

ForumIAS

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## Mains Marathon

4<sup>th</sup> week January, 2026

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HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
POLITY  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
GEOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENT

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**Analyze the crisis in global cyber-governance amidst rising trans-border cybercrime. Evaluate the necessity for India to augment its multi-level technical capacities to safeguard institutional autonomy and effectively shape international digital norms in an increasingly fragmented cyberspace.**

### Introduction

By 2026, **global cybercrime losses exceeding \$10 trillion annually (Cybersecurity Ventures)** expose fractured cyber governance, **as UN cybercrime negotiations and AI norms reveal deep rifts between sovereignty, security, and human rights.**

### The Crisis of Global Cyber-Governance in an Era of Trans-Border Cybercrime

1. **Fragmented Normative Architecture:** Global cyber governance suffers from the absence of a **universally accepted legal framework** akin to a **'Geneva Convention for cyberspace'**. The **UN Convention against Cybercrime (2024)** illustrates this fragmentation—while intended to be inclusive, it remains divided over definitions of **cybercrime, surveillance powers, and safeguards for civil liberties**. Parallely, the **Budapest Convention** continues as a Eurocentric regime, underscoring normative pluralism rather than consensus.
2. **Attribution, Jurisdiction and Enforcement Failures:** Cybercrime **thrives on the 'attribution problem'**—the technical difficulty of identifying **perpetrators operating through proxy servers, botnets, and state-sponsored groups**. INTERPOL notes that over **60% of ransomware attacks in 2025** involved cross-border jurisdictions, **yet weak Mutual Legal Assistance Treaties (MLATs) create 'legal black holes'** exploited by criminals.
3. **Polycentric and Politicised Multilateralism:** The cyber domain mirrors wider multilateral **decay**—**UNSC paralysis, WTO dispute settlement deadlock, and declining US financial support to UN institutions**. Governance is shifting **toward 'polycentricism'**, where overlapping plurilateral and bilateral arrangements replace universal rulemaking, increasing compliance **costs and institutional stress for states like India**.

### India's Institutional Autonomy in a Fragmented Cyberspace

1. **Strategic Non-Alignment in Digital Governance:** India has resisted binary choices between the **US-led 'multi-stakeholder internet' model** and the **Sino-Russian 'sovereign internet' paradigm**. Its refusal to accede to both the **Budapest Convention** and the **2024 UN Convention** reflects a desire to **preserve 'institutional autonomy'** over data, due process, and domestic lawmaking.
2. **Data Sovereignty as State Capacity:** Through the **Digital Personal Data Protection Act, 2023** and **sectoral localisation mandates**, India seeks control over citizens' **'digital DNA'**. This aligns with the **Supreme Court's Puttaswamy judgment (2017)**, which affirmed informational privacy as intrinsic to constitutional liberty and state responsibility.

### The Imperative of Building Multi-Level Technical Capacities

1. **The Technical Level – 'Code as Power':** Autonomy without indigenous capability risks becoming rhetorical. India must invest in **quantum-safe cryptography, cyber-forensics, AI-driven attribution engines,**

and trusted hardware ecosystems. The National Cyber Security Strategy (draft) and initiatives like DRDO's cyber labs are steps toward 'sovereign tech', reducing dependence on foreign proprietary systems.

2. **The Legal-Administrative Level – 'Real-Time Governance':** Institutions such as CERT-In, the Indian Cyber Crime Coordination Centre (I4C), and sectoral SOCs require modernisation for active defence, real-time information sharing, and cross-border evidence exchange. The World Bank (2023) highlights that cyber resilience is now a determinant of investment confidence.

3. **The Diplomatic Level – 'Norm Entrepreneurship':** India's influence hinges on proactive engagement in ICANN, ITU, UN OEWG, and G20 Digital Economy Working Groups—not merely as a participant but as a norm-setter articulating Global South concerns on data flows, lawful access, and human rights-compatible enforcement.

#### Way Forward: From Rule-Taker to Cyber-Leading Power

1. **Trusted Digital Partnerships:** By exporting cyber-resilience templates and DPI-linked security frameworks to Africa and Southeast Asia, India can build a 'trusted cyber bloc', amplifying its leverage in norm-setting.

2. **Public-Private Fusion:** Emulating Israel's cyber-security ecosystem, tighter integration between startups, academia, and national security institutions can sustain technological edge and workforce readiness.

#### Conclusion

India's cyber autonomy demands capability, not caution—shaping norms through strength, restraint, and democratic fidelity.

Top of Form

Bottom of Form

**Analyze the economic implications of India's demographic transition towards an ageing society. Evaluate the imperative of establishing a robust public-funded geriatric care ecosystem to mitigate the rising financial vulnerability of elderly households.**

#### Introduction

India's demographic dividend is giving way to rapid ageing: UNFPA's India Ageing Report 2023 projects the 60+ population to exceed 20% by 2050, reshaping fiscal sustainability, labour markets, and household welfare.

#### Economic Implications of India's Demographic Transition

1. **Rising Old-Age Dependency and Fiscal Stress:** India's demographic transition is uneven across States. RBI estimates show Kerala and Tamil Nadu becoming 'ageing States' by 2036, with elderly shares crossing 20%, while Bihar and Uttar Pradesh remain youthful. A rising Old-Age Dependency Ratio shrinks the effective tax base relative to pension and healthcare obligations, intensifying fiscal stress, especially for States already constrained by Finance Commission devolution criteria.

2. **Healthcare Inflation and Household Financial Vulnerability:** Ageing households face a 'double burden of disease'—persistent communicable illnesses alongside non-communicable diseases such as

diabetes and cardiovascular disorders. According to the **National Health Accounts**, over **47% of health expenditure** in India remains out-of-pocket. With **medical inflation consistently exceeding CPI**, elderly households increasingly experience dissaving, asset liquidation, and indebtedness, pushing many into old-age poverty.

3. **Savings, Capital Formation, and Growth Trade-offs:** Life-cycle hypothesis suggests ageing societies enter a **dissaving phase, reducing aggregate household savings**. This may constrain domestic capital formation unless offset by productivity gains or a structured '**silver economy**'. Japan's experience illustrates that without strong public social security, ageing can depress consumption and growth.

4. **Gendered Dimensions of Ageing:** Ageing in **India is feminised**. Elderly women live longer but possess fewer assets and weaker social security, having largely remained outside the formal workforce. **NSS data highlights** that a majority of elderly women lack independent income, rendering family-based care assumptions increasingly **untenable amid migration and nuclearisation**.

#### **The Imperative for Public-Funded Geriatric Care**

1. **Market Failure in Insurance and Care Provision:** Private health insurance largely excludes or overprices senior citizens, particularly those with pre-existing conditions. This classic case of market failure necessitates state intervention, positioning public-funded geriatric care as an '**insurer of last resort**', similar to the **NHS model in the UK**.

2. **Care Economy as Productive Investment:** Public investment in geriatric care generates employment in the '**care economy**'—nurses, caregivers, physiotherapists, and community health workers. **ILO estimates suggest** care-sector expansion can yield high employment multipliers, especially for women, aligning social protection with growth.

3. **Inter-State and Inter-Generational Equity:** Ageing States **face a double penalty: rising pension costs alongside declining fiscal space** due to **demographic-based devolution**. A nationally funded geriatric framework can smooth regional disparities and institutionalise an inter-generational social contract.

#### **Challenges in Building the Ecosystem**

1. **Fiscal Constraints and Competing Priorities:** Expanding geriatric care competes with infrastructure and education spending amid fiscal consolidation pressures **emphasised by the RBI**.

2. **Institutional and Infrastructure Gaps:** Primary Health Centres lack geriatric specialisation, and district hospitals rarely have dedicated geriatric wards. The **National Programme for Health Care of the Elderly (NPHCE)** remains underfunded and unevenly implemented.

#### **Way Forward: Converting Ageing into a 'Silver Dividend'**

1. **Universalising Social Pensions:** Enhancing old-age pensions under NSAP to dignified, inflation-indexed levels can prevent destitution.

2. **Expanding Ayushman Bharat:** Extending coverage beyond hospitalisation to include long-term, palliative, and home-based geriatric care.

3. **Public-Private and CSR Partnerships:** Leveraging CSR and PPPs for senior living infrastructure while ensuring state subsidies protect equity.



## Conclusion

Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer called welfare a constitutional duty. Echoing President Droupadi Murmu, dignified ageing demands public care—transforming longevity from fiscal burden into a humane, inter-generational commitment.

**Analyze the role of economic diplomacy in mitigating currency volatility. Evaluate whether a strategic Indo-US understanding is essential to curb persistent capital outflows and stabilize the rupee in an era where global finance is increasingly tethered to geopolitics.**

## Introduction

Despite robust macro-fundamentals—7.4% growth, low inflation, and a modest current account deficit—the rupee's 6% fall in 2025 highlights how geopolitics, not economics alone, now drives currency volatility."

### Economic Diplomacy and Currency Stability: From Monetary Economics to Geopolitical Finance

1. Traditionally, exchange rates responded to inflation differentials, trade balances, and interest rates.
2. However, in a fragmented global order **marked by weaponised tariffs, sanctions, and financial coercion**, currencies increasingly reflect **geopolitical risk premia**.
3. **The IMF (2023) notes** that capital flows to emerging markets are now more sensitive to political alignment than domestic fundamentals.

### Capital Outflows as the Core Driver of Rupee Depreciation

1. **The Capital Account Shock:** India's trade deficit, at **\$96.6 billion (April–December 2025)**, remains manageable. The **real stress originates from the capital account**: net capital inflows swung from **+\$10.6 billion (2024) to -\$3.9 billion (2025)**. This reversal coincided with U.S. tariff escalation against India, underscoring the non-economic origins of capital flight.
2. **Risk Perception and the 'Flight to Safety':** Heightened Indo-U.S. tensions have raised India's perceived country risk, prompting **Foreign Portfolio Investors (FPIs) to rebalance towards U.S. Treasuries amid high yields**. Such "sudden stops," as described by Calvo, are self-reinforcing—**currency depreciation fuels** further outflows, weakening both equity markets and investor confidence.

### Economic Diplomacy as a Monetary Stabiliser

1. **Tariffs as Goeconomic Weapons:** The imposition of **50% U.S. tariffs** on Indian exports—linked to Russia and Iran trade—illustrates how trade policy is **now embedded in strategic rivalry**. In such a context, RBI intervention via forex reserves can only smooth volatility, not reverse sentiment-driven capital exits.
2. **Strategic Indo-US Understanding:** A diplomatic rapprochement could restore investor confidence by lowering policy uncertainty. Historical **precedents—such as the 1991 balance of payments crisis**, where IMF support followed diplomatic engagement—demonstrate that external confidence hinges on political credibility as much as economic reform.
3. **Transforming 'Hot Money' into 'Patient Capital':** Through frameworks like **iCET and friend-shoring**, **diplomacy can redirect volatile FPI flows** into stable FDI in semiconductors, defence, and green

energy. Such capital is less sensitive to short-term shocks, strengthening the rupee's medium-term fundamentals.

### Limits of Diplomacy: The Economic Reality Check

1. **Preserving Monetary Sovereignty:** Over-reliance on diplomatic alignment risks constraining India's strategic autonomy. As **Raghuram Rajan argues**, credibility ultimately rests on domestic **macro-discipline—fiscal prudence**, inflation control, and productivity growth.
2. **Why Devaluation Is Not the Answer:** Competitive devaluation offers limited export gains due to high import content and U.S. tariff barriers, while raising import-led inflation—especially in crude oil, which forms 25% of India's merchandise imports. **REER stability, not nominal depreciation, remains the appropriate benchmark.**

### Way Forward: A Diplomatic–Macroeconomic Hybrid

**Financial Diplomacy Instruments:** Inclusion in global bond indices, currency swap arrangements, and a dedicated **Rupee-Dollar dialogue within the 2+2 framework** can anchor expectations and dampen speculative pressures.

**RBI's Complementary Role:** The RBI must continue asymmetric intervention to smooth shocks, while **transparently clarifying its interpretation of 'volatility management'** in an era of non-economic pressures.

### Conclusion

Echoing **Dr. Manmohan Singh**, economic strength now demands diplomacy—without it, even sound fundamentals cannot anchor the rupee.

**Examine the efficacy of the UGC's revised Equity Regulations in addressing caste-based discrimination in higher education. Evaluate the challenges of institutionalizing social justice while addressing concerns regarding potential misuse and its impact on the academic environment of higher education institutions**

### Introduction

India's higher education system remains socially stratified; NCRB and Rohith–Payal cases show caste as a determinant of campus vulnerability, prompting UGC's 2026 Equity Regulations to operationalise constitutional social justice mandates.

### Normative–Constitutional Efficacy of the Revised Regulations

1. **Constitutional Anchoring:** The 2026 Regulations concretise **Articles 14, 15(2), 15(4) and 46**, shifting equality from **formal non-discrimination to substantive equality**, as endorsed in Indra Sawhney and Navtej Johar judgments.
2. **Rights-Based Regulatory Architecture:** Unlike the advisory **2012 framework**, the new regime introduces enforceability through **NAAC linkage, funding conditionality and UGC oversight**—reflecting the Supreme Court's insistence in **Vineet Narain** on institutional accountability.

### Institutional Mechanisms for Addressing Caste-Based Discrimination

1. **Equal Opportunity Centres (EOCs):** EOCs act as nodal institutions for preventive governance, legal aid and inter-agency coordination—aligning with **ARC-II's recommendation on grievance redressal decentralisation**.

2. **Equity Committees & Squads:** Time-bound inquiries (24 hours–15 days) and campus vigilance reflect principles of responsive regulation and **early-warning systems**, crucial given IIT-Bombay and AIIMS case studies of delayed interventions.

#### **Addressing Structural and Digital Forms of Discrimination**

1. **Recognition of Systemic Bias:** By including micro-aggressions, viva-voce bias and exclusionary academic practices, the regulations acknowledge **Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence in elite institutions**.

2. **Digital Discrimination Lens:** Post-pandemic hybrid learning exposed algorithmic bias in attendance, evaluation and hostel allocation—an issue **flagged by UNESCO's 2023 "AI and Education" report, now normatively addressed**.

#### **Concerns of Misuse and Due Process Deficit**

1. **Vagueness and Over-Criminalisation:** Critics argue undefined terms like **"hostile environment" risk subjective enforcement**, echoing earlier debates around misuse of the SC/ST (PoA) Act, highlighted in **Subhash Kashinath Mahajan**.

2. **Absence of False Complaint Safeguards:** The deletion of the **'false complaint' clause** raises apprehensions of procedural imbalance, potentially violating principles of natural justice (**audi alteram partem**).

#### **Impact on Academic Freedom and Meritocracy**

1. **Chilling Effect on Pedagogy:** Faculty fear legitimate academic critique may be misconstrued as discrimination, threatening **academic freedom—a core component of university autonomy** recognised by the **Kothari Commission**.

2. **Reconceptualising Merit:** However, **empirical studies (EPW, 2022)** show **"merit"** often reflects socio-cultural capital, reinforcing the need to **de-link meritocracy from caste privilege**.

#### **Balancing Social Justice with Institutional Fairness**

1. **Restorative Justice Framework:** Adopting mediation, apology, counselling and institutional reform aligns with **Howard Zehr's restorative justice model**, reducing adversarial litigation.

2. **Capacity Building over Policing:** Mandatory sensitisation, diversity audits and inclusion dashboards—as recommended by **NITI Aayog's Strategy for New India**—can internalise equity norms sustainably.

3. **Procedural Safeguards:** Clear definitions, appellate mechanisms and independent ombudsmen can reconcile social justice with rule of law.

#### **Conclusion**

**As Justice D.Y. Chandrachud noted**, equality demands institutional empathy. The UGC regulations, if refined procedurally, can transform campuses into constitutional spaces of dignity, dialogue and democratic learning.



**Evaluate the strategic maturity of India's trade diplomacy in navigating the India-EU Free Trade Agreement. Analyze how this pact with a major economic bloc signifies a departure from previous agreements with smaller economies while balancing domestic interests and global standards.**

### Introduction

With the EU accounting for nearly 12% of India's trade and being a regulatory superpower, the 2026 India-EU FTA reflects India's evolved trade diplomacy amid shifting global value chains.

### Strategic Maturity in Negotiating with a Regulatory Superpower

1. **Managing Asymmetry in Bargaining Power:** Unlike FTAs with UAE, Mauritius or Australia, negotiations with the EU — a \$17 trillion bloc — demanded high technical depth. India secured tariff elimination on 99.5% of its exports while limiting exposure in sensitive sectors, reflecting calibrated reciprocity rather than defensive protectionism.
2. **Resolving Long-Standing Deadlocks:** Automobiles and wine tariffs had stalled talks since 2013. The quota-based tariff reduction mechanism protected India's MSME-heavy auto ecosystem while allowing European luxury brands market access — a textbook case of *variable geometry* in trade negotiations.

### Departure from Previous FTAs with Smaller Economies

1. **From "Tariff Pacts" to "Rule-Based Agreements":** Earlier FTAs focused largely on goods market access. The EU FTA goes further into IPR, government procurement, sustainability and standards — marking India's shift towards *deep trade integration*, similar to CPTPP-style agreements.
2. **Symmetry over Leverage:** While India enjoyed leverage in EFTA or UAE deals, the EU negotiations were conducted between equals, showcasing India's readiness to engage powerful blocs without conceding core policy space.
3. **Template for Future Negotiations:** The agreement sets a "gold standard" template for upcoming FTAs with the UK and Canada, reducing transaction costs through regulatory familiarity.

### Balancing Domestic Interests with Global Standards

1. **Protection of Strategic Sectors:** India excluded dairy and sensitive agricultural sectors, safeguarding rural livelihoods — consistent with FAO data showing over 80 million Indians dependent on dairy-related activities.
2. **Sustainability without Punitive Conditionality:** While India accepted labour and environmental chapters, it reframed them within Sustainable Development Goals rather than enforceable sanctions — aligning with India's long-standing South-South equity narrative.
3. **Data Sovereignty Preserved:** By delinking the FTA from EU "data adequacy" demands, India retained autonomy under the Digital Personal Data Protection Act, 2023 — critical for its \$250 billion digital economy.

### Challenges: CBAM and Manufacturing Readiness

1. **Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM):** India could not secure exemptions from CBAM, which currently covers **six sectors but may expand to all industrial goods**. However, the **MFN-style safeguard ensuring automatic extension** of third-country concessions reflects strategic foresight.
2. **Need for Domestic Reforms:** To leverage the FTA for “**China+1**” investments, India must accelerate **large-scale manufacturing reforms**, logistics efficiency and **Quality Council of India (QCI) certifications** to meet EU SPS and TBT standards.

#### Geopolitical and Strategic Significance

1. **Beyond Trade — Strategic Alignment:** Parallel agreements on **mobility, defence and technology** elevate the FTA into a comprehensive strategic partnership, **reinforcing India’s role as a *trusted economic partner*** in a fragmented global order.
2. **Global Value Chain Integration:** The pact strengthens India’s ambition to move from “**assembly hub**” to “**value creator**,” particularly in green hydrogen, semiconductors and critical minerals.

#### Conclusion

As **President Droupadi Murmu noted**, India’s diplomacy must blend pragmatism with principle. The **India-EU FTA exemplifies** this balance, signalling India’s readiness to shape — not just join — global trade rules.

**Examine the critical gaps in India’s civil aviation safety framework amidst rapid market expansion. Evaluate the measures required to harmonize fleet growth with regulatory oversight and institutional capacity, in light of recent Parliamentary warnings regarding the imperative of safety-first governance.**

#### Introduction

As India becomes the **world’s third-largest aviation market**, the **2025 Parliamentary Standing Committee warned that fleet expansion, private aviation growth and regional connectivity** are outpacing regulatory capacity, creating systemic civil aviation safety vulnerabilities.

#### Growth-Safety Paradox in India’s Aviation Boom

1. **Rapid Market Expansion vs Oversight Capacity:** India’s civil aviation sector has witnessed exponential growth, with domestic **passenger traffic crossing 150 million annually (DGCA, 2024)**. However, the **Sanjay Jha-led Parliamentary Committee** cautioned that regulatory institutions have not scaled proportionately, narrowing the margin for error in a high-risk sector.
2. **Private and Charter Aviation as the Weakest Link:** While scheduled airlines follow standardized operating procedures aligned with **ICAO norms**, **non-scheduled operators (NSOPs) exhibit uneven compliance**. Lean safety teams, weak maintenance documentation and limited operational control centres expose gaps in **Continuing Airworthiness Management**.

#### Regulatory Stress and Institutional Deficits

1. **DGCA’s Manpower and Capability Constraints:** The committee flagged that the **DGCA operates with chronic staff shortages**, echoing **CAG findings (2022)** on inspector vacancies. This forces a **reactive regulatory culture**, undermining risk-based surveillance and predictive safety oversight.

2. **Need for Regulatory Autonomy:** Unlike the **US FAA or EASA**, **DGCA lacks** full financial and administrative autonomy, affecting talent retention and technical expertise. **Parliamentary recommendations** advocate statutory independence to strengthen enforcement credibility.

#### **ATC Capacity, Fatigue and Human Factors**

1. **Air Traffic Control as a Safety Bottleneck:** Air Traffic Controllers are handling dense traffic volumes **without commensurate recruitment** or rostering reforms. **ICAO identifies** fatigue as a key contributor to human error, a concern reiterated by the **panel for India's metro airports**.

2. **Infrastructure and Technology Lag:** Despite fleet growth, **Tier-II and Tier-III airports** under **UDAN** **lack** advanced **Instrument Landing Systems (ILS)**, weather radars and emergency response capabilities — increasing **operational risk during poor visibility** or adverse weather.

#### **Operational Gaps in Non-Scheduled Flights**

1. **Flight Planning and Weather Risk Assessment:** The committee highlighted dilution of pre-flight risk evaluation in private operations. Unlike airlines with centralized **Operational Control Centres (OCCs)**, **charter flights rely heavily** on cockpit judgment, increasing exposure to decision-making under pressure.

2. **Mandatory Safety Management Systems (SMS):** The panel stressed that **SMS must be uniformly operationalized across all operators**. **ICAO's State Safety Programme (SSP)** framework mandates proactive hazard identification rather than post-incident compliance.

#### **Why Safety-First Governance is Imperative**

1. **Economic and Reputational Stakes:** A major aviation accident triggers insurance premium spikes, fleet grounding and investor uncertainty. The **Boeing 737 MAX** crisis globally illustrates how safety failures can disrupt entire ecosystems.

2. **Learning from Past Crashes:** Probe reports — from **Mangalore (2010)** to **Kozhikode (2020)** — **repeatedly highlight human factors** and training lapses. The committee recommended centralized tracking of safety advisories to prevent “**report fatigue**”.

#### **Measures to Harmonize Growth with Safety**

1. **Strengthening Institutional Capacity:** Accelerated recruitment, specialized training and data-driven oversight tools are essential for predictive regulation.

2. **Just Culture and Whistleblower Protection:** Adopting a **Just Culture** framework encourages voluntary reporting of errors, distinguishing human mistakes from negligence.

3. **MRO Localization and Sovereign Safety Control:** With **nearly 85% MRO dependence** abroad, domestic capability expansion is vital for timely airworthiness assurance.

#### **Conclusion**

As **President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam observed**, safety is foundational to progress. Parliamentary warnings reiterate that India's aviation ambitions must rest on institutions, not speed — making safety-first governance non-negotiable.

**Evaluate the strategic significance of the Three-Stage Nuclear Power Programme in achieving India's energy independence. Analyze how the successful operationalization of Fast Breeder Reactors serves as a critical technological bridge to unlock the potential of indigenous thorium reserves.**

### Introduction

With nuclear power contributing barely 3% to India's electricity mix, the Three-Stage Nuclear Power Programme remains central to energy sovereignty, leveraging limited uranium and vast thorium reserves for long-term low-carbon security.

### Strategic Logic of the Three-Stage Nuclear Power Programme

1. **Resource-Constrained Innovation:** Conceived by **Dr. Homi Bhabha**, India's three-stage programme is a classic example of **resource-based strategic planning**. India possesses only about 1–2% of global uranium but nearly **25% of the world's thorium reserves (IAEA)**. The programme converts this structural constraint into a long-term advantage.
2. **Energy Independence and Strategic Autonomy:** By progressively shifting from imported uranium to indigenous thorium, the programme aims to **reduce vulnerability to external supply shocks**, **Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) restrictions**, and geopolitical leverage over fuel supply.

### Stage I: PHWRs as the Foundational Platform

1. **Pressurised Heavy Water Reactors (PHWRs):** PHWRs use **natural uranium**, **avoiding dependence** on enrichment technologies. Importantly, they generate **plutonium-239** as a by-product — the “starter fuel” for the second stage.
2. **Recent Opportunity from Uranium Imports:** Post-2008 **civil nuclear agreements** enabled uranium imports, allowing PHWRs to operate at high **Plant Load Factors (PLF)**. As noted by **Anil Kakodkar**, this expanded PHWR fleet now offers an opportunity to **irradiate thorium alongside advanced fuels such as HALEU**, accelerating U-233 production even before full-scale breeder deployment.

### Stage II: Fast Breeder Reactors as the Technological Bridge

1. **Fuel Multiplication and Breeding:** Fast Breeder Reactors (FBRs), such as the **Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor (PFBR)**, Kalpakkam, use **MOX fuel (Pu-239 + U-238)** and produce more fissile material than they consume. This **positive breeding ratio** is critical for fuel self-sufficiency.
2. **Thorium Blanket and U-233 Generation:** FBRs incorporate a thorium blanket, enabling neutron absorption and transmutation of **Thorium-232 into Uranium-233**, the key fissile material for the third stage.
3. **Closed Fuel Cycle Advantage:** By recycling spent fuel, **FBRs drastically** reduce waste volume and enhance resource efficiency — aligning **with IAEA's closed fuel cycle** best practices.

### Stage III: Unlocking Thorium's Full Potential

1. **Why Thorium is a Strategic Game-Changer:** Thorium-based reactors are **proliferation-resistant**, generate less long-lived transuranic waste, and offer superior thermal stability. Reports by **BARC** highlight their **inherent safety characteristics**, including negative temperature coefficients.



2. **Baseload for a Green Transition:** Unlike intermittent renewables, thorium-based nuclear power provides reliable baseload electricity, essential for steel, hydrogen, and data-centre economies in a net-zero pathway (IEA, 2023).

#### Recent Policy and Institutional Enablers

1. **SHANTI Act, 2025:** By enabling greater private participation and imported LWR additionalities, the Act frees state capacity to focus on **futuristic indigenous technologies** such as metal-fuel FBRs, molten salt reactors and thorium cycles.

2. **Cost and Viability Considerations:** Studies indicate that **HALEU-thorium fuel in PHWRs can be cheaper than natural uranium**, while improving burn-up efficiency and safety — strengthening economic viability.

#### Challenges and Constraints

1. **Technological Complexity:** Handling liquid sodium coolant in FBRs poses safety and engineering challenges.

2. **Long Gestation Periods:** Building a critical mass of U-233 requires decades of sustained breeder operation, demanding policy continuity and financial commitment.

#### Conclusion

As **President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam** envisioned in **India 2020**, mastery over thorium completes India's nuclear destiny. The **Fast Breeder Reactor** is the indispensable bridge between scarcity and sovereignty.

**Analyze how the expansion of cesses and surcharges outside the divisible pool has driven States toward increased market borrowings. Evaluate the implications of this shift from 'devolution to debt' for India's fiscal federalism and the financial stability of States.**

#### Introduction

Despite constitutionally mandated tax devolution, **rising reliance on cesses and surcharges** has weakened **States' fiscal stability**, pushing them toward debt-led financing, as highlighted by Finance Commission reports and **post-GST revenue trends**.

#### From Fiscal Devolution to Fiscal Dependence: The Changing Federal Equation

1. **Erosion of the Divisible Pool:** Articles 270 and 271 of the Constitution envisage shared taxation as the backbone of fiscal federalism. However, the Union's growing dependence on **cesses and surcharges** — non-shareable levies — has reduced **effective devolution** to States. While the **15th Finance Commission** fixed States' share at **41%**, RBI and PRS Legislative Research estimates suggest actual transfers hover near **30–31%**.

2. **GST and Vertical Imbalance:** Post-GST (2017), indirect taxes with high buoyancy are centrally collected and redistributed through formula-based transfers, weakening the fiscal link between **State tax effort and reward**, especially for industrialised States like Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra.

#### Rise of State Development Loans (SDLs): Debt as Shock Absorber



1. **Borrowing for Revenue Expenditure:** With devolution losing its counter-cyclical role, States increasingly rely on **State Development Loans (SDLs)** even for routine expenditures such as pensions, salaries and health insurance schemes. In 2024–25, SDLs formed **35% of Tamil Nadu's** and **26% of Maharashtra's** revenue receipts — levels once considered fiscally unsustainable.

2. **Post-COVID Structural Shift:** The **COVID-19 shock (2020–21)** marked a turning point when **Central transfers proved inadequate**. This debt-dependence persisted even during recovery, indicating a **structural fiscal squeeze** rather than a temporary crisis response.

#### The 'Cess and Surcharge Trap': Constitutional and Economic Implications

1. **Parallel Budgeting by the Centre:** By 2025–26, cesses and surcharges account for nearly **15–18% of Gross Tax Revenue**, creating a **"parallel budget" beyond Finance Commission oversight (Article 280)**. This dilutes cooperative federalism and sidelines States from national tax buoyancy.

2. **Conditional Autonomy via CSS:** Most cess-funded expenditures flow through **Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS)**, compelling States to align spending with Union priorities rather than State-specific developmental needs — undermining fiscal autonomy.

#### Macroeconomic and Federal Consequences

1. **Rising Debt-to-GSDP Ratios:** States like Punjab, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh now face **debt-to-GSDP ratios exceeding 35–40%** (RBI, 2024). SDL yields remaining above **7%** raise interest burdens, crowding out public capital expenditure.

2. **Pro-cyclical Fiscal Stress:** As noted by the FRBM Review Committee (NK Singh), when transfers fall during downturns but interest obligations remain fixed, States risk entering a **primary deficit trap**, borrowing merely to service past debt.

3. **Weakening the Finance Commission:** If revenue growth bypasses the divisible pool, the Finance Commission's constitutional role in correcting vertical and horizontal imbalances is effectively hollowed out.

#### Way Forward: Restoring Devolution as the Stabiliser

1. **Inclusive Divisible Pool:** Long-standing **cesses (fuel, health, education)** should be progressively merged into the divisible pool, as advocated by multiple State governments and former RBI Governors.

2. **Capping Non-shareable Levies:** Legislating an upper cap on cesses and surcharges (e.g., 10% of GTR) would prevent fiscal centralisation by stealth.

3. **Rewarding Tax Effort:** Reworking horizontal devolution criteria to give greater weight to **tax effort, efficiency and compliance** can restore fiscal incentives for States.

#### Conclusion

Strong States make a strong Union. Sustainable growth demands devolution-led stability, not debt-led survival, within India's constitutional fiscal architecture.

**Evaluate the efficacy of the Solid Waste Management Rules 2026 in addressing India's burgeoning waste crisis. Analyze how the shift toward a circular economy redefines the roles of local bodies and institutional frameworks in fostering sustainable and accountable urban governance.**

### Introduction

India generates over **62 million tonnes of municipal solid waste** annually (CPCB, 2023), overwhelming landfills. The **Solid Waste Management Rules, 2026** signal a decisive shift from disposal-centric governance to circular economy-led urban sustainability.

### Circular Economy as the Core Philosophy of SWM Rules 2026

1. Moving beyond the '**collect-transport-dump**' paradigm, the **SWM Rules 2026** institutionalise a **waste hierarchy**—prevention, reduction, reuse, recycling, recovery, and disposal as last resort—aligning India with **SDG 11 and SDG 12**.
2. **Four-way segregation (wet, dry, sanitary, special-care waste)** corrects a key failure of the 2016 Rules: poor quality segregation that undermined recycling and waste-to-energy outcomes.
3. By mandating **calorific-value-based utilisation ( $\geq 1500$  kcal/kg)** for **Refuse Derived Fuel (RDF)** in cement and thermal plants, the Rules operationalise 'waste-to-wealth', as seen in **Indore and Ambikapur models**.

### Recalibrating Responsibility: From Municipal Monopoly to Shared Accountability

1. The Rules significantly expand **Extended Responsibility** beyond producers to **Bulk Waste Generators (BWGs)**—large housing societies, malls, hotels, institutions—through certification-based compliance and mandatory waste accounting.
2. This internalises environmental costs under the **Polluter Pays Principle**, a doctrine repeatedly upheld by the Supreme Court (Vellore Citizens' Welfare Forum case).
3. By shifting routine waste **processing (especially wet waste composting)** to the source, **Urban Local Bodies (ULBs)** are relieved of unsustainable fiscal and logistical burdens, improving service efficiency.

### Local Bodies as Resource Managers, Not Mere Collectors

1. **SWM Rules 2026** redefine ULBs as **urban resource managers**. They are tasked with landfill diversion, operation of **Material Recovery Facilities (MRFs)**, imposition of differential user charges, and enforcement of higher landfill tipping fees for mixed waste.
2. **Mandatory mapping and bioremediation** of legacy dumpsites by **October 2026** addresses India's toxic landfill mountains such as Ghazipur and Perungudi.
3. This strengthens **fiscal accountability**, enabling ULBs to move toward cost recovery, a long-standing recommendation of the 15th Finance Commission and the **World Bank's 'What a Waste 2.0'** report.

### Institutional Architecture and Digital Governance

1. The creation of a **centralised online portal** introduces **lifecycle traceability**—from **generation to disposal**—reducing data opacity that plagued Swachh Bharat Mission assessments.

2. By integrating railways, airports, SEZs, waste pickers, processors, and ULBs, the Rules promote **whole-of-government and whole-of-society governance**.

3. This aligns with India's Digital Public Infrastructure approach, enhancing transparency, compliance monitoring, and evidence-based policymaking."

### Constraints and Implementation Challenges

1. Despite **regulatory sophistication**, efficacy depends on ground capacity. Smaller municipalities **face deficits in technical expertise**, finance, and behavioural enforcement.

2. Informal waste pickers—who **enable nearly 30% recycling**—remain insufficiently formalised, risking livelihood exclusion unless models like Pune's **SWaCH cooperative** are scaled.

3. **Behavioural inertia at household level** continues to undermine segregation, highlighting the need for sustained **Jan Andolan**, as demonstrated under Swachh Bharat Mission 2.0."

### Conclusion

As President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam observed, '**Sustainability is a moral responsibility**.' The SWM Rules 2026 can succeed only if regulatory ambition is matched by decentralised capacity, civic ethics, and cooperative federal urban governance.

**Examine the significance of international partnerships in overcoming the financial and technological constraints faced by Indian firms in the critical minerals sector. Evaluate how such diplomatic engagement is crucial for securing India's strategic autonomy and sustainable energy transition.**

### Introduction

Generating over 62 million tonnes of municipal solid waste annually (CPCB, 2023), India faces an urban environmental crisis. The Solid Waste Management Rules 2026 mark a paradigm shift from landfill-centric disposal to circular economy governance.

### Circular Economy Orientation as the Core Strength of SWM Rules 2026

1. The SWM Rules 2026 operationalise the **circular economy** by embedding a legally enforceable **waste hierarchy**—prevention, reduction, reuse, recycling, recovery, and disposal as last resort—bringing Indian urban governance in line with **SDG 11 and SDG 12**.

2. Mandatory **four-way segregation** (wet, dry, sanitary, special-care waste) directly addresses the primary failure of the 2016 Rules: poor-quality mixed waste that crippled recycling and waste-to-energy plants.

3. By linking **calorific-value thresholds ( $\geq 1500$  kcal/kg)** with compulsory utilisation of **Refuse Derived Fuel (RDF)** in cement and thermal power plants, the Rules strengthen the waste-to-wealth ecosystem, as demonstrated by Indore's near-zero landfill model under Swachh Bharat Mission.

### From Municipal Burden to Shared Responsibility: Polluter Pays in Practice

1. A key innovation lies in extending responsibility to **Bulk Waste Generators (BWGs)**—large housing societies, institutions, hotels, and malls—through certification-based compliance and mandatory waste accounting.

2. This concretises the **Polluter Pays Principle**, upheld repeatedly by the Supreme Court (Vellore Citizens' Welfare Forum case), by monetising non-compliance via environmental compensation and higher landfill tipping fees.

3. Such fiscal deterrence corrects moral hazard, reduces pressure on overstretched **Urban Local Bodies (ULBs)**, and aligns with **OECD best practices** in environmental regulation.

#### **Redefining Urban Local Bodies as Resource Managers**

1. The Rules transform **ULBs from mere garbage collectors** into **resource managers and regulators**. They are mandated to ensure that only inert, non-recyclable waste reaches landfills, while recoverable materials flow to **Material Recovery Facilities (MRFs)**.

2. Provisions for user charges, landfill taxes, and graded buffer norms enhance **financial sustainability and social legitimacy** of waste infrastructure, addressing the **chronic 'Not-In-My-Backyard' problem**.

3. Time-bound **bioremediation and biomining of legacy dumpsites**—such as **Ghazipur (Delhi)** and **Perungudi (Chennai)**—reflect recommendations of the **15th Finance Commission** on urban environmental services.

#### **Institutional and Digital Governance Reforms**

1. The introduction of a **centralised digital portal** across the entire waste lifecycle strengthens transparency, traceability, and accountability—key pillars of **good urban governance**.

2. Integrating waste pickers, processors, railways, airports, SEZs, and ULBs enables a whole-of-government approach consistent with India's **Digital Public Infrastructure** vision.

3. This directly addresses data opacity highlighted by **NITI Aayog and World Bank's *What a Waste 2.0* report**.

#### **Limitations and Implementation Deficit**

1. Despite regulatory ambition, capacity constraints persist. **Smaller municipalities lack technical expertise** and capital for biomining and decentralised composting.

2. Informal **waste pickers—who contribute nearly 30%** of India's recycling—remain insufficiently formalised, risking livelihood exclusion unless models like Pune's **SWaCH cooperative** are scaled nationally.

3. Behavioural inertia at household level further underscores the need for sustained **Jan Andolan**, beyond regulatory compliance.

#### **Conclusion**

Echoing **President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam's** call for '**sustainable development with moral responsibility**', the **SWM Rules 2026** can succeed only if circular economy principles are matched by empowered local bodies, civic participation, and institutional capacity.