

**VEDHIK**  
**IAS ACADEMY**

*The New Learning Mantra*

**VEDHIK**

**DAILY NEWS ANALYSIS**

**22 - JUNE - 2022**

## **FOREWORD**

We, at Team Vedhik is happy to introduce a new initiative - "Daily Current Affairs\_The Hindu" compilations to help you with UPSC Civil Services Examination preparation. We believe this initiative - "Daily Current Affairs\_The Hindu" would help students, especially beginners save time and streamline their preparations with regard to Current Affairs. A content page and an Appendix has been added segregating and mapping the content to the syllabus.

It is an appreciable efforts by Vedhik IAS Academy helping aspirants of UPSC Civil Services Examinations. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Babu Sebastian, former VC - MG University in extending all support to this endeavour. Finally I also extend my thanks to thank Ms. Shilpa Sasidharan and Mr. Shahul Hameed for their assistance in the preparing the compilations.

We welcome your valuable comments so that further improvement may be made in the forthcoming material. We look forward to feedback, comments and suggestions on how to improve and add value for students. Every care has been taken to avoid typing errors and if any reader comes across any such error, the authors shall feel obliged if they are informed at their Email ID.

## CONTENTS

- Editorials - The textbook controversy in Karnataka GSP 01 A
- Editorials - The absurdity of the anti-defection law GSP 02 E
- Editorials - The judicial validity of the Talaq-e-Hasan mode of divorce GSP 02 E
- News - L-G allowing probe without govt. approval Sisodia GSP 02 E
- News - Murmu is NDA pick, Opposition fields Sinha Part I GSP 02 G
- News - Murmu is NDA pick, Opposition fields Sinha Part II GSP 02 G

- 
- Editorials - A wish list for reform in India's higher judiciary GSP 02 I
  - Editorials - Analysing spectrum auction GSP 02 O
  - Editorials - It is time India plans a hub airport flight path GSP 03 D
  - Editorials - A new global standard for AI ethics GSP 03 L
  - Editorials - Progress without limits GSP 03 L
  - News - 5G to account for 39% of India's subscriptions by 2027 Ericsson GSP 03 L
- 

## EXPLAINER

# The textbook controversy in Karnataka

Why has the revision of textbooks in the State triggered opposition from several communities, writers and students?

SANAAH MEHRA

**The story so far:** A textbook revision committee headed by Rohith Chakrathirtha was set up in Karnataka following a memorandum submitted by the Karnataka Brahmin Mahasabha to the Primary and Secondary Education Minister B.C. Nagesh. The memorandum demanded revision of Class 6 Social Science textbooks on the ground that they "hurt the sentiments of the Brahmin community." The Karnataka textbook revision committee was initially set up to revise Social Science textbooks from Classes 6 to 8. However, it was eventually given the responsibility to revise all textbooks from Classes 1 to 10. The committee submitted its report in March 2022 and as per the report, Social Science textbooks of Classes 6 to 10 in all mediums, Classes 1 to 10 Kannada first language (except Class 3) textbooks, Kannada second language textbooks of Classes 6, 7, and 9, and third language textbooks of all mediums of Classes 7, 8, and 9 were revised. The revised textbooks have triggered opposition from various groups.

### Why did the Karnataka State Brahmin Development Board object to certain sections in the textbooks?

The Karnataka State Brahmin Development Board met with then Chief Minister B.S. Yediyurappa in December 2020 objecting to certain extracts in the Class 6 Social Science Part 1 textbook. One of the paragraphs it found objectionable was in chapter 5 titled "The Culture of The Vedic Period". The paragraph stated: "Offering milk, ghee and cereals to the fire during these yagnas led to the shortage of food". Furthermore, sections from paragraph 1 of chapter 7, 'Rise of New Religions', was found objectionable. The paragraph under the subheading "Why did the new religions emerge?" read: "During the Vedic period, rituals like Yaga and Yagna needed animal sacrifice. This affected the food production. Apart from this, food grains, milk and ghee were offered as 'Havisu' and burnt in the fire which resulted in a shortage of food. People had also believed that only through these Yagnas true liberation (Mukti) was possible. But these costly rituals were conducted by reciting Sanskrit shlokas. Sanskrit was the priests' language and common people were unable

to understand it. People were in expectation of a simple path to liberation that was explained in their own language." The Karnataka Brahmin Mahasabha claimed that such statements in the textbooks hurt their religious sentiments and hence should be revised. In September 2021, a 16-member committee headed by Mr. Chakrathirtha was set up to revise textbooks from Classes 1 to Class 10. The committee submitted a report in March 2022 which sparked opposition from Dalit organisations, various writers and from two powerful communities of Karnataka, the Veerashaiva Lingayat and Vokkaliga Sabha.

The revised textbooks, which were released online on May 23, do not contain chapters on "The Culture of the Vedic Period", "Rise of New Religions" and "Christianity and Islam."

### Why are Dalit organisations protesting against the revision?

Outrage among Dalit organisations was triggered due to the omission of certain details about Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in chapter 5 of the Class 9 Social Science textbook titled "Our Constitution". The chapter previously stated that "based on his (BR Ambedkar's) contribution to the framing of the constitution, he is called the 'Chief Architect of [the] Indian Constitution.'" However, the revised textbooks only mention that "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the Chairman of one of the most important committees, i.e., the Drafting Committee." Information about Ambedkar's contribution in getting rid of untouchability in another chapter has also been tweaked. The revised textbook only mentions that "Jyotiba Phule, Swami Vivekananda, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and others made immense efforts to wipe out the stigma of untouchability". Dalit organisations have demanded that the lessons be reprinted and the omitted information about Ambedkar be reinstated.

### Why are seers of the Veerashaiva-Lingayat community upset?

Various Veerashaiva-Lingayat seers have raised objections against the revision of the content of chapter 3 of the Class 9 Social Science Part 1 textbook titled, "Religious Promoters and Social Reformers". While the previous textbook stated that "Basaveshwara

was a strong opponent of the caste system and he threw away the 'Sacred thread' after his Upanayana (the thread ceremony) and went to Kudalasangama", the revised textbook has excluded this and only mentions that "after his thread ceremony, he went to Kudalasangama". The previous textbook had also mentioned that "Basaveshwara and his disciples advocated Veerashaiva philosophy which was based on simple human values. They rejected the numerous rituals deeply rooted in Vedic religion." However, the revised textbook simply states: "He reformed Veerashaivism." This has upset the Lingayat community which wants the content revised to reflect the actual history of Basaveshwara.

### What about the Vokkaligas?

Leaders of the Vokkaliga community are raising objections against the textbook revision committee's head Mr. Chakrathirtha. They are accusing him of insulting the Nada Geethe (state anthem) and being disrespectful to a well-known Kannada poet, Kuvempu, who wrote it. The accusations stem from a Facebook post of 2017 that has resurfaced and has been doing rounds on social media. The screenshot is a parody of the state anthem that Mr. Chakrathirtha posted on March 16, 2017. According to the screenshot, Mr. Chakrathirtha gave a satirical meaning to the state anthem, allegedly disrespecting it by comparing Karnataka to the Congress party. The Vokkaliga Sangha and various student organisations such as the National Students' Union of India (NSUI) and the All India Students' Federation (AISF) staged a protest at Freedom Park in Bengaluru demanding the dissolution of the textbook committee headed by Mr. Chakrathirtha. Various eminent writers have resigned from State government bodies because of the lack of action against the committee head.

### Why are writers, scholars and student organisations angry?

The removal of writings by various distinguished writers has sparked protests by scholars and student organisations from Karnataka. Class 10 Kannada textbooks have been revised and chapter 1 titled "Yuddha" by Sara Aboobacker, chapter 4 titled "Mruga Mattu Sundari" by P. Lankesh, and chapter 6, "Vyagra Geethe" by A. N. Murthy Rao has



been dropped. The works of these writers have been replaced by a speech of the founder of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, K.B Hedgewar, and essays by Chakravarthy Sulibele, a right-wing ideologist, and Sanskrit scholars Bannanje Govindacharya and Shathavadhani Ganesh. Student organisations and scholars point out that the inclusion of Hedgewar's speech will lead to the "saffronisation" of textbooks. They accused the revision committee and the government of propagating Hindutva ideology.

**No to revisions:** Students led by AIDSO protest against the revision of school textbooks outside the district administrative complex in Kalaburagi, Karnataka on June 6. •ARUN KULKARNI

## THE GIST

Revisions made to Kannada textbooks from Class 1 to 10 by the textbook revision committee headed by Rohith Chakrathirtha has triggered opposition from various groups.

The removal of writings by various distinguished writers has sparked protests by scholars and student organisations from Karnataka. They have accused the revision committee and the government of propagating Hindutva ideology.

Dalit organisations, seers from the Veerashaiva-Lingayat community and leaders of the Vokkaliga community have all objected to the revised textbooks.



FROM THE ARCHIVES

# The absurdity of the anti-defection law

It has reduced legislators to being accountable primarily to the party and failed to preserve the stability of governments

## THE GIST

■ The anti-defection law was included in the Constitution to combat the "evil of political defections". The main purpose was to preserve the stability of governments. The law stated that any MP or MLA would be disqualified from their office if they voted on any motion contrary to the directions issued by their party.

■ This means that anyone from the party having a majority in the legislature is unable to hold the government to account. All legislators will then have a ready explanation for their voting behaviour: they had to follow the party's direction. This negates the concept of them having to justify their positions on various issues to the people who elected them to the post.

■ If stability of government is an issue due to people defecting from their parties, the answer is for parties to strengthen their internal systems. If they attract members on the basis of ideology, and have systems for people to rise within the party hierarchy on their capabilities, there would be a greater exit barrier.

M.R. MADHAVAN

*In light of the events unfolding in Maharashtra, with the Uddhav Thackeray government facing internal dissent from a block of 22 MLAs led by Eknath Shinde, the anti-defection law has again come into the spotlight. In this article dated February 26, 2021, M.R. Madhavan explains how the law is antithetical to the representative purpose of elected government servants.*

The events in Puducherry highlight, yet again, the absurdity of the anti-defection law. In what has now become the standard operating procedure, several MLAs from the treasury benches resigned, lowering the numbers required for a no-confidence motion to succeed. This formula has been seen recently in other States such as Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka.

The anti-defection law was included in the Constitution as the Tenth Schedule in 1985 to combat the "evil of political defections". The main purpose was to preserve the stability of governments and insulate them from defections of legislators from the treasury benches. The law stated that any Member of Parliament (MP) or that of a State legislature (MLA) would be disqualified from their office if they voted on any motion contrary to the directions issued by their party.

### Range of the provision

The provision was not limited to confidence motions or money bills (which are quasi-confidence motions). It applies to all votes in the House, on every Bill and every other issue. It even applies to the Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils, which have no say in the stability of the government. Therefore, an MP (or MLA) has absolutely no freedom to vote their judgement on any issue. They have to blindly follow the direction of the party. This provision goes against the concept of representative democracy.

There are two broadly accepted roles of a representative such as an MP in a democracy. One is that they are agents of the voters and are expected to vote according to the wishes and for the benefits of their constituents. The other is that their duty to their constituents is to exercise their judgement on various issues towards the broader public interest. In this, they deliberate with other MPs and find a reasonable way through complex issues. The anti-defection law turns the concept of a representative on its head. It makes the MP neither a delegate of the constituency nor a national legislator but converts them to be just an agent of the party.

### A broken chain in India

Look at the contrast with other democracies. For

example, in the recent vote on the impeachment of former U.S. President Donald Trump, seven members from his party in the U.S. Senate, the Republicans, voted to convict him. Such a decision does not have any legal repercussion. Of course, the party may take action (it did not). Also, voters may decide to reject the legislator for re-election – and that is the core design element of representative democracy. The legislator is accountable to voters, and the government is accountable to legislators.

### The problem arises from the attempt to find a legal solution to what is essentially a political problem

In India, this chain of accountability has been broken by making legislators accountable primarily to the party. This means that anyone from the party having a majority in the legislature – which is, by definition, the party forming the government – is unable to hold the government to account. Further, all legislators have a ready explanation for their voting behaviour: they had to follow the party's direction. This negates the concept of them having to justify their positions on various issues to the people who elected them to the post.

### Eroding legislatures

An important consequence of the anti-defection law is the hollowing out of our legislatures. If an MP has no freedom to take decisions on policy and legislative proposals, what would be the incentive to put in the effort to understand the different policy choices and their outcomes? The core role of an MP to examine and decide on policy, Bills and budgets is side-lined. Instead, the MP becomes just another number to be tallied by the party on any vote that it supports or opposes.

The framers of our Constitution did not intend this outcome. While introducing the draft Constitution, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar outlined the differences between the presidential and parliamentary forms of government. He said that the presidential form (such as in the United States) had higher stability but lower accountability as the President is elected for four years, and cannot be removed except for proven misdemeanour. In the parliamentary form, the government is accountable on a daily basis through questions and motions, and can be removed any time it loses the support of the majority of members of the Lok Sabha.

The drafting committee believed that India needed a government that was accountable, even at the cost of stability. The anti-defection bill

weakens the accountability mechanism.

### Inducing instability

What is more, it does not even provide stability. The political system has found ways to topple governments. This includes the methods used in Puducherry this week – of reducing the total membership through resignations. The Constitution was amended to ensure that any person disqualified for defecting cannot get a ministerial position unless they are re-elected; the way around this has been to resign rather than vote against the party. In other instances, the Speaker – usually from the ruling party – has delayed taking a decision on the disqualification. This has led to strange situations such as members who continue to be part of the main Opposition party becoming Ministers (Andhra Pradesh in the term of the last Assembly). The Supreme Court has tried to plug this by ruling that the Speaker has to take the decision in three months, but it is not clear what would happen if a Speaker does not do so. The premise that the anti-defection law is needed to punish legislators who betray the mandate given by the voters also seems to be flawed. If voters believe that they have been betrayed by the defectors, they can vote them out in the next election. However, we have seen many of the defectors in States such as Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh being re-elected in the by-polls, which were held due to their disqualification.

### Onus is on parties

The problem arises from the attempt to find a legal solution to what is essentially a political problem.

If stability of government is an issue due to people defecting from their parties, the answer is for parties to strengthen their internal systems. If they attract members on the basis of ideology, and they have systems for people to rise within the party hierarchy on their capabilities (rather than inheritance), there would be a greater exit barrier. These characteristics seem absent in many of the political parties, and we have seen a large number of defections despite the anti-defection law.

To sum up, the anti-defection law has been detrimental to the functioning of our legislatures as deliberative bodies which hold the executive to account on behalf of citizens. It has turned them into fora to endorse the decision of the government on Bills and budgets. And it has not even done the job of preserving the stability of governments. The Tenth Schedule to the Constitution must be repealed.

M.R. Madhavan is President of PRS Legislative Research, New Delhi

EXPLAINER

# The judicial validity of the Talaq-e-Hasan mode of divorce

Does this form of annulment have basis in the Quran? What are the different modes of divorce under the Muslim Personal Law?

ZIYA US SALAM

**The story so far:** A public interest litigation (PIL) seeking to invalidate Talaq-e-Hasan, the prescribed Islamic way of divorce, has been filed in the Supreme Court.

## What is the PIL about?

The petition filed by Benazir Hina, a Ghaziabad-based woman, through Advocate-on-Record Ashwani Kumar Dubey, seeks to make the prescribed Islamic way of divorce Talaq-e-Hasan unconstitutional as it is violative of Articles 14, 15, 21 and 25 of the Constitution. Ms. Hina, who claimed to have been unilaterally divorced through the Talaq-e-Hasan mode by her husband Yousuf, also prayed that Section 2 of the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act, 1937 that permits Muslims to practise unilateral divorce be declared void. The apex court had declined an urgent hearing on the subject in May this year. However, on June 17 a vacation Bench of Justices A.S. Bopanna and Vikram Nath allowed a plea for urgent hearing of the matter. It was argued that the aggrieved lady and her child would be left without a remedy if no intervention was made. The first talaq

notice was given on April 19 and the second notice was issued on May 19.

The hearing comes almost five years after the five judge Bench headed by then Chief Justice J.S. Khehar, and including Justice R.F. Nariman, Justice Kurian Joseph, Justice U.U. Lalit and Justice S. Abdul Nazeer had invalidated instant triple talaq in their verdict in the *Shayara Bano vs the Union of India and others* case in August 2017. The invalidation of instant triple talaq where the court held, "What is bad in theology is bad in law as well", led to the enactment of the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Act 2019.

## How is Talaq-e-Hasan different from instant triple talaq?

In instant triple talaq a man pronounces multiple divorce in one go. It has no scope for reconciliation between the feuding couple, and often ends a marriage instantly. It is, as the judges held, not mentioned anywhere in the Quran which prescribes a code of divorce largely through Surah Baqarah, verses 226 to 237 and the opening six verses of Surah Talaq. Incidentally, triple talaq in this manner has been banned in many Muslim countries, including Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, Iraq, Malaysia etc.



Unlike instant triple talaq, Talaq-e-Hasan is pronounced with a gap of at least one month or one menstrual cycle. Only a single revocable divorce takes place through the first pronouncement of Talaq-e-Hasan. The husband and wife are supposed to live together after this pronouncement and have the option of rapprochement. If the couple is not able to mend fences in the intervening period and the husband does not annul divorce through word or by establishing intimacy, the talaq stays valid. At the end of this month, the husband has to pronounce divorce for the second time. Likewise for the third time. After the second pronouncement too, the divorce is revocable, and the couple may resume their conjugal

relationship anytime they so desire. If, however, the third pronouncement is made after at least one menstrual cycle, then irrevocable divorce takes place. Significantly, no divorce can be administered when the woman is undergoing her menstrual cycle. Even in the case of pregnancy, no divorce takes place. And if such a pronouncement is made, it remains in abeyance till the end of pregnancy.

Ms. Hina argues that her divorce is invalid as she received her divorce notices when she was undergoing her menses. Unlike instant triple talaq, the Quran clearly mentions the process of Talaq-e-Hasan. According to Surah Baqarah, verse 229, "Divorce can be pronounced twice; then either honourable retention or kindly release should follow..." Likewise the opening verse of Surah Talaq states, "O Prophet, when you divorce women, divorce them for their waiting period, and compute the waiting period accurately...Do not turn them out of the homes (during the waiting period) nor should they go away..."

## Are there other options of divorce apart from the Talaq-e-Hasan?

The third option of divorce besides

Talaq-e-Hasan and the now repudiated instant triple talaq, is Talaq-e-Ahsan. Under this form, a single pronouncement is made. Following the pronouncement, a woman has to go through iddat or a waiting period of three months.

During this period the divorce can be cancelled. However, failure to annul divorce during this period results in it being finalised after which a woman is independent, and free to marry another man or stay single, as she may choose. Both Talaq-e-Hasan and Talaq-e-Ahsan enjoy legal validity in almost all Muslim countries.

Interestingly, women too have a right to end an unsuccessful marriage through Khula. Here a woman gives something to the man in return for annulling the marriage.

In April 2021, the Kerala High Court held this form of divorce valid. The court overruled a 49-year-old verdict in *K.C. Moyin vs Nafeesa and Others (1972)* that barred Muslim women from dissolving their marriage through non-judicial modes.

There is some debate among Islamic scholars on the ways of Khula. Some hold that the man's consent is necessary in Khula while most say that he enjoys no such privilege.

## THE GIST

■ A petition filed by Benazir Hina, a Ghaziabad-based woman, seeks to make the prescribed Islamic way of divorce Talaq-e-Hasan unconstitutional as it is violative of Articles 14, 15 21 and 25 of the Constitution.

■ In instant triple talaq a man pronounces multiple divorce in one go. It has no scope for reconciliation and often ends a marriage instantly. Unlike instant triple talaq, Talaq-e-Hasan is pronounced with a gap of at least one month or one menstrual cycle.

■ Talaq-e-Hasan enjoys legal validity in almost all Muslim countries while instant triple talaq has been banned in many Muslim countries, including Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, Iraq, Malaysia etc.

# L-G allowing probe without govt. approval: Sisodia

Deputy CM accuses BJP of trying to stall development works; Tiwari says he's hiding corruption in construction of hospitals

STAFF REPORTER  
NEW DELHI

Deputy Chief Minister Manish Sisodia on Tuesday said Lieutenant-Governor Vinai Kumar Saxena has permitted a probe into allegations of irregularities in the construction of government hospitals without following the due procedure of taking permission from the Delhi government.

Terming the case "fake", the AAP leader wrote to the L-G requesting him to withdraw the permission given for the probe.

He alleged that BJP leaders were trying to stall the construction of more government hospitals in Delhi by filing "frivolous" complaints.



Deputy Chief Minister Manish Sisodia during a press conference on Tuesday. • @MANISH SISODIA/TWITTER

"The Delhi L-G has reopened an old complaint filed by [BJP leader] Manoj Tiwari to be investigated by the Anti-Corruption Branch (ACB). We're not afraid of any investigation. But this is being done to stall the development process by falsely fram-

ing honest leaders and officials. This is not a bona fide move but a disgraceful act," Mr. Sisodia said.

The AAP leader claimed that Mr. Saxena's predecessor, Anil Bajjal, had concluded that it was a "frivolous" complaint and was "politi-

cally motivated". "He did not consider it worth a detailed investigation and now the new L-G has reopened the investigation by transferring it to the ACB," Mr. Sisodia said.

He said as per Section 17 of the Prevention of Corruption Act, no police officer can conduct any inquiry or investigation into any offence alleged to have been committed by a public servant without prior approval of the State government.

## 'Dangerous precedent'

"This is a dangerous precedent set by the Delhi L-G, which will encourage the entire BJP to lodge a false complaint if they want to stall developmental works," Mr.

Sisodia added. He wrote in the letter to the L-G that permission for the probe was "wrong, both by law and in terms of effective governance".

Reacting to Mr. Sisodia's allegations, Mr. Tiwari said the Deputy Chief Minister was trying to "hide" corruption in the construction of seven temporary hospitals. "My complaint of irregularities in the construction of hospitals was based on proof. It was a court order that said prima facie there was corruption which needed to be probed," the North East Delhi MP said.

"Mr. Sisodia said the probe was approved by the L-G. He also said he has filed a defa-

mation case against me. However, he shied away from telling people that the Supreme Court has stayed it [defamation suit]. He could face contempt of court for his comments," Mr. Tiwari said.

Delhi BJP spokesperson Praveen Shankar Kapoor said Mr. Sisodia's letter to the L-G clearly showed that AAP feared "any kind of inquiry" and had "many skeletons in its cupboard". "It is surprising that the AAP government, which came to power promising zero tolerance for corruption, is seen defending tainted Minister Satyendra Jain on one hand and trying to stall an inquiry on technicalities on the other," he said.

# Droupadi Murmu is NDA pick; Opposition parties field Sinha

BJP chooses tribal leader for President; she will take on former party veteran

SOBHANA K. NAIR  
NISTULA HEBBAR  
NEW DELHI

The ruling National Democratic Alliance (NDA) and the Opposition have declared their respective candidates for the Presidential election in July.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Parliamentary Board nominated former Jharkhand Governor Droupadi Murmu, who hails from Odisha and will be the first tribal woman to be the President of India, if elected. The Opposition declared former Finance Minister Yashwant Sinha as its candidate.

## High-level meeting

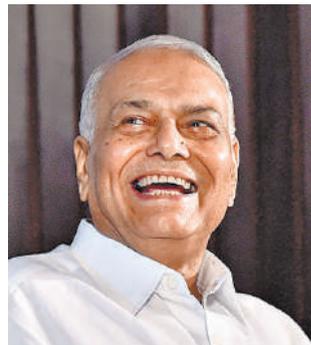
The BJP called a meeting of the Parliamentary Board late on Tuesday evening, and after discussions, attended by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and lasting a little over an hour, announced Ms. Murmu's name.

Party president J.P. Nadda said that during the meeting, some 20 names were discussed, but it was felt that the new President of India should hail from the east and be a woman and an Adivasi (Ms. Murmu belongs to the Santal community).

For the Opposition, the choice of Mr. Sinha took a circuitous route. After two rounds of deliberations and

many informal meetings, the 84-year-old bureaucrat-turned politician was declared the Opposition's common candidate.

Congress leader Jairam Ramesh read out from a joint statement of the Opposition parties at the press meet. "Ideally, a consensus candi-



date appeal to all political parties to support the candidature of Mr. Sinha so that the nation can have a worthy Rashtrapati (President) elected unopposed."

## No consensus

Mr. Nadda said that while a consensus candidate for the post of President was desirable, it did not materialise. "Both Defence Minister Rajnath Singh and I spoke to leaders of the various parties, including the UPA (United Progressive Alliance), but a commonality was not emerging. Therefore, we decided to field a common NDA candidate for the post of President of India," Mr. Nadda said.

"Looking at all this, it was decided that former Jharkhand Governor Droupadi Murmu would be the NDA's candidate for President of India," Mr. Nadda said.

The members of the Parliamentary Board, the BJP's highest decision-making body, include Defence Minister Rajnath Singh, Home Minister Amit Shah, Roads and Highways Minister Nitin Gadkari, Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Shivraj Singh Chouhan, and BJP general secretary B.L. Santhosh.

date of the government and the Opposition should be elected for the highest office of the Republic. However, the initiative for this should have been taken by the government. We regret the fact that the Modi government made no serious efforts in this direction. We, therefore,

CONTINUED ON ► PAGE 10  
MORE REPORTS ON ► PAGE 11

# Murmu is NDA pick, Opposition fields Sinha

Speaking of Ms. Murmu, Mr. Nadda said that just like India's second President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, was identified with the work of education, so did Ms. Murmu. "She was a teacher and later went into politics, as a councillor, then an MLA, [and] as a Minister for Commerce, Fisheries and Animal Husbandry. In 2007, she also received the Neelkanth Award for best MLA. Between 2015 and 2021, she was Governor of Jharkhand, and is an apt choice for the position [of President]. She is a leader of great sensitivity. Whatever responsibility has been accorded to her, she has fulfilled it with grace and ability," Mr. Nadda said.

Tuesday's Opposition parties' meeting was chaired by Mr. Pawar and attended by representatives of 14 Opposition parties. Mr. Pawar said at a press conference that he had spoken to Telangana Chief Minister K.

Chandrashekhar Rao and Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal. The Opposition, he said, could count on the support of both the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) and the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP).

Mr. Sinha was elected after three public figures – NCP patriarch Sharad Pawar, former J&K Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, and former West Bengal Governor Gopalkrishna Gandhi – declined to contest.

With both the names now out, the NDA has an advantage over the UPA, not just in terms of numbers but also in terms of the candidate, as the idea of the first Adivasi to ever be President of India would be a powerful inducement to secure support from different fence-sitting political parties such as the Biju Janata Dal (BJD), the Yuva Jana Shramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP), and others.

# A wish list for reform in India's higher judiciary

There are more important aspects relating to the retirement age of judges on which change in the system rests



SRIRAM PANCHU

Of late, there is a rumour doing the rounds between Raisina Hill and Tilak Marg. Twittering birds have it that the age of retirement of Supreme Court of India judges is to be increased to 67 years, not immediately but come a couple of months. This will fall during the tenure of Justice U.U. Lalit who by seniority is expected to take over as the Chief Justice of India (CJI) on August 27, 2022. Dehors the increase, Justice Lalit would have had two months in the august office; come the amendment, his tenure goes on to November 2024. This alteration in age would affect every successor notably Justice D.Y. Chandrachud who will see delay in his ascension from November 2022 to November 2024. All in all, quite momentous for court watchers. Also momentous for political watchers since the next Lok Sabha election is due by May 2024. Much therefore hangs on age, especially the looks of the Court.

## Fallout is competition

However, there are more important aspects relating to the retirement age of judges on which reform may be hung, and some of these go far deeper than a mere biennial increase. For one, it is high time that we did away with the disparity between the retirement ages of High Court and Supreme Court judges; High Court

judges now retire at 62 and Supreme Court judges at 65.

There is no good reason for this difference. It is not as though grey cells of High Court judges decline dramatically after 62 or those of Supreme Court judges shine glowingly for three years thereafter. Judges, like other men and women of law, are professionals who have long working spans and are capable of good useful work well into their 60s. Age does not wither them easily. The obvious negative fallout of a differential retirement age simply is intense pressure and competition to make it to the top court and thus get three more years. If this is done away with, several judges of mettle would prefer to be Chief Justices and senior judges in the High Courts exercising wide power of influence rather than being a junior judge on a Bench of the Supreme Court. There is good work to be done in the High Courts, and we need good men there.

## Needed, a culture of service

But let us not stop there, and instead move to consider what happens to Supreme Court judges after their tenure in the Supreme Court. Several focus on arbitrations and amass considerable fortunes with high fees and multiple sittings. Indeed, some say that they make more money in one year of arbitration than in their entire judicial careers. A minority of judges devote themselves to public service; sadly, this is a very small minority. Another lot are appointed to various constitutional posts and tribunals and commissions. It would be worthwhile reform to create a cadre of public service for retired judges and from this pool make appointments to



GETTY IMAGES/STOCKPHOTO

the constitutional and statutory posts and special assignments. Such judges should receive the full pay and the facilities of a judge of the Supreme Court for life. Obviously they should be barred from arbitrations; it should further be provided that if any judge is unwilling to be a part of the cadre and instead wishes to pursue arbitrations post retirement, then senior positions on the Supreme Court such as the membership of the collegium ought not to be available for them. We should have a culture of public service for senior judges, and those who do not fit in such culture should not be a part of senior ranks.

## Serve equally

It is generally assumed that the seniormost judge of the Supreme Court should be the Chief Justice of India, but we may pause to consider whether this is what the law mandates, and whether it is wholly wise. As to the first, the Constitution mandates no such thing. Article 124 merely states that the President will appoint every judge of the Supreme Court, and this includes the Chief Justice, and each of these judges shall hold office until they attain the age of 65 years.

The requirement about appointing the seniormost judge to be the CJI is a sleight of hand devised in the Second Judges case (1993) and the consequent Memorandum of Procedure which is an obvious and naked usurpation of the President's power and a blatant attempt to rewrite the Constitution. It has no constitutional legitimacy. As to wisdom, public purpose is better served by ensuring that the judges of the Supreme Court during their entire tenure are not swayed by their expectations or aspirations to the higher office of CJI, and do not on that account calibrate their views or pause before judgement. Human frailties are human frailties, and judges are no exception much as they may consider themselves to be. There are sufficient examples in India's judicial history of aberrational judicial conduct with the Holy Grail in view, as also refusing to hear contentious cases which may provoke the executive red or orange light. Indeed, there is no good reason why any one particular person should have a vested interest in the top job, and we are better served by eliminating such expectation. Let all serve equally under the constitutional throne for the entire length of their tenure.

## Choosing a leader

Who then shall be *primus inter pares*, the first among equals? For the court needs a leader. Go back to the Constitution again; among its catchpool for judges of the Supreme Court are judges of the High Court, senior advocates and distinguished jurists. For argument's sake let us take the first. Since we want to keep serving sitting Supreme Court judges inviolate from all but the purest in-

fluences, let us say that when a serving CJI retires, his successor should be the best reputed Chief Justice of a High Court who has proved himself worthy both in judicial office as well as administrative leadership and has those qualities of heart and head which mark a good leader. Do not forget that M.C. Chagla and P.V. Rajamannar, two of our most eminent judges, retired as Chief Justices of the Bombay High Court and the Madras High Court, respectively. The appointee should have a clear three year term – not the truncated weeks and months that some CJIs now get. But he should not function as the *primus super pares* as many CJIs nowadays do – calling the shots and having their unfettered way. He should instead function in a true collegiate manner, especially in regard to the roster of allotment of cases, especially the sensitive ones, and appointments to the Supreme Court and High Courts and other important matters of judicial and administrative importance. Such a combination of CJI so chosen working with senior ranking colleagues will make collegiate functionality both a natural course and an imperative necessity.

Lest that anyone should think that this is an idea coming from outer space, this is invariably followed in making the appointment of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Only five of its 17 Chief Justices served earlier as an Associate Justice, the rest came fresh to the Court. It is part of a system designed to relieve excessive power and pressure.

Sriram Panchu is Senior Advocate, Madras High Court. E-mail: srirampanchu@gmail.com

# Analysing spectrum auction

The reserve price is expected to dominate the minds of bidders in the months to come



SRIDHAR & ROHIT PRASAD

The Union Cabinet has cleared a mega auction of radio spectrum in various bands for commercial mobile services. Based on the recommendation of the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI), the government is planning to auction spectrum in the sub-GHz bands of 600, 700, 800 and 900 MHz; in the mid-bands of 1,800, 2,100, 2,300, 2,500 and 3,300 MHz, and in the high-frequency band of 26 GHz. The total spectrum to be auctioned is about 72 GHz, compared to about 2.2 GHz put on the block last year. The cumulative reserve price – and hence the potential revenue accrual to the government at reserve prices – is about ₹4,31,605 crore compared to about ₹3,90,000 crore last year. However, the realised value in last year's auction was just about 20% of the reserve price at ₹74,000 crore, with the 700 MHz and 2,500 MHz band not being sold. While the 2021 auction could be considered a failure from the auctioneer's point of view, will the auction scheduled for this month be successful? There are many factors that determine the success of spectrum auction.

## Reserve price

The first is the reserve price. Our research on a cross-country spectrum database shows that the reserve price significantly and positively correlates with the winning bid price. However, a higher reserve price also inhibits bidders from bidding for more spectrum blocks, resulting in lower amounts of spectrum sold. If the quantity effect is more than the price effect, it results in reduced revenues for the government exchequer, as it happened in 2021. The government has accepted TRAI's recommendations on the reserve process across different bands, which is less than what was specified for the respective bands last year. Though some of the bands are high-priced compared to other countries, the average price of the new bands such as 3.3 GHz and 26 GHz, at \$0.02 and \$0.0004, are in line with international prices on per MHz per pop basis. However, the evolving heterogeneity within each of the 22 LSAs (licensed share access) makes it difficult for the bidders to ascertain the true value of the spectrum given the reserve prices. Hence, the uncertainty in the winning bid prices.

Second, the willingness to pay by the tel-

cos depends on their position vis-à-vis Over The Top providers who are providing substitute services such as Voice Over Internet Protocol; and capturing a greater mind share of customers while remaining relatively invisible to government regulators. However, the erosion of the position of telcos vis-à-vis OTTs in the context of their relationship in the overall digital value network of devices, connectivity and apps could result in a lower willingness to pay.

The 5G capable networks provide massive Machine Type Communication, and Ultra-Reliable Low Latency Communications that are likely to be adopted on a large scale by enterprise users in manufacturing, health-care, and utilities. These requirements can be fulfilled by the licensed telcos by building captive non-public networks (CNPN) or leasing/ sharing the allotted spectrum to the enterprises. However, TRAI has recommended that apart from these options, the firms can directly lease spectrum from the government for building their own CNPNs, which is proving to be a thorn for the telcos. This is where telcos should lead from the front by forging alliances with managed service providers to augment their enterprise offerings, which in turn will result in a demand for 3.3 and 26 GHz bands in the auction.

## What can we expect?

In our research on spectrum auctions held across countries, we found that reserve price and the number of bidders in the auction have a positive effect on auction. Both these factors have been reduced from the past auctions. In fact, the number of bidders in 2016 auction was seven compared to three now. Hence, we expect the winning bid prices to decrease accordingly. However, our analysis shows that the total quantum of spectrum put on auction has a negative effect on winning bid prices. Since the quantum of spectrum in this auction is about 35 times more than last year, including the new bands in 600 MHz, 3.3 GHz and 26 GHz, we expect that it will have substantial negative effects on spectrum prices. On the other hand, abolition of annual spectrum usage charges for all spectrum procured in this auction and the deferred payment option incentivises bidders to be active in the auction.

In last year's auction, out of a total of 141 offerings, all the 108 sold were at reserve prices. We don't expect much deviation this year either. So, once again, the reserve price is expected to dominate the minds of bidders in the months to come.

V. Sridhar is Professor at IIT Bangalore. Rohit Prasad is Professor at Management Development Institute, Gurugram

# It is time India plans a hub airport flight path

The country should move quickly as favourable factors and opportunities balance out the impediments



JAGANNARAYAN PADMANABHAN

Transforming one of India's metro gateway airports into a hub airport deserves consideration as the aviation market puts the novel coronavirus pandemic behind it and passenger demand surges.

Today, India is the third largest domestic aviation market in the world, next only to the United States and China. Consumer confidence in air travel has helped the industry recover faster than anticipated. Some airports have already breached or are close to matching the traffic demand seen before the pandemic.

Besides, in view of the surge in passenger demand, India's airport operators have planned investments upwards of ₹90,000 crore to enhance capacity over the next four years or so.

To boot, the conditions are just right for building a hub airport.

## The concept

What exactly is a hub airport?

A hub airport is one served by a multitude of airlines, connecting several airports through non-stop flights.

Historically, airports were designed keeping the requirements of the origin/destination passenger in mind. This meant operating separate arrival and departure terminals.

Over time, better space-utilisation concepts led to the construction of a common passenger terminal with arrival/departure flows segregated on different floor levels. This spawned a new segment of passengers – transit flyers, who use the airport only to connect flights.

A typical hub airport operates on the concept of waves. A wave of incoming flights arrives and connects with another wave of outgoing flights that departs an hour or two later. 'Hubbing' allows for the maximum combination of flight pairs and a wider choice of destinations and frequencies for connecting passengers.

Importantly, while an aspiring hub looks at attracting foreign airlines to widen the number of direct point-to-point connections, it thrives on airlines nestled (based) at that airport, which dedicate more resources, aircraft, crew, manpower and infrastructure, and are enablers of growth. Some global examples are (Hub airport/Home airline): London/British Airways; Frankfurt/Lufthansa; Atlanta/Delta Airlines; Dallas/American Airlines; Singapore/Singapore Airlines; Paris/Air France; Dubai/Emirates; Chicago/United Airlines; New York/American Airlines and Delta Airlines; Hong Kong/Cathay Pacific.

Why it is a win-win for all. A hub creates economies of scale for the airport and airlines alike.

The airport benefits from increased direct connectivity with other airports and more revenue opportunities due to increased passenger footfalls. Improved passenger throughput has a knock-on



K. PICHUMANI

effect on the wider airport ecosystem, such as aero and non-aero service providers at the airport, including cargo and ground handling, fuelling, retail and duty-free, vehicle parking, aircraft maintenance repair and overhaul (MRO), and fixed-base operation (FBO) services at the airport.

Airlines, on their part, get to serve city pairs that are otherwise economically unviable for non-stop flights.

Frequent fliers and business travellers get greater choice and flexibility with flights, destinations, and service frequencies, as well as lower ancillary costs, such as avoiding the time and cost of an overnight stay.

## A force multiplier

From the government's perspective, an airport acts as a force multiplier with economic activity, jobs and employment, investments, business, trade, commerce, tourism, culture, and benefits other sectors of the economy. It is well established that the creation of one job in the aviation sector affects the creation of up to six jobs in allied sectors, such as tourism and hospitality.

All this propels the economic and social development of the city and its inhabitants, too.

Let us look at considerations for a hub airport in India. There are three basic requirements for becoming a major airport hub, whether domestic or international, i.e. sufficient local consumer demand; good geographic location, and necessary infrastructure to support high-volume traffic. In India's case, the first two requirements are largely addressed and the focus is rightly on addressing the third requirement.

## An India perspective

In the context, here is a look at the favourable factors, impediments, and opportunities.

In considering the factors in favour: India has the largest diaspora, or transnational community, at 18 million people across all six continents and regions (based on the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division – Report on International Migration 2020); India is located on busy international air corridors that connect Europe, Africa, and the Middle East with Asia, making it ideal for a transit hub and alternative/diversion/fuel stop/technical stop; being the fifth-largest economy in nominal GDP terms (IMF World Economic Outlook Database April 2019) and the seventh largest by land mass, India can support development of more than one hub airport; airport business in India is largely monopolistic, with no competing airport in the same urban area; airport development in India is a regulated business with minimum downside risk for investors; airport tariff determination under the Airports Economic Regulatory Authority of

India is a robust, fair, and transparent process

Let us consider the impediments. There are capacity constraints at major airports because of a lack of landing slots, especially during peak hours; the Airports Authority of India Act (AAI), 1994 constrains the AAI/airport operators from commercially exploiting available land for non-aeronautical activities; a 'high cost-low fare' operating environment and increased competition hurts airline balance sheets and financials, which hurts the growth of airports; India has 34 operational international airports, yet smaller international airports are either completely left out or have very limited scope in starting international flight operations; rationalisation of duties and taxes, such as bringing aviation turbine fuel under the ambit of goods and services tax, will enable airlines to reduce costs and emerge financially stronger, thereby benefiting airports

And, finally, the opportunities. There is a need to develop inter-modal connectivity (rail/road - air) and logistics support infrastructure (warehousing) as a part of the future airport master plans to fully exploit potential with cargo and freight; aspiring hub airports can partner with tier-2 and tier-3 airports in their catchments; airports can broaden their revenue base by developing allied service capabilities, such as cargo handling, aircraft MRO and FBO.

Jagannarayan Padmanabhan is Director and Practice Leader - Transport and Logistics, CRISIL Infrastructure Advisory

# A new global standard for AI ethics

UNESCO's global agreement on the ethics of AI can guide governments and companies alike



GABRIELA RAMOS  
& RITVA KOUKKU-RONDE

Artificial intelligence (AI) is more present in our lives than ever. From predicting what we want to see as we scroll through social media to helping us understand weather patterns to manage agriculture, AI is ubiquitous. AI algorithms can also be partially credited for the rapidity with which vaccines were developed to tackle COVID-19. The algorithms crunched complex data from clinical trials being undertaken in all corners of the world, creating global collaborations that could not have been imagined even a decade ago.

## Issues in AI

But AI-related technology cannot be said to always be beneficial. The data used to feed into AI often aren't representative of the diversity of our societies, producing outcomes that can be said to be biased or discriminatory. For instance, while India and China together constitute approximately a third of the world's population, Google Brain estimated that they form just 3% of images used in ImageNet, a widely used dataset. Similarly, there are problems emerging in facial recognition technologies, which are used to access our phones, bank accounts and apartments, and are increasingly employed by law-enforcement authorities, in identifying women and darker-skinned people. For three such programs released by major technology companies, the error rate was 1% for light-skinned men, but 19% for dark-skinned men, and up to 35% for dark-skinned women. Biases in facial recognition technologies have led to wrongful arrests. These challenges are not surprising when we look at how AI is developed. Only one in 10 software developers worldwide is a woman. These women come overwhelmingly from western countries.

These issues are of particular importance to India, which is one of the world's largest markets for AI-related technologies, valued at over \$7.8 billion in 2021. Indeed, the National Strategy on Artificial Intelligence re-



SIVA SARAVANAN S.

leased by NITI Aayog in 2018 highlights the massive potential of AI in solving complex social challenges faced by Indian citizens across areas such as agriculture, health, and education, in addition to the significant economic returns that AI-related technologies are already creating.

To ensure that the full potential of these technologies is reached, the right incentives for ethical AI governance need to be established in national and sub-national policy. India has made great strides in the development of responsible and ethical AI governance, starting with NITI Aayog's #AIForAll campaign to the many corporate strategies that have been adopted to ensure that AI is developed with common, humanistic values at its core.

However, until recently, there was no common global strategy to take forward this importance agenda. This changed last November when 193 countries reached a groundbreaking agreement at UNESCO on how AI should be designed and used by governments and tech companies. UNESCO's Recommendation on the Ethics of Artificial Intelligence took two years to put together and involved thousands of online consultations with people from a diverse range of social groups. It aims to fundamentally shift the balance of power between people, and the businesses and governments developing AI. Indeed, if the business model of how these technologies are developed does not change to place human interests first, inequalities will grow to a magnitude never before experienced in history; access to the raw material that is data is key.

Countries which are members of UNESCO have agreed to implement

this recommendation by enacting actions to regulate the entire AI system life cycle, ranging from research, design and development to deployment and use. This means they must use affirmative action to make sure that women and minority groups are fairly represented on AI design teams. This could take the form of quota systems that ensure that these teams are diverse or the form of dedicated funds from their public budgets to support such inclusion programmes.

The Recommendation also underscores the importance of the proper management of data, privacy and access to information. It establishes the need to keep control over data in the hands of users, allowing them to access and delete information as needed. It also calls on member states to ensure that appropriate safeguards schemes are devised for the processing of sensitive data and effective accountability, and redress mechanisms are provided in the event of harm. All of this takes enforcement to the next level.

Additionally, the broader socio-cultural impacts of AI-related technologies are also addressed, with the Recommendation taking a strong stance that AI systems should not be used for social scoring or mass surveillance purposes; that particular attention must be paid to the psychological and cognitive impact that these systems can have on children and young people; and that member states should invest in and promote not only digital, media and information literacy skills, but also socio-emotional and AI ethics skills to strengthen critical thinking and competencies in the digital era. This is all critical for ensuring accountability

and transparency of AI-related technologies, underpinning a strong rule of law that adapts to new digital frontiers.

In a number of countries, the principles of the Recommendation are already being used in AI regulation and policy, demonstrating their practical viability. Finland provides an example of good practice of this regard, with its 2017 AI Strategy. This was the first of its kind in any European country and demonstrated how governments can effectively promote ethical AI use without compromising the desire to be on the cutting edge of new technologies.

## A common rulebook

The new agreement is broad and ambitious. It is a recognition that AI-related technologies cannot continue to operate without a common rulebook. Over the coming months and years, the Recommendation will serve as a compass to guide governments and companies, to voluntarily develop and deploy AI technologies that conform with the commonly agreed principles it establishes - similar moves happened after UNESCO's declaration on the human genome set out norms for genetic research. Second, it is hoped that governments will themselves use the Recommendation as a framework to establish and update legislation, regulatory frameworks, and policy to embed humanistic principles in enforceable accountability mechanisms. To accompany countries in the realisation of the full potential of AI and with the aim of building the institutional capacity of countries and all the relevant stakeholders, UNESCO is in the process of developing tools to help them assess their readiness in the implementation of the Recommendation and identify, monitor and assess the benefits, concerns and risks of AI system.

With this agreement, we are confident of putting AI to work where it can have the most impact: hunger, environmental crises, inequalities and pandemics. We are optimistic of having built the momentum for real change.

*Gabriela Ramos is the Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO, and Ritva Koukku-Ronde is the Ambassador of Finland to India and Bangladesh*

# Progress without limits

India must ensure 5G caters to the largest sections of the population

The Union Cabinet last week cleared the decks for the first auction of radio spectrum to facilitate the roll-out of 5G telecommunication services. The Department of Telecommunications promptly issued a 159-page 'Notice Inviting Applications', detailing the specifics of the auction including the frequencies that would be up for bidding starting on July 26, and their reserve prices. The speed with which the Government has moved – from the initial announcement in the Union Budget to the telecom regulator's recommendations, and finally notification of the auction – has been commendable and shows its keenness to ensure India is at the relative vanguard in the adoption of the potentially 'transformative' technology. The Government has underscored that its primary motivation is to boost digital connectivity, a laudable objective given that the rapid growth of wireless telephony has perceptibly helped improve the delivery of services such as mobile banking, online education and telemedicine. The rub, however, is in the details. While most of the specific frequency bands that telecom providers consider optimal for the introduction of 5G services have been made available, including in the sub 1 GHz range, a C-Band frequency of 3.3 GHz, and the higher 26 GHz, the Government's decision to set the reserve price for the spectrum based on the regulator's recommendations reveals a prioritisation of revenue over the industry's long-term health. Even considering that an option for a staggered annual pay-out of the licence fee over its 20-year term has been provided, the price is still high.

This is particularly so when one considers the level of financial stress that has shrunk the sector to a near duopoly, and forced the surviving operators to resort to tariff increases to protect their viability and ability to make future investments. With 5G's adoption for the various possible end uses that leverage machine-to-machine communication such as IoT, smart agriculture, smart homes and others that bank on reliability, including smart grids and autonomous vehicles, still in its relative infancy even in advanced economies, the technology is yet some years away from scale-based economic viability. The relatively small size of the market for just faster downloads of videos and games, especially at a higher cost, makes it near certain that service providers will take an ultra-cautious approach both to bidding for spectrum and in rolling out services. The Cabinet's decision to allow bids for starting Captive Non-Public Networks that would enable individual companies to run private networks within the isolated confines of the enterprise has also roiled the pitch. It is hard to imagine the urgency to open up 5G for this niche application, particularly as it further undermines the economics for traditional telcos. India must be conscious of the challenges and opportunities of 5G services, and ensure that the technology caters to the largest sections of the population and not remain a deliverer for a high-value but limited, premium segment.

# 5G to account for 39% of India's subscriptions by 2027: Ericsson

Telecom firm sees 5G subscribers totalling about 50 million by the end of 2023

**SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT**  
NEW DELHI

The number of subscriptions to India's 5G services, which are likely to be rolled out from later this year, is expected to reach about 500 million, or 39% of all subscribers, by 2027, telecom equipment maker Ericsson said in a report on Tuesday.

Noting that 4G was currently the dominant subscription type driving connectivity growth in India, Ericsson said in its Mobility Report (June 2022) that the commercial introduction of 5G networks was planned for the second half of 2022, with enhanced mobile broadband expected to initially be the main use case.



**Data hungry:** Total mobile data traffic in India is estimated to grow fourfold between 2021 and 2027, says Ng. ■ S. K. MOHAN

“With increasing availability and affordability of 5G smartphones, along with rapid adoption of smartphones in urban and rural areas, 5G subscriptions are expected to rapidly increase to reach around 50 million...

by the end of 2023,” it said, adding 5G would represent about 39% of subscriptions at the end of 2027, with about 500 million accounts.

“Total mobile data traffic in the India region is estimated to grow by a factor of 4

between 2021 and 2027,” said Thiw Seng Ng, Head of Network Evolution, SEA, Oceania and India, Ericsson. “This is driven by high growth in the number of smartphone users and an increase in average usage per smartphone,” he added.

Ericsson added that while India presented significant opportunities, it also held challenges for service providers. It pointed out that average revenue per user for telcos remained low despite a recent increase in the price of data. “Moreover, India has some of the highest prices for spectrum in the world, constraining service providers’ ability to invest in infrastructure,” the company said.

General Studies Paper I	
A	History of Indian culture will cover the salient aspects of art forms, literature and architecture from ancient to modern times;
B	Modern Indian history from about the middle of the eighteenth century until the present-significant events, personalities, issues;
C	Freedom struggle-its various stages and important contributors / contributions from different parts of the country;
D	Post-independence consolidation and reorganization within the country;
E	History of the world will include events from 18 <sup>th</sup> century such as industrial revolution, world wars, re-drawing of national boundaries, colonization, decolonization,
F	Political philosophies like communism, capitalism, socialism etc.-their forms and effect on the society
G	Salient features of Indian Society, Diversity of India;
H	Effects of globalization on Indian society;
I	Role of women and women's organization;
J	Social empowerment, communalism, regionalism & secularism
K	Salient features of world's physical geography;
L	Geographical features and their location- changes in critical geographical features (including water bodies and ice-caps) and in flora and fauna and the effects of such changes;
M	Important Geophysical phenomena such as earthquakes, Tsunami, Volcanic activity, cyclone etc.
N	Distribution of key natural resources across the world (including South Asia and the Indian subcontinent);
O	Factors responsible for the location of primary, secondary, and tertiary sector industries in various parts of the world (including India);
P	Population and associated issues;
Q	Urbanization, their problems and their remedies
General Studies Paper II	
A	India and its neighbourhood- relations;
B	Important International institutions, agencies and fora- their structure, mandate;
C	Effect of policies and politics of developed and developing countries on India's interests;
D	Bilateral, regional and global groupings and agreements involving India and/or affecting India's interests.
E	Indian Constitution, historical underpinnings, evolution, features, amendments, significant provisions and basic structure;
F	Comparison of the Indian Constitutional scheme with other countries;
G	Functions and responsibilities of the Union and the States, issues and challenges pertaining to the federal structure, devolution of powers and finances up to local levels and challenges therein; Inclusive growth and issues arising from it;
H	Parliament and State Legislatures - structure, functioning, conduct of business, powers & privileges and issues arising out of these;
I	Structure, organization and functioning of the executive and the judiciary, Ministries and Departments;

J	Separation of powers between various organs dispute redressal mechanisms and institutions;
K	Appointment to various Constitutional posts, powers, functions and responsibilities of various Constitutional bodies;
L	Statutory, regulatory and various quasi-judicial bodies;
M	Mechanisms, laws, institutions and bodies constituted for the protection and betterment of these vulnerable sections;
N	Salient features of the Representation of People's Act;
O	Important aspects of governance, transparency and accountability, e-governance- applications, models, successes, limitations, and potential;
P	Citizens charters, transparency & accountability and institutional and other measures;
Q	Issues relating to poverty and hunger,
R	Welfare schemes for vulnerable sections of the population by the Centre and States, Performance of these schemes;
S	Issues relating to development and management of social sector / services relating to education and human resources;
T	Issues relating to development and management of social sector / services relating to health
General Studies Paper III	
A	Indian Economy and issues relating to planning, mobilization of resources, growth, development and employment;
B	Effects of liberalization on the economy, changes in industrial policy and their effects on industrial growth;
C	Inclusive growth and issues arising from it;
D	Infrastructure Energy, Ports, Roads, Airports, Railways etc. Government budgeting;
E	Land reforms in India
F	Major crops, cropping patterns in various parts of the country, different types of irrigation and irrigation systems;
G	Storage, transport and marketing of agricultural produce and issues and related constraints;
H	e-technology in the aid of farmers; Technology Missions; Economics of Animal-Rearing.
I	Issues of buffer stocks and food security, Public Distribution System- objectives, functioning, limitations, revamping;
J	Food processing and related industries in India – scope and significance, location, upstream and downstream requirements, supply chain management;
K	Issues related to direct and indirect farm subsidies and minimum support prices
L	Awareness in the fields of IT, Space, Computers, robotics, nano-technology, bio-technology;
M	Indigenization of technology and developing new technology;
N	Developments and their applications and effects in everyday life;
O	Issues relating to intellectual property rights
P	Conservation, environmental pollution and degradation, environmental impact assessment
Q	Disaster and disaster management
R	Challenges to internal security through communication networks, role of media and social networking sites in internal security challenges, basics of cyber security;
S	Money-laundering and its prevention;

T	Various forces and their mandate;
U	Security challenges and their management in border areas;
V	Linkages of organized crime with terrorism;
W	Role of external state and non-state actors in creating challenges to internal security;
X	Linkages between development and spread of extremism.
<b>General Studies Paper IV</b>	
A	Ethics and Human Interface: Essence, determinants and consequences of Ethics in human actions;
B	Dimensions of ethics;
C	Ethics in private and public relationships. Human Values - lessons from the lives and teachings of great leaders, reformers and administrators;
D	Role of family, society and educational institutions in inculcating values.
E	Attitude: Content, structure, function; its influence and relation with thought and behaviour;
F	Moral and political attitudes;
G	Social influence and persuasion.
H	Aptitude and foundational values for Civil Service , integrity, impartiality and non-partisanship, objectivity, dedication to public service, empathy, tolerance and compassion towards the weaker sections.
I	Emotional intelligence-concepts, and their utilities and application in administration and governance.
J	Contributions of moral thinkers and philosophers from India and world.
K	Public/Civil service values and Ethics in Public administration: Status and problems;
L	Ethical concerns and dilemmas in government and private institutions;
M	Laws, rules, regulations and conscience as
N	sources of ethical guidance;
O	Accountability and ethical governance; strengthening of ethical and moral values in governance; ethical issues in international relations and funding;
P	Corporate governance.
Q	Probity in Governance: Concept of public service;
R	Philosophical basis of governance and probity;
S	Information sharing and transparency in government, Right to Information, Codes of Ethics, Codes of Conduct, Citizen's Charters, Work culture, Quality of service delivery, Utilization of public funds, challenges of corruption.
T	Case Studies on above issues.