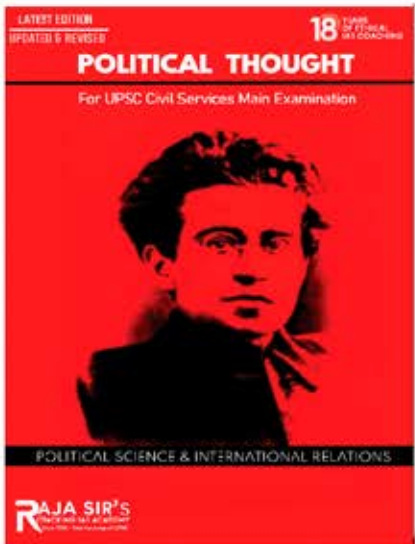


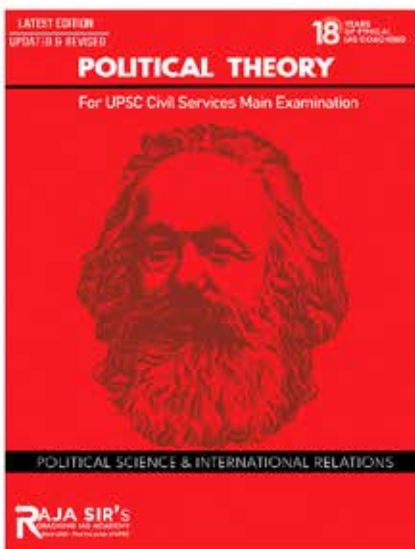
POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Answer Writing Practice



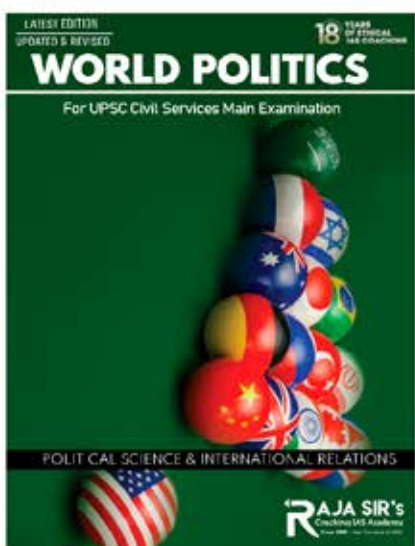
Discuss the conceptual dimensions of collective security. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

The concept of collective security, which grows out of liberal institutionalism, refers to the formation of a broad alliance of most major actors in an international system for the purpose of jointly opposing aggression....



Discuss India's vision of a New World order in the 21st century. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

The world got polarized into two blocs after the end of Second World War in 1945, one led by USA and other led by USSR. India was a newly independent country and opted not to join any hostile blocs and.....



Explain the Aristotelian view of politics. To what extent do you think it has contributed to the development of modern-day constitutional democracies?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

The world got polarized into two blocs after the end of Second World War in 1945,.....

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Discuss the conceptual dimensions of collective security. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

- The concept of collective security, which grows out of liberal institutionalism, refers to the formation of a broad alliance of most major actors in an international system for the purpose of jointly opposing aggression by any actor. Kant laid out the rationale for this approach. Because past treaties ending great power wars had never lasted permanently, **Kant proposed a federation (league) of the world's states**. Through such a federation, Kant proposed, the majority of states could unite to punish any one state that committed aggression, safeguarding the collective interests of all the nations while protecting the self-determination of small nations that all too easily became pawns in great power games.
- After the horrors of World War I, the **League of Nations** was formed to promote collective security. But it was flawed in two ways. Its membership did not include all the great powers (including the most powerful one, the United States), and its members proved unwilling to bear the costs of collective action to oppose aggression when it did occur in the 1930s, starting with Japan and Italy.
- After World War II, the **United Nations** was created as the League's successor to promote collective security. Several regional IGOs also currently perform collective security functions (detering aggression) as well as economic and cultural ones—the Organization of American States (OAS), the Arab League, and the African Union.
- The success of collective security depends on two points. **First**, the members must keep their alliance commitments to the group (that is, members must not free ride on the efforts of other members). When a powerful state commits aggression against a weaker one, it often is not in the immediate interest of other powerful states to go to war over the issue. Suppressing a determined aggressor can be very costly. **A second requisite** for collective security is that enough members must agree on what constitutes aggression. The UN Security Council is structured so that aggression is defined by what all five permanent members, in addition to at least four of the other ten members, can agree on. This collective security system does not work against aggression by a great power. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, or the United States mined the harbors of Nicaragua, or France blew up the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, the UN could do nothing—because those states can veto Security Council resolutions.
- The concept of collective security has broadened in recent years. For example, failed states have very weak control of their territory, making them potential

havens for drug trafficking, money laundering, and terrorist bases. Essentially, domestic politics looks rather like international anarchy. Currently, Somalia is such a case. It has an extremely weak government that cannot control large parts of territory, and has become a home to terrorist organizations and pirates. In these cases, the international community has a duty to intervene, according to some approaches, to restore law and order.

- The phrase Collective security is sometimes used inaccurately to describe regional or bloc security arrangements such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (1947) (the RIO Treaty), which do not fulfil the criterion of universality and are examples of alliance systems and collective defence rather than collective security in the fullest sense.
- **Collective self-defence** the right of a state or group of states to come to the defence of another state that is victim of an armed attack until the united commission on human rights nations security council has taken the measures necessary to restore international peace and security. The right of collective self-defence under article is most commonly accepted as the right of states to come to the rescue of a state whose situation meets the conditions of legitimate individual self-defence under the United Nations charter. There is no requirement that the states offering assistance should themselves be endangered. Collective defence is to be distinguished from the idea of collective security. The former has never been questioned by the United Nations (UN). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a regional organization, for instance, was explicitly based on the principle of collective self-defence.

Discuss the efficacy of global conventions to combat international terrorism. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

Scholars like Rhyle Vallis and others tried to lay down some of the key characters of terrorism for which Martha Crenshaw stated that terrorism is a violent action as a mean to political ends which are as follows:

- Acts or threats of violence
- The communication of fear to an audience beyond the immediate victim
- Political, economic, or religious aims by the perpetrator(s).

Terrorism can be categorized under the following verticals:

- Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism
- Religious Terrorism
- Ideology Terrorism
- State-sponsored Terrorism
- Narco Terrorism
- Cyber Terrorism, etc.

Peter R. Neumann in his book 'Old & New Terrorism: Late Modernity, Globalization and the Transformation of Political Violence' makes a credible case that globalization has been a facilitating factor in the transition from older to newer terrorism.

Some of the international instruments lying with combating terrorism:

- International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, 1997
- International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, 1999
- International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear terrorism, 2005, etc.

In addition to this, several international and regional bodies have framed laws related to the same like CCIT (proposed by India in UNGA), RATS (SCO), Christchurch Call, FATF, etc. The productivity and efficiency lying with these organizations:

- CCIT (Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism), was proposed by India in UNGA at the 73rd session of United Nations General Assembly. However, the problem is lying with the uniform discussion of terrorism that has become a conflict for different countries.
- RATS is a mechanism created in the regional platform like SCO. But, as HT Editor and Foreign Policy expert, Prमित Roy Chowdhury, stated that any step up of action against Pakistan can come as a major opposition from the key stakeholder like China. (Madhav Singh Puri stated that though there are a string of other stakeholders present in the group, it is still a China-centric group due to the name of the group, and because the group holds 25% of the global GDP, China acquires half of it.)
- FATF was established by OECD countries to curb terror funding. It has been effective by keeping terror haven countries like Pakistan under control through different metrics under the grey list category. However, it has somewhere given the cushion to avoid Pakistan to come into the black list category.

Identify and evaluate the reasons for deadlock in the WTO negotiations on fisheries between the developing and developed countries. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

Adoption of a new Agreement on Fisheries Subsidies (AFS) is one of the most promising outcomes of the recently concluded **twelfth ministerial conference of the World Trade Organisation (WTO)** .

Agreement on Fisheries Subsidies (AFS).

- It is the **first-of-its-kind, sustainability-driven trade agreement** .
 - This is only the **third instance of amending the WTO agreement** in its 27-year history.
- **Background**
 - **Global fisheries subsidies** were estimated at \$35.4 billion in 2018, of which \$22.2 billion were capacity-enhancing subsidies.
 - The **WTO was tasked by the UN General Assembly** to deliver an agreement to **prohibit harmful fisheries subsidies**.

Features

- AFS prohibits three kinds of subsidies:
 - Illegal, unreported, or unregulated (IUU) fishing
 - Fishing of already over-exploited stocks
 - Fishing on unregulated high seas.
- **Developing country members** will enjoy a **two-year exemption** for **subsidies** granted within their **exclusive economic zones** (up to 200 nautical miles from their coasts).
- No member will be allowed to **provide subsidies to fishing in the high seas**, other than where regulated by a **fisheries management organisation**.
- The agreement contains notification requirements and sets up a voluntary **funding mechanism to assist developing countries**.
- There would be no limitation on subsidies granted or maintained by developing or least-developed countries for fishing within their exclusive economic zones (EEZ).

Aims

- The aim of AFS as echoed by **Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 14.6** is to **address harmful fisheries** subsidies provided by countries towards marine fishing and to save the **world's fish stocks from further depletion**.
- It would curb **'harmful' subsidies on illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing** for the next four years, to better protect global fish stocks.

Concerns

- Critics argued that this agreement would **only restrict and not eradicate subsidies on illegal fishing**.
- After 20 years of delay, the W.T.O. failed again to **eliminate subsidised** overfishing and in turn is allowing countries to **pillage the world's oceans**.
- The final negotiated deal lacks the **much-needed discipline** on subsidies for fishing in other members' waters and those that contribute to overcapacity and over-fishing (OCOF).

India's Demand

- India has been **steadfastly demanding** that developing countries be given a **longer transition period of 25 years** to put an end to OCOF subsidies within their EEZ.
 - India's stand on this issue is rooted in its national interest.
 - Given its long coastline of nearly 7,500 kilometres, the blue economy — sustainable use of ocean resources for economic growth — occupies a cardinal place in India's development trajectory.
- India has set a **target of exporting marine products worth \$14 billion by 2025**.
 - India needs the policy space to **invest in developing the marine** infrastructure to harness the full potential of the blue economy.
 - India needs to **protect the livelihood concerns** of close to four million marine farmers, the majority of whom are engaged in small-scale, artisanal fishing, which does not pose a great threat to sustainability.
- India's demand for a **longer transition period was not acceptable to many countries who insisted on this period being seven years**.

Looking Forward

- For the sake of sustainability, **countries need to overcome their differences soon** and forge a **comprehensive agreement** with the inclusion of meaningful special and differential treatment" (S&DT) else they risk the indefinite continuation of harmful subsidies by all players and/or weaponization of this agreement as a bargaining chip in other negotiations.
- One balancing act could be to consider different ways to effectuate such flexibilities while accommodating the demands in a more targeted manner.
- Other strategies for India could involve strengthening infrastructure and mechanisms now to be able to utilise any future exemptions.
- Countries, true to the SDGs, should fulfil their mandates of sustainability and development in good faith.

What is the realist prescription to the States to ensure their survival in an anarchical world?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

- For Realists (termed 'structural Realists' or 'Neorealists', as opposed to the earlier 'classical Realists') the international system is defined by anarchy—the absence of a central authority (Kenneth Waltz). States are sovereign and thus autonomous of each other; no inherent structure or society can emerge or even exist to order relations between them. They are bound only by forcible → coercion or their own → consent.
- In such an anarchic system, State power is the key—indeed, the only—variable of interest, because only through power can States defend themselves and hope to survive. Realism can understand power in a variety of ways—eg militarily, economically, diplomatically—but ultimately emphasizes the distribution of coercive material capacity as the determinant of international politics.
- This vision of the world rests on four assumptions. *First*, Realists claim that survival is the principal goal of every State. Foreign invasion and occupation are thus the most pressing threats that any State faces. Even if domestic interests, strategic culture, or commitment to a set of national ideals would dictate more benevolent or cooperative international goals, the anarchy of the international system requires that States constantly ensure that they have sufficient power to defend themselves and advance their material interests necessary for survival. *Second*, Realists hold States to be rational actors. This means that, given the goal of survival, States will act as best they can in order to maximize their likelihood of continuing to exist. *Third*, Realists assume that all States possess some military capacity, and no State knows what its neighbors intend precisely. The world, in other words, is dangerous and uncertain. *Fourth*, in such a world it is the Great Powers—the States with most economic clout and, especially, military might, that are decisive. In this view international relations is essentially a story of Great Power politics.
- Realists also diverge on some issues. So-called offensive Realists maintain that, in order to ensure survival, States will seek to maximize their power relative to others. If rival countries possess enough power to threaten a State, it can never be safe. → Hegemony is thus the best strategy for a country to pursue, if it can. Defensive Realists, in contrast, believe that domination is an unwise strategy for State survival. They note that seeking hegemony may bring a State into dangerous conflicts with its peers. Instead, defensive Realists emphasize the stability of → balance of power systems, where a roughly equal distribution of power amongst States ensures that none will

risk attacking another. 'Polarity'—the distribution of power amongst the Great Powers—is thus a key concept in Realist theory.

- Realists' overriding emphasis on anarchy and power leads them to a dim view of international law and international institutions. Indeed, Realists believe such facets of international politics to be merely epiphenomenal; that is, they reflect the balance of power, but do not constrain or influence State behaviour. In an anarchic system with no hierarchical authority, Realists argue that law can only be enforced through State power. But why would any State choose to expend its precious power on enforcement unless it had a direct material interest in the outcome? And if enforcement is impossible and cheating likely, why would any State agree to co-operate through a treaty or institution in the first place?
- Thus States may create international law and international institutions, and may enforce the rules they codify. However, it is not the rules themselves that determine why a State acts a particular way, but instead the underlying material interests and power relations. International law is thus a symptom of State behaviour, not a cause.

Russian-Ukraine crisis has cast a dark shadow on the energy needs of the member states of the European Union (EU). Comment.(UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

With the war between Russia and Ukraine having crossed the 200-day mark, Europe is facing a full-blown, unprecedented energy crisis, and the winter season is not too far away.

Energy situation in Europe

- Countries in the European Union (and even the United Kingdom) are “now confronted with astronomic electricity prices for households and companies, and with an enormous market volatility.”
- For instance, energy bills in the United Kingdom, according to the country's energy regulator Ofgem (Office of Gas and Electricity Markets), are expected to spike by 80 percent this winter.
- For now, Ofgem has stepped in and put a cap on the amount of money that energy companies can charge households.
- A regular household's energy bill can't be more than £2,500 a year from 1 October (from £1,971 in the summer). Prior to this intervention, a regular

household would have had to pay £3,549 per year due to the 80 percent spike.

- On the other hand, Germany which, before the invasion, imported around 55 percent of natural gas and more than 30 percent of its crude oil supplies from Russia, has now announced a €65 billion (£56.2 billion) relief package with respect to the rising energy costs in the country.
 - It includes one-off payments to vulnerable businesses and tax breaks to businesses dealing mostly with energy.

Europe rely on Russia for energy

- 90 percent of Europe's energy needs are imported.
- Last year, before the war, gas deliveries from Russia to Europe were around 155 billion cubic metres (bcm). Europe relied on Russia, more than any other country, for around 40 percent of its gas. This has now come down to a mere nine percent, according to EU's announcement.
- Based on the pre-invasion numbers, in absolute terms, Germany and Italy imported the largest quantities of gas from Russia, at 46 bcm and 29 bcm respectively.
- In proportionate terms
 - Lithuania, Austria, and Finland imported most of their gas needs, more than 80 percent, from Russia.
 - Germany met 55 percent of its gas needs from Russia but after the invasion, as of June 2022, that has come down to 35 percent.
 - Italy imported 40 percent of its gas needs from Russia before the invasion. That has reportedly come down to 25 percent.
 - France, which imports 17 percent of its gas needs from Russia, is reportedly preparing to cut itself off totally from Russian dependence.
- Most of this gas is supposed to be transported through two pipelines:
 - The **Yamal – Europe** pipeline, which supplies gas to Poland and Germany via Belarus.
 - The **Nord Stream**, predecessor to the Nord Stream 2, which supplies gas to Germany via Ukraine (NS2 bypasses Ukraine). Gas supplies from this pipeline have been cut off for the moment.

Russia Shutting Off Gas to Europe

- Russia, on 31 August, stopped the flow of gas via the Nord Stream 1 pipeline citing maintenance issues and the need to carry out repairs. The halt, Russian energy corporation Gazprom had stated, would last for three days.
 - The suspension of the gas supply was supposed to last for three days but on 2 September, Gazprom extended that shutdown.

- Before the extension was announced, on the same day, the finance ministers of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Canada, and the United States had agreed on a plan to not buy Russian oil above the agreed prices.
- US also stated it will **curtail Russia's capacity to fund his war from oil exports** by banning services, such as insurance and the provision of finance, to vessels carrying Russian oil above an agreed price cap.
- Russia via Gazprom had already cut flows through the pipeline to 40 percent of the original capacity in June and to 20 percent in July 2022.
- **Russia also blamed the sanctions**, imposed by western countries after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, for not resuming in full its gas supplies to European countries.

Europe reaction

- The Russian gas threat, therefore, forced the European Union to fill up its storage sites to an 80% target by 1 November, which is when the European heating season begins. They reached this deadline ahead of time. In the years following 2022, the target must be increased to 90 percent.
- Germany, which wanted to hit 85 percent storage by October, is running ahead of schedule with 88 percent storage at the moment. France is at 94 percent, and so is Denmark.
- The issue is with Ukraine. The country's storage is barely at 30 percent capacity however the government could manage to reach its goal of building 19 bcm of natural gas reserves for the upcoming winter. The heating usually starts in mid-October.
 - Gas consumption in Ukraine has plummeted by 40 percent when compared to the pre-invasion levels, but production has decreased by only five percent
 - Ukraine stopped buying Russian gas in November 2015, a year after the annexation of Crimea to reduce its dependence, and started relying more on traders in Poland and Hungary.
- Ukraine's ability to survive the winter will also depend on its international allies' necessary financial support for it to import the amount of gas it needs.
 - However, it also depends on whether Russia chooses to destroy the gas infrastructure in the country. In the first week of September, the Russian military launched retaliatory strikes in Ukraine (after the latter regained territory) that targeted the power grid and the heat power plant, causing an electricity blackout in Kharkiv and other areas.

Europe's Alternatives

- Germany has been searching for alternatives to Russian gas ever since it halted the certification of the Nord Stream 2. It could turn towards Britain, Denmark, Norway, and the Netherlands.
- Norway has been increasing its production levels to help the EU countries achieve their target of ending reliance on Russian fossil fuels by the year 2027.
- Another option is to get more gas from Algeria and Azerbaijan, which currently supply about 20 percent and 10 percent of Europe's gas respectively.
- Then there is liquefied natural gas. The United States has said that it can provide 15 bcm of LNG to the EU this year. This is still far less than Russia's 155 bcm supply last year (less than even 10 percent of it in fact).
- The problem here is that an increase in supply of LNG to Europe would result in a reduction of LNG supply elsewhere until production increases (constructing a new production facility for LNG takes more than two years).
- Reducing consumption is something that Europe has to bank on. The EU has agreed to cut gas consumption by 15 percent. At the same time, it has to manage the prices as well.
- Putting a cap on Russian energy prices will kill two birds with one stone –
 - it will stop the funding of Vladimir Putin's war machine
 - it will lead to government-imposed price caps on how much energy companies can charge households (as seen in the UK).

Peaceful co-existence remains the cornerstone of India's foreign policy. Comment.(UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are principles first mentioned in the Sino-Indian Agreement, 1954 and publicly formulated by Zhou Enlai.

- These principles would later become the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement.
- The Panchsheel Agreement was signed by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Premier Zhou Enlai.
- These principles, also known as Panchsheel, are listed as
 - Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
 - Mutual non-aggression,

- Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
 - Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit, and
 - Peaceful co-existence.
- Accordingly, India believes that countries are obliged to resolve their disputes peacefully and refrain from unauthorised intervention in a state's internal affairs.
 - India's proactive engagements in global multilateral institutions, particularly in the United Nations, exemplify this worldview. India views the UN as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of disputes. India's approach towards the Russia-Ukraine war is a recent case in point. From the start of the conflict, India has stood firmly in advocating a peaceful resolution.
 - India's aversion towards military alliances is another example of its embrace of the principle of peaceful coexistence. India was never part of a military alliance or coalition. India's current foreign policy approach – multi-alignment, which entails reaching out to various power centres and institutions, underlines this approach. In short, peaceful coexistence allows India to develop closer strategic and economic cooperation with its friends and strategic competitors.
 - However, it is also important to note that in the regional context, India's neighbours often have placed geopolitical calculations above the principles of peaceful coexistence, which has forced India to revisit its approach.

Discuss the ways and means to realise greater economic co-operation among the Member States of South Asia. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

South Asia is the southern region of Asia, which is defined in both geographical and ethno-cultural terms. The region consists of the countries of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. India's vision of regional economic integration in South Asia is based on enhanced intra-regional trade, investment flows and regional transport and communication links in South Asia.

Regional economic cooperation in South Asia is lower than optimal levels is well accepted. It is usually ascribed to – the asymmetry in size between India and the rest, conflicts and historical political tensions, a trust deficit, limited transport connectivity, and onerous logistics, among many other factors.

Ways and means to realise greater economic co-operation

- **Strengthening Existing Associations:** Existing associations like South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) haven't been able to significantly advance regional cooperation here. Delinking domestic sentiments from the economic rationale, engaging in diplomacy to allay concerns should be the way forward for South Asian countries which do have qualms about the integration.
- **Towards Self-Reliant South Asia:** Self-reliance of South Asia range from offers of freer transit trade through the region, the development of supply and logistic chains, digital data interchange, single-window and digitized clearance systems, risk assessment and minimisation measures, wider use of trade lines of credit (presently abysmally low), denser connectivity, smoother cross-border inspections.
- **People-to-people Connect:** Priority should be given to people-to-people connections and deep cultural affinities for sustained cordiality and stability. Further, focus should be given to prompt delivery of multilateral commitments for the overall development of the region.
- **Countering Terrorism:** Countries in the region **needs to improve their cooperation on intelligence sharing and law enforcement**, in order to more effectively target terrorist networks and disrupt their operations.
- Additionally, addressing poverty and inequality, and promoting economic development and opportunities for marginalized groups, can help to reduce the appeal of extremist ideologies.

Deepening regional integration requires sufficient policy-relevant analytical work on the costs and benefits of both intra-regional trade and investment. An effective cross-border network of young professionals can contribute to fresh thinking on emerging economic cooperation issues in South Asia.

Discuss the steps required to realise 'hydro-co-operation' between India and Bangladesh. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

Water remains a **politically contested issue** in much of South Asia. The region is facing water shortage and agrarian difficulties, and it will continue to face increasing demands on energy and water with rapid industrialisation. India and Bangladesh share **54** common rivers. The **Ganga Waters Treaty** signed in 1996 for sharing of waters of river Ganga during lean season.

- Sharing the waters of the **Teesta river**, which originates in the Himalayas and flows through Sikkim and West Bengal to merge with the Brahmaputra in Assam and (Jamuna in Bangladesh), is perhaps the **most contentious issue** between two friendly neighbours, India and Bangladesh.
- The river covers nearly the entire floodplains of Sikkim, while **draining 2,800 sq km of Bangladesh**, governing the lives of hundreds of thousands of people.
- For West Bengal, Teesta is equally important, considered the **lifeline** of half-a-dozen districts in North Bengal.
- Bangladesh has sought an **“equitable” distribution** of Teesta waters from India, on the lines of the **Ganga Water Treaty of 1996** (an agreement to share surface waters at the Farakka Barrage near their mutual border), but to no avail.
- In 2015, Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s visit to Dhaka has generated some expectations to take forward the previous issues on fair and equitable water sharing agreement.
- But Teesta **remains an unfinished project**, as in India individual states have significant influence over transboundary agreements. This arrangement sometimes impedes the policymaking process. For example, one of the key stakeholders of the Teesta agreement, West Bengal is yet to endorse the deal.
 - In 1972, Bangladesh and India established the Joint River Commission which legislated over the Farakka project (Mukherjee 2011). What followed was a series of temporary, trial-based agreements, in 1975 and 1977, over the quantum of water which would be released by India.
 - On 9 March 2021, “Maitri Setu”, the bridge on the transboundary Feni River shared between Bangladesh and India was inaugurated by the Prime Ministers of the two riparian nations. Given the urgency of the irrigation needs of the state of Tripura, the joint statement also mentions India reiterating the need to conclude the signing of the interim Feni water-sharing agreement early.
 - The decision of the Joint Rivers Commission on widening the area of cooperation by including an additional number of rivers for prioritizing the exchange of data and formulating the framework of the interim water sharing agreements finds a laudatory mention in the joint statement.

As steps, both countries need to relook for treaties that are getting terminated in recent times to see equitable distribution rather than arithmetic hydrology, along

with semi-poly-centric approach to create a conducive ecosystem for the resolution of water issues.

Explain the significance of Basic Exchange and Co-operation Agreement (BECA) for Indo-US strategic relations.(UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

The USA and India signed the **Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geo-Spatial cooperation (BECA)**, at the next **India-USA 2+2 ministerial dialogue** held in October, 2020. BECA is **one of the four foundational military communication agreements** between the two countries. The other three being GSOMIA, LEMOA, CISMOA.

Significance of signing of BECA

- **Converging Indo-Pacific Strategies:** Signing of BECA will fast-forward the integration of the **Indo-Pacific strategies** of their two countries.
 - Further, this is in sync with increasing formalization of **QUAD**, which can be seen in the recent joining of Australia in the Malabar naval exercises.
 - India will be able to keep a close watch on the movements of Chinese warships in the Indian Ocean.
 - Moreover, its signing comes at a time when India is locked in one of its most hostile standoffs with China along their disputed border in the Himalayan region.
- **Deep Military Implications:** While LEMOA means one partner trusts the other enough to expose its valuable assets, COMCASA means one is confident that it can rely on encrypted systems to connect the two militaries, and BECA means it can share highly classified information in real time without fear of being compromised.
 - All this signals the level of trust that has developed between the two countries and their militaries, faced with an increasingly aggressive China.
 - BECA allows more intensive engagement between the armed forces — from interoperability to intelligence-sharing and joint defence research to production of weapons.
- **Multi-Polar World Order:** Substantive and institutionalised cooperation between the two defence establishments will serve the long-term interests of

a rising India and an America that is restructuring its global security burden.

Allied Issues

- **India's Aversion to Alliance System:** Signing of these four foundational agreements would mean India getting strategically more close to US.
 - From the perspective of the US, in order to counter China, it would want India to be getting close to an alliance system.
 - However, one aspect which remains unchanged is the Indian strategic establishment's aversion to the term alliance.
 - From the heyday of non-alignment to the present day possibilities of multi-alignment, this idea that alliances are inherently bad has been a constant in India's mainstream strategic thinking.
- **Dependence on Russia:** India is one of the world's biggest defence equipment buyers, but around 60-70% of its inventory is supplied by Russia.
 - Further, the US wants India to move away from Russian equipment and platforms, as it feels this may expose its technology and information to Russia.
- **Compromising Strategic Autonomy:** Many foreign policy experts in India are of the view that, by synchronising its systems with those of the US, it will enable the US to enter its decision-making loop.
 - It is something that no sovereign country would like.
- **Divergence of Foreign Policy Interest:** There is divergence on foreign policy interests between US and India, especially relating to Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran.
 - On account of Indian Ocean issues, the US would want India's cooperation in the South China Sea, but India's primary naval challenge is in the western and north-western Indian Ocean.

Looking Forward

- **Expanding Scope of Convergence:** If both the US and India want India to become a genuine strategic balancer to China, they need to leapfrog economic and technological cooperation.
 - Thus, the US and India are now in talks of an "innovation partnership" that must develop along with all the military-to-military bonhomie taking place.
- **Maintaining Strategic Autonomy:** India must clarify to the US that, it can sign the civil nuclear pact, it can sign foundational defence agreements, it can converge on the Indo-Pacific but it won't lead to an alliance relationship.

- Further, India should realise agreements are a scrap of paper, unless they are backed by a mutuality of interest at the given time. Therefore, must continue its efforts of strategic hedging with our global powers.

Signing of BECA will allow India and the US to act together and get into a better position to shape the regional and global environment in favour of peace and stability. However, both countries must not glamourize this signing as these agreements are not an end in themselves, they are a means to a larger end – security and prosperity of its citizens.

Discuss the role of public diplomacy in the enhancement of India's global standing.(UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

- Confidentiality and conventional diplomacy go together. As diplomacy is about communication and negotiation involving governments, they have inevitably to undertake their sensitive work outside the media's reach.
- Public diplomacy is a web of mechanisms through which a country's foreign policy positions are transmitted to its target audiences. The term was first used by U.S. diplomat and scholar Edmund Guillion in 1965. Public diplomacy today has become more inclusive where it includes multilevel relations conducted by MNC's, NGO's, private groups and social movements using new technologies of communication to interact with and petition foreign publics. Emphasis has to be laid on adopting a more erudite grassroot people-to-people communication, for two-way engagement as public diplomacy is not only about communicating foreign policy but also about developing a long term understanding of people, culture and values of the host country. Cultural diplomacy has to be a part and parcel of public diplomacy for it to succeed in the globalized world. Public Diplomacy today can no longer be a one-size-fits-all approach. Rather, it has to be tailored individually in consideration of the political and cultural environment of a country. Thus, public diplomacy needs to be dynamic, flexible, and capable of adapting to changing circumstances.
- India as a tool of soft power has set up, a public diplomacy division within the Ministry of External Affairs in 2006 and is expanding the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) worldwide.

- Many notable initiatives have been undertaken by the Indian government to engage in an effective public diplomacy campaign in order to promote India's interests. Some of these programmes have been campaigns like 'Pravasi Bharatiya Divas' and 'Know India' programme specifically targeted at the huge and influential Indian diaspora that cannot not only, aid India's development but as well as, promote its interests all over the world.
- As a part of its outreach programmes the Public Diplomacy Division has also tied up with the 'INDIA-future of change' (IFC) initiative, which seeks to emphasize India's position as a catalyst of change. IFC is a five-year initiative that promises to take India to the world, and get students and professionals across geographies to compete, collaborate and strengthen ties between India and the world. The initiative signifies an innovative effort at communicating the emerging realities to a global audience, and managing a collaborative dialogue of what 'Brand India' begets as it readies to become a global power.
- Today, National leaders are resorting to Tweeting to make their ideas known. PM Narendra Modi is leading by example and encouraging all officers in the Government to leverage social media for communication with the public. Real communication can be there only if you see them in their perspective.
- The undercurrent of Indian public diplomacy is to avow India as a rising power of undeniable international significance and influence, which is consistent with India's demand to win a place at the high table by being granted the permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

Discuss the relevance of the demand for New International Economic Order (NIEO) in the present era of globalization. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

- The U.N. General Assembly at its Sixth Special Session in April –May 1974 called for the establishment of new International Economic Order (NIEO) and approved a programme of Action to achieve it. The call for the creation of new international order was an acknowledgement of the fact that the existing international economic order was defective so far as it perpetuated and aggravated international inequalities and that new relationship of interdependence should replace the older pattern of dependence and unequal exchange. It was argued that the rich developed countries are morally obliged to increase and facilitate the flow of resources to less developed countries and that it was in their self-interest to encourage the promotion of growth and

development of the poor countries in so far as they would provide them expanded markets.

- New International Economic Order-NIEO is plan for eliminating the existing international economic system, which with all its characteristics, is catering to the needs and interests of the developed countries to the detriment of the third World developing countries. Its objectives to adopt 'Code of Conduct' for developed nations with the purpose to make the international economic system fair, just and equitable. Though the colonialism has come to an end, yet it still exists in its new form by the name of Neo-Colonialism and the newly independent countries are still being exploited by the developed nations, though by different means. The New International Economic Order seeks to end the existing imbalance in economic relations between the underdeveloped and the developed world.
- Though theoretically the NIEO was construed as a failure, it is more prudent to see its impact in today's 'socio-political movements' which are being pursued for betterment of future generations to enable them realise their aspirations. It implies that though the specific conceptual aims of the NIEO could not be achieved in totality, the reinforced latest thinking on the lines of erstwhile NIEO remains significant even today.
- The latest avatar of NIEO is visible today in global multilateral negotiations being constantly undertaken with regards to the pressing issues e.g. climate change and international economic cooperation. For example, in respect of climate change negotiations, G-77 is following the line of economic reasoning which reverberates the tenets of erstwhile NIEO. It holds the basic premise that the north has a significant obligation for protection of the atmosphere and the south has a —right to development. In this scenario, any reasonable climate control treaty would appear to be lopsided, with obligatory responsibilities only for the north. The G-77 also believes that the north should ensure Transfer of Technology (ToT) to south countries. In fact, the NIEO's latest image of a universal mandate remains valid in the form of climate change negotiations that have become one of the most significant global concern today.
- The entrenched liberalism and modernization are still deeply embedded in the Western nations. The so called —Third World ideology offers a dramatic break from the North Atlantic domination of the world economy carrying on since times immemorial.

Critically examine the major factors responsible for a turn around in the trajectory of India's foreign policy in the post-cold period. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

- The end of the Cold War came as a blessing in disguise as it forced Indian policymakers to adapt to the new global political and economic realities — it was a much-needed shock.
- At this point, India's economic reforms put the nation on a high-growth trajectory, plunging it willy-nilly into the realm of great power politics. And as a new decade dawned at the beginning of a new millennium, India seemed poised to be at the threshold of achieving the status of a major global power, emerging as an indispensable, albeit reluctant, element of the new global order — exemplified by its growing economic and military might. Indian democracy became so much more attractive after the Indian economy started delivering strong results.
- India's foreign policy challenge in the early 1990s was as profound as the economic one. The world had suddenly become unipolar with India's main ally, the Soviet Union, virtually disappearing from the world map. New Delhi had to link its economic policy with foreign policy more effectively. Recognising that India would need the support of the West and especially the US if the economic reforms were to succeed, Rao laid the foundations for a revival of US-India ties acknowledging the importance of the US in the global strategic architecture. In the Middle East, Rao had the courage that no other Indian leader had. He established full diplomatic ties with Israel in 1992 even as he reached out to Iran, paying a landmark visit to Tehran in 1993, becoming the first Indian prime minister to visit Iran since the 1979 revolution. The 'Look East' policy had to be initiated as the centre of gravity of global economics was shifting to the East and India's economic future needed to be linked to the booming economies in East Asia. India had to expand its engagements with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) not only as a matter of India's economic revival, but also as a counterweight to rising Chinese dominance.
- The sanction of the early 1990s is everywhere in Indian foreign policy today: Moving away from non-alignment to issue-based alignments; Delhi's subtle balancing act in the Middle East; trying to establish a stable balance with China; more robust defence diplomacy in key global geographies; the outreach to East and Southeast Asia as part of India's 'Look East' and 'Act East' policies; and helping India achieve enough economic heft to withstand sanctions after the NDA government conducted the nuclear tests at Pokharan-II. At the end of the 1990s, India conducted atom bomb tests in

1998, for the second time since 1974. These tests were vehemently denounced worldwide, but helped to elevate India's image as a major power.

- All these policy initiatives impressed the world with a fresh image of India, but they were miscellaneous initiatives without any clear indication of a new objective of India's foreign policy. Naturally, India's foreign policy invited various critiques: 'Even as India's rise in the interstate global hierarchy continues steadily, its policymakers still act in the international arena as if India can continue to afford the luxury of responding to foreign policy challenges on a case-by-case basis with no requirement for a long-term strategic policy framework. The same ad hoc-ism that had characterized Indian foreign policy in the past lingers'. Similarly, Rajiv Sikri (former Foreign Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs) said 'India must have a clear grand strategic design'.

Discuss the reasons behind India's refusal to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT). (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, commonly known as the Non-Proliferation Treaty or NPT, is an international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament.

India is one of the only five countries that either did not sign the NPT and due to the following issues India considers the NPT as discriminatory and had refused to sign it.

- **Failure of Disarmament Process:** The NPT proposes no tangible disarmament roadmap, no reference to testing ban or to the freezing of production of either fissile materials or nuclear weapons, and omitted provisions for reductions and elimination.
- **Nuclear 'Haves' and 'Have-Nots':** India criticizes the treaty to be discriminatory as it focuses on preventing only horizontal proliferation while there is no limit for vertical proliferation. In this context, India demands that the Nuclear Weapon State (NWS) should renounce its arsenals and further production in return for the commitment of Non- NWS not to produce them.
- **Discriminating Safeguards:** Under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) protocols of nuclear safety, the NWS allowed maintaining 'voluntary'

safeguards while the rest were subjected to comprehensive safeguards, which seemed intrusive and discriminatory to the NNWS.

- **Emergence of Non-state Actors:** The emergence of non-state actors with declared intent to access weapons of mass destruction and the detection of a global nuclear black-market, has raised concerns on the limitations of the NPT.

India has opposed the international treaties aimed at non-proliferation since they were selectively applicable to the non-nuclear powers and legitimized the monopoly of the five nuclear weapons powers. Thus, all nations should engage to carve out a multilateral framework for the peaceful use of nuclear energy and global peace.

What are the main drivers fo India-Japan Strategic and Global Partnership?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

- The India–Japan “special strategic and global partnership” has been described as one that will define the Indo-Pacific and shape the Asian century. Former PM of Japan Shinzo Abe once stated that India - Japan bilateral relations can become more important than that of Japan - USA and Japan - Australia bilateral relations. India - Japan bilateral relations recently completed its 70th year. It started in the year 1952, with the sense of former PM Pt. Nehru gifting an elephant as a ray of hope to a war-torn country like Japan after the end of Second World War.
- The India Japan relationship was elevated to ‘Global and Strategic Partnership’ in 2006. Strong bilateral trade and aid relations have expanded toward security-based relations. The relationship has been pursued with a new vigour since the visit by the Japanese Emperor and Empress in 2013 and the PM Shinzo Abe in January 2014. The relationship was further elevated to ‘Special Strategic and Global Partnership’ in September 2014.

The main drivers of India-Japan Strategic and Global Partnership include:-

- Wide range of interests including regional cooperation, maritime security, global climate, and UN reforms.
- Both India and Japan also share several common ideals like democracy, the rule of law, and human rights, in addition to the complementarities that bind their economies.
- **India is seeking massive investments in its infrastructure sector and Japan is a major investor.** Japan’s technological and economic

pro prowess could accelerate India's development by transforming its infrastructure and manufacturing sectors.

- **India is a big market for Japanese companies:** Japan's interest in India is increasing due to a variety of reasons including India's large and growing market and its resources, especially the human resources.
- **Indo-Pacific and Quad:** Sharing convergent interests, both countries are strongly committed to freedom of navigation and over flights and unimpeded commerce in the open sea which is important for the stability and security of the Indo-Pacific region.
- **India's Act East Policy and Japan's "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy" converge** in NER as a critical region, where, and both countries are keen to extend their cooperation to the larger Indo-Pacific region—including the African continent.
- The **rise of China** has been an important factor, while India's growing closeness with the US has also played a role, as the US and Japan already have a close alliance.

What are the implications of 'Look-East' Policy on the north-eastern region of India? (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

The Look/Act East Policy rests on four central themes – Connectivity, Commerce, Culture and Capacity-Building. The policy envisages to break the Northeast's isolation through various connectivity projects and integrate it with national, regional and global markets. Enhanced regional connectivity will facilitate greater Commerce, which will allow the region to explore wider markets for its products in the Southeast and East Asia. It will simultaneously provide greater product choices for the inhabitants of the region as the products from the Southeast and East Asia will be available to them. As people of the Northeast start trading, greater Commerce will usher in an era of economic prosperity in the region.

The Northeast shares ethnic and cultural ties with Southeast Asian countries as the people inhabiting large parts of the region had also migrated from Southeast Asia and South China many centuries ago. These cultural commonalities can be leveraged to foster people-to-people contacts and boost tourism in the region. Capacity building programmes will allow people to acquire required skills for being gainfully employed.

Given the renewed thrust on improving connectivity through the Act East Policy, a number of cross-border connectivity projects are either being completed or are on the verge of completion. These are the Trilateral Highway and Asian Highway, and the Kaladan Projects with Myanmar and Thailand. A number of road and rail connectivity projects as well as inland transshipment projects with Bangladesh have also been inaugurated. Together with these cross-border connectivity projects, the internal connectivity of Northeast India has also been enhanced. At present, 197 road development projects are being implemented in the Northeast under various schemes. Similarly, every capital of the Northeast states are being connected with railway lines.

Besides road and railway connections, India is also strengthening transport infrastructure with its neighbours such as Integrated Check Posts to facilitate efficient trade and travel. For promoting commerce in agricultural products, several Agricultural Export Zones (AEZ) have been established. In recent years, Guwahati and Imphal have emerged as significant destinations for medical services for patients from Bangladesh and Myanmar and efforts are on to promote medical tourism in the region in a big way. These new projects which are being built in the Northeast under the Look/Act East Policy are envisioned to provide the region with the required infrastructure, which will form the foundation to usher in growth and development.

Explain the factors which justify India's claim for a permanent seat at the UN security council. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

The United Nations Security Council is a vital and imperative organ of the UN. Ensuring international peace and security, recommendations for the admission of new UN members in the General Assembly and approving changes to the UN Charter, peacekeeping operations, international sanctions, and military actions are under the jurisdiction of the UNSC. It will not be wrong to state that if the UN is a body, UNSC is its heart.

India's bid for a permanent seat

India's bid for a permanent seat is multipronged. Over the last few years, India has extensively lobbied for this at the global stage.

- First and foremost, India enjoys a long standing and deep historical relation with the UNSC as it was one of the founding members of the organization. The association, besides being long, has also been a meaningful one, wherein

India has sent more than 2.5 lakh soldiers to the UN Peacekeeping forces. As of early 2022, Indian soldiers have served in 49 of the 71 global peacekeeping missions since 1948.

- Secondly, India is home to nearly one-sixth of the global population and is all set to become the most populous nation. A country representing 1.4 billion people undisputedly deserves a spot at the top decision making table.
- Third, India has demonstrated its skills as a responsible world leader, and holds the distinction of being a Nuclear Weapon State, just like the P5 members. Its adherence to the 'No First Use policy' and deterrence against non-nuclear states has exhibited India's hard power. Against this backdrop, India has also emerged as an undisputed leader of the developing world.
- India's stance of a strategic neutrality during the cold war, as evident in its lead to the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) as well as its ability to follow the Panchsheel principles of peace and tranquility, non interference, and non-aggression in foreign policy align closely with the values enshrined in the UN Charter.
- Further, India is among the world's fastest growing economies and is the third largest globally in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms. Besides, India is also a repository of immense soft power which gives it a moral high ground, in holding the distinction of being the world's largest democracy.

It is in this regard, that four of the five permanent members too have, time and again, voiced their support for India's permanent membership at the UNSC. New Delhi has also been elected as a non-permanent member of the council for eight terms and has left its indelible impact by negotiating some tough resolutions.

How does India-Israel bilateral ties reflect the autonomy of India's foreign policy choices?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

- Since 1992, as India and Israel scaled up diplomatic ties, political relations with Tel Aviv flourished. Israel is now a defence supplier to India and is also involved in agriculture. People-to-people contacts are flowering.
- From the Mediterranean Sea to the Bay of Bengal, there are only two countries that have remained democratic and have a total commitment to democracy since the day they were formed. There are only two countries-In India and Israel. *Both states face* a common threat of terrorism and have difficult positions to explain with respect to their national security. These similarities

make them natural allies or partners. However, in 2019, it was the first time that India changed its decades-old position on the two-states theory; it denied observer status to a Palestinian body at the United Nations (UN). For decades, India has observed both Palestine and Israel as separate countries. This instance was a landmark shift by India from its two-state theory, signalling India's growing relations with Israel. A significant evolution in India's policy can be seen with respect to Israel, from being pro-Palestine to balancing between the historic ties and decades-old friend Israel. And now in recent years, India's closeness with Israel and its string of bilateral relations are perceived as pro-Israel.

- Post 2015 India developed the *de-hyphenated policy*. Under this policy, India maintained strong relations with Israel and struck a balancing act between Palestine and Israel. A historic move under this policy was the UN abstentions at the UNHRC and at the ECOSOC, where India voted in favor of Israel. The de-hyphenated policy was observed during Narendra Modi's visit to Israel, where he became the first Indian Prime Minister to visit Israel but did not visit Ramallah. New Delhi's policy indicates that it will deal with the two states separately.
- The *de-hyphenated policy is complemented by the Arab world's establishment of ties with Israel*. Sudan, Morocco, Bahrain, and the UAE signed agreements with Israel establishing diplomatic relations in 2020. And Israel maintains full diplomatic relations with its Arab neighbors—Egypt and Jordan. The policy is an exemplary example of a balancing act whenever the situation demands India's shift from one side to another. This was seen in India's position at the UN vote to recognise Jerusalem as the Israeli state's capital, where India voted against Israel. This balancing act is a policy work in progress. India is trying to use its policy for its own advantage first. This policy is not necessarily pro-Palestine, like in the Nehruvian phase, nor is it explicitly pro-Israel, but this policy of striking a balance between the two nations is pro-India.
- *India has emphasized its "strategic intent and commitment to simultaneously enhance relations with the Arab world as well as Israel, without allowing it to become a "zero sum game".* India's policy is that of extending strong support to Palestine cause while maintaining good relations with Israel.

Discuss the consequences of illegal cross-border migration in India's north-eastern region. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

Migration is a global phenomenon, and will continue to do so in the near future. Unabated illegal immigration has enormous demographic and social implications, capable of creating tensions and conflict between the immigrants and the natives; and more so among the natives. This is particularly worrisome in North-East India, which has been the victim of unabated illegal immigration. The North East region of India comprises eight states – Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura – each with its own distinct history and identity. The region shares its borders with Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Bangladesh and has been one of the most sensitive regions in India. Since 1947, the history of this region has been marred with insurgency and under development.

Social consequences of illegal migration

- **Crisis of identity:** The influx of immigrants created a crisis of identity among the indigenous populations. Their cultural survival was in jeopardy, their political control was weakened and their employment opportunities were undermined by such illegal migration.
- **Environmental degradation:** Large areas of forest land were encroached upon by the immigrants for settlement and cultivation. The state of Assam experienced declining percent of land area under forest from 39% in 1951-52 to about 30% now.
- **Difficult to identify the illegal migrants:** Due to the similar language spoken by illegal migrants from Bangladesh and the indigenous Bengali speaking Muslim of Assam, it becomes difficult to identify and deport the illegal migration from North East.

Economic consequences of illegal migration

- **Increase financial burden:** Immigration has increased pressure on the part of state government, as the government has to increase the expenditure on education and health facilities to the immigrants.
- **Displacing native workers:** There is a fear particularly during a recession that immigrants take jobs which would otherwise be taken by local people; in particular place and circumstances there can be competition and conflict.
- **Decreases wage level with the increase of population:** Illegal immigrants in every year have been adding a good number of people. It is one of the main reasons of population explosion. Due to this there is a possibility of decreasing wage level.

Political consequences of illegal migration

- **Illegal voters:** Most of the Bangladeshi immigrants have got their names enlisted in the voting list illegally, thereby claiming themselves as citizens of the state. The immigrant's population act as a vote bank for the political parties in Assam.
- **Issue of terrorism:** Pakistan's ISI has been active in Bangladesh supporting militant movements in North East. It is alleged that among the illegal migrants there are also militants, who enter into India to carry out the terrorist activities.
- **Movement against outsiders:** The large scale migration into the northeast gave rise to a special kind of problem that pitted the 'local' communities against people who were seen as 'outsiders' or migrants. These latecomers, either from India or abroad, are seen as encroachers on scarce resources like land and potential competitors to employment opportunities and political power. This issue has taken political and sometimes violent form in many states of the northeast. The Assam movement from 1975 to 1985 is the best example of such movement against 'outsiders'.

Discuss India's vision of a New World order in the 21st century. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)

- The world got polarized into two blocs after the end of Second World War in 1945, one led by USA and other led by USSR. India was a newly independent country and opted not to join any hostile blocs and military alliances. As India need economical, technological and military aid from the countries of both blocs for its rapid economic growth. Instead India decided to adopt the policy of Non-Alignment along with many other countries.
- But later, USA emerged as sole super power and world started to move towards unipolarity. At the same time all economies of the world were blossoming by rise of globalization and opening of economies. India also made certain amendments and changes in its foreign and economic policy. India started Look East policy, developed healthy relation with EU, USA, Russia, china, UK, France etc. on the diplomatic front while got NEP, NIP on economic front.
- The dawn of 21st century ushered the phase of new world order by which world is heading towards multi-polarity represented by china, Russia, India, and EU. These countries are acting as Balance of power in this new order and

Geo-Economics and Economic diplomacy has got credence than any political, cultural or ideological conflict.

- Therefore in 21st century India is giving importance to Economic relations. India is having strategic partnership relations with all major powers and regions. Putting aside its political differences India is economically engaged with china and has started confidence Building Measures (CBMs) with Pakistan. As India is a rising economic power now it need to rely upon diversified energy sources to fulfill the fuel demands of its economy. So, India is signing energy expedition treaty with various regions and countries.

India has laid down a visionary new world order for the current times through following ways:

- MEA S Jaishankar in his book The India Way stated that the entire international system should seek to build a new international order that will change the power equation by not decreasing the stature of USA, but also allow countries like the members of G4 to attain a higher and respectable position.
- PM Narendra Modi has advocated for rules-based international order from time to time from public forums like UNGA.
- Scholars like Darshana M Baruah, Jagannath Panda, and Radha Kumar stated that the current international system will pave the way for a multipolar structure that will allow better inclusivity of power acquisition.
- India has been the beacon of hope for countries in Africa and Latin American regions who bypassed the red-tapes around intellectual patents and properties associated with medicines and food security, which has allowed India to increase its soft power diplomacy as stated by former Ambassador Riva Das Ganguly.
- The current international system should seek for diplomatic resolution of conflicts rather than resorting to hard power and military struggle. (Gandhi: An eye for an eye makes the whole world blind.) In addition to this, the Gandhian Talisman can be that key instrument to restore peace and ensure better development of underdeveloped regions of the other parts of the world. Hence, countries like India should come forward to step up such ideas for global peace and stability.

Feminist critique of the State. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

- Feminism looks at the traditional concepts and theories of political philosophy with doubt and distrust. It is claimed that the political theories are fundamentally male-biased, normative, and androcentric. The concept (and practice) of the state, nation, democracy, king, citizens, leadership, power, legitimacy, authority, governance, policy, judiciary and legislature are constructed by the hegemony of males to suppress the women in an institutionalized and structured way.
- The fundamental critique of the state adhered by the feminist is that the philosophy of state is power-centric, and the power is often defined, used and operationalized by the male or his representative structures. Accordingly, norms, structures, values, knowledge and realities, etc. are the construction of power. There is a manipulation of male-dominated leadership to hold on to power and take advantage of them. Feminism is critical and resistant to this form of power that legitimizes the hegemony against women. Hence, feminist political theory is constructed around the existing power relations as represented by and constructed with the state.
- The patriarchal nature of the state is the central theme of feminist critique. It was epochal largely in the second wave feminism, (i.e.) during the 1970s and continues to come. The radical feminists maintained that the state's role is to form patriarchy and to ensure its continuity. But, subsequently, liberal feminists and the postmodernists were ready to accept the intervention of the state in the key areas of concern, like abortion, anti-rape legislation, pornography and such other issues against which there were popular movements. The construction of state power through an engagement of women is an evident artefact in history. There has been a gradual realization that the state has a role in curbing such practices, which could not be solved by the social and market forces. In sum, feminists of all levels often criticize the unitary role of the state, which seems to be male[1]biased, objectivist and instrumental.

Affirmative action.(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

- Disadvantaged groups are a part and parcel of our socio-economic and political formations in the form of race, colour, caste, gender and biological disability. Efforts have been on to assimilate these marginalised groups into the mainstream of socio-economic and political life, especially since the last half of the twentieth century.
- In principle, affirmative action is generally approved of as it implies that measures should be taken to ensure that all individuals are equal and to prevent or to counteract traditional and ingrained prejudicial practices by instituting positive discriminations.
- Aristotle in his Nichomchean Ethics wrote, justice is equality, as all men believe it to be quite apart from any argument. Indeed, in Greek, the word equality means justice. To be just is to be equal and to be unjust is to be unequal.
- According to Aristotle, equality means that things that are alike should be treated alike and things that are unlike should be treated unlike. Injustice arises when equals are treated unequally and also when unequals are treated equally.
- Affirmative action becomes essential in righting societal inequities. It is based on the “**principle of redress**”; that undeserved inequalities call for rectification. Since inequalities of birth are undeserved, these inequalities are to be somehow compensated for. According to Rawls, thus, in order to treat all persons equally and to provide genuine equality of opportunity, society must give more attention to those born into or placed in less favorable social positions. Affirmative action was established as a part of society's efforts to address continuing problems of discrimination; the empirical evidence presented in the preceding pages indicates that it has had a somewhat positive impact on remedying the effects of discrimination. Whether such discrimination still exists today, is a central element of any analysis of affirmative action.
- In India, the marginalized sections of society have faced discrimination of the basis of caste, gender, poverty, etc. The Indian state has introduced affirmative action in the form of reservation to the marginalized groups in the public institutions and through reservation.
- For the Scheduled Castes (SCs), the principal ground for reservation has been the experience of untouchability undergone by the castes identified as SCs. The Scheduled Tribes get it because of their disabilities faced on account of their geographical locations and other characteristics. The OBCs get it

because of their social and educational backwardness. Women get it because of their discrimination due to patriarchal values in society. And Economically Weaker Section get it because of their poor economic statuses. They latter generally belong to those communities which cannot get reservation in other categories but need state devices for betterment. They belong to poor persons from the high castes.

- Affirmative action hence means policy initiative by the state for welfare and development of socially, educationally and educationally marginalised communities.

Equality of outcome as a political idea. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

- Equality of outcomes is a substantive conception of equality which attempts to provide substance to the concept of equality. While formal equality dictates behavior through the application of rules and procedures consistently, equality of outcomes, on the other hand, seeks to inject a principle of morality into the application of equality. Equality of outcome stands on the idea that the principle of equal treatment sometimes requires different treatment for certain grounds of disadvantage. The social philosophy behind this conception of equality is an egalitarian understanding of social justice and good life. This concept of equality finds expression through a range of policies and legal mechanisms in various jurisdictions of the world in the form of reverse discrimination, positive discrimination and affirmative action.
- Equality of outcome implies equal distribution of rewards such as income, wealth and other social goods irrespective of the social and family backgrounds or talents and efforts. The idea of equality of outcome necessitates the introduction of far more dramatic measures by the state for necessary changes to be visible in society. This emphasis on 'outcomes' rather than 'opportunities' shifts attention away from the starting point of life to its end results. In other words, equality of outcome emphasises equal distribution of rewards among all sections of society and does not take into account the starting points, efforts, skill and talent of individuals. As such, the idea of equality of outcome not only differs from formal equality and equality of opportunity but could also possibly contradict them. The demand for equal outcomes is mostly associated with the idea of material equality, social circumstances and also wages. Many see equality of outcome as a

prerequisite for securing individual liberty as a certain level of material prosperity is essential to lead a worthwhile life.

Tools of legitimating of the State. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

- The state's very strength is based on legitimation. The structure of power, peculiar to the state, has to be legitimately derived and evolved; the exercise of the power of the state also needs to be used legitimately. What it means is that all forms of state power require legitimation. If the state is to carry on its business, with at least a minimum amount of consent from its citizens, and if the government is to survive, it requires legitimation/legitimacy. In the absence of legitimation or say legitimacy, how can the will of the state be enforced? Obviously, without legitimation of state power, the alternative is the use of physical force or terror to enforce the orders of the state. In a democratically structured society, state power is legitimate when (a) the power to rule the people is given by the people, and is exercised with the consent of the majority of the people – this would mean that those who exercise power are elected directly or indirectly by the people for a limited period only, and also when a system of control is in place (b) when the state power is exercised corresponding to the principles stated in the constitution of the land, especially those relating to legality.
- The state alone possesses power, the power to rule people, the power to administer public affairs, the power to establish social order, the power to protect the system. The state alone has the responsibility to safeguard the country and promote its interests. It is because of its performance of responsibility that the state has power. Power of the state is the necessary corollary of the duty it is supposed to perform; power, thus, is the essential consequence/product of the job the state is called upon to do. That the state has the power, i.e., the lawful right of the state to use power, is what may be called legitimation. Legitimation involves the use of the power of the state legitimately ordained. One aspect of legitimation, thus, is the inherent lawful authority empowered to exercise power which means, the power of the state to exercise its authority with the provision that it has the power and more than that, the exercise of the power is legitimate, legitimately authorised.
- Legitimation is related to the state in more than one way. It is related to the state in the sense that the state alone has the legal authority to use its power. It is also related to the state in the sense that what the state does is legitimate

by virtue of the fact that the state alone is authorised to do what it does. It is related to the state in the sense that the exercise of the will of the state is the legalised exercise permitted by the already framed basic rules prevailing in the political system, written, unwritten or both. Where there is, for example, no legal authorisation of the exercise of power, there is no legitimation there.

- Legitimation, therefore, demands a set of norms, principles, rules and regulations on the basis of which the state exercises its power. If the power or the exercise of the power of the state is to be deemed legitimate, there is a need for the power of the state to fall back, for its support, on certain basic and fundamental rules, i.e., a framework from which the state derives its power and the support on which it rests. Legitimation is not only a matter of structural rules and regulations, it is also a matter of procedure. It, therefore, requires the fundamental routes in which the power of the state has to pass through. If the power of the state is to be legitimate, it has to follow certain procedures, and has to work through certain already set procedures.
- Legitimation is not a zigzag walking, it is a procedural following, walking on a well-established path already laid down. Legitimation, in the context of the state, also demands compliance from the people where the state exercises its power. When the power of the state is accepted by the people, there is no crisis of legitimation. A crisis of legitimation occurs when the power of the state, exercised as it is, is challenged by the people or a part thereof

J. S. Mill's ideas on women suffrage. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

- Mill vouched for female emancipation and apprehended their sub human treatment. He goes on to explain the benefits of female emancipation and education from the utilitarian perspective. Mill argues that more people existing alongside one another on an equal footing means increased competition and this would lead to moral and intellectual development of individual as well as the society. Mill worked extensively to make people of his time realise that contribution of women is crucial for the progression of mankind.
- John Stuart Mill attacked women's status in the marriage, which he saw as a kind of a legal bondage. All property and any income derived from marriage belonged to the husband, even if the wife had brought the property to the marriage. Mill also acknowledged physical abuse in the marriage. Mill

advocated for a marriage contract based on equality before the law and the division of powers in the home and for this he sponsored Married Women's Property Bill (1868). Mill raised the issue of women's suffrage and stood for political equality of women. He presented arguments to cement his proposal. He viewed that as women make up half of the population, thus they also have a right to a vote since political policies affect women too. He theorises that most men will vote for those MPs who will subordinate women and maintain their dominance, therefore women must be allowed to vote to protect their own interests. "Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same."

- In the United Kingdom, Mary Wollstonecraft advocated for women's suffrage in her book *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), and the Chartist movement demanded it in the 1840s. From 1850s onwards, prominent liberal intellectuals in England, most notably John Stuart Mill and his wife, Harriet, became more vocal in their support for women's suffrage. Mill sponsored the women's suffrage amendment to the reform act of 1867, an amendment that would expand the right to vote for both men and women.

How has Rawls enriched the idea of justice in liberalism?(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

- The Rawlsian theory derives its principles of justice by putting rational, self-interested individuals in "**original position**" and behind a "**veil of ignorance**" and then expecting them to choose an outcome which will adhere to equality, and in the absence of equality, favor the least advantaged.
- Rawls places men behind the 'veil of ignorance' in a hypothetical original position where individuals are deprived of the basic knowledge of their wants, interests, skills, abilities and of the things that generate conflicts in actual societies. But they will have what Rawls calls 'a sense of justice'.
- Under these circumstances, Rawls argue, people will agree to accept two principles of justice in the lexical order. First, is the equality principle where each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive liberty compatible with a similar liberty to others. Here, equal liberties can be concretised as the familiar rights of liberal democratic regimes. They include the equal right to political participation, freedom of expression, religious liberty, equality before the law and so on. The second principle is called the difference principle where

Rawls argues that inequalities can only be justified, if it benefits the least advantaged.

- John Rawls's concept of justice has two aspects to it. Firstly, it postulates a "constitutional democracy", that is, government of laws and one, which is restrained, responsible and accountable. Secondly, it believes in the regulation of the free economy "in a certain way". "If law and government", writes Rawls's, "act effectively to keep market competitive, resources fully employed, property and wealth widely distributed over time, and to maintain the appropriate social minimum, then if there is equality of opportunity underwritten by education for all, the resulting distribution will be just".

Examine the importance of behavioral approach in political theory. What led to its decline?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

The deep dissatisfaction with the nature, scope, methods and conclusions of the traditional Political Science led to the emergence of a revolution-the Behavioural revolution in Politics. This empirical project in political theory was premised on the empiricist theory of knowledge which claims to have the full-blown criteria to test what constitutes truth and falsehood. The essence of this criterion is lodged in the experimentation and the verification principle. When political theory was reeling under this influence, a so-called revolution started and became popular as the 'Behavioural Revolution'. This revolution reached a commanding position within political theory in the 1950's and engulfed the entire field of study and research by advocating new features. They included:

- a) Encouragement to quantitative technique in analysis
- b) Demolition of the normative framework and promotion of empirical research which can be susceptible to statistical tests
- c) Non – acceptance and rejection of the history of ideas
- d) Focus on micro–study as it was more amenable to empirical treatment
- e) Glorification of specialisation
- f) Procurement of data from the behaviour of the individual and
- g) Urge for value – free research.

Significance:

1. It specifies as the unit or object of both theoretical and empirical analysis, the behaviour of persons and social groups rather than events, structures, institutions, or ideologies.
2. It seeks to place theory and research in frame of reference common to that of social psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology. In other words, it favours interdisciplinary focus.
3. It stresses the mutual inter-dependence of theory and research. Theoretical questions need to be stated in operational terms for purpose of empirical research. And, in turn, empirical findings should have a bearing on the development of political theory. It is self-consciously theory oriented.
4. It tries to develop rigorous designs and to apply precise methods of analysis to the political behaviour problems. It stands for scientific procedure of research.

Decline:

- Arendt focussed mainly on the uniqueness and responsibility of the human being, with which she initiates her criticism in behaviouralism. She contended that the behavioural search for uniformities in human nature has only contributed towards stereotyping the human being.
- Strauss reaffirms the importance of classical political theory to remedy the crisis of modern times. He does not agree with the proposition that all political theory is ideological in nature mirroring a given socio-economic interest, for most political thinkers are motivated by the possibility of discerning the principles of the right order in social existence. A political philosopher has to be primarily interested in truth.
- Past philosophies are studied with an eye on coherence and consistency. The authors of the classics in political theory are superior because they were geniuses and measured in their writings. Strauss scrutinises the methods and purposes of the 'new' political science and concludes that it was defective when compared with classical political theory, particularly that of Aristotle. For Aristotle, a political philosopher or a political scientist has to be impartial, for he possesses a more comprehensive and clearer understanding of human ends.
- Political science and political philosophy are identical, because science consisting of theoretical and practical aspects is identical with philosophy. Aristotle's political science also evaluates political things, defends autonomy of prudence in practical matters and views political action as essentially ethical. These premises Behaviouralism denies, for it separates political philosophy from political science and substitutes the distinction between theoretical and practical sciences.

**Can there be a universal conception of human rights? Give your arguments.
(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper
1)**

- Human rights are universal and inalienable; indivisible; interdependent and interrelated. They are universal because everyone is born with and possesses the same rights, regardless of where they live, their gender or race, or their religious, cultural or ethnic background. Inalienable because people's rights can never be taken away. Indivisible and interdependent because all rights – political, civil, social, cultural and economic – are equal in importance and none can be fully enjoyed without the others. They apply to all equally, and all have the right to participate in decisions that affect their lives. They are upheld by the rule of law and strengthened through legitimate claims for duty-bearers to be accountable to international standards.
- The universality of human rights is encompassed in the words of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”
- However, there are two reasons some people find it hard to accept. **The first** is the appeal of relativism. That appeal is all the greater now, when cultural diversity is more present than ever in one's neighbourhood, on television, and across the internet. It's a short step from identifying differences in cultural values to identifying justice itself as culturally constructed. **The second** reason for doubt is also a response to the radically diverse ways of life in the world, but a simpler one: a belief that human rights universality is implausible. Even if there are moral universals, one might think them too few or too vague, and the settings of their operation too diverse, to generate anything as specific as human rights.
 - For example, of what is accepted as torture by some and not by others, namely male and female circumcision. The Western world thinks that male circumcision is good for health-related reasons. But many people in the Asian world do not agree. On the other hand, female circumcision is a cultural tradition (not on health grounds) in many African nations. This act is considered barbaric and reprehensible by the "civilised" world, in recent years several African countries have passed laws against female circumcision.)
- Both the UN sponsored international conferences on Human Rights at Tehran (1968) and at Vienna (1993) have underlined the universality of the human rights. The Vienna Declaration, coming after 25 years, represents a global consensus on the nature of human rights. This is an agreed opinion of the world.

- The first paragraph of the Vienna Declaration states without ambiguity: "The universal nature I of these rights and freedoms is beyond question." The provisions of the Vienna Declaration lead to the following conclusions:
 1. They state once and for all that dignity is the common basis of all human rights.
 2. They proclaim the universal character of those rights.
 3. However, important to note is a need for taking note of national and regional peculiarities and of various historical, cultural and religious heritages as we accept the universal nature of the human rights.

Explain the Aristotelian view of politics. To what extent do you think it has contributed to the development of modern-day constitutional democracies?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

- Aristotle did not only lay the foundation stone of political science but also contributed significantly to its elaboration as well. "Politics", "Ethics", and "Rhetoric" are few among many of his works that hold discussions on questions of law, equality, justice, etc.
- According to Aristotle, political science is a master science. He gives credit to **political science as a master-art** because, unlike other sciences that serve as a means to an end, political science pertains to the ends of human existence in itself. Aristotle, thus viewed political science as the end to human existence rather than as a means to it.
- Aristotle views the state as natural. According to him, the **state is a necessary condition** for all humans. Like Plato, he doesn't differentiate between state or society and, in a similar fashion, considers it to be essential for a good life. Thus, in his view, the State is a necessary condition of a good life.
- Aristotle believes that **Man is a political animal**. This analogy is intriguing because it does not only consider man to be a social animal but also interprets him as a political being. Aristotle uses the same concept of the good life to justify his consideration of a man as a political being. He asserts that all kinds of living beings happen to exist in groups, and thus, they can be understood as social animals. However, it is solely the quality of human beings to aspire for a good and qualitative life. Aristotle is known for his dictum that **State is prior to man**. Chronologically, it is a man who appears before the state. Still,

since it is the state that makes human beings capable of completing their needs and fulfilling the objective of a good life, the state is given priority over the man.

- According to Aristotle, without any **adequate checks on a ruler's power**, no form of government would be stable. He believes that power and virtue cannot coexist.
- He has provided the **cycle of change of governments** over time. Kingship, a normal form of government, turns to tyranny when there is an absence of control over the monarch's power. Tyranny leads to a rebellion or a revolution by a few individuals who establish an aristocracy. Aristocracy can deteriorate and turn into an oligarchy, the perverted form. With time, a greater many rebels against oligarchy and supersede it with polity. Polity further decays in democracy when the many rulers begin to seek their self-interest. In the end, a single individual who seems virtuous establishes a monarchy, and the progression of ideal form and perverted form continues in a circular motion.
- Aristotle gave the **concept of a mixed constitution** as a solution to prevent instability and establish a lasting form of government in the Greek city-state. He employed his idea of the "Golden Mean" to create stability. In his book "Ethics", he explains the Golden Mean as a middle path, which means that virtue lies between two extremes. Anything on an extreme end becomes a vice, and each virtue lies in the middle of the two extremes. For instance, courage is a virtue that lies between the two extremes of timidity and negligence.
- His solution to bring a stable form of government is the **combination of rule by few and rule by many**. He discarded Monarchy because it would be corrupt from absolute power. Aristocracy would suit because few would make the rules. This would comprise the chosen minority who are educated and rich. However, in case of no checks on aristocracy, it would deteriorate. To prevent that, Aristotle suggests that the decisions made by the aristocracy should be ratified by the ordinary many. He says that "the people, though individually they may be worse judges than those who have special knowledge, are **collectively as good**".
- Aristotle's suggestion of a judicious mixture between aristocracy and what is sometimes referred to as Polity or, at other times Democracy, embodies his belief in the **Golden Mean** formula. Hence, the competent, rich and educated would rule, but the ordinary citizens would check the aristocracy from exceeding their power by ratifying their decisions. In modern times, Aristotle's formula is arguably referred to as **Constitutional Democracy**.

“When a nation becomes devoid of arts and learning, it invites poverty.” (Sir Syed Ahmad Khan). In the light of this statement, assess the role of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as a reformer in modern India. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan **was born in 1817** in a family that was close to the Mughal court, he was a **man of many distinctions**, a civil servant, journalist, educationist, social reformer and historian among others.
 - He served **the British administration** before the revolt of 1857.
 - He has also written a pamphlet titled **“The Causes of the Indian Revolt”** to explain the reasons for the revolt from **a Indian perspective**.
- **Educationist:** Sir Syed is, first and foremost, known for his **pioneering role in transforming the educational opportunities for Muslims**. Sir Syed realised that Muslims could only make progress if they took to modern education. For this he started **the Aligarh movement**.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was very upset to observe the depressed condition of the Muslims everywhere. He decided to take extreme efforts for the welfare of the Muslims. He realized that there is a need to the exclusion of mistrust about the Muslims from the minds of British rulers. For this purpose, he wrote Essay on the causes of Indian Revolt in which he proved that there were many factors which led to the rebellion of 1857 and that only the Muslims were not to be held responsible for it. Additionally, he wrote "Loyal Muhammadans of India" in which he shielded the Muslims against the charges of unfaithfulness. These works restored confidence of the British in the Muslims to a large extent. Then, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan focused on the upliftment of educational part of his co-religionists. He told the Muslims that without obtaining modern education, they could not compete with the Hindus and other communities. He pleaded that there was no harm in accepting western sciences and in learning English language. He issued a magazine named "Tahzib-ul-Ikhlaq" which projected adoptable European manners. Afterwards, Syed Ahmed Khan wrote an interpretation on the Holy Quran. In this important work, Syed Ahmed Khan interpreted Islam on logical and scientific basis.

- **Social Reformer:** He also pushed for social reforms and was a champion of democratic ideals and freedom of speech. He was **against religious intolerance, ignorance and irrationalism**. He **denounced purdah, polygamy and easy divorce**. **Tahzebul Akhlaq** (Social Reformer in English), **a magazine founded by him**, tried to awaken **people's consciousness on social and religious issues** in a very expressive prose.

Throughout his life, Syed Ahmad Khan remonstrated against the practices of purdah, polygamy, easy divorce and many other fallacies in his community. His main priority was advancement of modern western education, in Muslim society.

Aligarh Movement

- It was **asystemic movement aimed at reforming the social, political and educational aspects** of the Muslim community.
- The movement undertook to modernise Muslim's education **by adapting English as a medium of learning and western education** rather than just focusing on traditional teachings.
- Sir Syed **established the Scientific Society in 1864**, in Aligarh to translate Western works into Indian languages to prepare the Muslims to accept Western education and to inculcate scientific temperament among the Muslims. **The Aligarh Institute Gazette**, a magazine published by Sir Syed was an organ of the Scientific Society.
- In 1877, he founded the **Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College** on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge universities. The college later grew into **Aligarh Muslim University**.
- The Aligarh Movement helped in the Muslim revival. It **gave them a common language— Urdu**.

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Political ideology is primarily concerned with the allocation and utilization of Power.” Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

Many political parties base their political action and election program on an ideology. In social studies, a political ideology is a certain ethical set of ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of a social movement, institution, class, and/or large group that explains how society should work, and offers some political and cultural blueprint for a certain social order. A political ideology largely concerns itself with how to allocate power and to what ends it should be used. Some parties follow a certain ideology very closely, while others may take broad inspiration from a group of related ideologies without specifically embracing any one of them. The popularity of an ideology is in part due to the influence of moral entrepreneurs, who sometimes act in their own interests.

Political ideologies have two dimensions:

- 1.Goals: How society should be organized.
- 2.Methods: The most appropriate way to achieve this goal.

An ideology is a collection of ideas. Typically, each ideology contains certain ideas on what it considers to be the best form of government (e.g. democracy, autocracy, etc.), and the best economic system (e.g. capitalism, socialism, etc.). Sometimes the same word is used to identify both an ideology and one of its main ideas. For instance, "socialism" may refer to an economic system, or it may refer to an ideology which supports that economic system.

Political ideology is a term fraught with problems, having been called "the most elusive concept in the whole of social science"; however, ideologies tend to identify themselves by their position on the political spectrum (such as the left, the center or the right), though this is very often controversial. Finally, ideologies can be distinguished from political strategies (e.g. populism) and from single issues that a party may be built around (e.g. opposition to European integration or the legalization of marijuana).

Marx and Engels noted that 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas'. According to them the class which owns the means of material production in any society also controls the means of mental production. Antonio Gramsci gave the concept of 'hegemony' to explain the phenomenon of ideological domination, particularly of the capitalist class, in the contemporary society. Hegemony, in this sense, denotes a form of rule where power is apparently exercised with the consent of the ruled.

Politics is concerned with a struggle for power to control public affairs, that is, to have access to positions of taking decisions for the allocation of public goods, services, opportunities and honours. Political ideology provides legitimacy to the ruling classes and helps them maintain their stronghold on political power which gives them the control over the public affairs.