expectations and the **FREE-AI framework** to ensure explainability, fairness, and governance in AI-driven credit systems.
 - **SEBI:** Mandated accountability for AI tools used by regulated entities, focusing on auditability and human oversight.
4. **Regulatory Character:** India's approach remains **reactive and fragmented**, relying on existing laws rather than a comprehensive AI-specific **duty of care or product safety regime**, especially for psychological and consumer harms.

Comparative Perspective and Regulatory Gaps

1. **Absence of AI Consumer Safety Framework:** Unlike **China's draft rules on emotionally interactive AI**, India lacks explicit obligations addressing **psychological dependence, behavioural manipulation, or algorithmic harm**.
2. **Trade-off with Intrusiveness:** While China's model risks **excessive surveillance**, India's lighter-touch approach risks **regulatory incompleteness**, especially in high-risk AI applications such as recommender systems, fintech, and health-tech.
3. **EU AI Act Contrast:** The EU follows a **risk-based regulation**, categorising AI systems into unacceptable, high-risk, and minimal-risk, offering India a template without stifling innovation.

Innovation Constraint: India's Resource Deficit

1. **Computational Access:** India lacks affordable access to **high-performance computing and GPUs**, a critical bottleneck in training large language and foundation models.
2. **R&D and Frontier Models:** India is a major AI adopter but not a **frontier model builder**, increasing dependency on foreign, privately owned models.
3. **Public Investment Gaps:** Compared to China's state-backed AI compute clusters and the US CHIPS-AI ecosystem, India's public procurement and mission-mode funding remain limited.

Workforce Upskilling: Strategic Imperative

1. **Human Capital Advantage:** With the world's largest STEM workforce, India can convert demographic scale into AI leadership through **skilling, reskilling, and interdisciplinary AI ethics education**.
2. **Policy Initiatives:** Programs like **IndiaAI Mission** and **Digital India** can integrate AI training across governance, industry, and academia.
3. **Bridging Research-Industry Gap:** Translating academic AI research into deployable products can reduce reliance on imported models and strengthen domestic innovation.

Balancing Innovation with Ethical Governance

1. **Downstream Regulation:** India should regulate **high-risk AI use cases**, not upstream model development, by imposing obligations like **incident reporting, algorithmic audits, and human-in-the-loop safeguards**.
2. **Responsible AI Principles:** Embedding **fairness, transparency, explainability, and accountability** aligns with Supreme Court jurisprudence on privacy and dignity under **Justice K.S. Puttaswamy (2017)**.
3. **Avoiding “Regulate First, Build Later” Trap:** Overregulation without domestic capacity may deepen technological dependency rather than sovereignty.

Conclusion

As technology must serve constitutional values. Echoing the **Economic Survey**, India’s AI future hinges on capacity-building, not control—innovation tempered by ethical governance.

Analyze the contemporary global order as a multipolar world with bipolar characteristics. Examine how the interplay between three great powers influences global governance and India’s strategic maneuverability in a landscape lacking a single center of authority.

Introduction

Global power is diffusing amid **US–China rivalry and Russia’s strategic resurgence**, reflected in defence spending, economic rebalancing, and alliance recalibration, signalling the end of **unipolarity** without a settled alternative order.

Nature of the Contemporary Global Order

1. **Multipolarity:** Power today is dispersed among multiple actors, with the **US, China, and Russia** as great powers, alongside influential **middle powers** like India, Germany, Japan, and Brazil.
2. **Bipolar Characteristics:** Despite diffusion, global politics is structured by a **systemic US–China rivalry**, resembling bipolarity in trade wars, technology decoupling, and military posturing in the **Indo-Pacific**.
3. **Absence of a Central Authority:** Unlike post-1945 institutions anchored in US leadership, global governance today reflects **institutional fatigue**, visible in WTO paralysis, UNSC deadlock, and fragmented climate negotiations.

Role of the Three Great Powers

1. **United States:** The US remains the **pre-eminent military and financial power**, but has shifted towards **offshore balancing**, retrenching from Europe while asserting primacy in the **Western Hemisphere**, echoing the **Monroe Doctrine**.
2. **China:** As the **rising power**, China converts economic strength into military capability, possessing the **world’s largest navy by ship count**, and pursuing regional hegemony through **Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)** and **South China Sea militarisation**.

3. **Russia:** Though economically weaker, Russia's **nuclear arsenal, energy leverage, and coercive diplomacy** sustain its great power status. It acts as a **swing power**, aligning tactically with China while leaving space for selective engagement with the US.

Impact on Global Governance

1. **Institutional Fragmentation:** Rival blocs undermine consensus-based governance, evident in **sanctions regimes**, alternative payment systems like **CIPS**, and competing technology standards.
2. **Rules-based Order under Stress:** As seen after **Crimea (2014)** and the Ukraine war, enforcement of norms is selective, reinforcing **Realist anarchy**, as described by **Kenneth Waltz**.
3. **Issue-based Coalitions:** Governance increasingly relies on **minilateralism**, such as **QUAD, AUKUS**, and **BRICS**, rather than universal institutions.

India's Strategic Maneuverability

1. **Strategic Autonomy:** India leverages fluid multipolarity to avoid rigid alignments, maintaining ties with the **US, Russia, and China**, consistent with its historic **Non-Aligned Movement** ethos.
2. **Multi-alignment:** India participates in **QUAD for maritime security, BRICS for Global South representation**, and **SCO for Eurasian engagement**, maximising diplomatic flexibility.
3. **Economic and Technological Leverage:** With India projected as the **fastest-growing major economy (IMF)**, it attracts supply-chain diversification under **China-plus-one**, enhancing strategic relevance.
4. **Norm-shaping Role:** India positions itself as a bridge between blocs, advocating **reformed multilateralism**, digital public infrastructure, and climate equity, as highlighted during its **G20 Presidency**.

Constraints and Risks for India

1. **US-China Polarisation:** Intensifying rivalry risks pressuring India to take sides, especially on technology and defence ecosystems.
2. **Regional Instability:** Russia-China proximity and unresolved border tensions with China limit India's strategic comfort.
3. **Governance Uncertainty:** Fluid multipolarity reduces predictability, complicating long-term foreign policy planning.

Conclusion

Echoing **Justice Radhakrishnan's** emphasis on balance and **Kautilya's Mandala**, India must navigate power rivalry with prudence. As the **Economic Survey** notes, strategic autonomy thrives in uncertainty.

Critically analyze the dominance of the non-profit private sector in managing cleft care in India. Evaluate the deficiencies in government-led initiatives regarding awareness and affordability, and suggest a framework for integrating specialized surgeries into the universal health architecture.

Introduction

India records the world's highest cleft births, yet care delivery is NGO-driven. Lancet Surgery Commission and IHME data reveal systemic gaps in public health governance, financing, and surgical access.

Nature of Cleft Care in India

1. **Public Health Burden:** Cleft lip and palate are **congenital craniofacial anomalies** affecting feeding, speech, hearing, nutrition, and psychosocial well-being, transcending cosmetic categorisation.
2. **Epidemiological Gap:** Despite WHO Global Burden of Disease recognition, India lacks **national epidemiological surveillance**, reflecting weak congenital anomaly reporting systems.

Dominance of the Non-Profit Private Sector

1. **Service Delivery Leadership:** NGOs like **Smile Train**, **Operation Smile**, and **Mission Smile** have delivered over **22 lakh surgeries**, filling the vacuum left by the public system.
2. **Sustainable Partnership Model:** Smile Train's **capacity-building approach**—training local surgeons and funding procedures—creates scalable impact without parallel infrastructure duplication.
3. **Equity Contribution:** NGOs address **financial barriers**, providing free surgery, nutrition support, and speech therapy, critical where **out-of-pocket health expenditure** remains above 45% (World Bank).

Deficiencies in Government-Led Initiatives

1. **Policy Blind Spot:** Cleft conditions are **not notified diseases**, excluding them from structured surveillance, budgetary prioritisation, and outcome tracking.
2. **Infrastructure Deficit:** Government hospitals lack **craniofacial surgical units**, trained maxillofacial surgeons, speech therapists, and anaesthesia support, especially in Tier-2 and rural settings.
3. **Awareness Failure:** Limited parental counselling and weak ASHA-level engagement reinforce **stigma, superstition, and delayed treatment**, aggravating functional disability.
4. **Affordability Gap:** Though schemes like **Ayushman Bharat-PMJAY** exist, cleft care inclusion remains fragmented, with inadequate package rates and weak referral pathways.

Consequences of Public Sector Inaction

1. **Health Inequity:** Over **17.5 lakh children** live with unrepaired clefts, disproportionately from rural and marginalised communities.

2. **Intergenerational Impact:** IHME (2022) links clefts to **1.5 times higher malnutrition risk**, undermining SDG-2 (Zero Hunger) and SDG-3 (Good Health).

3. **Psychosocial Harm:** Untreated clefts lead to **school dropout, unemployment, and social exclusion**, violating the **Right to Dignity under Article 21**.

Framework for Integration into Universal Health Architecture

1. **Policy Recognition:** Declare cleft and craniofacial anomalies as **notifiable congenital conditions**, integrating them into **National Health Mission dashboards**.

2. **Primary-Level Screening:** Leverage **Rashtriya Bal Swasthya Karyakram (RBSK)** and **ASHA workers** for early detection, counselling, and referral continuity.

3. **Financial Protection:** Expand **PMJAY surgical packages** to include comprehensive cleft care—surgery, nutrition, speech therapy, and follow-up—ensuring **cashless continuum of care**.

4. **Public-NGO Partnerships:** Institutionalise **PPP models**, adopting NGO best practices for training, audits, and outcome measurement within district hospitals.

5. **Capacity Building:** Establish **regional craniofacial centres of excellence**, aligned with medical colleges under the National Medical Commission.

6. **Behavioural Change Communication:** Launch nationwide IEC campaigns to dismantle stigma, aligned with **National Birth Defect Awareness Month** objectives.

Conclusion

Echoing **Justice P.N. Bhagwati's** expansive Article 21 vision and **President Droupadi Murmu's** call for inclusive health, integrating cleft care affirms dignity, equity, and India's constitutional welfare mandate.