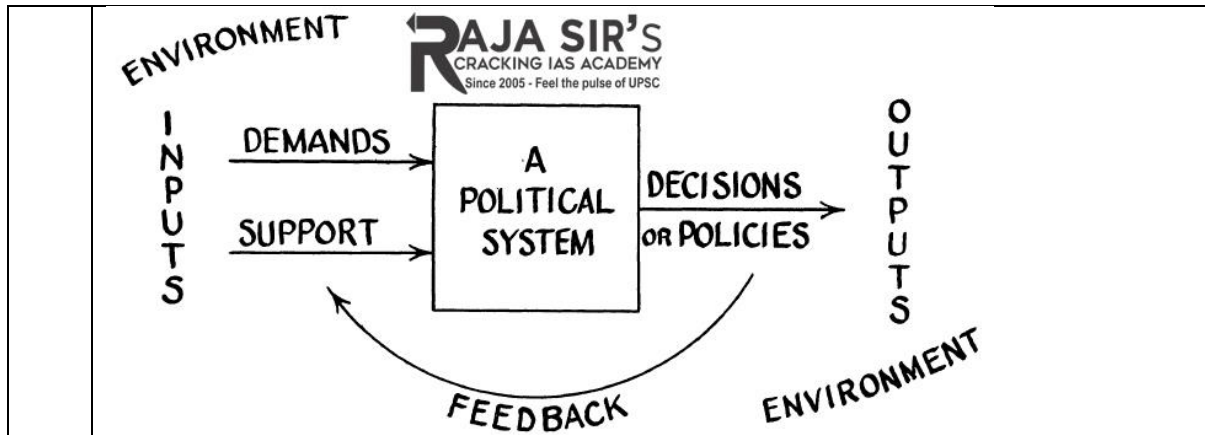


1. **Discuss David Easton's model of system analysis. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

David Easton was the first political scientist who systematically developed a framework on the basis of the systems approach for the study of politics systems. He put forward his ideas in his work entitled "The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science", published in 1953. Later on it was elaborated in his books namely "A Framework for Political Analysis" and "A Systems Analysis of Political Life", both published in 1965.

Political System

- The political system according to Easton "as that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented". This definition highlights that political system is one among the social system. It allocates by means of policies. Its allocations are also authoritative. Further its authoritative allocations are binding on the society as a whole.
- The political system is one among other forms of social systems. It means that political systems functions within a certain boundary. But it is very difficult to determine its exact boundary. The boundary of a political system is defined by all those actions more or less directly, related to the making of decision for a society which are binding.
- The political system lives in an environment. The environment may be intra-societal and extra societal environment. The intra-societal forces of an environment have their place within the political system itself. But the extra societal forces operate outside it. Both of them had their impact on the decision-making process.
- A political system always remains subject to challenge from its environments. Easton regards all political systems as open systems. As a political system lives in , environment, it is open to influence from environment. Easton also treats the political system as adaptive. His primary emphasis is on the nature of exchange and transaction that take place between a political system and its environment.



### Systematic Persistence

- In the opinion of Easton, the political system is always subject to stresses. Stresses means challenges which disturb the working of the political system. Whatever may be the political system, it continues to persist.
- The political system receives challenges as well as supports from the society and react to the challenges of demands to maintain itself with the help of support it receives. The demands and supports received by the political system from the society make the inputs which take the form of outputs through a conversion process. This is followed by the feedback mechanism.

In order to regulate the stresses from the environment the political system has got the following regulatory mechanisms:

- The political system developed a number of communication channels through which demands may be persuaded, or pressurized to get considerably diluted.
- It also had a number of reduction processes by which demands may be forced to convert themselves into specific issues without which it may be pointed out, they would not be able to feed the conversion process of the political system in a proper way.
- There are certain cultural mechanisms and social-cultural norms which establish influential criteria of appropriation for the articulation of political demands.

Easton introduced the concept of support in addition to the regulatory mechanism of the political system for its persistence and survival.

Easton's Policy-making Process or Easton's Models

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ For the study of political system, David Easton has presented a model of the political system. This model of Easton or policy making process of Easton' is regarded as a "blackbox" which converts the demands of the society into policies. The demands may be the demand of wage and working hour laws, educational opportunities, recreational facilities, roads and transports etc. And support is the energy in the form of actions or organization promoting and resisting a political system. Supports are included Material support such as the payment of taxes or other levies, obedience to law and regulation etc.</li><li>▪ The demands and supports that the political system receives from the environment in the form of inputs go through a conversion process within the system and take the form of outputs. A feedback mechanism is developed through which the efforts and consequences of output are put back into the system and inputs.</li><li>▪ To Easton a political system is a complex cyclical operation where a set of processes, which convert inputs into outputs as a routine matter. To Easton authorities formulate public policies in a political system. Policy-making is closely related to decision-making. But every decision does not constitute a policy. Decision-making involves the identification of problem, a careful analysis of possible alternatives and the selection of one alternative for action. The policy decisions provide a sense of direction to the courses of administrative action.</li></ul>
2.	<p><b>Comment on "Secularism in the Indian Constitution" (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>Secularism is an ideology that emphasizes the separation of religion and the state and the neutrality of the government with respect to religious beliefs..</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ It has broadly two meanings:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Separation of religion from the state i.e. <b>Dharm Nirpekshta.</b></li><li>▪ Equal respect to all religions by state i.e. <b>Sarva Dharma Samabhava.</b></li></ul></li><li>▪ The Indian constitution aims for a secular state where all religions are treated equally</li></ul> <p><b>Constitutional provisions pertaining to Secularism in India</b></p> <p>At the outset of the making of the Constitution, the concept of secularism was not expressly mentioned in the Indian Constitution. However, the Indian Constitution has spelled out several provisions in <b>Part III(Fundamental</b></p>

	<p><b>Rights), Part IV(Directive Principles of State Policy), and Part IVA(Fundamental Duties)</b> that reflect the existence of secularism.</p>
<b>Article 14</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ It provides equality before the law and equal protection of laws to all.</li></ul>
<b>Article 16 (1)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ It guarantees equality of opportunity to all citizens in matters of public employment and reiterates that there would be no discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, and residence.</li></ul>
<b>Article 25</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ It provides 'Freedom of Conscience', that is, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practice, and propagate religion.</li></ul>
<b>Article 26</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Every religious group or individual has the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes and to manage its own affairs in matters of religion.</li></ul>
<b>Article 27</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ It provides that the state shall not compel any citizen to pay any taxes for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious institution.</li></ul>
<b>Article 28</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ It allows educational institutions maintained by different religious groups to impart religious instruction.</li></ul>
<b>Articles 29 and 30</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ They provide cultural and educational rights to minorities.</li></ul>
<b>Article 51A Fundamental Duties</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ It obliges all the citizens to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood and to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture.</li></ul>

	<p><b>42nd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1976</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ The word secular was inserted in the Preamble. It stated that "secular" means a republic in which there is equal respect for all religions.</li></ul> <p>Apart from the Constitution, Judiciary has also helped shape Secularism in India.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala (1973):</b> The <b>Supreme Court</b> held that secularism was a part of the basic structure of the Constitution.</li><li>▪ <b>Bommai v Union of India (1994):</b> The Supreme Court elaborated on the meaning of secularism. The Court said that secularism means equal treatment of all religions.</li></ul>
3.	<p><b>Comment on "Satyagraha as a Strategy in the Indian National Movement" (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>The Indian freedom struggle was undoubtedly one of the greatest liberation movements against imperialism and colonialism. The nationalist movement in India before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi has been described by Judith Brown as “politics of studied limitations” and by Ravinder Kumar as a “movement representing the classes” as opposed to the masses. The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the political landscape was not the mere instance of another emerging leader, but it was the rise of a whole new philosophy.</p> <p>Satyagraha was defined by Gandhi as „a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth“. The technique of Satyagraha was first used by Gandhi during the resistance of Indian workers in South Africa against Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of 1906. This technique of Satyagraha was the most powerful weapon used by Gandhi against the British imperialism in India. Gandhi’s Satyagraha was both a political technique to be used against British colonialism and a moral philosophy that claimed a utopian vision. Even though the passive resistance owes much to western influences upon Gandhi, his Satyagraha was in no way "un-Indian“. Three things are of great importance in Satyagraha: Truth, non-violence and selfsuffering. Gandhi maintained that the pursuit of truth doesn’t admit violence because man is not capable of knowing absolute truth and therefore is not competent to</p>

	<p>punish others. The wrong-doer is to be weaned away from error through self-suffering by the satyagrahis.</p> <p>Gandhi knew that struggle against the British rule was not a one- step process; it was a prolonged struggle to be conducted in many phases and so he drafted his strategy accordingly. Gandhian strategy was not designed to overthrow the British rule but to generate such circumstances as to make their stay in India impossible. His strategy was designed to erode the legitimacy of British rule in India by the deepening of the political consciousness and widening of the mass base of the national movement. Though Gandhi was not the only reason behind India's independence but his philosophy of Satyagraha besides his strategy of Struggle-Truce-Struggle along with that of constructive programmes played a major role in bringing the imperial power to its knees.</p>
4.	<p><b>99th Amendment of the Indian Constitution. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>The National Judicial Commission was established due to the 99th Constitutional Amendment, 2014. This amendment substituted the National Judicial Appointment Commission (NJAC) for the collegium system of appointing judges. However, the Supreme Court backed the collegium system and ruled that the NJAC was contradicting the basic structure principle and the judiciary's independence. The commission would be comprised of six people under the proposed NJAC Act: the Chief Justice of India (Chairperson), two other senior Supreme Court judges sitting next to the CJI, the Union Law Minister, and two eminent individuals chosen by a committee made up of the CJI, the Prime Minister, and the Leader of the Opposition. The NJAC gave the panel the authority to suggest candidates for the positions of Chief Justice of India, justices of the Supreme Court, Chief Justices of High Courts, and other High Court judges. The CJI and other judges of the High Courts may be transferred from one High Court to another at its recommendation.</p> <p>To replace the system, which received criticism over the years for its lack of transparency, the Constitution (99th Amendment) Act, introduced three key Articles- 124 A, B, and C and amended clause 2 of Article 124. Article 124A created the National Judicial Appointments Commission (NJAC), a constitutional body to replace the collegium system. Article 124B vested in this NJAC the power to make appointments to both the Supreme Court and</p>



	<p>the various high courts. Article 124C accorded express authority to Parliament to make laws regulating the NJAC's functioning.</p> <p>In 2015, the Constitution Bench (4:1 Majority) of the Supreme Court declared the 99th Constitutional Amendment and National Judicial Commission (NJAC) unconstitutional on the ground that it violates the Basic Structure of the Constitution of India.</p>
5.	<p><b>Structure and Function of NITI Ayog. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>Planning has been in Indian psyche as our leaders came under influence of the socialist clime of erstwhile USSR. Planning commission served as the planning vehicle for close to six decades with a focus on control and command approach. Planning Commission was replaced by a new institution – NITI Aayog on January 1, 2015 with emphasis on 'Bottom –Up' approach to envisage the vision of Maximum Governance, Minimum Government, echoing the spirit of 'Cooperative Federalism'.</p> <p><u>Composition of NITI Aayog</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Chairperson:</b> Prime Minister</li><li>▪ <b>Vice-Chairperson:</b> To be appointed by Prime-Minister</li><li>▪ <b>Governing Council:</b> Chief Ministers of all states and Lt. Governors of Union Territories.</li><li>▪ <b>Regional Council:</b> To address specific regional issues, Comprising Chief Ministers and Lt. Governors Chaired by Prime Minister or his nominee.</li><li>▪ <b>Adhoc Membership:</b> 2 member in ex-officio capacity from leading Research institutions on rotational basis.</li><li>▪ <b>Ex-Officio membership:</b> Maximum four from Union council of ministers to be nominated by Prime minister.</li><li>▪ <b>Chief Executive Officer:</b> Appointed by Prime-minister for a fixed tenure, in rank of Secretary to Government of India.</li><li>▪ <b>Special Invitees:</b> Experts, Specialists with domain knowledge nominated by Prime-minister.</li></ul> <p><u>Importance of NITI Aayog</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ The 65 year-old Planning Commission had become a redundant organization. It was relevant in a command economy structure, but not any longer.</li></ul>

- India is a diversified country and its states are in various phases of economic development along with their own strengths and weaknesses.
- In this context, a 'one size fits all' approach to economic planning is obsolete. It cannot make India competitive in today's global economy.

Functions of niti aayog

The concept of NITI Aayog was introduced by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on 1st January 2015. The **major functions of NITI Aayog are as follows:**

- Act as a think tank for the Government to provide strategic and technical advice across the spectrum of the key elements of policy.
- Develop mechanisms to formulate credible plans and policy frameworks at the village level and at higher levels of the Government.
- Develop itself as a state-of-the-art resources centre, with the necessary resources and skills that will enable it to provide strategic policy vision for the Government and deal with contingent issues.
- Monitor and evaluate the implementation of programmes.
- Focus on technology degradation and capacity building.
- Public various socio-economic indices.

Looking Forward

- Decentralization of planning but within a five-year plan framework.
- Bureaucratic inertia need to be shaken, specializing it and fixing the accountability on basis of performance.
- NITI Aayog could emerge as an agent of change over time and contribute to the government's agenda of improving governance and implementing innovative measures for better delivery of public services.
- NITI Aayog continues to be representative of efficient, transparent, innovative and accountable governance system in country with distinguished work ethics.

6. **Cooperative Federalism in India. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

In Cooperative federalism the Centre and states share a horizontal relationship, where they "cooperate" in the larger public interest. It is an important tool to enable states' participation in the formulation and implementation of national policies. Union and the states are constitutionally obliged to cooperate with each other on the matters specified in Schedule VII of the constitution.

**State of Cooperative Federalism in India**



Legislative/Administrative

- **Separation of Power:** Schedule 7 of Constitution provides strict delineation of powers between center and state. (Except during emergencies which comes under judicial review)
- **Article 131 of the Constitution**, which gives the Supreme Court exclusive jurisdiction to hear cases between states and the Centre. **Ex:** Chhattisgarh moved SC against NIA Act in Jan 2020
- **Coalition governments:** It has increased states' bargaining power.

Political

In relation to the imposition of President's rule under Article 356 of the Constitution, federalism is far more mature than what it was earlier.

Financial

- **GST Council:** Passing of GST is a shining example of cooperative federalism where States and Centre have ceded their power to tax and come up with a single tax system to realize the dream of one Economic India with 'One Nation, One Market'.
- Since 10th FC, state's share has been continuously increasing till 14th FC by devolving 42%.

Other Areas

- **NITI Aayog:** Replacing the erstwhile Planning Commission, the Aayog is promoting bottom-up approach to development planning.
- **Sabka Saath Sabka Vikas** involves State's as equal partners of development. There is a move towards competitive and cooperative federalism.

**Challenges to cooperative federalism**

- Several issues such as trust deficit and **shrinkage of divisible pools plague Centre-State relations**. Together, they make total cooperation difficult.
- On one hand the Centre has increased the States' share of the divisible pool but in reality States are getting a lesser share.
- **For instance**, as per the 16th FC recommendations, many south states are on the losing side of their share of tax resources.
- The allocation towards various social welfare schemes has also come down, affecting the States' health in turn

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Inter-State water disputes</b> like the Mahadayi issue between Goa and Karnataka, Mahanadi water disputes (Odisha and Chhattisgarh) requires cooperation from all quarters (centre and riparian states).</li></ul> <p><b>Strengthening Federalism</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Strengthening of Inter-State Council:</b> Over the year multiple committees have recommended strengthening of Interstate Council where the concurrent list subjects can be debated and discussed, balancing Centre state powers. There is far less institutional space to settle inter-state frictions therefore a constitutional institution like ISC can be a way forward.</li><li>▪ <b>Autonomy to states:</b> Centre should form model laws with enough space for states to maneuver. Centre should give enough budgetary support to states so as to avoid budgetary burden. There should be least interference in the state subjects.</li><li>▪ <b>Democratic Decentralization of administration</b> and strengthening governments at all levels in true spirit. Power should be decentralized based on the principle of subsidiarity.</li></ul>
7.	<p><b>Discuss the efficacy of judicial review in India. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>Judicial Review is a type of court proceeding in which a judge reviews the lawfulness of a decision or action made by a public body.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Procedure Established by Law:</b>It means that a law enacted by the legislature or the concerned body is valid only if the correct procedure has been followed to the letter.</li><li>▪ <b>Due Process of Law:</b>It is a doctrine that not only checks if there is a law to deprive the life and personal liberty of a person but also ensures that the law is made fair and just.</li><li>▪ India follows Procedure Established by Law.</li><li>▪ It is the power exerted by the courts of a country to examine the actions of the legislatures, executive and administrative arms of government and to ensure that such actions conform to the provisions of the nation's Constitution.</li><li>▪ Judicial review has two important functions, like, of legitimizing government action and the protection of constitution against any undue encroachment by the government.</li></ul>

- Judicial review is considered a basic structure of the constitution (Indira Gandhi vs Raj Narain Case 1975).
- Judicial review is also called the interpretational and observer roles of the Indian judiciary.
- Suo Moto cases and the Public Interest Litigation (PIL), with the discontinuation of the principle of Locus Standi, have allowed the judiciary to intervene in many public issues, even when there is no complaint from the aggrieved party.

**Why Judicial Review?**

Judicial review is necessary to align the supremacy of the Constitution in a nation, and to safeguard the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. It is essential to preserve the independence and autonomy of the judiciary in India. This is necessary to maintain a federal balance between the Central Government and the State Governments. It is fundamental to curb the conceivable abuse of power by the legislature and the executive and act as a safeguard for the basic structure of the constitution of India.

Judicial Review is also known as the role of reviewer, and the role of Eyewitnesses. It invalidates the provisions which are made by the Parliament or State legislature when those are against the provisions of the Constitution. It is a 'basic feature' of the Constitution of India and cannot be taken away by putting a law under the 9th Schedule which violates the fundamental rights guaranteed under Articles 14, 15, 19, and 21. Also, the 'basic structure' of the Constitution cannot be declared invalid and void.

**Limitations of Judicial Review**

Any law already exercised by the Constitution can be superseded by the judiciary with the exclusive power of judicial review, but we have to note that the Indian Judiciary does not have unlimited powers like the USA or extremely limited powers like the UK. Judicial review restricts the working of the public authority. It has so far been created only for the Supreme Court and the High Courts, not for any subordinate courts or local courts and these courts have only major interaction with the mass public. The repeated interference by the courts in executive affairs might erode the public confidence in the integrity, quality, competence, and proficiency of the ruling governments.

In the Indian Judiciary, the legal opinions of the Judges of the higher courts, once taken in respect of any case, become the means of standard for judging in other cases, and the judgments of the lower Courts, which limits their own judgment in fresh cases. Judicial review can also cause great detriment to

society as the judgment is likely to be affected by the private or egotistical or malevolent thought processes of judges. The judicial review in India looks only into the constitutionality of the laws and regulations concerning the government, not for speedy judgments, effective justice, the reality of society, etc.

**Important Judgments on Judicial Review**

- The Supreme Court gave a key judgment in the I R Coelho case (2007), ruled that there is no immunity from judicial review for laws included in the 9th Schedule and it also held that Judicial Review is a 'basic feature' of the constitution.
- Supreme Court ruled that which of the laws placed in the Ninth Schedule on or after April 24, 1973, could be challenged in court if they violate the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India.
- In the case of Indira Gandhi v. Raj Narayan in 1975, the Supreme Court gave a landmark judgment that judicial review should be considered a fundamental structure of the Constitution.
- In 2015, the Supreme Court announced both the 99th Constitutional Amendment, 2014, and the National Judicial Appointments Commission (NJAC) Act, 2014 as unlawful, invalid, and unconstitutional.
- The Supreme Court struck down Section 66(A) of the amended Information Technology Act, 2000 as this section was outside Article 19(2) of the Constitution which deals with freedom of speech.
- The Supreme Court has exercised the power of judicial review in various cases, for example, Golaknath Case (1967), Bank Nationalization Case (1970), Privy Purse Abolition Case (1971), Kesavananda Bharati Case (1973), Minerva Mills Case (1980), and so on.

India's sovereignty is based on the concept of separation of powers in the Constitution of India and due to this, India is unable to fully utilize the power of judicial review. At the same time from another perspective of view, if the courts assume full and arbitrary judicial review power, it will put a bad performance in all branches of government.

When the judiciary oversteps its bounds and interferes with the executive mandate, it is called Judicial Activism, which further can lead to encouraging judicial overreach. Here, we should understand judicial Activism is particularly not quite the same as Judicial Review. Judicial activism has no

	constitutional support, whereas judicial review has legal support through established constitutional articles.
8.	<p><b>Critically analyze the discretionary powers granted to the Governor by the Indian constitution. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>Governor is the constitutional head of the state, bound by the advice of his council of ministers. He functions as a vital link between the Union Government and the State Government. The Governor's appointment, his powers and everything related to the office of Governor have been discussed under Article 153 to Article 162 of the Indian Constitution.</p> <p>Discretionary powers of the Governor means the powers which she/he exercises as per one's own individual judgment or without the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers. The Constitution makes it clear that if any question arises whether a matter falls within the Governor's discretion or not, the decision of the Governor is final. For a long time, the office of the Governor has been at the center of controversies for the range of discretionary powers that the holder of the office enjoys.</p> <p><u>Some discretions and powers given to the governor are as discussed below</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Seeking information from the Chief Minister with regard to the administrative and legislative matters of the state. Article 163 of the Constitution, while providing for the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers to the Governor, specifically envisages that in certain matters he may act in his discretion.</li><li>▪ While exercising his functions as the administrator of an adjoining union territory.</li><li>▪ Under Article 200, the Governor can reserve a bill for the President's consideration on the basis of his discretion.</li><li>▪ Recommendation for the imposition of the President's Rule in the state.</li><li>▪ The Governor summons, prorogues and dissolves the Legislative Assembly, according to article 174. Also, when the Ministry loses the majority and if the Governor is satisfied, she/he may dissolve the House.</li></ul> <p><u>Recommendations for making Governor's office more accountable and free of political influence</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ The Rajamannar Committee (1971) recommended the deletion of Articles 356 and 357 from the constitution of India and also</li></ul>

	<p>emphasized that the Governor of the state should not consider himself as an agent of the center but play his role as the constitutional head of the State.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ The Sarkaria Commission (1988) recommended that Article 356 should be used in very rare cases when it becomes unavoidable to restore the breakdown of constitutional machinery in the State.</li><li>▪ The commission also recommended that before taking action under Article 356, a warning should be issued to the state government that it is not functioning according to the constitution.</li><li>▪ Justice V. Chelliah Commission (2002) recommended that Article 356 must be used sparingly and only as a remedy of the last resort after exhausting all actions under Articles 256, 257 and 355.</li></ul> <p>The role of Governor is indispensable for the successful working of constitutional democracy. He must refrain from aligning himself to any political ideology or the influence of the Union government. The virtue of impartiality must be upheld to ensure smooth functioning of the democracy.</p>
9.	<p><b>'Identity politics has trumped development politics in india ' Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>India is a diverse and complex country, with multiple religions, languages, ethnicities, castes, and regions. Identity politics, or the mobilization of people based on their social identities, has been a dominant force in Indian politics for decades. Identity politics can have both positive and negative effects on Democracy, representation, and social justice. However, it can also create divisions, conflicts, and violence among different groups.</p> <p>Development encompasses economic growth, human development, social welfare, environmental sustainability, and good governance. development can be seen as a common goal that transcends identity differences and unites people around shared interests and aspirations. Development can also reduce inequalities, grievances, and frustrations that fuel identity politics.</p> <p>The question of whether development can trump identity politics in India is not easy to answer. There are many factors that influence the salience and impact of identity politics, such as historical legacies, institutional arrangements, political parties, civil society, media, and public opinion. Moreover, development and identity politics are not mutually exclusive or</p>



antagonistic. They can coexist, complement, or contradict each other in different contexts and situations. There are three possible scenarios:

– Development as a counter-narrative to identity politics: In this scenario, development is used as a political strategy to challenge or undermine the appeal of identity politics. A prominent example of this is the rise of Narendra Modi and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the 2014 general elections.

Modi campaigned on a platform of development and good governance, promising to deliver economic growth, jobs, infrastructure, and social welfare to all Indians. He downplayed his Hindu nationalist credentials and tried to reach out to various sections of society, including minorities, women, youth, and lower castes. He also portrayed his opponents as corrupt, dynastic, and divisive leaders who exploited identity issues for their own benefit. Modi's development narrative was successful in attracting a large number of voters across different regions. And social groups, especially among the urban middle class and the aspirational poor. He was able to overcome the traditional barriers of caste and religion that had shaped Indian politics for long.

– Development as a catalyst for identity politics: In this scenario, development is seen as a source or trigger of identity politics. A possible example of this is the emergence of subaltern movements and parties that represent the interests and demands of marginalized groups such as Dalits (former untouchables), Adivasis (indigenous people), Muslims, women, and sexual minorities. These groups have been historically excluded or discriminated against. In the process of development and have faced multiple forms of oppression and violence.

They have mobilized around their identities to assert their rights, dignity, and autonomy. In the face of dominant structures and ideologies. They have also challenged the mainstream notions of development that ignore or neglect their specific needs and aspirations. These movements and parties have gained popularity and influence in some states and regions of India. Such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Telangana.

– Development as a bridge between identity politics: In this scenario, development is viewed as a potential mediator or facilitator of dialogue and cooperation among different identity groups. An example of this could be the formation of coalitions or alliances between parties. That cater to different segments of society based on their development agendas or priorities.

	<p>For instance, in the 2015 Bihar assembly elections, the Janata Dal (United) led by Nitish Kumar joined hands with the Rashtriya Janata Dal led by Lalu Prasad Yadav and the Indian National Congress. To defeat the BJP. The alliance was based on a common platform of social justice and inclusive development. That appealed to various caste and religious groups in Bihar. Similarly, in the Delhi assembly elections, the Aam Aadmi Party led by Arvind Kejriwal focussed delivering quality education, healthcare, electricity, and water to the people of Delhi. The party also avoided polarizing issues such as citizenship, nationalism, and communalism that were raised by the BJP. The party managed to win votes from different communities, including Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and migrants.</p>
10.	<p><b>In the light of neo-economic policies adopted since 1991, examine the relevance of the term 'socialist' in the Preamble of the Indian Constitution. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>There is a view that the use of word 'socialist' has become redundant in the context of the liberalization of Indian economy after 1992. There is also a view that the word 'socialist' in the Preamble to our constitution requires to be defined. These views are put forward because the reforms under the New Economic Policy provided for the minimal role of the state and bring forth the concept of 'free market'.</p> <p>An increased role of market and private players in providing the goods and services to the people is advocated. The concept of 'minimum government and maximum governance' is being put forward. The government is expected to give way to the private players in supplying goods and services with assured 'value for money', wherever it is possible. The role of the government is only to regulate and ensure that services are promptly provided, create appropriate economic climate, for example, maintaining fair competition, preventing cartelization, etc. This is known as 'rollback of state' giving way to the market. In the liberalized market the Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) enjoy more autonomy and are expected to make profits like the private. The budgetary support to the PSUs is no more available. The PSUs are to compete in the market with the private players and their monopoly is done away with. Furthermore, the concept of 'weakening of the welfare state' given by Margaret Thatcher advocates doing away with the subsidies and reduce the government expenditure.</p>

However, the above views are not acceptable in the context of Indian constitution because these views attribute a state-centric interpretation to the word 'socialist'. Whereas the constitution views socialism as a value for building a social order based on justice. In that social order socialism is prescribed as value, a social moral.

The concept of socialism is centred on the objective of providing right to access and not state centrism. Therefore, the steps taken by the government in respect of LPG (Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization) have to be viewed from this standpoint. The LPG only enhances the role of the private sector and does not result in complete pulling out the state. The state has:

- Pulled out only from such areas where its presence is not necessary or where the private sector can perform better than the state.
- Pulled out in order to avoid exposing the public money to an unnecessary risk by way of partaking them with the non-strategic sectors.
- Liberalized to provide better qualities of services to the people.
- Liberalized to ensure the 'value for their money'.

By this, the state has permitted the private sector in order to shoulder the responsibilities and the risks so that the welfare objectives are achieved. In any case, the state has not absolved itself of the responsibility to regulate the market. Hence, the meaning of socialism is nowhere compromised.

Furthermore, the concept of democratic socialism provides for a mixed economy which does not exclude the presence of private participants. In the context of liberalization, the scope of mixed economy is widened only with the view to promote the welfare, by way of providing better quality of services, value for money to the people and conserving the state's resources—finance, human and time that could be meaningfully spent on such sectors as social and economic so as to promote the welfare goals. Hence, the term socialist is very much relevant, its meaning remains intact and not required to be defined.

11. **Identify the contested areas in centre state relation in India. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The framers of the Indian Constitution pointed out that the Indian scheme was one of 'Cooperative Federalism,' which indicates a desire for a federal spirit. Therefore, Indian federalism aims at promoting close cooperation between the Centre and the State(s). The Constitution demarcates the areas that can be exclusively legislated by the Centre, those exclusively legislated by

the States, and those concurrently legislated by both the Centre and the States. If any law passed by a state legislature conflicts with a statute of Parliament in the concurrent list, Parliament law shall prevail. Thus, the Indian Constitutional framework gives precedence to the laws passed by Parliament over those of the states.

The Central government is endowed with greater authority by the Constitution and their interference in the administration of the States has caused major strains in Centre-State relations as follows:

**1) Imposition of President's Rule: Article 356** was made to be used as a last resort.

For eg:

- Dismissal of a State government with a majority in the legislative assembly, emphasising its exceptional use in extreme circumstances.
- Suspending or dissolving the Assembly in a politician's consideration.
- Not giving a chance to the opposition to form a government when an electoral verdict is indecisive.
- Denying the opportunity to the opposition to form a government when a ministry resigned in anticipation of a defeat on the floor of the House.
- Not allowing the opposition to form the government even after the defeat of a ministry on the floor of the House.

A clear misuse of the **President's Rule** was seen in 1980 when the Janata Government at the Centre dismissed the Congress Governments in **nine** States.

**2) Deployment of Central Forces:** to maintain law and order, the Centre deployed para-military forces into the States without consulting the State's Government, and at times against the wishes of the respective State.

**3) Reservation of Bill:** A **Governor** usually reserves a Bill against the advice of a State's Ministry, but, on the advice of the Central Government. This act of the Governor is looked upon as serving the interest of the Central Government.

**4) Fiscal Matters:** Tensions arise concerning fiscal matters because of -

- Comparative powers of taxation
- Statutory versus discretionary grants
- Economic planning

1. **Taxation power:** The Centre controls vast resources granted through deficit financing, loans from the organised money market in the country as well as in the form of foreign aid. In addition, the Central government can collect a surcharge on taxes and raise additional funds in times of

emergency. On the other hand, the States lack resources to discharge their responsibilities and at times fail to mobilise their resources. Thus, the State is Centre-dependent.

2. **Statutory versus Discretionary Grants:** There are four methods of devolution of funds from the Centre to the States, viz, Obligatory sharing of Union taxes on income, allocation of Union duties and taxes to the States, permissive sharing of Union excise duties, providing financial assistance to the States in the form of grants and loans.

3. **Economic Planning:** In the context of economic planning, the intention behind planning in India was to promote greater centralisation. This is exemplified by the transfer of industries from the State List to the Union List without a constitutional amendment. This transfer was justified on the grounds of expediency for the public interest, indicating a shift of authority over certain economic matters from the states to the central government.

To manage and lead a vast and complex nation like India, the leadership at central level needs to adopt a hugely accommodative approach, with a non-confrontation attitude. Cooperation and mutual understanding will help states deliver services to their citizens far better.

12. **Discuss the 'Right to Education ' and the concerns raised by it. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

In the 1993 case of **Unnikrishnan vs. State of Andhra Pradesh**, the Supreme Court ruled that the citizens of this country have a **fundamental right to education**. The said right flows from **Article 21**. The Supreme Court also noted that the right to education was **not an absolute right** and ruled that every citizen of India should have the right to free education until 14 years of age. The **Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act, 2002** was enacted, which made the following changes:

Part	Amendment	Provision
<b>Fundamental Rights</b>	Insertion of new article 21A	<b>Right to education:</b> The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may by law determine.

**Directive Principles of State Policy** Substitution of new article for article 45

The State shall endeavor to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years.

**Fundamental Duties** Addition to article 51A

‘who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or ward between the age of six and fourteen years.’

To enforce Article 21A, The **Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act or Right to Education Act (RTE)** was enacted in 2009.

**Concerns w.r.t. RTE Act**

- **Lack of specific penalties:** There are no specific penalties if the authorities fail to provide the right to elementary education.
- **Intermix of responsibilities:** Both the state government and the local authority have the duty to provide free and compulsory elementary education. Sharing of this duty may lead to neither government being held accountable.
- **Lack of accountability of government schools:** The Act provides for the right to schooling and physical infrastructure but does not guarantee that children learn. It exempts government schools from any consequences if they do not meet the specified norms.
- **Issues with private reservation:** The constitutional validity of reservations of seats in private schools for economically weaker sections could be challenged.
- **Conflict with other rights:** Minority schools are not exempt from provisions in this Act. It is possible that this will conflict with Article 30 of the Constitution, which allows minorities to set up and administer educational institutions.
- **Multi-grade teaching:** The Act legitimizes the practice of multi-grade teaching. The number of teachers shall be based on the number of students rather than by grade.

**To ensure better implementation of the RTE Act**

- **Participatory and responsible management:** State governments need to deepen the systems of bottom-up planning and build capacities of school management committees. Local NGOs and other organizations may also be involved in the School Management Committees.



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Focus on teacher training programme:</b> The quality of teachers is the backbone of any teaching programme. Creating a standard training programme to train and generate quality teachers is crucial for the RTE Act to produce meaningful results.</li><li>▪ <b>Vocational education:</b> Adequate focus should be given to crafts and vocational training.</li><li>▪ <b>Enhanced budget:</b> The Central and state governments should enhance elementary education budgets to deliver commitments made in the Act.</li><li>▪ <b>Giving incentives for schooling:</b> Incentives in the form of Monetary support to parents for sending kids to school.</li></ul>
13.	<p><b>Examine the role of Panchayati Raj Institution and Urban Local Bodies in deepening of democracy in India. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>Three decades have elapsed since the enactment of the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution and more than 15 years have passed since the enactment of the (Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996. The main purpose of these Acts was to strengthen the Panchayati Raj System (PRS) in the country. In order to function, panchayats as institution of self-government (ISG), the panchayats have to fulfill two basic conditions, namely,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ (a) institutional existence in the sense that the decisions are taken by the people s representatives,</li><li>▪ (b) institutional capacity, which means that these institutions have clearly defined functions, functionaries and finances.</li></ul> <p><b><u>Role of PRIs and Urban Local Bodies in deepening democracy:</u></b></p> <p>Local Bodies, whether in rural or urban areas, play a significant role in the governance and development of the country.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Decentralization:</b> Local Bodies ensure decentralization of power, allowing governance to reach the local level.</li><li>▪ <b>Participation:</b> They encourage citizen participation by involving the local population in decision-making processes.</li><li>▪ <b>Grassroots Development:</b> Local Bodies address the specific needs and concerns of local communities, leading to targeted development initiatives.</li><li>▪ <b>Service Delivery:</b> They are responsible for providing essential services like sanitation, healthcare, education, and infrastructure development.</li></ul>

- **Accountability:** Local Bodies establish a direct link between the people and the government, promoting transparency and accountability.
- **Promote Democratic Representation:** RI system increases cooperation among people, democratic participation and decentralization. Eg. Gram Sabha
- **Ensures Good Governance:** 'Consensus oriented' and 'Participation' are two important pillars of Good Governance and the PRI helps in ensuring both these pillars.
- **Releasing the depressed:** The Act was instrumental, to some extent, in igniting the process of releasing the depressed, oppressed and suppressed energy of these groups who got the opportunity to come forward as elected representatives. It was found that wherever the Dalit elected representatives were oppressed and obstructed by the dominant castes, they came out openly to resist and to struggle against the oppressors. Importantly, it was also found that whenever the women Panchayat leaders were literate, they were found to be more assertive than the others. The other side of the phenomenon is that the elected representatives of these groups, especially the educated ones among them, had become quite visible, assertive and vocal whenever the circumstances allowed. It may be treated as the beginning of the end of the invisibility of these sections in the local governance scenario. Thus, the affirmative action for these groups in local governance has resulted in social identities and political awareness among them and created an urge to become part of the mainstream political, economic and social life.

**Challenges**

- The political space given to marginalised sections has, to some extent, dealt a blow to the asymmetrical social structure at the local level and given greater space for their participation and involvement in decision-making at local level. Therefore, not many powers have been given to the Panchayats even after two decades of its implementation of the Central Act in the country. Marginalised groups have got the seats in the local government but they are not as effective as they should be due to caste prejudices and lack of capacity to govern. The remedy lies in the organic organization of Panchayat leaders to assert and bargain for the empowerment of local self-governments.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Lack of Effective Devolution: Some of the important subjects like fuel and fodder, non-conventional energy sources, rural electrification including distribution of electricity, non-formal education, small scale industries including food processing industries, technical training, and vocational education have not been devolved in certain states.</li><li>▪ Insufficient Grants/Funds</li><li>▪ Issue of Sarpanch Pati (hindering women empowerment) - also, it is a marker of patriarchal culture in India.</li><li>▪ Infrastructural Challenges: Building, internet, etc.</li><li>▪ Lack of Support Staff</li><li>▪ It may be observed that from the point of view of devolution of power, states like Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Sikkim and West Bengal are the better performers. Whereas, the performance of Arunachal Pradesh, Jammu &amp; Kashmir, Bihar, Assam and Uttarakhand are poor. Kerala stands out as the top performing state in this index.</li><li>▪ Whatever is being done in the name of Panchayati Raj is supply driven instead of demand driven.</li><li>▪ Caste prejudices emerged as a major problem in the functioning of the Panchayats. This is due to unwillingness and grouse the dominant castes hold for having themselves become ineligible to share the powers and control they have long been used to in the PRIs, on account of constitutional provisions for the marginalized group. This has resulted into a paradoxical situation, where, on the one hand, Panchayati Raj Act provides de jure powers to the office of the chairpersons at different levels and, on the other, de facto, they remain bereft of these powers. The local bureaucracy, which is expected to work under the control of the elected representatives of the Panchayats, is either generally away from the scene or succumbs to the pressure of the village politics and power game.</li></ul>
14.	<p><b>Compare the Nehruvian and Gandhian models of development. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>Gandhi and Nehru had very different ideas of development though both agreed, in their own ways, that the Swaraj meant moral, social and political regeneration of the country. While Gandhi was a traditionalist, Nehru was a Western in his beliefs. Gandhi was older and compared to Nehru, had a</p>

commoner background, having braved the racial discrimination in South Africa. Nehru had an elitist background and had no personal experience of discrimination. Therefore, their visions were also different.

**Gandhi** in his development model emphasized among other things, self-reliance and self-sufficiency, swadeshi, liberation of the rural poor from all forms of oppression and deprivation and participation of the masses in nation building. He also described freedom as poor man's Swaraj.

**Jawaharlal Nehru**, the first Prime Minister of India into whose hands the steering wheel of the destiny of the nation was first entrusted, had an entirely different vision of new India. He wanted to modernise India as fast as possible and to catch up with the West in terms of economic development. **Industrialisation** was, for him, the key to India's quick transformation. In his over enthusiasm to modernize India he rejected the Gandhian model and adopted the Western as he thought that the former was regressive and the latter scientific and modern."

#### **NEHRUVIAN DEVELOPMENT**

- Nehru's model of development emerged as the driving force of the strategy of development adopted at the time of formulation of the Second Five Year Plan.
- Nehruvian model was based on **long-term development strategy**, which accorded greater preference to the long-term goals of development. The strategy, therefore emphasized:
  - High rate of saving so as to boost investment to a higher level
  - It preferred a heavy industry bias to develop the industrial base of the economy
  - It opted for the protectionist path so as to safeguard infant industry.
  - It encouraged import substitution so as to achieve self-reliance
  - It aimed at enlargement of opportunities for the less privileged sections of the society.
- To achieve the objective of growth with **social justice** was thus the goal of Nehru's model since it intended to foster a self-generating path of development with an assurance to the common man that poverty, unemployment, disease and ignorance will be removed.
- A much **greater role was assigned to the State**. The principal functions of the State in the economic sphere were the development of economic and social infrastructure.

- The **economic infrastructure** was concerned with enlargement of irrigation, power on industrial development and irrigation for agricultural development.
- By increasing **social infrastructure** in the form of education and health, the State intended to develop skilled manpower so that it could provide the necessary skills needed for the functioning of new industries. **Thus, in the Nehruvian model the State controlled the commanding heights of the economy through the public sector.**
- He favoured **centralized planning** as the route to rapid economic development and modernization. Nehru placed greater emphasis on **autonomy at the national level**, in the sense of the country becoming self-reliant with regard to basic materials, be it food, steel or technology. For Nehru socialism did not mean the state ownership of all the means of production. His emphasis was on **social justice** based on equity and better income distribution and programmes accelerating economic growth that would reduce disparities both economic and social. He saw a place for the **private sector also in the process along with the public sector.**
- The "**commanding heights**" approach adopted by Nehru is to be understood properly. What he wanted was to use the public sector enterprises to serve his overall economic policy and guide the direction of the economy. Thus, in the Nehruvian model **the role of the public enterprises was focused as instrument of planning for rapid and guided industrialization.**"
- As pointed out by Arjun Sengupta, in the formulation of his development vision and strategy, **Nehru was deeply influenced by the twin legacy of the Indian national movement viz., independence and evaluation of every programme in terms of how it would benefit the poor.**

#### **GANDHIAN DEVELOPMENT**

- During the freedom struggle Mahatma Gandhi had highlighted **the importance of promoting agricultural and allied activities** like cottage and village industries for the emancipation of the rural population of our country.
- He emphasised the integration of **agriculture and industry**. Gandhi had reminded the other leaders a number of times that "**India lives in**

**her villages"** and that by neglecting the villages India could not make any progress.

- Along with the political struggle Gandhiji had launched a comprehensive programme known as the **Constructive Programmes** for the economic upliftment of the rural people of our country. To him the focus of development is to provide the basic needs to all people.
- **Gandhiji emphasised a self-reliant and village based economy. In the Gandhian economic system, the production system should be based on the ideal of progressive and regulated minimization of needs and not on that of multiplication of wants.** The economy should be life-centered. This means that the socio-economic system should operate on the ethico- economic principle of optimum and not on the principle of maximization.
- **Unless the spirit of swadeshi or self-reliance is revived, the traditional Indian economy might exist for some more time without being heard and finally recede into oblivion over a period.**
- This would spell doom for the rural poor, the economically and socially, backward classes and also for the oppressed and the marginalised sections. But the present developments in India positively call for the revival of the swadeshi spirit.
- **Swadeshi is not a chauvinistic thought. It is really an alternative economic philosophy, idea. having global significance.**
- The Gandhian approach to development is based on an austere life that avoids overexploitation of high energy sources and over-burdening of the environment.
- Gandhiji was only against industrialism that uproots rural life and not against industrialization that subserves, and not subordinates, the traditional economy.
- What is needed is an ever expanding and never ascending oceanic or concentric/circle of self-sufficient and self-reliant face to face communities.
- The national lifestyle has to be oriented to preserve the ethos of the nation and not just to be lifeless imitations of others.

Despite the economic reforms of 1991, India still follows the Socialist principles of both Gandhi and Nehru seen in the forms of Public-Private Partnerships, State support to the weaker sections of society, strengthening



	<p>the local governments, promotion of MSMEs and village industries etc. A good mix of both Gandhian and Nehruvian socialist ideals has ensured the development of fruits to reach all citizens.</p>
15.	<p><b>Account for the rise of regional political parties and assess their role in contemporary India. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</b></p> <p>Regionalism is an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions. Regionalism at national level refers to a process in which sub-state actors become increasingly powerful; power devolves from central level to regional governments. Roots of regionalism is in India's diversity of languages, cultures, ethnic groups, communities, religions and so on, and encouraged by the regional concentration of those identity markers, and fueled by a sense of regional deprivation.</p> <p><b>Reasons</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Language:</b> The demand of linguistic states has fuelled regionalism which led to formation of new states like Andhra Pradesh, Punjab etc.</li><li>▪ <b>Religion:</b> It is also one of the major factors of regionalism. Example:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ The demand of three autonomous states in Jammu &amp; Kashmir is based on religion. The bases for their demands are- Kashmir for Muslim dominated, Jammu for Hindu dominated and Ladakh for Buddhism dominated region.</li></ul></li><li>▪ <b>Regional Culture/Ethnic:</b> The North-east states were created on the basis of cultural aspects. Besides the economic issues, the regional culture played significant role in the formation of Jharkhand as a state</li><li>▪ <b>Economic Backwardness:</b> The uneven pattern of socioeconomic development has created regional disparities. The categorization and sub-categorization of the states on the basis of socioeconomic development and use of resources have generated resentment, leading to regionalism. Example:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Split of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh, demand for separate statehood for Vidarbha, Saurashtra etc.</li></ul></li><li>▪ <b>Rise of Political Parties:</b> Coalition politics and rise of regional political parties has led to gaining of regionalism as a political tool to garner votes, thereby deepening the fault lines.</li></ul>

- **Son of the Soil Doctrine:** According to this, a state specifically belongs to the native group only, who are the sons of the soil or local residents. The doctrine gains currency due to competition for jobs and resources between migrant and local educated middle class youth. Example:

- Maharashtra for Marathas, Gujrat for Gujaratis etc.

**Role**

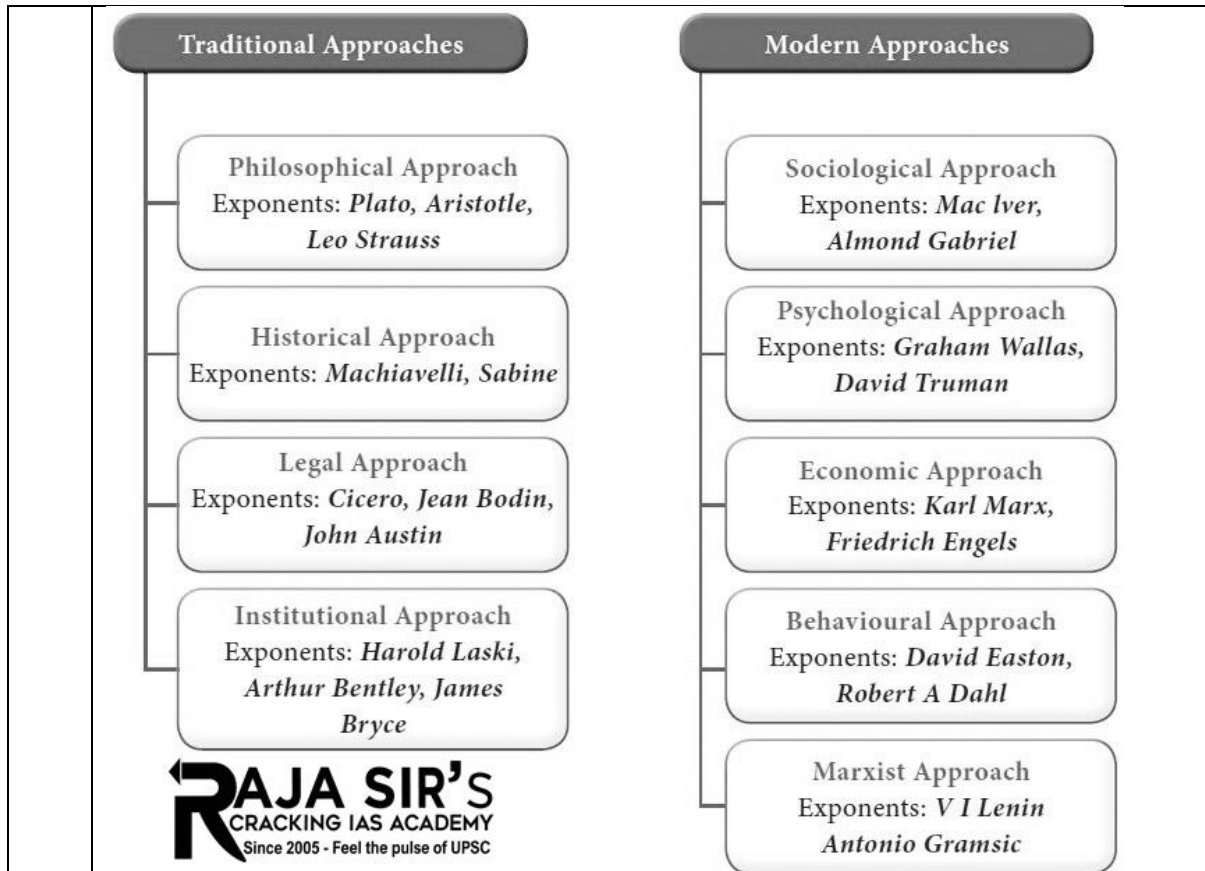
**-vely**

- **Rise of Insurgency:** Regionalism is a threat to the development and unity of the nation as it creates internal security challenges by the insurgent groups (Khalistan movement in Punjab), who propagate the feelings of regionalism against the mainstream politico-administrative setup of the country.
- **Asymmetrical Development:** Regional demands undermine national demands as Developmental plans are implemented unevenly focusing on regions to which important leaders belong, hence unrest is generated among the rest of the regions.
- **Challenge to Foreign Policy:** Regionalism creates hurdles in international diplomacy, for example in case of Mamata Banerjee not agreeing to Land Boundary agreement and Teesta River Water sharing, when the leaders at centre level were ready to do it.
- **Restricting Fundamental Rights:** Restricts freedom of movement and profession, defeating Article 19 of the constitution, as non natives are exploited and mistreated leading to vulnerability of the migrant population. For ex: recent Gujarat migrant crisis.
- **Against Constitutional Ethos:** It goes against ethos, culture and constitutional ideals of India which are syncretic, democratic, federal polity.

**+vely**

- **Symmetrical Development:** Regional aspirations have a positive impact on balanced regional development as concerns are voiced and heard by central authority which then tries to minimize the disparities.
- **Competitive Federalism:** It helps in the development of a spirit of competitive federalism, thereby lifting the underdeveloped regions on par with national growth.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Promotes Democratic Ethos:</b> Regionalism helps in promoting the democratic culture of society by discussion, debate and action on regional issues.</li><li>▪ <b>Safety Valve:</b> It provides an outlet to the diverse discourse and concerns of society and their timely redressal, which helps in releasing tension/ stress that may arise in a diverse society thereby acting as a safety valve.</li></ul> <p>Regionalism is a natural phenomenon in a federal polity like India where diversities are territorially grouped, largely on political, ethnic, cultural and linguistic basis. The federal system of polity has indeed made regionalism feasible and vice-versa.</p>
16.	<p><b>Which are the major approaches of comparative politics? Explain in brief, the political economy approach to the study of comparative inquiry. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <p>Comparative politics is key area in political science, pigeonholed by an empirical approach based on the comparative method. It often encompasses comparisons among countries and through time within single countries, emphasizing major patterns of similarity and difference. Political investigators use different approaches tools to arrive at greater political understanding. Approaches support in defining the kinds of facts which are relevant. The diversity of approaches is used by political scientists to attack the complexity of political systems and behaviour.</p>



Political-Economic approach

- Economics and politics are vital arenas of social science and in several respects they are closely related. In the prospectus of universities of India and many other countries a few decades ago, economics and political science established a single subject which suggests the close relationship between the two. This signifies that in the study of politics, economics has great importance.
- When evaluating the economic approaches, it is established that the policy formulations of economic nature and determination of the principles of planning which has recently become a part of the governmental activity are done by the government. In majority of the countries, public issues are economic issues and sometimes the only actors are the personnel of the government such as the prime minister, president and other ministers. This obvious relationship between the two subjects has placed the economic approach in a suitable position.
- Fiscal policies, industrial policy, agricultural policy, labour policy are all economic issues, but the foremost actors are the members of the

government. The executive branch takes the final decision. There are many specialists and advisers. The implementation is approved by the government. Policy regarding production and distribution, though within the jurisdiction of economics, is always decided by the government. It is well recognized that the impact of success and failure of the economic policies depend upon the government. So discussion of politics cannot be successful without economics.

- The greatest attribution of the economic approach to the study of politics emanates from the writings of Marx and Engels. The principle of class struggle, increasing impoverishment and capitalism's exploitation are based on economic factors. Marx and Engels have highlighted the heterogeneity of interests between the classes. Classes are formed on the basis of economic interests. Capitalist's profit making motive leads to exploitation of workers. To liberate from exploitation, the workers are enforced to struggle.
- The idea of emancipation is associated with economic terms. Marx stated that politics is controlled by the persons who own sources of production and manage the process of distribution. Outside economic influence, politics has no independent authority. Marx's theory of base (the state institution) and superstructure (society) is a matter of relationship between economics and politics. Possibly, Marx is the only philosopher who has vehemently argued the relationship between the two important subjects of social science. The interest group approach to the study of politics is popular in some liberal democratic countries and this conception is related with economic approach. Interest groups or pressure groups create pressure to achieve economic objectives. Therefore, interest group politics and economic approach are mutually dependent.

17. **Do you subscribe to the view that the modern constructs of the State and politics are pre-eminently Eurocentric and not indigenous an appropriate for the analysis of non-western societies?.(UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Since the rise of the modern state as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, the concept of state is inextricably bound up with European history and western political theory. Sujata Patel explains Eurocentric or Eurocentrism as

an idea that all knowledge emerged in Europe in the context of European modernity. Patel writes that this narrative incorporates two master narratives:

- 
- the superiority of Western civilization (through progress and reason);
- the belief in the continuous growth of capitalism (through modernisation, development and creation of new markets).
- Under this, Europe saw itself as the origin point of modernity, which became the point of reference for other cultures and civilisations. Through this, the European societies justified their imperial experience and the colonialism that they had imposed in other parts of the world.
- The rise of the modern state is attributed to the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 giving it a fixed definition of territory, population, government and sovereignty.
- The modern idea of State is rooted in European theories of liberal democracy and nationhood. This subscribes to the notion that the emergence of State was intrinsically linked to nationalism which emerged with industrial society and a homogenous culture (E. Gellner).
- Similarly, the state was a night-watchman with prime responsibility of law and order and having well established political institutions and stable governments separate from a developed civil society with economic enterprises usually in private hands. (Ralph Miliband).

However, these ideas of a modern state can't be applied to analyse most non-western societies due to the following reasons:

- Pluralist societies: Unlike the homogenous nation-states of Europe, most non-western societies consist of a myriad of religions, languages, communities and ethnicities. Thus, the European model of standardization rather than consolidating authority when applied to non-western societies has ended up causing civil wars.
- Overdeveloped state: Against Gunnar Myrdal's soft state thesis with respect to South Asian states, Hamza Alavi talks about the expansion of state power in developing countries wherein the complex bureaucratic military nexus controls all aspects of society including the civilian government.
- Traditional aspects with modern: The European understanding of state is often highlighted by modernization thesis (Rostow). However, in most non-western societies there is continuation of indigenous culture and



traditions within modern state for example the reverence for royal family in Japanese democracy or the politicization of caste (R. Kothari) in India.

- Post-coloniality: A number of non-western societies witnessed colonial rule which makes their analyses more complex. They differed not only from European liberal conception but also from Marxist. While State in Europe was viewed as handmaiden of bourgeoisie, Alavi and Saul argue that the post colonial state was not the instrument of a single class.
- Dependency state: The developmental model put ahead by likes of Powell, Pye, Coleman was criticized for being a cover for neocolonialism that created a dependent state in non-western societies relegated to the periphery of international economy (Frank, Amin, Wallerstein). Neera Chandoke argues that different countries have had different experiences with colonialism, distinctive political ideologies and differing vision of future. Naturally then any attempt to articulate a general theory of state in the developing societies based on global frames of analysis should be discouraged.

As suggested by Sudipta Kaviraj 'outside Europe the modern state succeeded as an instrument, and as an idea'. Except for leaders like Gandhi and Tagore, others enthusiastically adopted the idea and instrument of modern-state and India is an optimistic example of the establishment of a modern nation-state outside Europe, without violence as was seen in France and America.

We can say that the concept of modern state and politics, given to the world by Europe, has been altered by non-western societies to their needs. And with this, new lenses to analyze them is required along with the traditional ones. The non-western societies which are the post-colonial third world countries acquired this idea of state from their colonial masters. Most of the post-colonial states were formed unnaturally. The Berlin Conference of 1884 drew geometric boundaries across a map, resulting in the scramble of Africa. It divided coherent groups and merged disparate groups, resulting in events like the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and the instant rise of authoritarianism in post-colonial Africa.

18. **Identify the major differences between the classical realism of Hans J. Morgenthau and the neorealism of Kenneth Waltz. Which approach is the best suited for analysing international relations after the Cold War? Is globalization essentially a process of 'Universalisation' of capitalist**

**modernity?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The rise of international relations as a discipline and realist approach to IR has been synonymous with each other. With all its shortcomings, realism has been the most dominant theory in IR which has profoundly influenced the other approaches in the discipline. The differences between Classical Realism and Neo-Realism are explained below.

- The first difference pertains to the question – why states want power? According to the classic realists, the answer is human nature. They would argue that great powers are led by individuals who want to accumulate power and have their state dominate its rivals. Neo-realism traces it to the structure of international system. In an anarchical international system, states cannot trust each other's intentions and it makes sense for them to be powerful enough to protect themselves in case they are attacked. Neo-realism is also called structural realism as it gives central importance to the anarchical structure of international politics.
- Second, for classic realists, power is an end in itself while for the neo-realists, power is a means to an end and the ultimate end for a state is survival.
- Third, neo-realism followed a different methodology as it relied on methods drawn from microeconomics. It, therefore, claims to be more systematic and scientific than classic realism. Neo-realism was influenced by the behaviouralist revolution of the 1960s while classic realism is based on subjective interpretation of international politics.

Realism would not have predicted the fall of Soviet Union and the end of Cold War as it gives more focus to state as a unit and ignores certain actions of citizens that can threaten the survival of a state. One of the main reasons for the fall of USSR was that in many of its republics, citizens revolted against the Soviet leadership and demanded freedom and independence. Realist approach does not address the new threats to a state – climate change and terrorism. Terrorist groups like the Islamic State or Al Qaeda are also called non-state actors and realism does not have much to say about non-state actors. Critical perspective has challenged the inequality and injustice in IR and raised issues that are often ignored by mainstream theories like realism.

Hence, it can be said that both schools of thought have their own unique contribution in the field of International Relations but Waltz's ideas have

	<p>proven to be time tested and offer a better understanding of the developments that took place after the end of cold war especially given the failures during the Covid19 pandemic. Despite numerous differences though, both sets of realism continue to emphasise the 3S- Statism, Self-Help and Survival.</p>
19.	<p><b>Is globalization essentially a process of ‘Universalisation ’ of capitalist modernity?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Globalisation is not so simple and homogenous a phenomenon. The definition of globalisation has generally been disciplinary in nature, adapted to the aims and objectives of each discipline. Scholars define globalisation in different terms: global flows of capital and information affecting most of mankind (David Held and Anthony McGrew); abandonment of hierarchical and territorial structures in favour of less formal frameworks (Manuel Castells); easy transportation; global consciousness (Roland Robertson); powerful imaginations motivating migrations (Arjun Appadurai); global institutions (Held and McGrew); decreasing decision-making power of the nation states, etc. Globalisation is also understood as a ‘human condition’ (Robbie Robertson) that may be observed in the unfolding of history in different phases driving on various carriers. Manfred B. Steger calls globalisation a trend in history “as old as humanity itself”.</li><li>▪ Although the phenomenon is old, the origin of the term ‘globalisation’ is new. It became a commonly used term from the 1980s onward. The concepts and processes of connectivity, mobility, networks, interaction, communication, etc., between human beings, communities and places, are not new to human history. They precede the origins and history of capitalism. The literature of ‘world system’ and ‘world systems’ theories (Immanuel Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills) identify various inter-civilisational and interspatial large-scale networks in history, as ancient as the pre-Christian era. The socio-economic conditions of that point of time in no way can be called ‘capitalist modernity’.</li><li>▪ A close observation of the various definitions of globalisation and history reveals the process of interspatial interaction, mobility and communication between societies as the fundamental carrier of globalisation. The difference in the phenomenon of globalisation in the</li></ul>

contemporary phase is about its unprecedented pace and expansion. However, there are different views and projections of globalisation. 'Universalisation' of capitalist modernity is just one of the dominant views, primarily from the last quarter of the 20th century. The American and European economic-political project of liberalisation and privatisation was packaged and popularised as 'globalisation'.

- If we take globalisation as the expansion of the culture of 'capitalist modernity', it is a partial and skewed view of globalisation. The same carriers of 'globalisation' – revolution in transportation and communication – helping the expansion of 'capitalist modernity' have helped the 'postmodern cultures of resistance' to become popular and hold ground worldwide. The same tools have helped create new divisions on ethnic and religious lines, the recent example being the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Spread of religion in pre-modern times had been a great expression of globalisation. The spread of 'communist modernity' (antithetical to capitalist modernity) in history has also been a process and part of globalisation.
- Globalisation has created both cooperation and conflict. Therefore, calling globalisation as essentially a "process of 'universalisation' of capitalist modernity" is a simplistic, superficial and partial understanding of a holistic phenomenon in which numerous processes including the 'universalisation' of capitalist modernity become a subset, involved in the unfolding dialectics of the whole.

20. **What is the difference between interest Groups and Pressure Groups? Are the Pressure Groups in India in a position to fully protect or promote the interests of their members? (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Interest parties are a large category of organizations that are formed to promote a special interest. Theoretically, interest categories involve pressure categories, though the wider populace is generally more associated with pressure/ interest organizations in the advocacy field. These categories as organizations are dealing with an objective rather than authoritarian policy control should be distinguished from pressure categories.

Pressure categories, within interest categories, are particular domains. These categories use constant and manipulative tactics to manipulate politicians

and persuade them. Pressure groups in India are always political in nature and are generally advocacy or lobbying firms or organizations.

Interest parties are clustered established by persons who have a shared passion of any kind. From intramural activities to policy, this mutual desire may be everything. As government advocacy organizations, most persons are acquainted with interest groups, although they aren't always politically linked.

Interest parties have different hierarchical grades and categories. Interest categories, nevertheless, typically have some type of organized structure, a hierarchy or at most defined positions. Seeing as interest categories are often revenues or financials of nonprofits or corporations, an institutional arrangement is mandated by statute.

Pressure parties are advocacy entities as well, but they are formed primarily to deal with legislative or governmental problems where interest categories may simply really want to foster any involvement within their party or their wider population, pressure categories are created to exert "pressure" on politicians or public organizations to implement policies in the interest of the pressure group.

Pressure parties are organized systematically and narrowly. They also act as corporations or are organized as non-profits. Pressure parties generally have a solid organizational structure and they are basically advocacy agencies. After the ruling in the case of the Citizens United Supreme Court, some companies today act as pressure parties since these laws on corporate contributions vary.

Since interest parties are a diverse classification, this may spread their proposals using a vast range of strategies Rhetorical or psychological convincing strategies are more widely employed, that are less aggressive and coercive than persuasion methods. Interested parties, although not in an overtly political atmosphere, can use capital as a negotiating tool.

In the U.S., the federal government does not appear to strictly control political organizations that are unrelated to legislation and advocacy. There will be no reason to file with the authorities for a broad football interest group which does not contribute to governments or legislators and therefore does not engage in lobbying activities. Interest

For using persuasion techniques, pressure categories are called. Pressure strategies may extend to profits which contribute to constant and manipulative coercion to approve a deal. Pressure methods had a negative image within the corporate world very much with the use of unethical strategies like threats and corruption. That being said, because the actions of pressure parties are closely controlled, illegitimate forms of pressure techniques can not be counted on.

Rather, at sessions, ads and marketing, and fundraising and campaign contributions, they will use intimidation techniques like relentless contact, knowledge dropping and incessant conversation. Usually, pressure parties actively contact politicians or firms before they persuade or blackmail a policymaker to embrace the stance of the organization.

By design, pressure categories need federal supervision Their operations and contacts with politicians are tightly limited since interest parties aim to manipulate legislation. There really are laws that preclude ties among a legislator and a lobbyist's partner, and also stringent limits on donation and providing for lawmakers' trips or snacks.

The government regulates the cashflow of interest parties; pressure categories



	<p>parties which lobby and are forced to report much of their fundraising events are, politically-related economic nevertheless, controlled. operations, and thus are restricted on just how much they can finance and contribute to members of the party.</p> <p>Pressure groups are now considered as an indispensable and helpful element of the democratic process. The society has become highly complex and individuals cannot pursue their interests on their own. They need the support of other fellow beings in order to gain greater bargaining power; this gives rise to pressure groups based on common interests. Pressure groups in India represent interest of various sections of Indian society and economy such as Business groups, Trade unions, Professionals group, Students organisation, Agrarian groups etc. Various shortcomings of Pressure Groups in India include the following:-</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Misuse of power: Instead of the pressure groups exerting influence on political process, they become tools and implements to sub serve political interests.</li><li>▪ Narrow selfish interests: Some Pressure Groups promote narrow selfish interest.</li><li>▪ Instability: Most pressure groups do not have autonomous existence; they are unstable and lack commitment, their loyalties shift with political situations which threatens general welfare. They many a times resort to unconstitutional means like violence. Naxalite movement started in 1967 in West Bengal is one such example.</li><li>▪ Propagating extremism: Pressure groups can allow too much influence over the government from unelected extremist minority groups, which in turn could lead to unpopular consequences.</li></ul>
21.	<b>‘The struggle for democracy has been marked by bitter strife and tribulations’ Examine the statement, illustrating the cases of Pakistan,</b>

**Nepal and Myanmar. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- Post decolonisation, Most of the third-world countries adopted a democratic form of government. However, this western political practice could not sustain, and in many countries, democracy was reduced to electionalism.
- Pakistan got independence in 1947 and since then has mostly been under military control, directly or indirectly. As suggested by Christophe Jaffrelot, because of the contradictory elements, ideas and motives that continue to exist in the country. There continues to be tension between the unitary identity of the state versus the ethnic identity of regions, the complex relationship between civilian politicians and military institutions, and the role of Islam in the governance of Pakistan.
- Nepal, on the other hand, was never colonised but remained a monarchy. Since 1950, the country has been experimenting with democracy which has failed after a minute success. Recently, there is again an ongoing crisis concerning the leadership of the ruling Communist Party of Nepal- Unified Marxist-Leninist which has led to the dissolution of the parliament and the rise of several constitutional questions. The crisis even gave rise to pro-monarchy rallies by a section. Further, there are issues of identity politics with Madhesis, Dalits and Janjatis seeking more participation in decision-making.
- Further east, Myanmar's democratically elected government is most frequently removed by a military coup. Myanmar was only a decade-old democracy after nearly a half-century of direct or indirect military rule. The military did not simply return to the barracks after 2010, and the Myanmar society faces a crisis of tolerance; Rohingyas are just one example.
- In Robert Dahl's work on polyarchy, freedom is central to democracy. Freedom to formulate and express their preferences and to have a share in the government of one's society. But most of these countries turned into electoral authoritarianism or a tutelary regime rather than democracy. And the fight between unlimited state and freedom-seeking citizens continues, leading to loss of life, liberty, and dignity.

22. **Discuss the theory of Nuclear Deterrence. Did Nuclear Deterrence prevent a superpower war?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The principle of nuclear deterrence was born out of the symbiosis of the principle of military deterrence and the emergence of nuclear weapons. It is a military doctrine according to which the possibility that a country will use the nuclear weapons it possesses in retaliation will deter an enemy from attacking. For deterrence to work, two conditions should be present: severity and credibility.

- Severity entails threatening a prospective opponent with a retaliation that would outweigh any potential benefits they could hope to gain from attacking. A severe response can take many forms, including harsh economic sanctions, diplomatic isolation, or military action. During the Cold War, nuclear weapons served as the ultimate deterrent as both the United States and the Soviet Union built enough bombs to annihilate the other.
- Credibility means making an opponent believe that further aggression on their part will provoke retaliation. Countries can signal their seriousness by testing weapons, increasing their military presence in a contested region, conducting exercises to simulate real attacks, and publicly announcing new weapons technologies. An important part of credibility is the willingness to use force. During the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union established credibility by taking military action to support their foreign partners, demonstrating that they would be able and willing to follow through on their pledges to use force if an ally were attacked. The two superpowers also built special silos, planes, and submarines to ensure that if attacked with a nuclear weapon, they could still retaliate in kind. As a result, leaders on both sides knew a strike by either country would devastate both—an idea known as mutually assured destruction.

The Cold War logic of nuclear deterrence maintains that nuclear-armed states will not attack one another because of fear of massive retaliation, or mutually assured destruction (MAD). By this logic, nuclear weapons promote stability and can prevent war. In the words of realist scholar Kenneth Waltz, 'Those who like peace should love nuclear weapons.' The Cold War stayed largely cold because of the deterring effects of nuclear weapons, with the Soviet Union

	amassing forty-five thousand nuclear warheads and the United States thirty-one thousand.
23.	<p><b>What are the real objectives of Millennium Development Goals (MDG)? Do you think that millennium development goals have been able to achieve the desired goals of poverty alleviation and sustainable development?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <p>The Millennium Development Goals are the international community's most broadly shared, comprehensive and focused framework for reducing poverty. Drawn from the Millennium Declaration, adopted and agreed to by all Governments in 2000, the MDGs represent the commitments of United Nations Member States to reduce extreme poverty and its many manifestations: hunger, disease, gender inequality, lack of education and access to basic infrastructure, and environmental degradation.</p> <p>It is undeniable that the MDGs have, for more than a decade, underpinned the drive for adopting new approaches to tackling barriers to development. Moreover, the over-arching vision of the MDGs – achieving a 50% reduction in poverty worldwide by 2015 – has brought the international development community closer together.</p> <p>Each goal had specific targets which the United Nations hoped they would meet by 2015. Some goals had more success than others.</p> <p>The UN's goal of halving global poverty was met with resounding success, as the number of people living on less than one dollar and 25 cents a day dropped from one point nine billion in 1990, to 836 million in 2015. An estimated 14 percent of the global population are living in extreme poverty today, down from nearly half in 1990.</p> <p>The reduction in the proportion of undernourished people globally narrowly missed its target, coming within two percent of the 50 percent reduction goal. Though narrowly missing their target, given the exponential human population growth over the last three two decades, it is still a considerable success.</p> <p>The goals suffered two more near misses in their attempts to increase educational opportunities for all, including establishing gender equality in schools. An estimated 10 percent of children are not receiving any formal education, and only about two -thirds of developing countries have achieved gender equality in the classroom.</p>

	<p>Goals four and five of the Millennium Goals, which addressed child and maternal mortality, respectively, both failed to meet their targets. While both the mortality rate of children under five and maternal deaths were reduced by over half, both failed to reach the two-thirds reduction target.</p> <p>Goal six, stop and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDs, malaria, and other diseases was similarly not met in the given 15-year time frame. Although the rate of new HIV/AIDS infections has fallen by around 40 percent, an estimated two point one million people are still being infected annually. The fight against malaria and other diseases prevalent in developing areas has seen more success however, with an estimated six point two million malaria deaths averted between 2000 and 2015.</p> <p>The final two goals of the 2000 Millennium Development Goals tackled strengthening infrastructure, sustainable development, and international partnership. While both goals are still on-going endeavors, over the last decade, two point six billion people have gained access to improved drinking water and official development assistance to developing nations has risen by nearly seven percent.</p> <p>Overall, the United Nations has experienced great success in their struggle to address the needs of the poor around the world, but they are the first to admit that more work is needed.</p>
24.	<p><b>Do you endorse that the conventional discourse on human rights has failed to include women's rights? Explain in the context of feminist theories?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Non-feminist approach to women's human rights all too often sees them as separate or in some way secondary to other human rights concerns, does not take women's lives and daily experiences into account, and sees women's human rights as conflicting with other rights such as religious practices, the rights of men or the (perceived) rights of the unborn child from the moment of conception.</li><li>▪ The critique that the human rights framework is androcentric and marginalizes women's experiences was articulated by feminist lawyers, development practitioners, and internationally oriented women's organizations starting in the 1980s.</li><li>▪ Human rights law has evolved since 1948 and there have been three so-called "generations" of human rights treaties (civil and political</li></ul>

rights; social and cultural rights; the rights of groups or peoples), yet for feminists they all share the same flaw: “they are built on typically male life experiences and in their current form do not respond to the most pressing risks women face”.

- For the many women around the world whose greatest risk is the one they face at home, a list of political, economic and above all public rights will mean very little. Whereas, the very real dangers faced by women inside or outside of the home are often seen as “too specific to women to be seen as human or too generic to human beings to be seen as specific to women”. Women have distinctive rights, which are also human rights, and which require seeing the human as not only male.
- An effort has been made more recently to redress these imbalances and inequalities and to assert the human rights of women, most noticeably through the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and its Optional Protocol, and through international conferences such as the Beijing Platform for Action. These were no doubt born out of feminist activism; however, their feminism has been tempered by non-feminist and oppressive states refusing to subscribe to principles that could greatly limit them, and their activism has been restricted by the enduring patriarchy of the United Nations. The resulting Women’s Convention is largely one that protects women’s rights to the same rights stated for men in existing treaties, in other words an “approach of adding women and stirring them into existing first-generation human rights categories”, rather than acknowledging women’s specific experiences and rights. States were also allowed to sign and ratify the Women’s Convention whilst stating reservations, many of which are completely contrary to the aim of non-discrimination. For example, in response to Article 16 on equal marriage rights, Algeria entered a reservation that these should not contradict the Algerian Family Code.
- Perhaps one of the best examples of the lack of acknowledgement of women’s lives and experiences in international human rights law can be seen in the scant provision for women’s reproductive rights. The Convention makes no reference at all to women’s sexual rights, such as freedom to choose whether or not to have sex, freedom to have consensual sex and sex not linked to reproduction, there is some limited mention of women’s reproductive rights.



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ The non-feminist hijacking of CEDAW has resulted in a convention that does not reflect the lives of women and still seems to see some issues as too personal to be political, and some dangers as inevitable and inherent to the condition of being female. Feminists must continue fighting to rescue women's human rights and to gain international recognition for the fact that when a woman dies from a preventable situation, her government is complicit in that violation of her most basic right, the right to life.</li></ul>
25.	<p><b>How far are the world governance mechanisms, dominated by IMF and world bank, legitimate and relevant? What measures do you suggest to improve their effectiveness in global governance?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <p>Founded in 1944, the World Bank Group (WBG, or Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF, or Fund) are twin intergovernmental institutions that are influential in shaping the structure of the world's development and financial order. Also known as the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs), they were initially created with the intention of rebuilding the international economic system following World War II (WWII).</p> <p>In the 1980s and 1990s, the policies championed by the BWIs were inspired in principle by the so-called 'Washington Consensus', which focused ideologically on promoting free-market economic policies such as deregulation, privatisation and trade liberalisation, as well as targeting unlimited economic growth, and were implemented primarily through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs).</p> <p>Thew BWIs have historically been seen as an instrument of United States and other Western countries' political and economic power.</p> <p><b>Criticisms against the IMF</b></p> <p>IMF's role as a crisis lender is becoming both smaller and less effective.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Many large emerging markets have built up significant foreign exchange reserves to protect themselves against currency crises.</li><li>▪ The IMF is no longer the sole provider of emergency loans in times of crisis. Gulf countries like Saudi Arabia have started offering emergency cash, sometimes through unconventional means such as depositing money directly into the borrower's central bank.</li><li>▪ China has become a major creditor to poor countries with urgent financial needs. Many of these countries are now defaulting on their</li></ul>

debts or seeking restructuring due to rising interest rates and the pandemic. But China is reluctant to participate in debt write-downs because it believes that the IMF should bear its share of losses as a lender of last resort. Without debt write-downs, many of these countries may struggle to maintain sustainable finances, while creditors are bailed out.

- Although many loans have been approved by the IMF, most are conditional on restructuring the loan, which has not been agreed upon by China. And hence these countries in distress are not able to receive financial aid from the IMF. For example, much of the money intended for Suriname has been in limbo for over a year, as China has not been cooperating. And as the IMF struggles, China has increased its own emergency lending. These trends could make the IMF irrelevant.

#### **Criticisms against the WB**

- **Power Distribution:** There has been inequitable distribution of voting power ever since the inception of the World Bank. The World Bank system amounts to \$1 = 1 vote. Therefore, richer countries often tend to decide how the developing nations carry out their developmental process, while they only contribute 14% to the world's population.
- **Sovereign Immunity:** The World Bank faces has sovereign immunity from all member countries. This leads to moral injustice as it is not accountable to its members and does not have a binding obligation to work in their best interests.
- **Planning and Implementation:** The World Bank has a very poor implementation record in terms of helping developing countries and has in fact been criticized of extending funds and support with the motive of simply extending its geopolitical presence in these regions.

#### **Measures Required**

The 3 pillars reforming the global monetary and financial governance include the following: -

1. **Fairness:** Making the system equitable should be the first pillar of any real reform. Thus, reviews of IMF quotas should ensure a much more effective representation of each member country, corresponding closely with its actual economic importance today.
2. **Mandate:** The IMF's mandate should explicitly include effective surveillance of capital flows, which, in a highly financialized world, has much greater influence on exchange rates and countries'

macroeconomic situations than fluctuations in current account balances. Towards this, the IMF, together with the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) and leading central banks, should establish a framework for the management of global liquidity, with the objective of preventing financial crises and fragmentation of the global financial system.

- - SDRs could become an essential tool in this context. By issuing SDRs in the event of a shortage of liquidity or withdrawing them from circulation in the event of an over-abundance, the IMF could better play the role of a global central bank. To allow SDRs to fully play an effective role in the management of global liquidity, steps to broaden the SDR market and develop its role as a global currency need to be taken.
  - The IMF role of lender-of-last-resort should also be more explicitly recognized in its Articles of Agreement and its resources should be increased significantly. This recognition would assure countries exposed to aberrant capital-flow fluctuations of protection without their having to accumulate excessive and poorly productive reserves.
3. **Governance:** To endow the IMF with greater democratic accountability and legitimacy, the decision-making role of the International Monetary and Financial Committee (IMFC)—composed of the finance ministers and central bank governors of the 24 countries with seats at its Executive Board—should be enhanced, while its executive directors, who have a more administrative profile, should prepare the agenda.
- - Given that re-orienting global financial institutions is now effectively viewed as a G20 mandate, it's desirable to review the G20's composition for truly universal and equitable representation of all countries in the design and implementation of global strategies. This can be done via a system of regional constituencies that has served the Bretton Woods institutions well, and steps were taken in this direction under India's G20 presidency.

These measures would amount to reforming the international financial system.

26.	<p><b>Discuss the collapse of the Soviet Union and its impact on international politics. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <p>The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was a loose confederation of 15 republics with Russia as the leader. USSR was a strong bloc with great control over global politics from 1922 to 1991, when it was disintegrated into smaller units.</p> <p><b><u>Reasons for the collapse of the USSR</u></b></p> <p>1. Economic Weakness - The weakness of the economy was the major cause of dissatisfaction among the people in USSR. There was severe shortage of consumer items. The reason for economic weakness were the following.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Huge military spending.</li><li>2. Maintenance of satellite states in Eastern Europe.</li><li>3. Maintenance of the Central Asian Republics within the USSR.</li></ol> <p>2. Political Un-accountability - The communist party regime (single party rule) for around 70 years turned authoritarian. There was widespread corruption, nepotism and lack of transparency. Gorbachev's decision to allow elections with a multi-party system and create a presidency for the Soviet Union began a slow process of democratization that eventually destabilized Communist control and contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union.</p> <p>3. Gorbachev's reforms - Once people started to enjoy freedom under Michael Gorbachev's reforms, they demanded more. The demand grew into a big force which turned difficult to control. The people wanted to catch up with the west quickly.</p> <p>4. Rise of nationalism - The rise of nationalism among countries like Russia, Baltic republics (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), Ukraine, Georgia etc. is the most important and immediate cause of the disintegration of the USSR. The national feeling was strong among the more prosperous areas in the USSR and not in Central Asian republics. Ordinary people in prosperous republics didn't like to pay a big price to uplift the backward Central Asian republics.</p> <p><b><u>Impact of the disintegration of the Soviet Union</u></b></p> <p>The disintegration of the Soviet Union and collapse of the Socialist system in East European countries had major consequences on World Politics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ End of Cold War- The collapse of the Soviet Union brought an end to the Cold War politics. It ended the mutual suspension, fear, tensions and hostilities that existed between the two blocs, that is, the US and</li></ul>

the USSR. The dispute that had triggered off a massive arms race and formation of military alliances between the two superpowers was no longer in existence.

- Capitalism emerged as a dominant ideology- The collapse of the Soviet Union also revealed the weaknesses of the communist system and represented the defeat of the socialist model of economy and governance, with liberal democratic capitalist system emerging as the dominant ideology. Following the collapse of the socialist model, many countries including India adopted more liberal economic policies endorsing liberalisation, privatisation, opening up the economy to foreign investors, etc.
- Change in power equation- The disintegration of the Soviet Union ended the bipolarity that had characterised world politics after the Second World War. It opened the options of a unipolar world, where one country would dominate the world affairs, or a multipolar world, where a number of powerful countries would influence world politics.
- Emergence of a unipolar world- The fall of the Soviet Union resulted in the shift of power towards the US, which emerged as a superpower dominating and influencing global politics. The world witnessed the rise of the US as a hegemon, with its largest military base, dominant capitalist economic system and profound cultural influence over other countries, including India. In this regard, we may cite the example of India's rethink on its policies with the US after the disintegration.
- Emergence of new countries- The fall of the Soviet Union resulted in the rise of many new countries. The 15 Union Republics of the former Soviet Union became independent countries with their own distinct identity and political aspirations. While many of these countries chose to become members of the EU and NATO, others maintained close ties with Russia. Thus, we saw the rise of many new players in international politics.

The disintegration had its profound implications on countries like India which had to redefine its own foreign policy. Financial aid from the Soviet Union almost came to an end, bringing India into the brink of an economic crisis that compelled the country to open its economy to private players. Moreover, Russian defence supplies to India declined after the disintegration. Thus, it opened new challenges for India to rework its strategies and forge closer ties with the US.

27.	<p><b>Has the reform of the economic and social arrangements of the United Nations been effective?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <p>UN's role as a global governance mechanism is of paramount importance. He singled out several merits of UN such as preventing escalation of the Cold War, participation in peace-keeping efforts, preventing intensification of security problems into global conflagration, aiding in strategic consultation, setting norms for decolonisation and disarmament, and so on. Richly appreciating the role played by the United Nations, Dr. Shashi Tharoor, Member of Parliament now, and a former UN Under Secretary General, has said that the call of the hour is a "renewed" and by no means, a "retired" UN.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ The collective security model on which the UN is based is plagued by two problems: big power dominance and selective engagement.</li><li>▪ However <b>smaller states are still victims</b> to the politics of big states. In 1945, the UN was an organisation of 'states' and non-state actor.</li><li>▪ The UN has made remarkable contributions but what it has not done is to create <b>obligations for developed</b> countries besides from the official development assistance targets as opposed to aspirations and targets for developing countries.</li><li>▪ UN is the most sophisticated and successful human experiment. It is undoubtedly the cornerstone of international architecture. But like the curate's egg, it is only good in parts. When things go right, the UN takes credit but when things go wrong it is the fault of the member states. Hence, it is held that there is an <b>internal credibility gap</b> between the achievement and objective of the United Nations. But, the flip side is we cannot blame the UN for what it is not responsible. We live in a more multipolar world unlike in the times when the UN was formed between the binary of the victorious and the vanquished.</li><li>▪ UN must attain its Millennium Development Goals, must devise ways of <b>securing consent</b> more easily from members, the members in its permanent bodies (General Assembly and Security Council) must have seats representing its share of population in the world and legal clarity must be brought in its various declarations.</li><li>▪ Smaller states are still victims to the politics of big states. In 1945, the UN was an organisation of 'states' and non-state actors had not come</li></ul>



to the fore. This has changed and demands equivalent adaptations in the workings of the UN.

▪ **The Impact of Global Conflicts on UN Reform Efforts:**

- Geopolitical conflicts and tensions among major powers can significantly affect UN reform efforts. For example, disputes between Russia and Western countries, such as those related to **Ukraine** or Syria, can hinder cooperation on broader reform issues.
- These conflicts divert attention and resources away from the reform agenda, making it difficult to find common ground.

▪ **The Role of Regional Powers in Influencing the UN's Agenda:**

- Regional powers, both those with and without permanent seats on the Security Council, play a significant role in influencing the UN's agenda and reform efforts.
- These countries often advocate for reforms that align with their own regional interests and priorities. This can lead to competing agendas and complex negotiations within the UN, further complicating reform initiatives.

The United Nations (UN) is facing a crisis of relevance in addressing **global conflicts and crises**. The current structure and functioning of the UN hinder its ability to effectively address emerging challenges. Structural reform is essential to restore the UN's importance and effectiveness in international politics.

28. **‘The European Union has become, the most politically influential, economically powerful and demographically diverse regional entity in the world’ Discuss. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The rise of the European Union (EU) as a highly influential regional organization can be attributed to a combination of historical, political, economic, and institutional factors.

- The EU's origins can be traced back to the aftermath of World War II when European nations sought to prevent further devastating conflicts. The Treaty of Paris in 1951 established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which marked the beginning of European integration. The memory of two world wars provided a strong impetus for regional cooperation and peace.

- The establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) through the Treaty of Rome in 1957 laid the foundation for economic integration. The Common Market, which allowed for the free movement of goods, capital, services, and people, promoted economic growth and stability.
- The creation of the Single European Act in 1986 and the adoption of the euro as a common currency in 1999 further deepened economic integration. These measures enhanced economic efficiency and facilitated trade, investment, and cross-border economic activity.
- The EU's ability to respond to crises, such as the Balkan conflicts in the 1990s and the debt crisis in the early 2010s, demonstrated its capacity to manage complex challenges. Crisis responses showcased the EU as a stabilizing force and enhanced its influence in conflict resolution and economic governance.
- The development of a CFSP and the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) allowed the EU to speak with a unified voice on international issues and participate in peacekeeping missions and crisis management.
- The EU's institutional structure, including the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Council, has enabled effective decision-making and policy implementation. The Lisbon Treaty in 2009 further streamlined the EU's institutions, making it more efficient and coherent.
- As one of the world's largest trading blocs, the EU's economic leverage has enabled it to negotiate favorable trade agreements and exert influence on global trade regulations.

The EU's rise as an influential regional organization is a testament to its ability to adapt, expand, and evolve in response to changing global dynamics. It remains a key player in global affairs, and its influence extends beyond Europe's borders, impacting a wide range of international issues.

29. **How is it that economic and neo-liberal globalization is being interrogated from inside even in developed countries? What are the economic consequences of such globalisation?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- Globalisation, among many other phenomenon, is a project of increasing free trade.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ The anti-globalisation movement first came to worldwide attention during a WTO meeting in Seattle in the year 1999. It went down after a series of protests, but the voices of discontent are rising yet again.</li><li>▪ In theory, the globalisation of trade in goods and services would benefit consumers in rich countries by giving them access to inexpensive goods produced by cheaper labour in poorer countries. This, in turn, would help grow the economies of those poorer countries. But on the ground, globalisation has caused job losses and depressed wages, particularly the competition between workers in developing and developed countries that helped drive down wages and job security for workers in developed countries. Importing goods from developing countries reduces the demand for unskilled workers in Europe and the United States.</li><li>▪ The neo-liberal prioritisation of finance and trade over the welfare of people has disappointed people resulting in a rising distrust of the establishment that is blamed for the inequality. The right-wing is rising in the USA and Europe with warning against rampant globalisation that is endangering their civilisation. Unemployment and high inequality give rise to insecurity which is often directed at the immigrants who are blamed for stealing jobs.</li><li>▪ Joseph Stiglitz writes in Globalisation and its Discontents that the problem is not globalisation, but how the process is being managed. If globalisation is to benefit most members of the society, strong social protection measures must be in place as in the Scandinavian countries.</li></ul>
30.	<p><b>The social structure of a country influences its foreign policy-making. How does the social structure of India impact the course and direction of its foreign policy?.(UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ A nation's foreign policy flows from several sources: From the international system to its domestic political imperatives to the cultural factors that underlie its society to the personal characteristics and perceptions of individual decision-makers. This usually provides an essential continuity to a nation's foreign policy framework. Like most nations, India's external outlook has also traditionally been a result of these varied factors interacting and transforming each other.</li><li>▪ In view of the vast diversity in the social, economic, linguistic and territorial dimensions of India, there arises occasions with regard to</li></ul>

specific policy measures, when certain sections of people try to look at the issue from a parochial perspective casting aspersion on the sanctity of national interest. In such cases, the government of India needs to be assertive enough to push for the policy which it deems appropriate despite spirited opposition to such policies. (i.e) there is need for certain degree of stridency in the institutions and mechanism of foreign policy making in India so that the policies aimed at protecting and promoting national interests of the country are carried through despite the opposition of certain vested sections of society.

The following factors conclude that social structure essentially influence the India's foreign policy.

- 
- If the social cohesion is weak then it is insecurity dilemma which threatens the national interest while security dilemma threatens nations is an external factor but insecurity dilemma is internal factor example ; left wing extremism
- Due to less social cohesion there will be simmering instability of the very political structure which directly impact countries foreign policies
- As the democracy is universally accepted form of political system where the pressure group, civil societies, and most importantly citizens of the country who are politically socialized in a social democratic order will essentially check the countries external relations. NGOs and civil society groups representing marginalised communities on the left are opposed to a foreign economic policy that they saw as causing dislocation, suffering for the poor and environmental harm.
- Owing to the importance of public opinion in a democratic government's hold on power, domestic public opinion can shape foreign policy choices. However, due to foreign policy being an issue of less salience for the public, and with public opinion still not universally understood as a coherent variable, it may not independently exert influence on foreign policy. However, public opinion is an important intervening variable as it mediates the relationship between policy choices and how it is framed by the government to bolster its image. Thus, public opinion is an important variable in relation to foreign policy decision-making

	<p>as, based on perceived public interest or outrage for policies, governments may prime the public by framing interventions that magnify their favourability.</p> <p>The main incident, which established India as a regional power, was the creation of Bangladesh. 1971 was crucial for India's position in the region. The flood of refugees that poured into India had severe effects on the economy and on India's social structure. Out of economic and strategic necessity India trained, armed and then gave combat support to the Bangladeshi refugees.</p>
31.	<p><b>'Non-alignment' has been the basic principle of india's foreign policy since independence. Discuss its relevance in the contemporary context. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</b></p> <p>The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was <b>formed during the Cold War</b> as an organization of states that did not seek to formally align themselves with either the United States or the Soviet Union but sought to remain independent or neutral. India played an instrumental role in the establishment of NAM in 1961. For India, NAM is an important platform that is in tandem with the needs and principles of its foreign policy. It provides an opportunity for India to attain its objective and interests in the international sphere. Some of them as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ <b>Balancing the Cold War between the US and China:</b> In the current geopolitics, the competition between the USA and China is gradually acquiring the characteristics of the Cold war (Trade War, Indo-pacific narrative, etc). India can leverage NAM in preventing the polarization of the world again.</li><li>▪ <b>Strengthening of Multipolar World Order:</b> A multipolar world order is in concurrence with Indian foreign policy. Thus, NAM can help in the formation of a multipolar world with India becoming a major pole.</li><li>▪ <b>Countering Neo-colonialism by China:</b> China's investment in Africa and Asia through its <b>Belt and Road initiative</b> is criticized for being neo-colonialism in nature. During the cold war, the NAM played an instrumental role in the decolonization project. Similarly, in present times, NAM can help India in establishing the ethos of collective action.</li><li>▪ <b>Global South Cooperation:</b> India is widely perceived as a leader of the developing world. Thus, India's engagement with NAM will further help in the rise of India's stature as the voice of the developing world or</li></ul>

global south. In times of increasing protectionism, NAM can provide a platform for South-South cooperation.

- **Support for India's Candidature in UNSC:** Among 120 members of the NAM and most of them are also the members of the UN General Assembly. This could help India in garnering support for not only democratisation of the UN but also for a permanent seat in the United Nation Security Council.
- **Combating Global Issues:** NAM becomes relevant to India in mobilising international public opinion against terrorism, weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), nuclear proliferation, ecological imbalance, safeguarding interests of developing countries in WTO (World Trade Organization)etc.

Given the relevance of NAM in present times, it remains a **critical diplomatic forum** for the pursuit of India's foreign policy interests. Therefore India must refrain from treating NAM as a ritual to be performed every three years and start engaging with NAM constructively.