









## Slump calls for a bold reset of economic goals

The recent GDP estimates for the July-September quarter have sent shockwaves through India's economic landscape. Even the most cautious forecasters did not predict such a sharp deceleration in economic momentum. Contrary to expectations of a modest slowdown to around 6.5% growth — down from the first quarter's 6.7% — the actual GDP growth plummeted to a mere 5.4%, the slowest since Q3 of 2022-23. This significant drop not only deviates from the Reserve Bank of India's (RBI) optimistic projections but also casts doubt on the possibility of achieving over 7% growth in 2024-25. The implications of this downturn are multifaceted. The Monetary Policy Committee of the RBI faces the daunting task of reassessing its 7.2% growth forecast for the year. Balancing the dual objectives of controlling inflation and stimulating growth has become increasingly complex. With inflation hitting a 15-month high of 6.2% in October, the RBI is under pressure to maintain a tight monetary stance. However, recent appeals from government ministers to reduce interest rates highlight the growing concern over weakening growth impulses and stagnant investments. While government officials attempt to downplay the alarming GDP figures as a 'one-off' occurrence attributed to temporary urban demand slackness, such optimism may be misplaced. The assumption that rural demand will naturally revive the economy in the second half of the year overlooks the persistent challenges. Factors such as inadequate wage growth and sustained price increases have strained urban consumers, dampening the likelihood of a spontaneous rebound in urban consumption. It is imperative for the government to move beyond a complacent 'all is well' narrative. Proactive fiscal measures are needed to rejuvenate the economy. This includes reconsidering high fuel taxes and GST rates on certain items to alleviate living costs and stimulate demand. The current economic indicators signal not just a temporary hiccup but a call to action for policymakers to implement strategic interventions that can steer the economy back on a robust growth path.

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**THE FINANCIAL WORLD**  
RNI NO. DELENG/2011/38860  
PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY SWINDER PAL SINGH BAJWA ON BEHALF OF FW MEDIA  
PRINTED AT JAGJIT PUBLISHING CO. PVT LTD D-12, INDUSTRIAL AREA, PHASE-1, MOHALI, PUNJAB 160059  
PRINTER & PUBLISHER SWINDER PAL SINGH BAJWA  
**OWNER : FW MEDIA**  
PUBLISHED AT: BUILDING NO-23, NEHRU PLACE NEW DELHI 110019; PHONE: 9888040061  
EDITOR\* ABDUL WASEY  
(\*RESPONSIBLE FOR SELECTION OF NEWS UNDER THE PRB ACT)



**SIDHARTH DEB** INSISTS INDIA'S AI SAFETY INSTITUTE MUST LEVERAGE GLOBAL COLLABORATIONS

## The role of an AI safety institution

In October, the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology (MeitY) convened meetings with industry and experts to discuss setting up an AI Safety Institute under the IndiaAI Mission. Curiously, this came on the heels of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to the U.S., the Quad Leaders' Summit, and the United Nations Summit of the Future. AI appeared high on the agenda in the run up to the Summit of the Future, with a high-level UN advisory panel producing a report on Governing AI for Humanity.

Policymakers should build on India's recent leadership at the G20 and the GPAL, and position it as a unifying voice for the global majority in AI governance. The design of the Safety Institute should prioritise raising domestic capacity, capitalising on India's comparative advantages, and plugging into international initiatives.

Notably, the Summit of the Future yielded the Global Digital Compact that identifies multi-stakeholder collaboration, human-centric oversight, and inclusive participation of developing countries as essential pillars of AI governance and safety. As a follow up, the UN will now commence a Global Dialogue on AI. It would be timely for India to establish an AI Safety Institute which engages with the Bletchley Process on AI Safety. If executed correctly, India can deepen the global dialogue on AI safety and bring global majority perspectives on human centric safety to the forefront of discussions.

### Institutional reform

In designing the institute, India should learn from concerns stemming from MeitY's AI Advisory in March 2024, which proposed that there be government approvals before the public roll-out of experimental AI sys-



tems. Some asked what kind of institutional capability the Indian government had to suitably determine the safety of novel AI deployments. Other provisions on bias, discrimination, and the one-size-fits-all treatment of all AI deployments indicated that the advisory was not based on technical evidence.

Similarly, India should be cautious and avoid prescriptive regulatory controls which have been proposed in the European Union (EU) and China. The threat of regulatory sanction in a rapidly evolving technological ecosystem quells proactive information sharing between businesses, governments, and the wider ecosystem. It nudges labs to only undertake the minimum steps towards compliance. Yet each jurisdiction demonstrates a recurring recognition of establishing specialised agencies — for example, China's Algorithm Registry and the EU's AI Office. However, to maximise the promise of institutional reform, India should decouple institution building from regulation making. The Bletchley process is underscored

by the U.K. Safety Summit in November 2023 and the South Korea Safety Summit in May 2024. The next summit is set for France and this process is yielding an international network of AI Safety Institutes.

The U.S. and the U.K. were the first two to set up these institutes and have already signed an MoU to exchange knowledge, resources, and expertise. Both institutions are also signing MoUs with AI labs and receiving early access to large foundation models. They have installed mechanisms to share technical inputs with the AI labs before their public roll outs. These Safety Institutes facilitate proactive information sharing without being regulators. They are positioned as technical government institutions that leverage multi-stakeholder consortiums and partnerships to assess the risk of frontier AI models to public safety. However, they largely consider AI safety through the lens of cybersecurity, infrastructure security, safety of the biosphere, and other national security threats.

These safety institutes aim to improve government capacity and mainstream the idea of external third-party testing and risk mitigations and assessments. Government-led AI safety institutes aim to deliver insights which can transform AI governance into an evidence-based discipline. The Bletchley process presents

India with an opportunity to collaborate with governments and stakeholders from across the world. Shared expertise will be essential to keep up with AI's rapid innovation trajectories.

### Charting India's approach

India should establish an AI Safety Institute which integrates into the Bletchley network of safety institutes. For now, it should be independent from rulemaking and enforcement authorities and, instead, operate exclusively as a technical research, testing, and standardisation agency. It would allow India's domestic institutions to tap into the expertise of other governments, local multi-stakeholder communities, and international businesses. While upscaling its AI oversight capabilities, India can also use the Bletchley network to advance the global majority's concerns with AI's individual centric risks.

The institute could champion perspectives on risks relating to bias, discrimination, social exclusion, gendered risks, labour markets, data collection and individual privacy. Consequently, it could deepen the global dialogue around harm identification, big picture AI risks, mitigations, red-teaming, and standardisation. If done right, India may become a global steward for forward-thinking AI governance which embraces many stakeholders and government collaboration. The AI Safety Institute can demonstrate India's scientific temper and willingness to implement globally compatible, evidence-based and proportionate policy solutions.

*Sidharth Deb, Manager, Public Policy at The Quantum Hub, a public policy firm based in Delhi. Views are personal.*



**C. CHANDRAMOULI** BELIEVES THE KEY GOAL IS TO ESTABLISH NRIC, BUT UNDERSTANDING IMPLICATIONS IS CRUCIAL

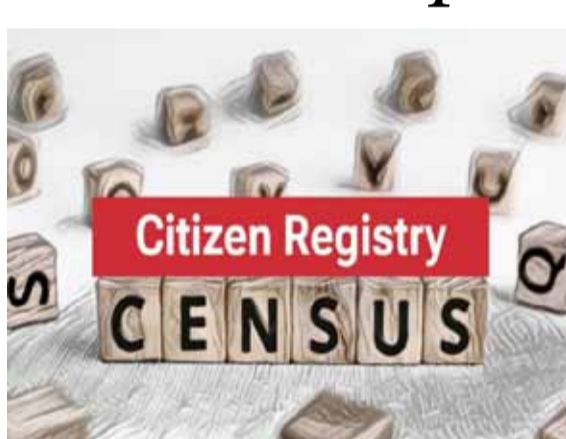
## Census 2025 is a comprehensive citizen registry

The 2025 Census includes an exercise to update the National Population Register (NPR), which is the first step for the establishment of the National Register of Indian Citizens (NRIC). Grasping the full scope and implications of this initiative is essential.

The NRIC draws its mandate from the Citizenship Act 1955. Initially conceptualised after the 1951 Census, the NRIC gained renewed significance following recommendations by the Subrahmanyan Committee in the aftermath of the Kargil war (1999), which highlighted the need for a robust database that includes both citizens and non-citizens. These recommendations eventually led to the addition of Section 14A to the Act, mandating the compulsory registration of all Indian citizens and authorising the issuance of identity cards to officially document their citizenship status. Several pilot projects such as the Multi-Purpose National Identity Card (MNIC) and fishermen identity card have since been implemented with varying degrees of success.

### As a verified registry with more benefits

The NRIC aims primarily to enhance national security by maintaining a verified citizen registry but also offers additional benefits, such as streamlining identity verification, reducing identity fraud and duplication, and enabling targeted welfare programmes that ensure benefits reach only eligible recipients. The NPR serves as the initial step in achieving these objectives by differentiating citizens from non-citizens through a multi-phase process that collects demographic and biometric data on all usual residents.



This multi-phase process includes several key steps. First, a comprehensive database is created by compiling demographic data during houselisting operations in the Census. Next, biometric data is collected to eliminate duplicate records. Public claims and objections are then invited to ensure transparency, followed by a verification and appeals process allowing residents to challenge records, thereby enhancing accuracy and authenticity. Detailed inquiries into citizenship status are conducted to finalize the National Register of Citizens (NRIC), which distinguishes citizens from non-citizens. The process culminates in the issuance of identity cards as mandated by the Citizenship Act.

In the 2011 Census details about individuals, including name, gender, date of birth, marital status, place of birth, nationality, family relationships, residency, and

socio-economic indicators were collected. The 2025 Census is anticipated to follow a similar pattern. Biometric data collection, however, will probably be excluded, as this information is already available in the Aadhaar database.

### Aadhaar versus NRIC

A question often raised in this connection is the need for this exercise when the Aadhaar already exists. It is essential to note that the Aadhaar and the NRIC serve distinct purposes.

Aadhaar is a 12-digit unique identification number issued by the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) to residents of India, regardless of citizenship. It primarily serves as a biometric-based identity verification tool, linking residents to services such as banking, subsidies, and digital identity. The NRIC aims to establish a comprehensive citizen registry. While Aadhaar is focused on identity verification and can be held by any resident, the NRIC is a citizenship verification system, mandating proof of citizenship. Thus, Aadhaar is broadly inclusive for all residents, whereas the NRIC serves as a definitive record for citizens. They play complementary but distinct roles in India's governance and security infrastructure.

### The Assam exercise and privacy concerns

Assam is the only state where the National Register of Citizens (NRC) has

been updated (2019). Intended to identify illegal immigrants, particularly from Bangladesh, the process raised concerns over its accuracy and fairness due to stringent documentation requirements that left many rural and less-educated residents unable to meet the criteria. Unlike the proposed national NRIC, Assam's NRC was guided by the Assam Accord, which imposed unique conditions. However, Assam's experience highlights the significant humanitarian and administrative challenges that could arise from implementing a nationwide NRIC.

Concerns about data privacy and the potential misuse of demographic and biometric information persist, despite the Supreme Court's guidelines in the Aadhaar case. The need for robust data protection remains critical. Exclusion fears, particularly for communities with limited documentation, must also be addressed. Verifying citizenship on such a large scale poses significant logistical and administrative challenges, underscoring the importance of streamlined procedures and targeted public awareness campaigns.

The NRIC initiative calls for citizens to stay vigilant and actively engaged throughout the process. Given the scale of this effort, transparency and fairness depend on citizens being well-informed, proactive, and diligent in verifying their records. By understanding their rights, providing accurate information, and voicing concerns, citizens can help ensure that the NRIC is inclusive, equitable, and effective.

*C. Chandramouli is the former Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India. Views are personal.*



### BOOKS: REVIEW

## New book highlights contributions of Muslims in India's independence

**B**lood Speaks Too by Syed Shahnawaz Ahmad Qadri is a powerful and deeply impactful book that brings to light the often-overlooked contributions of Muslim freedom fighters in India's struggle for independence. Launched in Hyderabad on December 5, 2024, this English edition expands upon the Hindi and Urdu versions (Lahu Bolta Bhi Hai), providing a meticulously researched account that spans nearly two centuries of resistance and sacrifice. It challenges prevailing biases in historical narratives and celebrates the pluralistic ethos of India's independence movement.

This edition delves into previously marginalized narratives, particularly the contributions of freedom fighters from South India, whose efforts have been overshadowed in mainstream history. By including a comprehensive list of these revolution-



aries, the book ensures a broader geographic representation. Additionally, it offers enriched details on pivotal moments such as the Quit India Movement and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, providing new perspectives and insights into these historical events. The inclusion of nearly 150 rare photographs further en-

hances the reading experience, offering a visual journey through India's freedom struggle.

The book, translated in English by Pervez Alam Siddiqui and edited by Abdul Wasey, stands out for its comprehensive documentation of over 2,400 individual accounts of Muslim revolutionaries, creating a ho-



*Blood Speaks Too: The Role of Muslims in India's Independence*  
By Syed Shahnawaz Ahmad Qadri  
504 pages; Rs 800.

listic picture of their involvement. From grassroots fighters to prominent leaders, the stories reveal the depth of Muslim contributions and their critical role in the collective fight for independence. Qadri's analysis also extends to the ideological shifts, alliances, and conflicts that defined the movement between 1857 and 1947, offering readers a nuanced understanding of the political dynamics of the time. Through meticulous use of rare archival materials and personal accounts, the author validates these narratives, challenging the systematic marginalization of Muslim contributions in mainstream historiography.

Written in an accessible and engaging style, the book strikes a balance between scholarly rigor and readability, making it suit-

able for both researchers and general readers. Its narrative style is reminiscent of a historical novel, making complex events and figures approachable and relatable, particularly for younger audiences. By restoring these overlooked stories to their rightful place, Blood Speaks Too not only fills a critical gap in India's historiography but also fosters a sense of unity and mutual respect, emphasizing the collective nature of the independence movement.

Qadri's work serves as a reminder of the diverse forces that shaped India's freedom and underscores the importance of preserving an inclusive historical memory. By shining a light on the sacrifices of Muslim freedom fighters, the book inspires future generations to uphold the pluralistic ideals that form the foundation of modern India. Blood Speaks Too is an essential read for anyone seeking to understand the full breadth of India's independence movement and stands as a testament to the power of unity in the face of adversity. It is not just a book but a movement to preserve the collective spirit of India's past.







