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# America cannot ...

be tied to verifiable U.S. actions against Pakistan's terror infrastructure.

Digital data access for U.S. firms must be linked with support for India's sovereignty in PoK and condemnation of cross-border terror. Market access in critical sectors like AI, fintech, and semiconductors should favor those nations that support India's national security red lines. India must use its voice in the G20, WTO, BRICS, and climate forums to extract clarity from the U.S., not just praise.

■ **Ending Pseudo-Supremacy**

America cannot claim strategic supremacy in Asia while riding on Indian profits and ignoring Indian pain. India is not just a rising market—it is a civilizational state that demands mutual respect. If the U.S. continues to profit from India without honoring its strategic concerns, it ceases to be a partner and becomes a beneficiary of Indian restraint.

The days of soft diplomacy alone are over. India must now behave like what it already is—a global economic power. That means making it clear to partners, especially the United States: “There can be no partnership without political respect. Strategic profits must be matched by strategic accountability. India is open for business—but not at the cost of its sovereignty or silence on its pain.”

Economic diplomacy is India's most underused weapon. The time has come to wield it with precision, purpose, and pride.

# I am just ...

Dalai Lama shared. As long as peace endures, As long as sentient beings remain, Until then, may I too remain, To dispel the miseries of the world. Thank you for using the opportunity of my birthday to cultivate peace of mind and compassion, HH Dalai Lama concluded.

Pertinent to mention here that early this morning, the Kashag, the cabinet of the Central Tibetan Administration, offered prayers for his long life to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on behalf of the Tibetan people.

As he reached the Tsuglagkhang, the Main Tibetan Temple, His Holiness was greeted by several of the guests—Pema Khandu, Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh, Tashi Gyalson, Chief Executive Councillor (CEC), Ladakh, Kiren Rijiju, Union Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, GOI and Sonam Lama, Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs of Sikkim. Inside the temple Ganden Trisur Rinpoché and Sakya Gongma stepped forward to welcome him.

His Holiness took his seat on the dais, while Sakya Gongma Trichen Rinpoché, the presiding master of the ceremony, sat before him. Behind him was Sakya Trizin to whose right sat the Ganden Tri Rinpoché, Taklung Shapdrung, Khenpo Ngedo, and Minglen Chichen. To his left were Menri Trizin, Drikung Chetsang Rinpoché, Khenpo Donyo and Jonang Gyaltsab.

In the elaborately decorated temple courtyard there were photographs of His Holiness at different stages of his life, as well as peace champions—Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr and Mother Teresa.

Prayers began with the seven-line invocation of Guru Padmasambhava, a prayer for the welfare of Tibet and continued with the main ritual for longevity based on a prayer to Amitayus written by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama.

Sakya Gongma Rinpoché was standing before His Holiness paying homage to the Guru on the lion throne when the Tsering Che-nga oracle approached in trance. She made her own offerings as Sakya Gongma continued to follow the ritual he was leading.

Next, the Kharak Khyung Tsün oracle appeared and approached the throne to offer representations of the body, speech and mind of the Buddha together on a tray. The Nechung Oracle appeared in trance and offered the three representations directly to His Holiness. He then saluted the chief Lamas and leading members of the CTA. His Holiness the Dalai Lama received the various oracles, their offerings and prayers with an air of fondness.

A long-life prayer by Jamyang Khyentsé Chökyi Lodro, Song of the Nectar of Immortality was recited.

The Dorjé Yudrönma oracle appeared in trance, dancing energetically, followed by the Nyenchen Tängla oracle. The oracles would approach His Holiness, turn away, focussing their attention elsewhere, throwing handfuls of coloured grain by way of blessing, and then returned to His Holiness once more. As their trances came to an end the mediums crumpled up and were swiftly carried out of the temple by their attendants.

A tsog offering was made with the wish, “By this may we overcome all obstacles.”

A steady procession of members of CTA staff carrying offerings—sacred images, scriptures and so forth—to be presented to His Holiness filed through the temple. Sakya Gongma Rinpoché led the offering of a mandala in which the Sikyong, Speaker and Justice Commissioner took part. He then offered three representations of the Buddha's body, speech and mind, a statue of Amitayus, a scripture and a stupa, followed by a vase of immortality. This he followed with offerings of the nectar of longevity, and long-life pills. His Holiness took some and gave others to Sakya Gongma,

Next were presented coloured ritual cakes of various shapes with a wish that the four kinds of action—peace, increase, control and force—would be accomplished. Trays bearing the eight auspicious symbols, the seven royal emblems and the eight auspicious substances were offered with the wish that His Holiness's life may be extended.

The Sikyong offered the three representations of the Buddha's body, speech and mind. The spiritual leaders of Tibet's principal Buddhist traditions, as well as the Bönpos and Jonangpas came forward to pay their respects to His Holiness. He gave each a white silk scarf and a red protective ribbon.

The Song of Immortality—The Extensive Prayer for the Long Life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama by his two tutors was chanted. This was followed by the invocation of the emanations of Avalokiteshvara in India and Tibet composed by Trulshik Rinpoché.

His Holiness addressed the congregation: “Here today we have representatives of gods and human beings gathering the auspicious circumstances for my long life, making your prayers intensely and sincerely. On my part it is clear that I have a connection to Avalokiteshvara. Ever since I was a child I've felt I had this connection and I have been able to serve the Buddha Dharma and the beings of Tibet. I still hope to live to be more than 130 years old.

“In China I met with Mao Zedong who told me that religion is poison. I didn't respond, but I felt compassion for him. Later, I met Nehru. Throughout my life I've met people who had an interest in religion and those who did not. Of course, people have different mental dispositions, different inclinations and interests, as is clearly stated in our scriptures. This is quite natural.

“So, we need to engage in methods to bring about happiness and alleviate their sufferings that accord with people's mental dispositions. Even those with no religious belief strive to be happy and avoid suffering. Modern scientists don't talk much about religion, but they too seek to be happy and without suffering. Everyone does their best to be happy and to avoid misery. We Tibetans don't want to suffer we want to be happy.

“We have lived in Tibet for centuries. We have prayed to Jowo Lokeshvara, Jo Yishshin Norbu and created collective karma. We, myself included, had to flee our country. And although we are physically separate, deep in my heart I always remain faithful to Jowo Lokeshvara. We all know that Avalokiteshvara gives his blessings. I have received clear indications that his blessings are here with me.

“As soon as I wake up in the morning, I make a prayer and reflect on bodhichitta in order to fulfil the aims of myself and others. In this way I generate the mind of awakening. I always intend and pray to be able to benefit all beings, including animals. For the last many years, Avalokiteshvara had been there on the crown of my head. I feel his blessings are always there and fall upon me.

“Human beings like you make offerings for my long life. Your dedication is unshakable and single pointed. During the cultural revolution in China, they made collective efforts which gave them strength. For us too, if we maintain our single-pointed faith in Avalokiteshvara and make supplications to him, it will yield results. I too will make such prayers.

“I came from Dhomey, the north-eastern part of Tibet and when I review the various prophecies, I feel I have the blessings of Avalokiteshvara and I've done my best so far. And I hope to live for another 30 or 40 years more.

“We've lost our country and live in exile in India, but I've been able to benefit beings. Living here in Dharamsala I intend to benefit beings and the Dharma as much as I can. I visualize Avalokiteshvara on the crown of my head and I trust in him. You too should make prayers to Avalokiteshvara.

“The essence of the Buddha Dharma is bodhichitta. We make this prayer—to fulfil the aims of myself and others I generate the mind of awakening. You should do that too. That's all, thank you.”

A thanksgiving mandala was offered to His Holiness in gratitude for his agreeing to remain 100 aeons.

The Lamas put on their traditional hats in their various shapes and colours, as the Prayer for the Non-sectarian Flourishing of the Buddha Dharma was recited. Everyone stood up as the Ghoton song was sung.

His Holiness left the temple saluting the guests and, as he walked to the lift, smiled and waved to eager well-wishers. From the edge of the courtyard he rode in a golf-cart back to his residence, a beaming smile on his face.

# CEC Akhoon ...

sanitation, Dr. Akhoon instructed the concerned department to ensure proper disposal of wastes including biomedical waste at the medical camps.

During his visit to the blood donation camp at Old Taxi Stand, he stressed the need for proper registration of blood donors and efficient collection of blood units.

To enhance the comfort of participants, the CEC proposed the installation of water sprinklers along the Ashura procession route. He directed officials to identify suitable locations for both machine-operated and manual sprinklers.

Furthermore, Dr. Akhoon instructed the Municipal Committee Kargil to maintain cleanliness in public washrooms, particularly at Hussaini Park.

He also suggested the Police Department to deploy additional personnel at Qatlgah Hussaini Medical Camp to ensure its smooth functioning.

In interactions with representatives from Jamiat Ul Ulama Isna Asharia Kargil and Imam Khomeini Memorial Trust Kargil, Dr. Akhoon assured them of LAHDC and the District Administration's commitment to providing all necessary facilities and support for the proper conduct of Ashura congregations.

Besides, the DC Kargil accompanied by the ADC, SSP and Ex-En R&B visited the circular road Kargil and took assessment of the road construction and widening works.

The DC also took assessment of the construction works of the Vehicular Bridge connecting Shuja Lane with Baghe Khomeini.

# DGP SDS ...

tour at Rangdum, where he opened a newly upgraded police post and prefabricated buildings. There, he met with locals, including the Nambardar, to hear their concerns. At Shafat Nallah, the DGP interacted with Gujar and Bakarwal communities, advising them to follow agreed grazing practices.

In Damsna and Panikhar, Dr. Jamwal inaugurated new staff quarters and met with citizens, religious leaders, and trade groups. Topics such as fire safety in Panikhar and the enhancement of local policing infrastructure were discussed in detail.

Later, at the District Police Lines in Kargil, the DGP conducted a Darbar with police personnel, listening to their concerns and promising timely redressal. He also met with retired officers to address their issues.

Dr. Jamwal's outreach began earlier this week, when he visited Spang and Serchu on July 2 to inspect Police Check Post works. He instructed that the construction be finished within a month to replace temporary accommodations and stressed vigilance against drug smuggling while urging personnel to be courteous to travelers. Local shopkeepers shared their concerns during his visit.

On July 3, the DGP reached Shinkula Pass and was briefed on a boundary issue between Ladakh and Himachal Pradesh. He inaugurated new facilities at Kargyak and Zangla and laid the foundation for a multi-story police station in Padum. He also opened new staff quarters at Zanskar and reviewed land earmarked for future police and emergency services.

Wrapping up his visit, Dr. Jamwal held a public meeting at the Tourist Facilitation Centre in Padum. He thanked the people of Zanskar for their support in maintaining peace and promised continued assistance for development. A separate meeting with civil administration officials focused on preparations for the upcoming visit of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, with emphasis on close coordination between police and local authorities.

Dr. Jamwal was joined throughout his visit by Stanzin Nurboo (JKPS), AIG of Police (Provisions), and Inspector Mohd Yousuf from PHQ UT Ladakh.

# Tibetans pay ...

contemplating in what ways we can honour the Dalai Lama, if you have met him, you'll realize he has an incredible, child-like quality that beautifully contrasts with his profound wisdom and gravitas. We spoke with a nonprofit group in Dharamshala that literally reached out to hundreds of young Tibetan children worldwide, inviting them to share their drawings and artwork.

“These pieces express their feelings and heartfelt greetings to the Dalai Lama. The resulting images have been deeply moving --they capture both the pure innocence and the powerful emotional depth that adults often struggle to convey. We've been truly overwhelmed by the response,” Rajiv Mehrotra of FURHHDL told PTI.

Born on July 6, 1935, into a farming family in what is now Qinghai province, the Dalai Lama fled to India in 1959 with a large group of Tibetans after the Chinese military under the command of Communist Party founder Mao Zedong took over Tibet.

Since then, he made Dharamshala his "adopted" home. Today, he is regarded as one of the world's most influential spiritual leaders, with a global following that extends far beyond the Buddhist community. In 1989, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his unwavering commitment to peace, com-

passion, and nonviolence.

Many of the drawings and sketches in the exhibition offer viewers a glimpse into the life of the Dalai Lama -- from his birth and early years, to his departure from Tibet, his achievements, and his efforts in establishing schools, monasteries, and a full-fledged Tibetan government-in-exile in India.

Celebrated writer Namita Gokhale, who was also chief guest on the occasion, said it's "both a joy and a blessing" to be present amidst these beautiful paintings.

"I've worked extensively with children's books and the ways young minds express themselves. And today, standing in the middle of these 90 paintings from around the world truly feels like a blessing. The openness and sincerity with which these young artists view His Holiness -- not just as a godly figure, but as a friend they can trust and share laughter with -- is deeply moving. I'm overjoyed to be here," she added.

In addition to the exhibition, the inauguration ceremony featured a traditional 'Tashi Sholpa' dance performed by children from the Tibetan Children's Village School -- offered as a heartfelt cultural tribute in reverence to His Holiness.

"Dear Kundun" will come to a close on July 15.

# BRICS Plus...

known as Lula.

India is experiencing a unique moment as the fastest-growing of the G20 economies. Membership in BRICS lends strategic flexibility to this Global South powerhouse that can be considered "friends with everybody", cooperating with Russia on selected issues while remaining a member of the Quad alliance with the United States.

The leaders' summit also offers a platform for Modi's aspirations of global leadership, just a couple of months after the uncertain outcomes of the latest round of military clashes with Pakistan.

As the host nation, Brazil will enjoy a temporary respite from its ongoing political turbulence between supporters of Lula and former president Jair Bolsonaro. For a while, controversies over the slow preparations for the forthcoming COP30 meeting will be set aside.

The BRICS summit marks the latest attempt by the Lula administration to assert its perspective on global affairs, after Brazilian efforts brought no tangible results in Venezuela, Ukraine, or Gaza.

BRICS has been expanding rapidly, and now has a truly global footprint. Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates joined in 2024. Indonesia, the largest and most populous country in Southeast Asia, joined in 2025.

Now called the BRICS+ group, the ten-nation community has been accompanied since 2024 by a ten-nation group of partner states that include Belarus, Bolivia, Cuba, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Thailand, Uganda, Uzbekistan and Vietnam. An 11th country, Saudi Arabia, is listed as a member on the BRICS Brazil 2025 website, but its membership status remains unclear.

The grouping has come a very long way from its beginnings as a portfolio category for global financial investments.

In November 2001, a Goldman Sachs report authored by economist Jim O'Neill proposed that the economic future of the 21st century belonged to emerging economies -- Brazil, Russia, India, and China. This evolved into a political movement, as the leaders of those emerging countries began meeting on the sidelines of the United Nations General Assembly to discuss the global economic situation.

By 2008, the commodity boom was nearing its end, and a global financial crisis was triggered by massive defaults in the US real estate market.

Suddenly, the "BRIC" countries became engines of global economic recovery and growth. They also voiced strong criticism of international financial institutions -- especially the Bretton Woods institutions, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank -- for their collective failure to prevent or adequately respond to the 2008 crisis.

In June 2009, BRICS leaders met for the first time in an official capacity in Yekaterinburg, Russia. The institutionalisation of the BRICS group was followed by the expansion of its membership. South Africa joined in 2011. The expansion has picked up pace in the past couple of years.

Challenges of diversity

The diverse membership of the BRICS+ group presents a challenge in identifying common goals in a fragmented world.

In the division of diplomatic labour, intense negotiations among BRICS members are not matched by common policies on the global stage, which are largely reserved for criticism of existing international arrangements. This posture fuels the call for "updating" current institutions in order to enhance their legitimacy.

BRICS members often unite in their opposition to what they perceive as an unfair global order that operates to their detriment. The group advocates for new patterns of power diffusion to justify institutional reform, especially in times of crisis.

These features place BRICS at a crossroads that will shape its global footprint.

On the one hand, the BRICS group functions as an institutional vehicle for South-South cooperation, largely bypassing norms associated with the liberal international order.

Among members and partner states are countries that have faced Western sanctions for extended periods, such as Russia, Iran, and Cuba. Despite the imposition of severe economic sanctions on Moscow following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and their enforcement through multilateral institutions, BRICS provided a conduit for continued trade in Russian oil.

This departure from Western norms reinforces one of BRICS' founding traits -- a grouping of non-Western powers that offer acute criticism of the representativeness and efficiency of international institutions, while seeking a level playing field.

On the other hand, BRICS makes little headway in terms of collective action. The group speaks in normative terms, calling for transformation, but lacks a formal mechanism for collective decision-making.

Its defence of multilateralism, sovereignty, and the rule of law exists alongside controversial foreign policy positions such as its neutral stance on Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014.

Normative innovations, such as Brazil's "Responsibility While Protecting" doctrine launched in 2011, were not endorsed or coordinated with other BRICS members. Internal dynamics limit public demands for global institutional reform.

Although BRICS members share similar criticisms of international financial institutions, their dissatisfaction diverges significantly when it comes to the United Nations system.

Russia and China have paid only lip service to reforming the UN Security Council, acting jointly to maintain the status quo by watering down various reform proposals sponsored by Brazil, India, and South Africa.

Divisions within the group contrast "traditional" powers (Russia and China, permanent members of the UN Security Council) with "emerging" ones (India, Brazil, and South Africa).

Little progress has been made in reforming multilateral institutions to better include emerging powers since BRICS' inception.

These power splits are compounded by differences in regime type. India, Brazil, and South Africa present them-

selves as democracies of the Global South, in contrast to the autocratic regimes of Putin's Russia and the Chinese Communist Party.

BRICS thus constitutes an uneasy mix of countries that critique the Western-led order while having risen to prominence by engaging with it.

By accommodating the diverse circumstances of its members, BRICS plays an important role in fostering South-South ties. However, this breadth also limits the group's effectiveness in a polarised global order.

Two recent shortcomings highlight its limited political leverage. In June 2025, the group's response to Israeli and US bombing of Iran (a BRICS+ member) was confined to rhetoric. Moreover, the preparatory meeting of foreign ministers in Rio failed to produce a joint declaration.

Normative ambivalence, combined with limited collective action, has turned BRICS into a pragmatic club.

Since the 2008 financial crisis, the group has shied away from major political controversies, from combating ISIS to the ongoing conflicts in Ukraine and Gaza. As political statements remained vague and reformist ambitions were sidelined, BRICS-related institutions proliferated alongside its growing membership -- from the New Development Bank established in 2015 to the proposed guarantee fund to boost investment in member states.

Behind the scenes, the BRICS summit will serve a multitude of purposes for its expanding membership. Several of its members have previously made calls for a "new multilateralism", a "multipolar world order", and the renewal of international institutions.

This time, the Global South's democracies have an opportunity to shape new narratives. Apart from inclusive and sustainable global governance, Brazil set the 2025 summit's agenda to focus on climate change, artificial intelligence and global health -- issues underestimated in previous editions.

The BRICS group may, once again, reclaim a vanguardist position, providing Global South standpoints on these pressing global challenges.

# 36 SANJY ...

due to brake failure," Lieutenant Governor Manoj Sinha said in a statement. He said 36 pilgrims received minor injuries in the incident. They were discharged after preliminary treatment and resumed the journey towards the 3,880-metre cave shrine in the south Kashmir Himalayas, the statement said.

"By the blessings of Lord Shiva, all the devotees are safe," the LG said.

"Our priority is the safety of all pilgrims. Directed the officials concerned to implement comprehensive safety measures for vehicles of pilgrims undertaking Amarnath Yatra and ensure safety checks at all key locations and uninterrupted availability of food and medicines at Yatra route," he added.

Earlier, the LG spoke to Jammu Divisional Commissioner Ramesh Kumar and Ramban Deputy Commissioner Mohammad Alyas Khan and asked them to provide all necessary assistance to the injured pilgrims.

Sinha had asked senior officials to remain on alert and ensure all necessary arrangements for a hassle-free journey of the pilgrims, a spokesperson of the Raj Bhavan said.

The LG applauded the swift response of the district administration and health officials.

Earlier, the Ramban deputy commissioner said the last vehicle of the Pahalgam convoy lost control and hit stranded vehicles at the Chanderkote Langer site, damaging four vehicles and causing minor injuries to 36 pilgrims.

He said the government officials already present at the site rushed the injured to the district hospital.

Several senior police officers visited the hospital to monitor the treatment of the injured and directed the chief medical officer to ensure the best care.

"The yatriss were later shifted to other vehicles for their onward journey," the deputy commissioner said.

Union minister Jitendra Singh said he spoke to the Ramban deputy commissioner after learning about the road accident.

"... There is no reason for concern. All arrangements for the pilgrims are in place and are being constantly supervised by the administration," Singh said in a post on X.

Ramban Medical Superintendent Sudarshan Singh Katoch said 10 of the injured pilgrims were discharged after being administered first aid and the rest after the conduct of necessary tests.

"The district administration arranged special vehicles for their onward journey to Pahalgam after they expressed their desire to continue the pilgrimage," he said.

The convoy left for its destination early in the morning after the damaged buses were replaced, the officials said.

The fourth batch of 6,979 pilgrims -- 5,196 men, 1,427 women, 24 children, 331 sadhus and sadhvis, and one transgender -- left the Bhagwati Nagar base camp in two separate convoys between 3:30 am and 4:05 am.

While 4,226 pilgrims left in 161 vehicles for the Nunwan base camp for the 48-kilometre traditional Pahalgam route, 2,753 pilgrims were headed for the shorter but steeper 14-kilometre Baltal route in 151 vehicles.

Meanwhile, a Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) spokesperson said the injured pilgrims hailed from Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

Along with the Ramban district administration, the mobile medical team of the 84 Battalion of the CRPF rushed to the spot, provided immediate medical attention and helped in the evacuation of the injured pilgrims, he said.

# Constitution has...

institution.

Citing a past Supreme Court judgement, Gavai said any law or the Constitution has to be interpreted in the context of "problems faced by the present generation."

"The interpretation has to be pragmatic. It has to be one that suits the needs of society," he added.

Judges are expected to work as per their conscience, the oath of office and law, but "should never be perturbed once the matter is decided", he said.

A judge should cut off his mind from the matter and forget what happens to it thereafter, he added.

Talking about the appointment of judges, the CJI asserted that "at no cost the independence of judiciary shall be compromised".

While making appointments either to the Supreme court or high courts, the collegium ensures that merit is maintained while there is diversity and inclusiveness, Gavai said.

He complimented the Bombay High Court -- where he once practiced as a lawyer and served as a judge -- for its work, and said he feels proud when people appreciate its judgements.

The CJI also said that lately he has been "receiving a lot of complaints about the rude behaviour of some of the colleagues."

"Being a judge is not a 10 to 5 job, it's an opportunity to serve society. It is an opportunity to serve the nation," he stressed, and urged the judges to be "true to their oath and commitment."

"Please do not do anything which brings disrepute to this august institution, whose reputation has been so laboriously built by the devotion and dedication of generations of lawyers and generations of judges," he said.