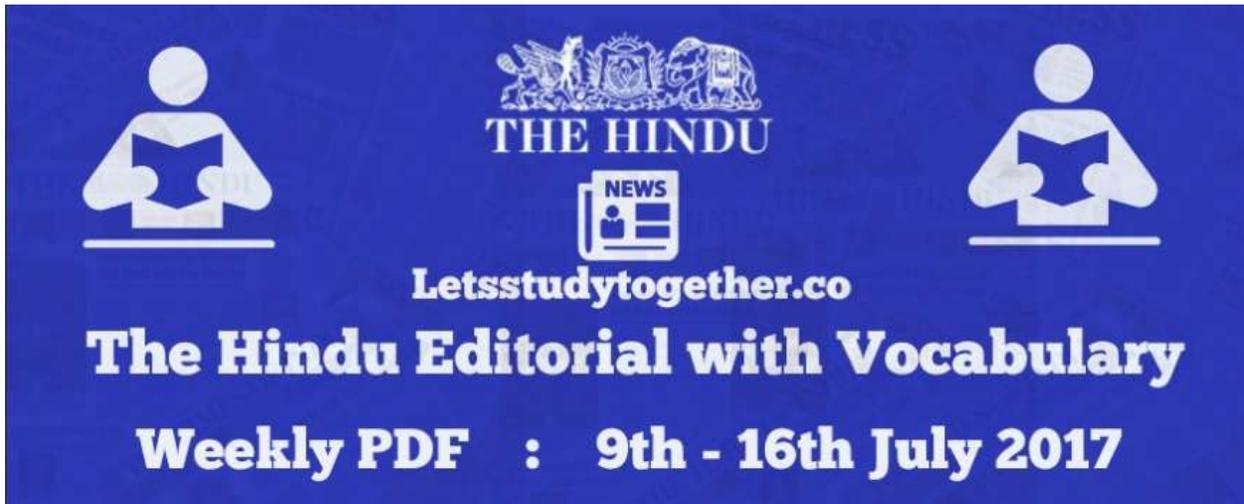




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The Hindu Editorial Vocabulary Words Weekly PDF : 9th - 16th JULY 2017



1. The German problem

The battle-lines are drawn. When the world's big trading nations **convene** this week at a G20 summit in Hamburg, the stage is set for a clash between a protectionist America and a free-trading Germany.

President Donald Trump has already pulled out of one trade pact, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and demanded the **renegotiation** (पुनःमध्यस्थता) of another, the North American Free-Trade Agreement. He is weighing whether to impose tariffs on steel imports into America, a move that would almost certainly provoke **retaliation**. The threat of a trade war has hung over the Trump presidency since January. In contrast, Angela Merkel, Germany's chancellor and the summit's host, will bang the drum for free trade. In a thinly **veiled** (अप्रत्यक्ष) attack on Mr

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Trump, she delivered a speech on June 29th condemning the forces of protectionism and **isolationism**. An **imminent** free-trade deal between Japan and the European Union will add substance to her **rhetoric**.

There is no question who has the better of this argument. Mr Trump's **doctrine** that trade must be balanced to be fair is economically illiterate. His belief that tariffs will level the playing field is naive and dangerous: they would **shrink** prosperity for all. But in one respect, at least, Mr Trump has grasped an **inconvenient** truth. He has **admonished** Germany for its trade surplus, which stood at almost \$300bn last year, the world's largest (China's hoard was a mere \$200bn). His threatened solution—to put a stop to sales of German cars—may be self-defeating, but the fact is that Germany saves too much and spends too little. And the size and **persistence** of Germany's savings hoard makes it an awkward defender of free trade.

Imperfect harmony

At bottom, a trade surplus is an excess of national saving over domestic investment. In Germany's case, this is not the result of a mercantilist government policy, as some foreigners complain. Nor, as German officials often insist, does it reflect the urgent need for an ageing society to save more. The rate of household saving has been stable, if high, for years; the increase in national saving has come from firms and the government.

Underlying Germany's surplus is a decades-old accord between business and unions in favour of wage restraint to keep export industries competitive (see article). Such moderation served Germany's export-led economy well through its postwar recovery and beyond. It is an instinct that helps explain Germany's transformation since the late 1990s from Europe's sick man to today's muscle-bound champion.

There is much to envy in Germany's model. Harmony between firms and workers has been one of the main reasons for the economy's outperformance. Firms could invest free from the worry that unions would hold them to ransom. The state played its part by sponsoring a system of vocational training that is rightly admired. In America the prospects for men without college degrees have worsened along with a decline in manufacturing jobs—a cause of the economic

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nationalism espoused by Mr Trump. Germany has not entirely escaped this, but it has held on to more of the sorts of blue-collar jobs that America **grieves** for. This is one reason why the populist AfD party remains on the fringes of German politics.

But the adverse side-effects of the model are increasingly evident. It has left the German economy and global trade **perilously (खतरनाक)** unbalanced. Pay restraint means less domestic spending and fewer imports. Consumer spending has dropped to just 54% of GDP, compared with 69% in America and 65% in Britain. Exporters do not invest their windfall profits at home. And Germany is not alone; Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark and the Netherlands have been piling up big surpluses, too.

For a large economy at full employment to run a current-account surplus in excess of 8% of GDP puts unreasonable strain on the global trading system. To offset such surpluses and sustain enough aggregate demand to keep people in work, the rest of the world must borrow and spend with equal abandon. In some countries, notably Italy, Greece and Spain, persistent deficits eventually led to crises. Their subsequent shift towards surplus came at a heavy cost. The enduring savings glut in northern Europe has made the adjustment needlessly painful. In the high-inflation 1970s and 1980s Germany's penchant for high saving was a stabilising force. Now it is a drag on global growth and a target for protectionists such as Mr Trump.

The shift from thrift

Can the problem be fixed? Perhaps Germany's bumper trade surplus will be **eroded (नष्टकरना)** as China's was, by a surge in wages. Unemployment is below 4% and the working-age population will shrink, despite strong immigration. After decades of decline, the cost of housing is rising, meaning that pay does not stretch as far as it used to. The institutions behind wage restraint are losing influence. The euro may surge. Yet the German instinct for caution is deeply rooted. Pay rose by just 2.3% last year, more slowly than in the previous two years. Left to adjust, the surplus might take many years to fall to a sensible level.



The government should help by spending more. Germany's structural budget balance has gone from a deficit of over 3% of GDP in 2010 to a small surplus. Officials call this prudence but, given high private-sector savings, it is hard to defend. Germany has plenty of worthwhile projects to spend money on. Its school buildings and roads are crumbling, because of the squeeze on public investment required to meet its own misguided fiscal rules. The economy lags behind in its readiness for digitalisation, ranking 25th in the world in average download speeds. Greater provision of after-school care by the state would let more mothers work full-time, in an economy where women's participation is low. Some say such expansion is impossible, because of full employment. Yet in a market economy, there is a tried and trusted way to bid for scarce resources: pay more.

Above all, it is long past time for Germany to recognise that its excessive saving is a weakness. Mrs Merkel is absolutely right to proclaim the message of free trade. But she and her **compatriots** need to understand that Germany's surpluses are themselves a threat to free trade's legitimacy.

Magical Vocabulary from "The Economist"

1. Convene (verb) आयोजितकरना/बुलाना: Come or bring together for a meeting or activity; assemble.

Synonyms: Assemble, gather, meet, come together, congregate.

Example: The leaders of three religions A, B and C decided to **convene** a meeting to bring about peace.

2. Retaliation (noun) प्रतिशोध: The action of returning a military attack; counterattack.

Synonyms: Revenge, vengeance, reprisal, retribution, requital, recrimination, repayment.

Example: The soldiers who spoke to the newspaper chose to remain anonymous, fearing **retaliation** from the Pentagon.



3. Isolationism (noun) अलगाववाद: A policy of remaining apart from the affairs or interests of other groups, especially the political affairs of other countries.

Synonyms: indifferentist, isolationism, neutralism.

Example: Older traditions of internationalism and **isolationism** have been revived and adapted to post-cold war conditions.

4. Imminent (adjective) निकटस्थ/आसन्न: About to happen or overhanging.

Synonyms: Expected, anticipated, brewing, looming, threatening, menacing.

Example: An **imminent** merger means that his colleagues are all threatened with redundancy.

5. Rhetoric (noun) वक्रपट्टा/भाषणकला: The art of effective or persuasive speaking or writing, especially the use of figures of speech and other compositional techniques.

Synonyms: Ornateness, grandiosity, magniloquence, grandiloquence, oratory, eloquence, command of language.

Example: As a result, his promises have raised the art of empty **rhetoric** to new heights.

6. Doctrine (noun) सिद्धांत/मत: A belief or set of beliefs held and taught by a church, political party, or other group.

Synonyms: Creed, credo, dogma, belief, teaching, ideology, tenet, maxim, canon, principle, precept.

Example: In this book, he rejects the **doctrine** of original sin and replaces it with original goodness.

7. Shrink (verb) कमकरना: Become or make smaller in size or amount; contract or cause to contract.



Synonyms: Get smaller, become/grow smaller, contract, diminish, lessen, reduce, decrease, dwindle.

Example: I encouraged people not to **shrink** in fear and self-protection, but be unusually visionary and ethical.

8. Inconvenient (adjective) असुविधाजनक: Causing trouble, difficulties, or discomfort.

Synonyms: Awkward, difficult, inopportune, untimely, ill-timed, unsuitable, inappropriate, unfortunate.

Example: His tactics to crush **inconvenient** questions, though, displayed the thug in him.

9. Admonished (verb) चेताया/चेताना: Warn or reprimand someone firmly.

Synonyms: Reprimand, rebuke, scold, reprove, reproach, upbraid, chastise, chide, berate, criticize.

Example: She **admonished** me for appearing at breakfast unshaven.

10. Persistence (noun) अटलता / हठ/दृढ़ता: Firm or obstinate continuance in a course of action in spite of difficulty or opposition.

Synonyms: Pertinacity, perseverance, tenacity, tenaciousness, doggedness.

Example: There are a few strategies that can lead to success, but **persistence** and patience are key.

11. Grieve (verb) शोकमानना/पीड़ादेना: Suffer grief.

Synonyms: Mourn, lament, sorrow, be sorrowful, cry, sob, weep, shed tears, weep and wail, beat one's breast.

Example: Many people find they cannot **grieve** properly until this process has been completed.



12. Compatriot (noun) देश-भाई/स्वदेशवासी: A fellow citizen or national of a country.

Synonyms: Fellow countryman, fellow countrywoman, countryman, countrywoman, fellow citizen.

Example: One of my **compatriots** is working on a plan to get us back to the level of protection before Hurricane Katrina.

2. Power games at the tri-junction

The current border stand-off suggests India is likely to become bolder in resisting the idea of power disparity

We should by now be accustomed to Sino-Indian summits occurring with the backdrop of border trouble, and Friday's G20 meeting between a smiling Prime Minister Narendra Modi and a less enthused Chinese President Xi Jinping was no exception. But the Doka La stand-off, at the southern tip of the Chumbi Valley where India, Bhutan, and China meet, is perhaps the most significant of all the border **confrontations** that have roiled the India-China relationship in recent years. This is not because of its size, dwarfed by the Sumdorong Chu crisis of 1986-87, or duration, still only a few days longer than the Daulat Beg Oldi stand-off of 2013. Rather, the importance of the incident is threefold.

What it implies

One factor is the unique position of the Chumbi Valley, which is at once a dangerous **conduit** into the slender Siliguri Corridor and a dangerous choke point, exposed on both sides, for Chinese forces. A second factor is that this **tussle** is formally over the interests and rights of a third country, Bhutan, echoing the wider competition for influence in smaller countries — Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, and elsewhere — across the Indo-Pacific region. Third, the stand-off comes in a period when it is clear that the wheels are coming off the



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India-China wagon, with Indian trust in Chinese intentions collapsing steadily and Beijing taking an ever-more **strident** tone.

At the military level, India has good reason to prevent Chinese road building near Doka La. Chinese activity has steadily increased in the area beneath Bhutan's claim-line, pushing the area under its de facto control about 5 km southwards, towards a crucial ridge-line. This has a number of implications. It would widen the area of Chinese control in an otherwise very narrow valley, from around 8-9 km (Batang La to the Amo Chu river) to 12-13 km (Gamochen to the river), thereby easing the logistics of moving large numbers of troops. Control of the dominating ridgeline would also give China a strong position, by some accounts even domination, over Indian posts to the west, and Bhutanese ones to the south and east.

India is still well short of matching the impressive infrastructure development in Tibet over the past decade, with two-thirds of sanctioned roads on the Line of Actual Control (LAC) still un-built. But Chinese forces moving through the Chumbi Valley — 90 km from top to bottom — would have long, exposed flanks. India has a **formidable** set of forces arrayed to the west, with mountain divisions in Gangtok (17th), Kalimpong (27th), and Binaguri (20th) further to the south, all of which are part of the Siliguri-based 33 Corps. Furthermore, the 59th division of 17 Corps, India's first mountain strike corps, raised for the purpose of offensive operations into Tibet, is headquartered in Panagarh and will reportedly be operational this year. It's worth noting that former National Security Advisor (NSA) Shivshankar Menon has argued, in his 2016 book Choices, that Beijing backed down in the 2013 Depsang incident "to a great extent because of India's improved capabilities, which left the Chinese in no doubt that India could embarrass them".

The Bhutan advantage

Another of India's military advantages is its privileged relationship with Bhutan. This allows it to bring to bear large forces from the east. A sizeable Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT) is permanently based in western Bhutan, while other units regularly cooperate with the Royal Bhutan Army. Bhutan's involvement highlights the way in which Sino-Indian competition is increasingly channelled through third countries, as China relentlessly expands into India's

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periphery through strategic investments, trading relationships and arms sales. India's willingness to intervene forcefully in a bilateral Bhutan-China dispute is a reflection both of India's own vital interests in the Chumbi Valley and of its commanding position in Bhutan, which might otherwise have ceded the Doklam plateau to China in a territorial swap many years ago. The India-Bhutan Friendship Treaty, though revised in 2007 to give Thimpu more autonomy, still notes that the two countries "shall cooperate closely with each other on issues relating to their national interests". In this sense, Bhutan is a special case. But in stepping across an international border and defying Chinese expectations, India has also signalled a degree of confidence that will resonate more widely. This in part explains the especially vituperative rhetoric that has seeped out of hyper-nationalist outlets like the Global Times in recent days, such as lurid promises to "liberate" Sikkim and Bhutan, as well as subtler steps such as this week's travel advisory for Chinese citizens in India.

There is a reasonable chance that this stand-off will end within weeks, with China quietly halting road construction and Indian troops returning westward to their posts. The risk of escalation appears low. More broadly, the thicket of border agreements accumulated over the past 30 years — in 1988, 1993, 1996, 2003, and 2013 — serve as an important cushion whose value is still not fully appreciated.

But the wider context is one of relentlessly hardening attitudes, on both sides. Beijing is **aggrieved** by the Dalai Lama's visit to Tawang in April, India's aggressive repudiation of the Belt and Road Initiative in May, and India's forward-leaning posture in the South China Sea — the latter underscored by Vietnam's two-year extension of a 2006 oil concession to ONGC Videsh last week. India's complaints are too numerous and familiar to **elaborate**, but they span international institutions (membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group), terrorism (Masood Azhar), sovereignty (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) and, in a more inchoate way, questions of the basic security order in Asia.

Relationship in a flux

"India-China relations are undergoing a change," wrote former Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran on July 3. "China believes that India should acknowledge the power disparity between the two



sides and show appropriate deference to China.” India has always **repudiated** this idea. But it is likely to become bolder in doing so. This is evident in last month’s U.S.-India joint statement, where China was unmentioned but all **pervasive** in areas from North Korea, to trade, to freedom of navigation. It is on display in the Bay of Bengal, where one of the largest-ever iterations of the Malabar exercise series is getting underway with aircraft carriers/helicopter carrier from India, the U.S., and Japan. We see it also in this weekend’s news, reported in this newspaper, that the government is conducting a national security review of Chinese investment in South Asia. Perhaps, in the coming weeks, 17 Corps will suddenly find that the purse strings have become looser too.

Magical Vocabulary from “The Hindu Editorial”

1. Confrontations (Noun) टकराव/आमना-सामना: A hostile or argumentative meeting or situation between opposing parties.

Synonyms: Conflict, clash, fight, battle, encounter, faceoff, engagement, skirmish, hostilities.

Example: The **confrontation** with the court represents the first test of the new administration, analysts say.

2. Conduit (noun) पाइपलाइन: A channel for conveying water or other fluid.

Synonyms: Channel, duct, pipe, tube, gutter, trench, culvert.

Example: We used a 58-inch piece of electrical **conduit** and sharpened the end of it like a vaccination needle.

3. Tussle(verb) संघर्ष: A vigorous struggle or scuffle, typically in order to obtain or achieve something.

Synonyms: Scuffle, fight, struggle, brawl, grapple, wrestle, clash, scrap, roughhouse.



Example: He believed the linesman misinterpreted what was an innocent entanglement after a **tussle** for the ball.

4. Strident (adjective) कठोर/सुननेमेंकड़ा: loud and harsh; grating.

Synonyms: harsh, raucous, rough, grating, rasping, jarring, loud, shrill, screeching, piercing.

Example: If the voice is too loud and **strident**, that indicates excess, as does the sudden onset of a violent cough.

5. Formidable (adjective) दुर्जेय/भयंकर: Inspiring fear or respect through being impressively large, powerful, intense, or capable.

Synonyms: Onerous, arduous, taxing, difficult, hard, heavy, laborious, burdensome, strenuous.

Example: He assuredly bumped off a **formidable** array of erstwhile friends and possible rivals.

6. Periphery (noun) परिधि/रूप-रेखा/उपनगर: The outer limits or edge of an area or object.

Synonyms: Edge, outer edge, margin, fringe, boundary, border, perimeter, rim, verge, borderline, outskirts

Example: As its power of attraction increases, the center becomes more ignorant of the **periphery**.

7. Aggrieved (adjective) पीड़ित/असंतुष्ट/व्यथित: Feeling resentment at having been unfairly treated.

Synonyms: Resentful, affronted, indignant, disgruntled, discontented, upset, offended, piqued, riled, nettled.

Example: If a judgment has been obtained by perjured evidence remedies are available to the **aggrieved** party.



8. Elaborate (verb)विस्तारसेकरना: Develop or present (a theory, policy, or system) in detail.

Synonyms: Enlarge, lucubrate, expand, expound, exposit, dilate, flesh out, expatiate.

Example: He didn't just make a mistake on the date; he told the story in **elaborate** detail.

9. Repudiated (verb)अस्वीकारकरना: Refuse to accept or be associated with.

Synonyms: Reject, renounce, abandon, give up, turn one's back on, disown, cast off, lay aside, forswear, abjure, forsake

Example: She has **repudiated** policies associated with previous party leaders.

10. Pervasive (adjective)व्यापक/फैलनेवाला: (especially of an unwelcome influence or physical effect) spreading widely throughout an area or a group of people.

Synonyms: Prevalent, pervading, permeating, extensive, ubiquitous, omnipresent, universal.

Example: Modern day society is replete with situations that make chronic stress highly **pervasive** .

11. Repudiated (verb)अस्वीकारकरना: Refuse to accept or be associated with.

Synonyms: Reject, renounce, abandon, give up, turn one's back on, disown, cast off, lay aside, forswear, abjure, forsake

Example: She has **repudiated** policies associated with previous party leaders.



3. Enterprise as Manthan

There is now a widely held view that for some time now, the 'animal spirits' of Indian enterprise have remained **subdued**. The unwillingness of the rate of investment to pick up after it tumbled down to the low 30s, from the high 30s of the first decade of this century, has been attributed to fiscal restraint, high interest rates and a loss of appetite for business risk in the debt-burdened corporate sector.

During the tenure of the second Manmohan Singh government, this holding back of investment was primarily attributed to 'policy paralysis'. However, the **persistence** of a lower investment rate over the last three years, in spite of the policy activism of the Narendra Modi government, suggests that apart from unfavourable global economic conditions, fiscal **restraint** and a **conservative** monetary policy continue to act as dampeners.

Nothing much can be done by policymakers about the global environment. But they have been slow to pick up the fiscal and monetary policy tools. Hopefully, we will see increased public spending and an easing of monetary policy in weeks to come. What of the persistence of a lack of business **appetite** for risk?

Government spokespersons draw attention to a variety of initiatives taken over the last couple of years to facilitate the 'ease of doing business'. Yet, domestic enterprise still feels more needs to be done to revive their 'animal spirits' for risk-taking. This perception gap needs to be quickly bridged.

The idea of 'animal spirits', forwarded by John Maynard Keynes, describes the 'emotional and irrational' factors that shape the investment decisions of entrepreneurs. Private investment is not a function of rational calculations alone. It is often influenced more by expectations based on sentiment than hard data. It is the sentiment issue that Indian policymakers have yet to adequately address.



Even as the government seeks to ease the business environment, judicial activism and bureaucratic inertia continue to dampen sentiment. A new problem seems to be raising its head. This is best described as the emergence of a 'Regulation Raj' in the name of good governance. Every time a new person takes charge of a regulatory institution, the urge is to demonstrate that one is tougher than the predecessor.

Not a Cheat Code

It has become commonplace to regard business leaders as cheats. Sure, the visible lifestyle choices of some of our business leaders contributes to the public willingness to think of them as social parasites. However, if an environment is created in which entrepreneurs and business leaders feel unwanted at home, they will only migrate their investments. This has been happening.

A number of Indian companies are investing abroad because it is possible and beneficial to do so. If Indians will not invest in India, will a foreigner? In one of his first public statements, the newly appointed adviser in the ministry of finance Sanjeev Sanyal has deployed a helpful **metaphor** to explain the nature of enterprise. Enterprise and risk-taking are like 'samudra manthan' (ocean churn), Sanyal told a business gathering recently. They generate poison, failed ventures and bankruptcy, as well as **nectar(अमृत)**, profitmaking, growth-generating business.

The government, he says, should be like Lord Shiva. It must have policy instruments at hand that will enable it to consume the poison and turn it into nectar. Sanyal believes the new bankruptcy law is one such instrument.

What I find attractive is the idea of 'enterprise as manthan' — that success and failure are two sides of the same coin. It is a commonplace idea in modern capitalism, but one that Indian policymakers and public commentators must get used to. The Indian penchant for a 'Regulation Raj' to deal with corporate failure, and the public **vilification** of those who bet wrong, can have the opposite effect of discouraging enterprise and, thereby, limiting the number of new ventures.



It is not an accident that Indian enterprise was unleashed in the wake of the 1991 liberalisation when PM P V Narasimha Rao lent a new sense of public confidence in Indian business leadership. The Narasimha Rao and Atal Bihari Vajpayee governments allowed the full flowering of new enterprise in new areas like information technology, media and communications.

That phase of enterprise-led business development ended a decade ago. If the rate of economic growth has to return convincingly to the 7-8% range, then it is necessary that visible action be taken on all three fronts: a liberal fiscal policy that increases public investment in employment-generating sectors like construction, a supportive monetary policy that revives appetite for business risk and, equally importantly, the visible end to an incipient Regulation Raj.

Invest, So Shall You Reap

If the government succeeds in reviving the sentiment of Indian investors and local enterprise, foreign investors will rush in. Foreign direct investment (FDI) does not, and cannot, substitute domestic investment. FDI complements domestic investment. Global finance is desperately looking for productive avenues and India will be one when Indians act accordingly.

The coming year is crucial for the economy. If by the end of the current fiscal year, the investment rate shows an upward trend, the rest will follow.

Magical Vocabulary from “The Economic Times”

1. Subdued (Verb) अधीन किया हुआ/वशीभूत: Overcome, quieten, or bring under control (a feeling or person).

Synonyms: Conquer, defeat, vanquish, overcome, overwhelm, crush, quash, beat, trounce, subjugate.

Example: At the first strum the previously **subdued** audience surged forward waving and chanting.



2. Persistence (noun) अटलता / हठ: Firm or obstinate continuance in a course of action in spite of difficulty or opposition.

Synonyms: Pertinacity, perseverance, tenacity, tenaciousness, doggedness.

Example: Companies must have patience and **persistence**, but the rewards are there.

3. Restraint (noun) कठोरता/संयम/नियंत्रण: A measure or condition that keeps someone or something under control or within limits.

Synonyms: Constraint, check, control, restriction, limitation, curtailment, rein, bridle, brake, damper, impediment, obstacle

Example: Society's methodical and systemic ideals stand challenged wherever individual freedom is put under any **restraint** .

4. Conservative (adjective) अपरिवर्तनवादी/रूढ़िवादीव्यक्ति: Holding to traditional attitudes and values and cautious about change or innovation, typically in relation to politics or religion.

Synonyms: Right-wing, traditionalist, conventional, low, button-down, materialistic, cautious.

Example: The dress was very **conservative** , but it accentuated my curves.

5. Appetite (noun) भूख/चाव/क्षुधा: A natural desire to satisfy a bodily need, especially for food.

Synonyms: Craving, longing, yearning, hankering, hunger, thirst, passion, enthusiasm, keenness.

Example: If television is anything to go by, there seems to be a huge **appetite** for shows about the love lives of rich New Yorkers.

6. Metaphor (noun) रूपांतर/लक्षण/रूपक: A figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable.



Synonyms: Figure of speech, image, trope, analogy, comparison, symbol.

Example: This would be a good **metaphor** for something, no doubt, if I could only pin it down.

7. Vilification (noun) गालियां देना: Abusively disparaging speech or writing.

Synonyms: Abuse, revilement, contumely, insult

Example: Warned that the constant **vilification** of candidates for public office was undermining the people's faith in the political system.

4. Paint the united colours of India

By deciding not to gift copies of the Bhagavad Gita to Donald Trump or Benjamin Netanyahu during his recent visits abroad, Prime Minister Narendra Modi appears to have ignored the self-congratulatory statement of Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath, that foreign dignitaries were now being given copies of Gita and Ramayana instead of Taj Mahal replicas (because they, according to Mr. Adityanath, do not reflect Indian culture). As a matter of fact, Mr. Modi's gifts over the past three years have included an impressive selection, even as Hindu religious texts have become more **prominent** than ever in the Prime Minister's gift bag.

Even though Mr. Modi's gifts to foreign dignitaries have comprised more than Hindu religious books, the BJP-led government in New Delhi has exhibited strong tendencies of saffronising India's foreign policy, one step at a time, and without much **resistance**. Remember the strong pitch made by none other than External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj in 2014 to declare Bhagavad Gita as India's 'Rashtriya Granth' (national book)? During Mr. Modi's recent visit to Israel, some BJP leaders even referred to the underlying belief within the Sangh Parivar of the desirability of forging strong bonds between Hindutva and Zionism. The issue of 'saffronising' foreign policy is serious, and deserves to be examined in greater depth.

Religious symbolism



Mr. Modi's official visits abroad have often been steeped in Hindu religious symbolism. Recall his first visit to Nepal in 2014 when he visited the Hindu temple, Pashupatinath. **Clad** in saffron **attire**(पोशाक), wearing a rudraksh garland and sandal paste smeared on his forehead, the religious symbolism of Mr. Modi's visit to the temple was **spectacular**, if not prime ministerial. It is a different matter that the development of a potential Hindu religious plank in Indo-Nepal relations, a key piece in the Sangh Parivar's long-cherished dream, was **sabotaged** by events thereafter, including India's 'unofficial' economic blockade of Nepal in 2015.

When Mr. Modi visited Abu Dhabi in 2015, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) government announced the allocation of land for the UAE capital's first Hindu temple. The Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) tweeted on the occasion, "A long wait for the Indian community ends. On the occasion of PM's visit, UAE Govt decides to allot land for building a temple in Abu Dhabi," with Mr. Modi following up with another tweet: "I am very thankful to the UAE Govt for their decision to allot land in order to build a Temple in Abu Dhabi. This is a great step." How so?

While providing land to construct a temple for the Hindu community in the UAE (for Hindu migrant workers from countries such as India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, etc.) is in itself a laudable act, what does the official visit of a secular republic's Prime Minister have to do with the allocation of land for a Hindu temple in an Islamic country? These tweets, by the MEA and the Prime Minister, were not in keeping with the secular traditions of India's foreign policy engagements. Wasn't ensuring that the Indian migrant workers in UAE are not mistreated, as they regularly are, more important than portraying the "land for temple" as a major foreign policy achievement? Let's not get carried away: it was neither foreign policy, nor an achievement. The Bharatiya Janata Party's fixation with 'Mandir' cannot be projected as the Indian state's legitimate foreign policy interest.

Refugee policy

The BJP's proposed refugee policy also tells the story of a deep-seated saffron agenda. Its 2014 election manifesto was unequivocal in stating that "India shall remain a natural home for



persecuted Hindus and they shall be welcome to seek refuge here”. Note that the statement is not one that promises to protect all persecuted minorities in the neighbourhood, as the country has done in the past, but a pointedly Hindutva sentiment. The party followed up on its promise when it came to power by proposing a controversial Bill to amend the country’s citizenship laws. The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2016, proposes that Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis and Christians entering India from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan not be considered as “illegal immigrants” — no word on Muslims here! By not providing any justification whatsoever for discriminating against Muslims (if there can, in fact, be any), given that Hindus and Muslims comprise most refugees turning up at India’s borders, the motivation is clear. While on the one hand this appeases the communal vote banks in mainland India, the move also could potentially enhance BJP’s electoral fortunes in the north-eastern borderlands since the proposed law could alter the voter demographics in the region to BJP’s advantage. To get a more complete picture, read this together with the recently passed ‘Enemy Property (Amendment and Validation) Bill, 2016’ which could potentially dispossess many Muslim families of their inherited property.

India abroad

New Delhi has traditionally viewed the Indian diaspora to be a powerful force multiplier and has both used their services and catered to their needs. The Modi government has gone way beyond the legitimate exercise of engaging the diaspora to enthusiastically promoting overseas Hindutva/Sangh outfits for ideological ends, couched in sophisticated foreign policy showbiz, of course.

Clearly, the outright enlisting of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-affiliated organisations such as the Overseas Friends of BJP (OFBJP) and the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) for the government’s foreign policy pursuits and other official purposes can only be termed as attempts at saffronising our secular foreign policy. Recall how the HSS and the OFBJP-USA, along with the MEA and the Indian embassy in Washington, played a crucial role in organising Mr. Modi’s official visit to the U.S. in September 2014.



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Several events in the Prime Minister's official visits abroad today are organised by HSS/RSS/OFBJP activists in collaboration with the MEA and the Indian embassy. While these activists are indeed members of the Indian diaspora, they only represent one **fragment** of it, and a communal one. What is even more worrying is that many of these Hindutva organisations are increasingly partnering with Indian missions abroad to organise official functions of the Indian state. Consider this: during this year's International Day of Yoga, the official partners of the Indian Embassy in Washington included the Association of United Hindu and Jain Temples, Baba Ramdev's Patanjali Yogpeeth, Hindu American Foundation, HSS, and several other Hindu organisations.

This brings back memories of the appointment of Bhisma Agnihotri, an office-bearer of the HSS, as India's Ambassador-at-Large in the U.S. by the Vajpayee government. Mr. Agnihotri's ad hoc appointment had led to run-ins between him and India's official representation in Washington.

The **proclivity** of the Hindutva organisations, many of whose members are not Indian citizens, to grab the limelight of New Delhi's official engagements abroad is resented by career diplomats who have often cautioned the MEA that such organisations should be kept away from official functions. Moreover, the BJP's tendency to promote overseas Hindu organisations through the foreign policy engagements of the country will not only undermine the official and formal nature of the practice of diplomacy but will also divide the Indian **diaspora(प्रवासी)** along communal lines.

These organisations are also compensated by the government particularly during the 'Pravasi Bharatiya Divas' celebrations. The outsourcing of India's foreign policy activities to overseas Hindu organisations should therefore be put an end to.

India's foreign policy engagement, the BJP leadership needs to remember, is the **sovereign** function of the Indian state, not an instrument of the Sangh Parivar's ideological agenda. Let us hope that Mr. Adityanath's communal **rhetoric** about avoiding 'unIndian' gifts for foreign dignitaries does not alter the standard practice.

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Magical Vocabulary from “The Hindu Editorial”

1. Prominent (adjective) महत्त्वपूर्ण/प्रसिद्ध: Important; famous.

Synonyms: Important, well-known, leading, eminent, distinguished, notable, noteworthy, noted, illustrious.

Example: They were **prominent** in the farming business and ran a progressive operation in that part of mid-Roscommon.

2. Resistance (noun) प्रतिरोध/विरोध: The refusal to accept or comply with something; the attempt to prevent something by action or argument.

Synonyms: Opposition to, hostility to, refusal to accept.

Example: They're naturally gifted with strong stomachs and a powerful **resistance** to viral and bacterial agents.

3. Clad (verb) आच्छादित/कपड़े पहने हुए/ढका हुआ: Provide or encase with a covering or coating.

Synonyms: Dress, attire, robe, garb, array, costume, swathe, deck (out).

Example: Earlier this month the city council rejected a proposal to revamp it which would have involved **cladding** it in glass.

4. Spectacular (adjective) बहुत शानदार/प्रभावशाली: Beautiful in a dramatic and eye-catching way.

Synonyms: Impressive, magnificent, splendid, dazzling, sensational, dramatic, remarkable, outstanding.

Example: The estate includes over 80 miles of paths through **spectacular** scenery.



5. Sabotage (verb)नुकसान पहुँचाना/गड़बड़करना: Deliberately destroy, damage, or obstruct (something), especially for political or military advantage.

Synonyms: Vandalize, wreck, damage, destroy, cripple, impair, incapacitate, obstruct, disrupt, spoil.

Example: Police are investigating whether a train derailment between Ballan and Gordon was caused by an act of **sabotage** .

6. Fragment (verb)टुकड़ा/खण्ड: Break or cause to break into fragments.

Synonyms: Piece, bit, particle, speck, chip, shard, sliver, splinter, shaving, paring, snippet

Example: The arguments of both are based on the **fragment** of an ancient text, preserved by accident in a remote province.

7. Proclivity (noun)झुकाव/रुझान/इच्छा: A tendency to choose or do something regularly; an inclination or predisposition toward a particular thing.

Synonyms: Inclination, tendency, leaning, disposition, proneness, propensity, bent, bias, penchant.

Example: Sexual **proclivity** , especially one that is not acted on, does not necessarily entail a loss of impulse control.

8. Sovereign (adjective)सार्वभौम/सर्व-श्रेष्ठ/उत्तम: Possessing supreme or ultimate power.

Synonyms: Perfect, good, spanking, masterly, surpassing, best, prime, paramount, superlative.

Example: How can you be a **sovereign** nation while your country is occupied by the military of another nation?



9. Rhetoric (noun) वक्रपटुता/भाषणकला: The art of effective or persuasive speaking or writing, especially the use of figures of speech and other compositional techniques.

Synonyms: Ornateness, grandiosity, magniloquence, grandiloquence.

Example: He delights in personal enrichment and seems to be lacking in political **rhetoric** .

5. Foreign policy muddle

With the US under President Trump ploughing a lonely **furrow**, we have the **curious** spectacle of India and China coming together on several issues like trade and climate change, while China remains **implacably** opposed to India's more vital ambitions ~ membership of the Security Council and the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

China also periodically rakes up border issues, deliberately slighting India in the bargain. With China's tacit support, Pakistani terrorists keep the Kashmir cauldron boiling. On top of it, India and China have an ongoing border dispute, a dispute over the contours of the Indo-Pak border; a dispute about sharing of river waters but still India and China are each other's largest trade partners.

Since Independence, two great powers (the USA and China) and a contentious neighbour (Pakistan) have deeply influenced our foreign policy. Till recently, the USA played the role of our elder brother.

China was the typical bully, mocking us and kicking us on the shin when no one was looking. Pakistan was the **estranged** cousin, with a great familial similarity and an even greater familial enmity.



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Russia hovered in the background, a lender of the last resort, whom we turned to when no one else supported us. This equation changed with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1990, which made the world unipolar.

The Chinese saw it as a golden opportunity to replace Russia in the global pecking order. Keeping their ultimate aim under wraps, the Chinese concentrated on building up their economic power which was used to create principal-client relationships with strategically located but impoverished states.

After the 2008 **meltdown (मंदी)** in the West, the Chinese felt confident enough to openly **articulate** its hegemonistic ambitions, challenging the existing world order and trying to dominate their smaller neighbours.

Continuing the same trend, the Chinese have been uncharacteristically **loquacious** in its current border dispute with India. The Chinese press and officials have been commenting daily on the border dispute. The Indian side is also particularly vocal with the defence minister reminding the Chinese that Indians are not the pushovers they were in 1962. Despite this verbosity, the Indian side has no clear idea about what the Chinese are trying to accomplish.

Perhaps, brought up on non-alignment, non-violence and Panchsheel, Indians are naive enough not to appreciate that foreign policies of all countries are guided by self-interest alone, and not by consistency or moral principles.

For example, Indians are genuinely **flummoxed** when some important US official castigates Pakistan for terrorism on Indian soil, but changes his tune when he visits Pakistan. We genuinely think that after designating Hafiz Saeed and Salahuddin as international terrorists, the US would catch them by the scruff of their necks and give them their just desserts ~ as they did to Osama bin Laden.

We feel hurt when our closest friends, Nepal and Bangladesh, attend China's OBOR meeting. Coming to our latest border dispute, one can say that in addition to self-interest, China is motivated by a sense of historical greatness and a desire to establish its supremacy.

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To achieve this objective, China has invested heavily in modernising its army and has **assiduously** built up military infrastructure along the Sino-Indian border. We are in a much weaker position on the border because in addition to nuclear armaments and a large army, China has a number of all-weather roads, railway lines and airfields near the Sino-Indian border, particularly in the Eastern Sector, while we have very few means of ferrying troops to the border quickly. This can partially explain the deliberate provocations and snubs China hands out to us frequently.

Realistically, we are left with very few choices to end the current dispute. First, we have to stop attacking China through belligerent statements and understand what China is trying to convey through its official statements and state-controlled media. Then we have to talk to China directly, assuaging their concerns and putting across our concerns to them.

This does not mean that we should accept Chinese **hegemony**. Relations between nations are finely nuanced; we can talk to the Chinese without appearing to have been cowed down. So far, robust trade relations between China and India have ensured that no **precipitate** action has been taken by either side but the border stalemate has shown us in poor light; our strategic weakness is now manifest before the entire world.

To avoid repetition(s) of this kind of situation we have to provide road, rail and air connectivity to all points at our borders so that we can mobilise troops whenever required.

Simultaneously, modernisation of our armed forces has to be accorded priority. A war-like situation can be avoided only if the enemy sees us as strong.

Second, our border states are in **turmoil** and Pakistan and China are unashamedly fuelling unrest against the Indian Government in Kashmir and the Northeast. For our own wellbeing, we should keep the residents of Kashmir and the Northeast satisfied even at the cost of concessions. Third, we have to engage efficiently with our neighbours. Many regional projects like the Chabahar Port Project have been hanging fire for decades.

Contrast this with China which is running trains to Europe while we struggle to provide connectivity within India. If we had sufficient foresight, we could have made Pakistan a client

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state instead of giving China this opportunity. We have the potential to outdo China, only lack of initiative, sloth and bureaucratic inefficiency hold us back.

Magical Vocabulary from “The Statesman Editorial”

1. Furrow (Noun) लीक बनाना/हल-रेखा: A long narrow trench made in the ground by a plow, especially for planting seeds or for irrigation.

Synonyms: Groove, trench, rut, trough, channel, hollow, wrinkle, crease, line, crinkle, pucker.

Example: York's medieval farmers who used to plough a **furrow** here would still recognise it.

2. Curious (adjective) जिज्ञासु/अजीब/उत्सुक: Eager to know or learn something./strange; unusual.

Synonyms: Anomalous, surprising, incongruous, unconventional, offbeat, unorthodox.

Example: I find it **curious** that if I am overwhelmed by emotion, I stumble over words in English.

3. Implacable (adjective) कठोरचित्त/संगदिल: Unable to be placated.

Synonyms: Unappeasable, unforgiving, unsparing, inexorable, intransigent, inflexible, unyielding.

Example: The movie's pace is as relentless and **implacable** as its villain.

4. Estranged (adjective) पराया /बहिष्कार करना: (of a person) no longer close or affectionate to someone; alienated.

Synonyms: Alienate, antagonize, turn away, drive away, distance, sever.

Example: You could become **estranged** from your family if you put all your time and energy into work.



5. Articulate (verb) साफ़ साफ़ बोलना: Express (an idea or feeling) fluently and coherently.

Synonyms: Express, voice, vocalize, put in words, communicate, enounce, enunciate, say, pronounce, sound out.

Example: Yet we often fail to **articulate** this doctrine clearly, even to ourselves.

6. Loquacious (adjective) बातूनी / मुखर: Tending to talk a great deal; talkative.

Synonyms: Talkative, voluble, communicative, expansive, garrulous, unreserved, chatty, gossipy, gossiping.

Example: I cannot tell whether he recognised me, but that night he was voluble, almost **loquacious** .

7. Flummoxed (verb) परेशान करना/बेचैन करना: Bewildered or perplexed.

Synonyms: Baffle, perplex, puzzle, bewilder, mystify, bemuse, confuse, confound, faze, stump, beat.

Example: Even the Ministry of Information official who accompanied me was **flummoxed** .

8. Assiduous (adjective) परिश्रमी: Showing great care and perseverance.

Synonyms: Diligent, careful, meticulous, thorough, sedulous, attentive, conscientious, punctilious

Example: The member is being a very **assiduous** local member.

9. Hegemony (noun) नायकत्व/नेतृत्व: Leadership or dominance, especially by one country or social group over others.

Synonyms: Leadership, dominance, dominion, supremacy, authority, mastery, control, power, sway, rule, sovereignty



Example: The problem for the ruling class is how to reassert such **hegemony** .

10. Precipitate (adjective) अप्रत्याशित / जल्दबाज़/ तेज़: Done, made, or acting suddenly or without careful consideration.

Synonyms: Hasty, overhasty, rash, hurried, rushed, impetuous, impulsive.

Example: It is good news that there is a deal, but many questions remain and policyholders should not take **precipitate** action yet.

11. Turmoil (adjective) खलबली / मानसिक अशांति: A state of great disturbance, confusion, or uncertainty.

Synonyms: Confusion, upheaval, turbulence, tumult, disorder, disturbance, agitation, ferment, unrest.

Example: He would lie awake, his mind in **turmoil** , too active with the words of the professor.

6. The Islamic State after Mosul

Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi declared the end of the 'Caliphate(खलिफ़ा का अधिकार क्षेत्र)' late last month after his troops captured the Grand al-Nuri Mosque in Mosul from where Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi proclaimed himself the 'Caliph' of the world's Muslims three years ago. The 12th century mosque, whose famed leaning **minaret** had been adorned with the black flag of the Islamic State (IS) since June 2014, was a symbol of power for the jihadists, so much so that they blew it away and **retreated** as the Iraqi troops closed in. Within weeks, Mr. Abadi was in Mosul to formally announce the liberation of Iraq's second largest city.

It's no small achievement for an army which fled Mosul in droves when IS fighters marched in three years ago. The IS ruled the city with an iron fist ever since and expanded its influence



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beyond the city limits. The Iraqi army took months to recover from the **humiliation** it suffered and launched a counter-terror campaign with help from Iran-trained militias and the U.S. Air Force. They liberated small cities first, such as Ramadi and Fallujah, before finally moving towards Mosul in October last year. The Kurdish Peshmerga also joined in, while the U.S. carried out a massive air campaign. In nine months the IS lost Mosul, the jewel of its Caliphate.

This is in line with the military setbacks the group has suffered in recent months. It has lost more than half of the territories it once held. Its propaganda blitzkrieg has taken a hit and even its ability to recruit new jihadists is under strain in the wake of battlefield losses. Its leader Baghdadi is either dead or on the run. But do these setbacks mean the IS is defeated? Has the 21st century 'Caliphate' run its course? The ground realities and a historical analysis of the evolution of the IS suggest otherwise.

Down but not out

First, the IS's proto-state is not completely destroyed yet and it will not be in the immediate future. Though it lost Mosul, the IS still controls swathes of strategic territories in Iraq. Hawijah, a city adjoining Kirkuk that has been with the IS since 2013, continues to pose challenges to the Iraqi troops. The city's mountainous terrain makes it difficult for the counter-terror forces to move in.

Besides Hawijah, the group controls Tal Afar, Salahuddin **province** and pockets in Anbar and Diyala. In Syria, it still controls Raqqa, its de facto capital which has been with the group since 2013, and Deir Ezzor, the largest city in the east. The battle to recapture Raqqa has just begun by the Kurdish-led Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) and will take time like other anti-IS battles.

Second, there's no guarantee that the IS won't come back to the cities it lost. It had done so earlier. The geopolitical fault lines of West Asia, especially in Iraq and Syria, which helped the IS rise in the first place, remain unchanged. In Iraq, a greater challenge before the government is to win over the people in the north and west, mostly Sunnis, who distrust the Shia-dominated government. In Syria, the battle against the IS is more complicated than that in Iraq. In Iraq at least there is a **consensus** about what the **legitimate** force is against the IS. All players, from

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America and the Kurds to Iran and Shia militias, rallied behind the Iraqi government in the war. But in Syria, there's no such consensus. Raqqa is being attacked by both the SDF and the government troops. The U.S. is supporting the SDF, while Russia is backing the regime. Turkey, another country that's involved through its proxies in the civil war, is wary of the SDF because it's led by the Kurdish rebels. So even if Raqqa is liberated, it is difficult to reach a consensus on who will eventually run the city. If **chaos** prevails, that would be good news for the jihadists.

Third, the IS is fundamentally an **insurgency** that transformed itself into a proto-state. Now the proto-state is under attack, but the group can retreat to insurgency for its survival. The history of insurgent groups suggests that it is difficult to defeat them outright. Take the more recent examples of jihadist insurgencies. The Taliban regime was toppled and its fighters were driven out of Kabul in 2001 following the American **invasion**. Their leader, Mullah Omar, died while he was hiding. But does it mean that the Taliban were defeated?

Al-Qaeda is another example. After the Taliban were **toppled**, al-Qaeda was also forced to flee to the mountains. Its leader, Osama bin Laden, was also killed when he was hiding in Pakistan. Still al-Qaeda made a comeback by mobilising jihadists in Africa, Syria and Yemen. A more specific example would be al-Qaeda in Iraq, which was almost defeated once, only to be morphed into today's IS as a more vigorous, deadly force.

The IS has already given enough indications that it will move back into insurgency if its proto-state was destroyed. In May 2016, Abu Mohammad al-Adnani, who was the second-most powerful leader in the IS till his death in an air strike in August that year, said in a long audio message released on the Web: "Whoever thinks that we fight to protect some land or some authority, or that victory is measured thereby, has strayed far from the truth."

In insurgency mode

In fact, the IS has changed its strategy after the 'Caliphate' came under attack. Instead of expanding its territories, the group became defensive at its core and unleashed a wave of terror attacks elsewhere in the world, from Paris to Brussels and Berlin to Dhaka. It has also established franchises in other countries. Boko Haram, Africa's most dreaded terror outfit, has



declared loyalty to the IS. In eastern Afghanistan, the IS has a branch — the Islamic State of Khorasan — which is directing the group’s operations in South Asia.

The recent outbreak of a war in the Philippines, where armed jihadist groups that have declared loyalty to the IS have been fighting government forces, suggests that the IS is expanding its asymmetric reach when its core is under attack.

All this suggests that the threat is far from over. The IS has already transformed itself into a globalised idea and outsourced its terror mission to groups and individuals who subscribe to its world view. So even if the IS core is destroyed, the IS insurgency, or an ‘al-Qaedafied’ Islamic State, will continue to pose security challenges.

Magical Vocabulary from “The Hindu Editorial”

1. Minaret (Noun) मीनार : A tall slender tower, typically part of a mosque, with a balcony from which a muezzin calls Muslims to prayer.

Synonyms: Pagoda, spire, steeple, meenar.

Example: One of the best shots in the film is of a church spire which pans up to reveal the **minaret** of the mosque just behind.

2. Retreated (verb) पीछे हटना: (of an army) withdraw from enemy forces as a result of their superior power or after a defeat.

Synonyms: Withdraw, retire, draw back, pull back/out, fall back, give way, give ground, beat a retreat, beat a hasty retreat

Example: The trade unions made a retreat from their earlier position

3. Humiliation (noun) निरादर / तिरस्कार : The action of humiliating someone or the state of being humiliated.



Synonyms: Embarrassment, mortification, shame, indignity, ignominy, disgrace, discomfiture, dishonour.

Example: The conference decision was a **humiliation** for the union's executive

4. Province (noun) प्रदेश / देश/ कार्यक्षेत्र : A principal administrative division of certain countries or empires.

Synonyms: Territory, region, state, department, canton, area, district, sector, zone, division.

Example: Jaipur, capital of Rajasthan **province**.

5. Consensus (Noun) आम सहमति: General agreement.

Synonyms: Agreement, harmony, concurrence, accord, unity, unanimity, solidarity, concord

Example: The general **consensus** of opinion has it that love is not a good thing for professional sportsmen.

6. Legitimate (verb) न्यायसंगत / उचित / वैध : conforming to the law or to rules.

Synonyms: Legal, lawful, licit, legalized, authorized, permitted, permissible, allowable, allowed, admissible.

Example: Even a technically **legitimate** ruler forfeits his right to obedience if his mandates do not correspond to moral norms.

7. Chaos (noun) अराजकता / अव्यवस्था: Complete disorder and confusion.

Synonyms: Disorder, disarray, disorganization, confusion, mayhem, bedlam, pandemonium, havoc, turmoil.

Example: In a situation of total economic **chaos** , only a small number of profiteers have something to gain.



8. Insurgency (noun) विद्रोह: An act of violent or open resistance to an established government or ruler.

Synonyms: Rebellion, revolt, uprising, insurgency, insurrection, insurgence

Example: When this is a choice made against knowledge it becomes a serious act of **Insurgency**.

9. Invasion (noun) आक्रमण : An instance of invading a country or region with an armed force.

Synonyms: Occupation, capture, seizure, annexation, annexing, takeover, storming, incursion, attack, assault

Example: They joined forces to plan an **invasion** along the PAK borders and gain new territory.

10. Toppled (verb) नीचे गिर पड़ना : Overbalance or become unsteady and fall slowly.

Synonyms: fall, fall over, tumble, overturn, tip over, keel over, collapse.

Example: Disagreement had threatened to **topple** the government.

7. How Brexit has begun to unravel

With just 20 months to go till Britain is meant to leave the EU, it's become potentially more of a time bomb

It's often the case that when a senior politician ridicules concerns about a policy or programme, you know it is really running into trouble. That's certainly true of Brexit. David Davis, the "Brexit" secretary (the cabinet minister who heads the clunkily named Department for Exiting the European Union) told a House of Lords select committee earlier this week that he viewed with "amusement" press reports suggesting the government was "softening" its **stance** on Brexit, with some even suggesting that it might not happen at all. Nicholas Watt, a senior editor



of the BBC news programme Newsnight, reported last week he had spoken to a number of senior figures, including influential supporters of Brexit, who now believed there was a “strong chance” it might not happen at all, a sentiment that has been repeated by others in one way or another since.

Electoral setback

Questions about the **viability (व्यवहार्यता)** of Brexit as the government had laid it out — in Prime Minister Theresa May’s crucial Lancaster House speech in January — emerged rapidly after the election and the government’s loss of its overall parliamentary majority. Ms. May had pegged the election around public support for her version of Brexit, which involved leaving the single market in order to satisfy public demand for border controls, as well as exiting the customs union in order for Britain to be able to negotiate tariff-free deals unrestrictedly with the rest of the world. With the loss of seats, and rise of Labour putting this **mandate** in question, many asked whether the party would be forced to soften its stance on a number of key issues, particularly given its alliance with the Democratic Unionist Party in Northern Ireland, which had made the issue of the open border between the two Irelands all the more important to solve. (The issue of how to keep an open border while ending the customs union is seen as one of the major practical challenges of Brexit.)

There are a number of reasons why those questions have persisted since. Firstly, the practical issues around Brexit — and the interpretation of the “will of the people” vis-à-vis the referendum — seem to be burgeoning rapidly, highlighted by an ongoing controversy over Britain’s membership of the European nuclear industry regulator, Euratom. Britain had committed to leaving the agency when it notified Europe of its plans to leave the union, back in March. The government had suggested it had little option but to leave as it raised issues around jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice among other things, but legal opinion remains very divided, with many (even strident Brexiteers) suggesting that keeping Britain in Euratom remained completely viable and necessary. In fact, among those to criticise the government for its insistence on leaving was none other than the man who had headed the Vote Leave campaign, Dominic Cummings, who labelled those who were pushing to leave Euratom



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“morons”. Others have warned that by leaving the regulator, Britain would lose out on crucial developments that had taken place, particularly around radiotherapy, which could delay the delivery of cancer drugs to patients.

No deal or bad deal?

Then there’s the confusion on what the government policy on crucial areas is: for example, around the now infamous slogan of the Prime Minister that “no deal is better than a bad deal.” That negotiating position has faced widespread criticism from both within and outside Conservative Party circles, for the perception internationally that Britain’s aggressive negotiating stance was likely to be counteractive. Major questions are now being asked about whether a plan exists for the “no deal” scenario, with differing answers from senior cabinet members. “Are ministers just making it up as they go along?” asked Emily Thornberry, Britain’s shadow foreign secretary at Prime Minister’s Questions this week. Another crucial area over which confusion reigns is the issue of the transitional period that would ease Britain’s exit for it and other member states, in particular what EU precepts or bodies would continue to be relevant over that period.

Some fear the scale of the practical challenges facing the government is something they have not necessarily acknowledged. In an extraordinary **intervention** this week, Amyas Morse, the head of the National Audit Office, told the media ahead of the publication of a report that the government’s approach to Brexit was in danger of falling apart “like a chocolate orange” with little flexibility involved in the government’s approach or willingness to accommodate a backup plan. (The government’s inflexibility on major issues became apparent with the publication of the “repeal bill”, which removes the supremacy of EU law, and which includes no concessions on issues that opposition parties had sought such as on the EU’s Charter of Fundamental Rights.)

These issues arise at a time when economic conditions have toughened, factors Brexiteers say are unrelated to the exiting process, but which critics say were just some of the **repercussions** they had warned about all along. Inflation in May climbed to its highest rate in four years, 2.9%, with weakness of the pound persisting, as wages remain subdued. While the unemployment

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rate is at its lowest level since the 1970s, the Office for National Statistics said last week that real disposable incomes were falling at their highest rate since 2011, largely as a result of inflation. Anecdotal evidence has also suggested that concerns about Brexit have finally begun to hit investment into the country, while EU workers in areas such as health have begun to leave the country, creating potential skills shortages. Pessimism remains high about what will follow Brexit. On Wednesday, the ratings agency Moody's warned that it was "unclear" whether the government would be able to deliver a "reasonably good outcome" in its negotiations with Europe, warning that the likelihood of an **abrupt** exit with no agreement and reversion to WTO trading rules had increased.

Continental shift

Overall, one has a sense of the upper hand lying very much with the continent. Bluff and bluster has continued in Britain. Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson scoffed at the "divorce bill", the multibillion-pound payment that Europe believes is owed to it by Britain as it exits the union, telling MPs that the EU could "go whistle." But his remarks were calmly rejected by Michel Barnier, the EU's chief negotiator.

He warned that without a recognition of the payments owed by Britain, trust would be broken and there would be little chance of negotiations moving forward. "I am not hearing any whistling, just the clock ticking," he said this week. With just twenty months to go till Britain is meant to leave the union, with the purported mission of "taking back control" of borders, laws, and trade, it's potentially more of a time bomb.

Magical Vocabulary from "The Hindu Editorial"

1. Amusement (Noun) मनोरंजन: The state or experience of finding something funny.

Synonyms: Entertainment, pleasure, leisure, relaxation, fun, enjoyment, interest, diversion, R and R, disport.

Example: Sturdy scholarship, not idle **amusement**, is what the book is designed to deliver.



2. Stance (noun) उद्देश्य : The way in which someone stands, especially when deliberately adopted (as in baseball, golf, and other sports); a person's posture.

Synonyms: Attitude, stand, point of view, viewpoint, opinion, way of thinking, outlook, standpoint, position, angle, perspective, approach, line, policy.

Example: The trade unions made a retreat from their earlier position

3. Mandate (noun) शासनादेश / आज्ञापत्र: An official order or commission to do something.

Synonyms: Authority, instruction, mandatory, authorization.

Example: Perhaps politicians should seek a new **mandate** from the electorate if they are unable to fulfil their promises.

4. Intervention (noun) हस्तक्षेप / बीच-बचाव : the action or process of intervening.

Synonyms: Interruption, obstruction, hindrance.

Example: They are plants that grow naturally without human **intervention**.

5. Repercussions (Noun) नतीजों / अप्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव : An unintended consequence occurring some time after an event or action, especially an unwelcome one.

Synonyms: Consequence(s), result(s), effect(s), outcome, reverberation(s), backlash, aftermath, fallout, tremors.

Example: The move would have grave **repercussions** for the entire region.

6. Abrupt (adjective) आकस्मिक / विषम : Sudden and unexpected.

Synonyms: Sudden, unexpected, without warning, unanticipated, unforeseen, precipitate, precipitous.



Example: It made the language he spoke sound harsh, **abrupt** , awkward, without poetry.

8. Can the world thrive on 100% renewable energy?

A WIDELY read cover story on the impact of global warming in this week's New York magazine starts **ominously**: "It is, I promise, worse than you think." It goes on to predict temperatures in New York hotter than present-day Bahrain, unprecedented droughts wherever today's food is produced, the release of diseases like bubonic plague hitherto trapped under Siberian ice, and permanent economic collapse. In the face of such **apocalyptic** predictions, can the world take **solace** from those who argue that it can move, relatively quickly and painlessly, to 100% renewable energy?

At first glance, the answer to that question looks depressingly obvious. Despite falling costs, wind and solar still produce only 5.5% of the world's electricity. Hydropower is a much more significant source of renewable energy, but its costs are rising, and investment is falling. Looking more broadly at energy demand, including that for domestic heating, transport and industry, the share of wind and solar is a minuscule 1.6% (see chart). It seems impossible to eliminate fossil fuels from the energy mix in the foreseeable future.

But all energy transitions, such as that from coal to hydrocarbons in the 20th century, take many decades. It is the rate of change that guides where investments flow. That makes greens more optimistic. During the past decade, solar photovoltaics (PV) and wind energy have been on a roll as sources of electricity. Although investment dipped slightly last year, the International Energy Agency, a global forecaster, said on July 11th that for the first time the amount of renewable capacity commissioned in 2016 almost matched that for other sources of power generation, such as coal and natural gas. In some countries the two technologies—particularly solar PV in sunny places—are now cheaper than coal and gas. It is no longer uncommon for countries like Denmark and Scotland to have periods when the equivalent of all their power comes from wind.



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Ambitions are rising. The Senate in California, a state that is close to hitting its goal of generating one-third of its power from renewables by 2020, has proposed raising the target to 60% by 2030; Germany's goal is to become 80% renewable by 2050. But whether it is possible to produce all of a country's electricity with just wind, water and hydro is a subject of bitter debate.

In 2015 Mark Jacobson of Stanford University and others argued that electricity, transport, heating/cooling, and industry in America could be fully powered in 2050-55 by wind, water and solar, without the variability of the weather affecting users. **Forswearing** the use of natural gas, biofuels, nuclear power and stationary batteries, they said weather modelling, hydrogen storage and flexible demand could ensure stable supply at relatively low cost.

But in June this year Christopher Clack, founder of Vibrant Clean Energy, a firm, issued a stinging **critique** with fellow researchers in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, the journal in which Mr Jacobson et al had published their findings. They argued that a narrow focus on wind, water and solar would make tackling climate change more difficult and expensive than it needed to be, not least because it ignored existing zero-carbon technologies such as nuclear power and bioenergy. They claimed the models wrongly assumed that hydroelectricity output could continue for hours on end at many times the capacity available today, and pointed to the **implausibility** of replacing the current aviation system with yet-to-be-developed hydrogen-powered planes. In their view, decarbonising 80% of the electricity grid is possible at reasonable cost, provided America improves its high-voltage transmission grid. Beyond that is anyone's guess.

Others take a wider view. Amory Lovins of the Colorado-based Rocky Mountain Institute, a think-tank, shrugs off the 100% renewables dispute as a sideshow. He takes comfort from the fact that it is increasingly common for renewables sustainably to produce half a location's electricity supply. He believes that the share can be scaled up with ease, possibly to 80%. But in order to cut emissions drastically, he puts most emphasis on a tripling of energy efficiency, by designing better buildings and factories and using lighter materials, as well as by keeping some

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natural gas in the mix. He also sees clean-energy batteries in electric vehicles displacing oil demand, as petroleum did whale oil in the 19th century.

Some **sceptics** raise concerns about the economic **ramifications** if renewables' **penetration** rises substantially. In an article this month, Michael Kelly of Cambridge University focused on the energy return on investment (EROI) of solar PV and wind turbines, meaning the ratio between the amount of energy they produce to the amount of energy invested to make them. He claimed that their EROI was substantially lower than those of fossil fuels; using renewables to generate half of the world's electricity would leave less energy free to power other types of economic activity.

hat his analysis is based on studies of PV returns in Spain from more than half a decade ago. Since then solar and wind costs (a proxy for EROI) have plunged, raising their returns. What is more, other studies suggest returns from fossil-fuel-derived energy have fallen, and will decline further as they incur increased costs associated with pollution and climate change. A high share of renewables may be less efficient at powering economic growth than fossil fuels were in their 20th century heyday. But if the climate **doomsayers(a person who predicts disaster, especially in politics or economics.)** are to be proved wrong, a clean-energy system must be part of the solution.

Magical Vocabulary from "The Economist"

1. Ominous (adjective) अमंगल / भविष्य सूचक/ बुरी बात: Giving the impression that something bad or unpleasant is going to happen; threatening; inauspicious.

Synonyms: Threatening, menacing, baleful, forbidding, sinister, inauspicious, unpropitious, unfavorable

Example: There was a flash of sudden pain before the blue sky turned an **ominous** dark black.

2. Apocalyptic (adjective) सर्वनाशक : Describing or prophesying the complete destruction of the world.



Synonyms: Doomsday, doom-laden, ominous, portentous, catastrophic, momentous.

Example: It was written during the terrifying times of the Cuban missile crisis, but it depicts **apocalyptic** visions rather than specific details.

3. Solace (noun) सांत्वना देना / संतुष्ट करना : Comfort or consolation in a time of distress or sadness.

Synonyms: Comfort, consolation, cheer, support, relief.

Example: His gentle presence was often a source of comfort and **solace** in itself.

4. Forswearing (verb) शपथपूर्वक त्यागना / झूठी सौगंध खाना : Agree to give up or do without (something).

Synonyms: Renounce, relinquish, reject, forgo, disavow, abandon, deny, repudiate, give up.

Example: It **forswears** the use of commercial plutonium as a fuel, because of proliferation risks.

5. Critique (adjective) आलोचना : A detailed analysis and assessment of something, especially a literary, philosophical, or political theory.

Synonyms: Analysis, evaluation, assessment, appraisal, appreciation, criticism, review.

Example: The authors **critique** the methods and practices used in the research.

6. Implausible (adjective) अकल्पनीय/ अविश्वसनीयता/ संदिग्ध : (of an argument or statement) not seeming reasonable or probable; failing to convince.

Synonyms: Unlikely, improbable, questionable, doubtful, debatable, unrealistic.

Example: The big bad company offers quite a good deal in the end, brokered by **implausibly** competent and honest lawyers.



7. Sceptics (noun) संशयवादी/ नास्तिक : A person inclined to question or doubt all accepted opinions.

Synonyms: Cynic, doubter, pessimist, agnostic, atheist, unbeliever, nonbeliever.

Example: He accepts there remain **sceptics** and doubters concerning the present Dublin side.

8. Ramifications (noun) असर/ नतीजा : A consequence of an action or event, especially when complex or unwelcome.

Synonyms: Consequence, result, aftermath, outcome, effect, upshot, development, implication.

Example: Any change is bound to have legal ramifications.

9. Penetration (noun) प्रवेश: The action or process of making a way through or into something.

Synonyms: Perforation, piercing, puncturing, puncture, stabbing, pricking.

Example: Video offers convenience and the highest market **penetration** for its medium.

9. Back to the classroom

Evidence-based policing is gaining credibility by the day — India's police force must be exposed to it.

In a recent article in an American newspaper, the doyen among police scholars, Prof. David Bayley, expressed his **anguish** over what he considered to be a crisis in U.S. law **enforcement**. In his view this was caused mainly by three factors: race, police training and guns. There was an undeniable need for reform, but the prospects for this happening were bleak because of a multitude of factors, including the size of police forces, lack of political and community support.

The Indian police is exactly in the same situation. People are dissatisfied with the quality of service they are getting from the grass roots. They are frustrated with the same old alibi trotted



out by the police: political interference. Do **rudimentary courtesy** to the public at a police station, registration of an FIR when a complaint is received, and acting against harassment of women in public spaces all need political direction? Not at all. The system therefore needs drastic restructuring, beyond cosmetics, in order to make policing more professional and more acceptable to the common man. Look at what other professions have done. In my view, the analogy here should be one with public health service. Despite its many faults, cost being a main drawback, our medical services have improved vastly through sheer professionalism backed by learning from experimentation.

How to professionalise

Those propounding evidence-based policing, a movement launched more than a decade ago both in the U.S and the U.K., often refer to success in the area of health care to strengthen the case for experiment-based law enforcement. Their plea is unexceptionable, especially in India, where the popular image of the police is not flattering. This is despite some remarkable work done by policemen at the cutting edge level. Notwithstanding some token efforts initiated by a few dynamic IPS officers in the larger cities, there is an overall **reluctance** to experiment with measures that could transform the police from a traditional outfit into a sleek modern force that is constantly looking for ways to upgrade delivery of its service.

A recent international conference organised by the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge University was the occasion for some serious brainstorming on the issue of how to infuse some fresh thinking into the twin problems of maintaining public order and combating conventional crime. In effect, the task was how to make the police shed their slumber and arbitrariness in reacting to field developments and make them acquire a fresh mindset to cope with the dire needs of a society under attack.

On the face of it, the subject may appear clichéd. In reality, however, the task of policing the community has become far too complex to permit the smug feeling that throwing increased manpower and use of new technology in themselves would be enough to steady a deteriorating situation. If this were so, policing all over the world would be in clover. The fact is, even in countries that have a strong legacy of clinical public administration, there is increasing



disenchantment with the way the police handle major crises. This again leads us to only one question: can things improve with a greater scientific approach, and not necessarily the use of gadgets, to day-to-day police operations?

Simply put, policing has acquired many new connotations and a certain immediacy which cannot brook any delay. Terrorism and cyber attacks in particular are heightening the levels of fear of the community. How well have the police responded to this serious challenge to stability?

Stop muddling along

Talking to friends in the police across countries and continents, I get the feeling that many police leaders have thrown in the towel and are just muddling along. I may be accused of generalising and being **cynical**, but the basic truth is that policing has become far too routine and mechanical at a time when there is need for a drastically different response to events. Reactive policing was **adequate** to a community as long as it had its fundamentals unshaken. We are now living in **tumultuous** times, where violent crime grips major cities across the globe. How else would you account for the increasing number of homicides in an otherwise **placid** State such as Tamil Nadu? Here, anyone speaking against a rival political faction or a rival caste group now faces imminent threat. This in a region where there was until recently a fear of the law and an esteem for the police's capacity to swoop on the offenders in quick time. Now, hired goons rule the day, and the police are afraid of them.

Styled as a conference on evidence-based policing (EBP), the gathering of academics and active police leaders at Cambridge endorsed the imperative to fine-tune traditional styles, which placed an emphasis solely on the mechanical use of police resources rather than an intelligent application of available skills.

Known as the father of EBP, Prof. Lawrence Sherman, the leading light of the Institute of Criminology, is a relentless **crusader**, who holds that mindless policing to appease the polity is wasteful and misdirected. He and his fellow scholars are pushing for **rigorous** experiments on the field and appraising their findings against the realities of the daily fight against crime. In



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their view, a controlled experiment will throw up any number of facts that could help sharpen police professionalism. They draw from the remarkable progress that medical science has made in recent decades by encouraging bold experiments.

Prediction and prevention

There are two areas in which EBP could deliver. These are prediction and prevention. The strategy is one of identifying 'hot spots' of crime and spotting problematic individuals in a community. The former task requires an analysis of events which are either crimes by themselves or border on crimes defined by law. There are certain geographic areas in each police jurisdiction which report more incidents than others. EBP goes beyond statistics and pinpoints the time and opportunities presented to a potential offender. As the seminal essay 'Broken Windows' carried by the Atlantic magazine several years ago pointed out, where there is public apathy and civic neglect, the prospects of crime are high. Fixing a street light that is not burning for several days, for instance, is an action that could contain crime. EBP studies phenomena such as these and highlights findings that are germane to crime prevention. Similarly, monitoring patterns of behaviour of a class of individuals who had come to the adverse notice of law enforcement is a logical way to predict whether they will again lapse into crime. Despite the unfairness in targeting those who had indulged in anti-social behaviour in the past and keeping a tab on their day-to-day activities, there is an expected benefit of being able to predict future criminal behaviour. It is not as if every convict will go back to crime once set free. Several studies have strengthened the belief that recidivism is not uncommon, and that many future crimes can be foiled by pinpointing who, more than others, could be expected to offend once more. There is a certain inexactitude in this approach that one should learn to live with.

These are the fundamentals to EBP, a discipline that is gaining credibility by the day. To dismiss it as pure academic hogwash would be irrational and blind to a fast deteriorating scene marked by high crime. I strongly believe that exposing our police officers to this concept would make them more professional, something that would certainly enhance the Indian police's image, which is currently dismal.

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Magical Vocabulary from “The Hindu Editorial”

1. Anguish (noun) मनोव्यथा / पीड़ा : Severe mental or physical pain or suffering./ Be extremely distressed about something.

Synonyms: Agony, pain, torment, torture, suffering, distress, angst, misery, sorrow, grief, heartache.

Example: I was in **anguish** , feeling the pain of my neighbours who had lost relatives.

2. Enforcement (noun) प्रभावशील करना / लागू करना: The act of compelling observance of or compliance with a law, rule, or obligation.

Synonyms: Come into effect, practice, execution, application, praxis, action , prophethood, induction, origination.

Example: The strict **enforcement** of environmental regulations.

3. Rudimentary (adjective) मौलिक / बुनियादी / अविकसित: Involving or limited to basic principles

Synonyms: Basic, elementary, primary, fundamental, essential.

Example: Science has only a **rudimentary** internal moral navigation system.

4. Courtesy (noun) विनमता / के सौजन्य से: The showing of politeness in one's attitude and behavior toward others.

Synonyms: Politeness, courteousness, good manners, civility, respect, respectfulness, chivalry, gallantry.

Example: As a **courtesy** , reintroduce yourself to people you may have met before.



5. Reluctance (noun) अनिच्छा: Unwillingness or disinclination to do something.

Synonyms : Unwillingness, disinclination, hesitation, wavering, vacillation, doubts.

Example: However, the company has shown **reluctance** on the grounds that they cannot bear the financial burden.

6. Cynical (adjective) निंदक/ रूखा: Believing that people are motivated by self-interest; distrustful of human sincerity or integrity.

Synonyms: Skeptical, doubtful, distrustful, suspicious, disbelieving, pessimistic, negative, world-weary.

Example: The government's decision is a **cynical** manipulation of policy purely for election purposes.

7. Adequate (adjective) पर्याप्त/ योग्य: Satisfactory or acceptable in quality or quantity.

Synonyms: in short supply, scant, scanty, meager, sparse, short, hard to find, hard to come by, too little.

Example: They are used to increase public health and conserve **scarce** resources.

8. Phenomenon (noun) घटना: A fact or situation that is observed to exist or happen, especially one whose cause or explanation is in question.

Synonyms: Sufficient, enough, requisite, acceptable, passable, reasonable, satisfactory, tolerable, fair, decent.

Example: The infrastructure is not **adequate** to take the amount of traffic there is now.

9. Tumultuous (adjective) उतार-चढ़ाव भरे / अंशातिप्रिय : Making a loud, confused noise; uproarious.



Synonyms: loud, deafening, thunderous, uproarious, noisy, clamorous, vociferous, vehement.

Example: There was a sudden burst of **tumultuous** noise from the concert area.

10. Placid (adjective) सौम्य/ प्रसन्नचित्त/ गंभीर : (of a person or animal) not easily upset or excited.

Synonyms: Quiet, calm, tranquil, still, peaceful, undisturbed, restful, sleepy

Example: He was **placid** , very pleasant, proud, charming and unassuming.

11. Crusader (noun) जेहादी / धर्म युद्ध करने वाला: A person who campaigns vigorously for political, social, or religious change; a campaigner

Synonyms: Campaigner, fighter, champion, advocate, reformer.

Example: Participation in the Crusade was said to have great spiritual value for the individual **crusader** .

12. Rigorous (adjective) कठिन: Extremely thorough, exhaustive, or accurate.

Synonyms: Meticulous, conscientious, punctilious, careful, diligent, attentive, scrupulous.

Example: It will be a **rigorous** course used to increase your endurance, speed, agility, and muscle mass.

10. After globalisation's promise

Sluggish global growth should prompt India to look inward — at **augmenting** public investment to spur demand.

'Hyperglobalisation' has been used to describe the dramatic increase in international trade witnessed for about a decade and a half from the early 1990s up to the global financial crisis of



2008. The imagery intended is one of an increasing connectedness among nations leading to a **virtuous** cycle of economic expansion.

By a trait common to every generation, we tend to assume that ours is somehow unique, in this case with respect to globalisation. However, if we are to take the long view, we would find that this is no more than a conceit. Starting some time in the last quarter of the 19th century, for close to 50 years, the world saw an expansion in trade that was actually as great or even greater than during the recently concluded phase. Then had also occurred an unprecedented movement of capital and of people. British capital flowed into building the railways across the world, immigrants moved from Europe to the United States and Asian labour was moved to the sites of deployment of western capital.

End of a phase

So, the facts are that the world has seen the **waxing and waning (उत्तार – चढ़ाव)** of global traffic in goods, capital and people. To be precise, the phase of high trade starting 1870 came to an end with the First World War and was to revive, slowly, only after the Second. Then, following the **collapse** of East European communism in the early 1990s, there was a resurgence in global trade. Now even this phase has somewhat **abruptly (अचानक)** ended with the global financial crisis.

Economists who study trade flows have gone to the extent of claiming that hyperglobalisation was a one-time event unlikely to be repeated. Though some may hold that we ought to shun economists offering predictions with as much **diligence** as we should beware of enemies bearing gifts, it may pay us to heed their **prognosis**, for were it to be true, it has implications for economic possibilities in India. Note that even if vigour were to return to the global economy 25 years from now, that would still account for a significant chunk of the working life of an Indian, for which period alternative economic opportunities would have to be found.

Role of technology



What underlies the scepticism expressed regarding a revival of global trade? The view is based on the observation that especially 19th century globalisation was underpinned by technological advances that facilitated trade. The advent of the telegraph is alluded to along with the invention of the internal combustion engine. The former enabled the communications infrastructure intrinsic to trade and the latter enabled the fast, reliable and cheap transportation of goods across seas. These advances, we are told, dwarf anything since, including the Internet, in terms of their capacity to expand trade. And, none is foreseen in the immediate future.

This account of how advances in technology fuelled trade is of undoubted relevance but remains partial in that it leaves out the role of the growth in demand for these technologies. It was, after all, the growing market for British goods as Indian manufacturing was dislodged following military conquest and as British capital flowed into the laying of a rail network in parts of Latin America and Africa that provided the demand for development of cheaper communication and transportation technology. Therefore, it may as well be said that trade expanded as the demand for goods grew. However, it is yet true that when global demand expands, countries can exploit the trade route to grow their economies. This was the great promise of globalisation held out to the developing countries in the 1990s. Now, what does all this have to do with us in India today? A great deal, actually.

The slowdown and India

If the world economy is set to grow slowly for the foreseeable future, a premise of much of the economic policy in India since 1991 would have to be replaced. It had been assumed then that globalisation was here to stay and India had only to hitch onto its current to ride to prosperity. This India has even successfully done in phases since. Now, however, we need to recognise that the game may have changed substantially — even if not irrevocably, as the experts claim. The shift that has taken place is visible most in the IT industry. Quarterly growth only inches forward there and insecurity grips its particularly young workforce. In retrospect, we can see the hollowness of the boast that had made the rounds a decade ago that India need not bother with manufacturing when it could leapfrog into a service economy led by IT exports. Now,



“bricks and mortar” is no longer something to be spurned and soiling our hands may be part of the business of earning our living for some time to come.

Recognising the diminished tempo of globalisation, India’s economic policymakers must address the growth of the home market, which is the demand for goods and services emanating from within the country. The immediate points of action and the appropriate instruments can be identified without much strain on our **ingenuity**. In the short run or the present, when the global economy is sluggish, only domestic investment can move demand.

In India, we have been witnessing slowing or depressed private investment for close to five years by now. There is a view that this has to do with tight monetary policy. It is true that the real lending rate for firms has been rising as inflation is falling. Such a policy stance can be justified only by resorting to the claim that the Reserve Bank of India knows something about future inflation that we don’t, in particular that inflation is set to rise again soon. Barring this possibility, there is a case for cutting the repo rate now, and there is a **clamor** for this. But there are reasons to doubt the potency of such an action, one each from the supply and the demand sides. Given that they hold non-performing assets, the banks are extremely wary of lending. Any significant resumption of lending by banks may be hostage to their first resolving the bad loans problem. Ditto with the firms, which are themselves debt-laden. Are they likely to take on more of it, just because it is offered at a lower rate, before cleaning up their balance sheets?

On public investment

Independently of the ‘twin balance sheet problem’, Keynesian economics has long recognised that lowering the rate of interest may not do much for private investment if the expected rate of return is depressed. The slowing of both global trade and domestic manufacturing may have had precisely this effect by lowering the long-term expectations held by private investors. We do, however, know how to buoy up flagging demand. You do this through public investment. In response to the argument heard at the highest level of policymaking that there are no viable projects to be had, one need only refer to a recent news report on the state of our roads and bridges. It is reported that 23 bridges and tunnels on India’s national highways are over 100



years old, of which 17 require **rehabilitation (पुनर्वास)** or major maintenance. As many as 123 other bridges in the country require immediate attention and 6,000 are “structurally distressed”. Infrastructure is unique in that spending on it raises aggregate demand and when it actually comes on stream, it raises the productivity of investment elsewhere in the economy. ‘Roads and bridges’ are a **metaphor (लक्षण)** for the public infrastructure that the Indian economy can fruitfully absorb today. For the country’s political leadership, the task is no longer to find trading partners to hug but to buckle down to the heavy lifting of expanding physical infrastructure.

Magical Vocabulary from “The Hindu Editorial”

1. **Augment (verb) बढ़ाना**: Make (something) greater by adding to it; increase.

Synonyms: Increase, add to, supplement, build up, enlarge, expand, extend, raise, multiply, swell, grow

Example: It may be used for purposes such as **augmenting** the water supply to neighbouring areas.

2. **Sluggish (noun) मन्दगति / आलसी**: Slow-moving or inactive.

Synonyms: Lethargic, listless, lacking in energy, lifeless, inert, inactive, underactive, slow, torpid, languid.

Example: Finance officials conceded that their job of promoting prosperity was being made harder by the **sluggish** global economy.

3. **Virtuous (adjective) कलाप्रवीण / धार्मिक / नेक**: Having or showing high moral standards.

Synonyms: Righteous, good, pure, whiter than white, saintly, angelic, moral, ethical, upright.



Example: For one thing, the sanctimonious sermons by journalists about how **virtuous** and upstanding they are make them easy to detest.

4. Collapse (noun) गिरावट / एकाएक गिरना: An instance of a structure falling down or in.

Synonyms: Breakdown, failure, disintegration, end, crash.

Example: Who knew the share-price was about to **collapse** because the structure was so unsteady?

5. Diligence (noun) परिश्रम/ कर्मठता/ तत्परता: Careful and persistent work or effort

Synonyms : Conscientiousness, assiduousness, assiduity, hard work, application, concentration, effort.

Example: The practice of democracy is tenuous and fragile - it requires ongoing attention and **diligence**.

6. Prognosis (noun) भविष्यद्वाणी / रोग का लक्षण / पूर्वानुमान

Synonyms: Forecast, prediction, prognostication, prophecy, divination, augury.

Example: The doctors' **prognosis** has been supported by her recent competition results.

7. Ingenuity (noun) सरलता / कौशल : The quality of being clever, original, and inventive.

Synonyms: Inventiveness, creativity, imagination, innovation, enterprise, insight, perception.

Example: Only with human **ingenuity**, inspiration and ability can we sample what our neighbouring world has to offer.

8. Clamor (noun) कोलाहल / चिल्लाहट: A loud and confused noise, especially that of people shouting vehemently.



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Synonyms: Din, racket, rumpus, loud noise, uproar, tumult, shouting, yelling, screaming, roaring.

Example: In our society, a multitude of spiritual gurus **clamor** for our attention.

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This banner has a dark blue background. At the top center is the crest of The Hindu newspaper, featuring a lion, a galloping horse, an elephant, and a bull. Below the crest, the words 'THE HINDU' are written in a white, serif font. Underneath that is a white icon of a newspaper with the word 'NEWS' on it. On either side of the central text is a white icon of a person sitting and reading a book. Below the newspaper icon, the website 'Letsstudytogether.co' is written in a white, sans-serif font. The main title 'The Hindu Editorial with Vocabulary' is in a large, bold, white, sans-serif font, and the subtitle 'Monthly PDF - June 2017' is in a slightly smaller, bold, white, sans-serif font below it.

This banner has a dark navy blue background. It features the same central elements as the June banner: the crest of The Hindu, the text 'THE HINDU', a newspaper icon with 'NEWS', and person icons reading books. Below the newspaper icon, the website 'Letsstudytogether.co' is written in a white, sans-serif font. The main title 'The Hindu Editorial with Vocabulary' is in a large, bold, white, sans-serif font, and the subtitle 'Monthly PDF - May 2017' is in a slightly smaller, bold, white, sans-serif font below it.

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