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“The war in Afghanistan is crucial from the point of view of India's national security. If the Americans withdraw and Jihadis emerge with a sense of triumphalism, India will face increasing onslaught of terrorism.” Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2020 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

US Withdrawal and India

- Taliban: Taliban itself remains a major variable. If the Taliban does not accommodate the interests of all Afghans, it simply sets the stage for the next round of the civil war in Afghanistan.
- The Taliban is also signalling that it will not be a proxy for anyone else and that it will pursue independent policies.

India will have three critical areas in dealing with the Taliban.

- Protecting its investments, which run into billions of rupees, in Afghanistan;
- Preventing a future Taliban regime from being a pawn of Pakistan;
- Making sure that the Pakistan-backed anti-India terrorist groups do not get support from the Taliban.

India's Approach

- The era of prolonged peace in Afghanistan secured by the US military presence has come to its end.
- This would mean new constraints on India's ability to operate inside Afghanistan.
- Three structural conditions will continue to shape India's Afghan policy.
- One is India's lack of direct physical access to Afghanistan. This underlines the importance of India having effective regional partners.
- Pakistan has the capability to destabilise any government in Afghanistan. But it does not have the power to construct a stable and legitimate order in Afghanistan.
- The contradiction between the interests of Afghanistan and Pakistan is an enduring one.
- Pakistan likes to turn Afghanistan into a protectorate, but Afghans deeply value their independence. All Afghan sovereigns, including the Taliban, will look for partners to balance Pakistan.
- India should focus on intensifying its engagement with various Afghan groups, including the Taliban and finding effective regional partners to secure its interests in a changing Afghanistan.

Identify the key sectors of cooperation between India and Israel since 2014. Examine their significance in strengthening the bilateral ties between the two countries.(UPSC CSE Mains 2020 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

- Though India officially recognised Israel in 1950, the two countries established full diplomatic ties only on 29th January 1992.
- India was among 164 United Nations (UN) member states to have diplomatic ties with Israel.

Economic and Commercial Relations

- From USD 200 million in 1992, bilateral merchandise trade stood at USD 4.14 billion (excluding defense) during the period April 2020 – February 2021 with the balance of trade being in India's favour.
- Trade in diamonds constitutes about 50% of bilateral trade.
- India is Israel's third-largest trade partner in Asia and seventh largest globally.

Defense

- India is the largest buyer of military equipment from Israel, which, in turn, is the second-largest defense supplier to India, after Russia.
- India has a wide array of Israeli weapon systems over the years, which range from Phalcon AWACS (Airborne Warning And Control Systems) and Heron, Searcher-II and Harop drones to Barak anti-missile defense systems and Spyder quick-reaction anti-aircraft missile systems.
- The acquisitions also include a host of Israeli missiles and precision-guided munitions, from Python and Derby air-to-air missiles to Crystal Maze and Spice-2000 bombs.

Cooperation in Agriculture:

- In May 2021, "a three-year work program agreement" for development in agriculture cooperation, was signed.
- The programme aims to grow existing Centers of Excellence, establish new centers, increase CoE's value chain, bring the Centers of Excellence into the self-sufficient mode, and encourage private sector companies and collaboration.

Science & Technology:

- India and Israel deliberated on widening the scope of India-Israel Industrial R&D and Technological Innovation Fund (I4F).
- I4F is a cooperation between the two countries to promote, facilitate and support joint industrial R&D projects between companies from India and Israel to address the challenges in the agreed 'Focus Sectors'.

Challenges:

- Bilateral Trade and investment still below potential
 - Trade has stagnated.
 - Mainly confined to diamonds and defence.
 - Free Trade Agreement talks has stagnated.
- With Israel and Saudi Arabia coming close with an aim to stop the rise of Iran, it will be tough for India to balance its relations with the three main poles of the West Asian region

- Human Rights violation by Israel against Palestine has been difficult for India to turn a blind eye
- Connectivity between two countries still poor
- China is attracted to Israel's technology sector, and Israel welcomes China's investments and potential as a research collaborator.

Way Forward

- Development along with transfer of defence technology will help India.
- India can leverage its space technologies to Israel for its developmental purposes where India enjoys upper hand.
- An integrated approach involving government to government, government to business and business to business interactions between Indians and Israeli agencies.
- India could well take a cue from how Israel maintains stringent external and internal security, allowing Israeli settlements right up to the border of conflict zones.
- India could adopt the three-layered Israeli strategy that goes beyond security to build a cyber system that is robust, resilient and has strong defence capabilities.
- Both need to cooperate to combat growing radicalisation and terrorism, including in cyber space

Critically examine the role of India in shaping the emerging world order. (UPSC CSE Mains 2020 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

New World Order

The new multilateral world order is a term that refers to the emergence of new forms of cooperation and dialogue among different countries and regions in the 21st century. It is a response to the challenges and opportunities posed by globalization, climate change, pandemics, terrorism, and other issues that require collective action and shared solutions.

Some of the features of the new multilateral world order are:

- The expansion and diversification of the existing multilateral institutions, such as the UN, the IMF, and the World Bank, to include more voices and perspectives from the developing world and the Global South.
- The creation and strengthening of new regional and sub-regional organizations, such as the BRICS, the African Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the European Union, that aim to promote regional integration, development, security, and cooperation.
- The emergence of informal networks and initiatives, such as the Alliance for Multilateralism, the G20, and the Quad, that seek to address specific issues or challenges that transcend national boundaries and require coordinated action.
- The recognition of the multipolar reality of the world, where no single country or bloc can dominate or dictate the global agenda, and where different actors have

to engage in dialogue and negotiation to find common ground and mutual benefit.

Decline of Existing Multilateralism

- **Rise of China and its Expansionism:** One of the primary reasons behind the decline of existing multilateralism is the rise of China as a global economic and military power. China's expansionist policies, both in Asia and globally, challenge the existing multilateral order. Its unilateral efforts to alter borders with neighbors and its assertive territorial expansionism have created tensions and destabilized regional and global institutions.
- **Economic and Security Threats from China:** The economic and security threats posed by China have compelled countries like the United States, Japan, and India to reevaluate their engagement with China. This has led to efforts to de-risk their massive economic interdependence with China, which has implications for existing multilateral economic institutions.
- **Russian Actions:** The Russian occupation and annexation of Ukraine's Crimea in 2014 marked a significant challenge to the post-Cold War security order, particularly in Europe. This event disrupted multilateralism by causing rifts and conflicts in the international community.
- **Contradictions Within the Multilateral System:** The multilateral system itself has faced internal contradictions and challenges. These internal disagreements and conflicting interests among member states have weakened the effectiveness of multilateral organizations and impeded consensus-building.
- **Rise of Alternative Security Forums:** In response to China's expansionism, alternative security forums like the Quad, AUKUS, and trilateral compacts have emerged. These forums reflect a shift away from traditional multilateral institutions, raising questions about the continuing relevance and centrality of existing regional organizations like
- **Changing Perspectives of Key Players:** The changing perspectives of key players, such as India, have also contributed to the decline of existing multilateralism. India's evolving view of the international order, shifting from concerns about a "unipolar Asia" dominated by China to a more proactive engagement with the United States and its allies, has altered the dynamics of multilateralism in the Indo-Pacific region.
- **Global Financial Crisis and Expanding the G7:** The 2008 global financial crisis underscored the need to expand the Group of Seven (G7) to include middle powers to restore global economic stability. While this was a positive step toward addressing global challenges, it also highlighted the limitations of the existing multilateral framework.

India Shaping the New World order

- India can play a leading role in the Quad and ASEAN, as well as other regional and sub-regional forums, to promote a free and open Indo-Pacific region that is based on the rule of law, respect for sovereignty, and peaceful resolution of disputes.
- India can also enhance its maritime security cooperation with like-minded countries to counter the challenges posed by China's assertiveness in the region.

- India can contribute to the re-globalisation process by diversifying its trade and investment partners, especially in the Global South, and by developing its domestic capabilities in key sectors such as manufacturing, services, and innovation.
- India can also advocate for a more democratic and equitable global governance system that reflects the realities and aspirations of the emerging economies.
- India can use its hosting of the G20 summit as an opportunity to showcase its vision and achievements as a global leader, as well as to forge consensus on important issues such as climate change, sustainable development, health security, and digital transformation.
- India can also bridge the gap between the developed and developing countries by highlighting their common interests and challenges, and by proposing solutions that are inclusive and pragmatic.

Resurgence of political theory. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- The resurgence of Political Theory refers to the revival of the normative or value-based (Philosophical) political theory in political science.
- In the middle of the twentieth century, many thinkers (David Easton, Alfred Cobban) have written about the decline of political theory. Again many concluded (Lasslett, Dahl) as a political theory is dead. It would not be right to come to the conclusion that political theory has become unimportant or has declined.
- Isaiah Berlin says that political theory is neither dead nor in the state of decline. Berlin challenges that there can never be any one kind of society and if even such a society exist the society's goals would always carry different and incomplete meanings to different persons in different situations. Thus he says that there cannot be an age without political philosophy. Berlin argued that as long as rational curiosity existed political theory would not die nor disappear. George H. Sabine also opined that "if political theory is systematic, disciplined investigation of political problems, then it is difficult to say that political theory was dead in 1950s and 1960s." According to him, political theory was alive in the works of Arendt, Oakeshott, Leo Strauss, John Rawls, Robert Nozick, Herbert Marcuse and Eric Vogelín, etc.

The following new themes have surfaced during the resurgence of political theory:-

- **Communitarians:** Theorists such as Michael Walzer, Michael Sandel, Alistair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor belong to this school. They reject the liberal conception of individuated self and hold that self is part of social relations in which he/she is embedded.

- Post-Modernism: It got genesis in the writings of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Jean-Francois Lyotard. These scholars attacked the universalistic foundations of political theory and stress on decentered, fragmented nature of human experience. Identity and culture are the prominent aspects on which postmodernists have emphasized.
- Multiculturalism: Scholars like Will Kymlicka, I.M. Young and Bhikhu Parekh have laid stress on the attribute of culture as context of experience and human well-being. They blame the contemporary political theory of being culture biased and neglecting the concerns of different cultural groups. As such they have favoured-a regime of group differentiated right to address discrimination meted out to cultural identities as well as the ambit of democracy. Will Kymlicka's "Multicultural Citizenship" and Bhiku Parekh's "Rethinking Multiculturalism" are important works on multiculturalism.
- Feminism: The theorists of this school have attacked the alleged neutrality of public sphere. Instead, they locate structures of power that symbolize power of men over women. It neglects the aspect of gender and results in subjugation of women.
- Environmentalism: The theorists of this school have attacked the notion of progress that has led to depletion of flora and fauna over the years. Instead they place ecological components at the centre of political theory and emphasize its importance over other animate objects.

Thus, in brief, it can be argued that in 1950s and 1960s, factors such as historicism, hyper-factualism, moral relativism and ideological reductionism led to the decline of political theory. However, in 1970s onwards, works of scholars like Machel Oakeshott, Robert Nozick, Eric Vogelien, Hannah Arendt, John Rawls, F.W. Hayek, Isaiah Berlin, Bhiku Parekh and Karl Popper revived the political theory.

Pluralist theory of the State. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- The pluralist theory rejects establish that there is no single source of authority that is all competent and comprehensive.
- Laski says that sovereignty is neither absolute nor a unity. It is pluralist, constitutional and responsible. State has no superior claim to an individual's allegiance. It can justify itself as a public service corporation. State exists to coordinate functions of human association in the best interest.
- Another exponent of pluralist theory Robert M. MacIver propounds that state is one of the several human associations, although it exercises unique functions. Important feature of the state is supremacy of law.
- Pluralists believe that state enjoys a privileged position because of its wider jurisdiction, which covers all the individuals and associations within its boundary. This does not mean that it is superior to other associations. It is also true that state has power to punish those who defy its command but that does not mean that it is absolute. The state must justify the exercise of its special powers. Pluralist is divided and limited.

- The pluralist demand that the same must justify its claim to allegiance on moral grounds. Actually to them the management and control of society must be shared by various associations in proportion to their contribution to the common goods. This theory stands for the decentralization of authority.
- The pluralist also rejects the distinction between state and government. They insist on a realistic political science and consider the distinction between two as artificial.
- The pluralists are not against the state but would discard sovereign state with its absolute and indivisible power.
- State is one of the several human associations catering to various interests of the individuals.
- State is arbiter over conflicting interests of different associations.
- State should compete with other human associations to claim superior authority.
- State Is not absolute or supreme legally.
- The pluralist theory of sovereignty is also not free from criticism. Critics maintain that without establishment of a classless society, sovereignty can neither be divided nor be limited. In order to limit the sovereignty of the state there must be a classless society.
- The demands for freedom from different associations also are criticized. Division of sovereignty among different associations is not only impossible but also improper. The pluralist view will lead to political anarchy and social instability.
- The pluralist limits the sovereignty in order to maintain independence of individuals and other associations, however in order to maintain the rights of the individuals and associations, the state must have sovereign power. The interest of individuals and associations, will conflict and the state will be helpless if it does not possess sovereign power.
- In spite of all these criticism it cannot be denied that the pluralist theory of sovereignty protested the rigid and dogmatic legalism of the Austin's theory of sovereignty. It supports humanist and democratic ideas. It challenged the concept of unlimited sovereignty.
- This theory also pointed out the importance of other associations. Only state is not important but in a society there are also many other associations, which play important role in its development. At last we can say that the greatest contribution of this theory is that it gave state a human face, and checked it from being a threat to the liberty.

End of Ideology debate. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- The concept of 'end of ideology' debate implies that at the advanced stage of industrial growth, a country's social-economic organisation is determined by the level of its development, and not by any political ideology. Edward Shils reported it as 'The End of Ideology.' This has been argued on two occasions. The first occasion was in the 1950s when an argument was put forward as the 'end-of-ideology' thesis. The second occasion has produced the 'end-of-history' thesis which first appeared in 1989, and is still the subject of fierce debate.
- The best-known proponents of 'end-of-ideology' thesis are: Seymour Martin Lipset (1922-) (Political Man, 1959) and Daniel Bell (The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties, 1960) For the first time, Lipset offered the version of 'end-of-ideology' thesis that was later espoused by Daniel Bell, Edward Shils, and Raymond Aron.
- For Lipset, post-war societies in the West eliminate the functional need for ideologies since they have solved the fundamental political problems of the industrial revolution that generated these ideologies. Daniel Bell pointed out that in the Western World 'there is today rough consensus among intellectuals on political issues: the acceptance of a Welfare State; the desirability of decentralised power; a system of mixed economy and of political pluralism. In that sense to the ideological age has ended.' Ralph Dahrendorf found that formerly capitalist societies have become 'post-capitalist societies'.
- In these societies conflicts are confined within the borders of their proper realm, and do not influence politics and other spheres of social life. Daniel Bell postulated that the older humanistic ideologies derived from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were exhausted, and that new parochial ideologies would arise. He argues that with the end of communism, we are seeing a resumption of history, a lifting of the heavy ideological blanket and the return of traditional ethnic and religious conflicts in the many regions of the former socialist states and elsewhere.
- In his Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (1960) Seymour M. Lipset observed that 'democracy is not only even primarily a means through which different groups can attain their ends or seek the good society; it is the good society itself in operation'. Intellectuals now realise that they no longer need ideologies or Utopias to motivate them to political action.
- W. Rostow, in his The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-communist Manifesto (1960) built a unidimensional model of economic growth which was applicable to all countries irrespective of their political ideologies. J.K. Galbraith, in his The New Industrial State (1967), identified certain characteristics of advanced industrial societies which corresponded to the thesis of end of ideology

Deliberative democracy. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- Deliberative democracy argues that political decisions should be based on fair and reasonable deliberations among citizens. This is required to produce best decisions to achieve public good. In emphasizing on quality of process for best outcomes, John Rawls and Jurgen Habermas have argued for a deliberative democracy. Rawls believed that reason can overcome self interest to attain a just political society. Habermas believed that fair procedures and clear communication would lead to legitimate and mutually agreed upon decisions.
- Deliberative democracy suggests that we value self-rule because it provides an area for discussion, compromise, and consensus. The ideal of deliberative democracy is not that a majority number of votes will clearly determine an answer, but that through transparent and fair deliberation, we should arrive at something close to unanimous consensus, even if that consensus is a compromise in which no one individual gets everything they want. A deliberative democracy is one in which citizens and representatives justify their decisions in an open and transparent arena, using reason to arrive at a best possible conclusion while leaving open the possibility that the conclusion could be revised or changed in the future. Process is key to deliberation—it is a back and forth dialog among individuals engaged in the task of finding solutions to political problems of a community. Where aggregative democracy is centered on the end result, or aggregative, of preferences, deliberative democracy values the process of deliberating as much if not more than the conclusion itself.
- In a democracy, leaders should give reasons for their decisions, and respond to the reasons that citizens give in return. But not all issues, all the time, require deliberation. Deliberative democracy makes room for many other forms of decisionmaking (including bargaining among groups, and secret operations ordered by executives), as long as the use of these forms themselves is justified at some point in a deliberative process. Its first and most important characteristic, then, is its reason-giving requirement.
- The reasons that deliberative democracy asks citizens and their representatives to give should appeal to principles that individuals who are trying to find fair terms of cooperation cannot reasonably reject. The reasons are neither merely procedural nor purely substantive. They are reasons that should be accepted by free and equal persons seeking fair terms of cooperation.
- Deliberative democrats care as much about what happens after a decision is made as about what happens before. Keeping the decision-making process open in this way--recognizing that its results are provisional--is important for two reasons. First, in politics as in much of practical life, decision-making processes and the human understanding upon which they depend are imperfect. We therefore cannot be sure that the decisions we make today will be correct tomorrow, and even the decisions that appear most sound at the time may appear less justifiable in light of later evidence. Even in the case of those that are irreversible, like the decision to attack Iraq, reappraisals can lead to different choices later than were planned initially. Second, in politics most decisions are not consensual. Those citizens and representatives who disagreed with the original decision are more likely to accept it if they believe they have a

chance to reverse or modify it in the future. And they are more likely to be able to do so if they have a chance to keep making arguments.

- The essence of deliberative democracy is to be found in 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments. Grassroots participation and social audits inform, educate and enlighten the citizen on the road to social welfare.

M. K. Gandhi's concept of Swaraj. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- According to Gandhi the word Swaraj was a sacred word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint. Gandhi believed that national Swaraj could be achieved by the same means that were needed for attaining individual Swaraj. Gandhi believed that the methods of attaining individual Swaraj with national Swaraj were similar and complementary to each-other. Gandhi proclaimed that self-government depended entirely upon one's internal strength, upon one's ability to fight against all odds. He said that political self-government, that is, selfgovernment for a large number of men and women, is no better than individual self-government, and, therefore, it is to be attained by precisely the same means that are required for individual self-government or self-rule.
- Emphasising on the utmost necessity to have unity in a situation of larger plurality and also with the larger awareness of two Indias, one of the city and another of the village with abject poverty allowed him to portray a more realistic depiction of the Indian reality, much better than attempted by the socialists and the Marxists. To give life and meaning to the concept of Swaraj, Gandhi's formulation of the constructive programme is of supreme importance. It portrays the essential reformatory nature of his theories ensuring the minimum resources and environment essential for self-development of every single Indian and as a means of reaching the goal of Swaraj.
- By Swaraj Gandhi did not mean only political Swaraj. Freedom or Swaraj, for Gandhi, is an inclusive concept-political, economic, social and moral emphasising on the utmost necessity of the human being to be as perfect as possible.
- Gandhi borrows the term 'Swaraj' from the Vedas. Swaraj for Gandhi also meant positive freedom, to participate in the process of politics in every possible way. It implies participatory democracy as there exists an intimate relationship between the citizen and the state. Gandhi's concern for majority alleviation led him to advance the notion of village decentralization or 'Gram Swaraj' with its focus on the village, at the centre of his social, political and economic philosophy.
- Gandhiji aimed at classless society, elimination of untouchability and purdah system and everyone should lead their life on self-rule both Personal and National Swaraj. Gandhiji's Swaraj, is not only applicable during the time of Pre-independence but also it applies in the modern times, His Swaraj is very

essential and Paramount in the current scenario, because people fighting for their self-rule and to be free and independent from any hinderance.

Explain Aristotle's critique of Plato's Idealism. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Aristotle's main criticisms w.r.t. Plato

- Impracticality: Aristotle believed that Plato's ideal state was too utopian and unrealistic. He argued that it was impossible to achieve and maintain the perfect equality and communal living that Plato envisioned.
- Separation of classes: Plato's ideal state was based on a strict separation of classes, with rulers and guardians at the top and laborers at the bottom. Aristotle argued that this separation would create resentment and conflict between classes and would be detrimental to the functioning of the state.
- Lack of individualism: Aristotle believed that Plato's ideal state placed too much emphasis on the collective good and neglected the importance of individual rights and freedoms. He believed that individuals should have more autonomy and that the state should be structured to protect individual liberties.
- Critique of communism: Plato's ideal state was based on communal living and the sharing of property and resources. Aristotle, however, believed that private property was necessary for individual motivation and productivity, and that communism would lead to a lack of incentive to work and produce.
- Critique of philosopher-kings: Plato's ideal state was to be ruled by philosopher-kings, who had the wisdom and knowledge to govern the state justly. Aristotle, on the other hand, believed that practical experience and expertise were also necessary for good governance, and that philosophers were not necessarily suited to be rulers.

Overall, Aristotle's criticisms of Plato's ideal state reflect his belief in a more practical and realistic form of government that values individualism and expertise, and recognizes the limitations of human nature and social organization. Aristotle is a realist, and in his State, man has freedoms and rights. On the contrary, Plato considers himself an idealist, and Plato believes that man is not entitled to liberty.

Examine communitarian perspectives on justice. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Communitarians are first and foremost concerned with community. Two or more people constitute a community when they share a common conception of good and see this good as partly constitutive of their identity or selves. Such a “constitutive community” may be a close friendship, family relationship, neighbourhood or even a comprehensive political community. Communitarians insist that each of us as individuals develops our identity, talents and pursuit in life only in the context of a community. We are by nature social beings. Since the community determines and shapes the individual nature, political life must start with a concern for the community, and not the individual. In other words, the locus of philosophical concern in reflecting on the ideal and the just state must be the community and not the individual.

The communitarian theorists criticise Rawls’s liberal-egalitarian conception of justice for its emphasis on individual rights at the expense of the good of the community. In his book, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (1982), Michael Sandel criticises what he calls Rawls’s notion of disembodied or unencumbered self or subject, in opposition to which he advances the notion of the situated self, i.e. the self or subject, who is invariably a member of a community. While, for Rawls, the right is prior to the good and justice is the first virtue of a society, for Sandel, justice is only a remedial virtue that is needed in an individualistic society. For Sandel, moreover, the common good of the community is prior to the rights of the individuals. Charles Taylor, who too is a leading communitarian political philosopher, bemoans liberalism’s “atomistic” conception of the self. According to him, the well-being of the individual depends on the good of his community and therefore, the recognition and protection of the group or cultural rights of the community is not less important than the just distribution of the freedom and equality rights to the individuals.

Compare negative and positive concepts of liberty. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- Sir Isaiah Berlin was a prominent political philosopher who developed the concept of two types of liberty: positive liberty and negative liberty. According to Berlin, these two concepts of liberty are fundamentally different and often in conflict.
- Negative liberty is the absence of external constraints on an individual’s actions. It is the freedom from coercion or interference, and it is typically associated with classical liberalism. Negative liberty is characterized by the absence of external barriers, and it emphasizes the individual’s autonomy to act freely. This means that the state has a limited role in promoting or restricting individual freedom, and it is seen as a means of protecting individuals from the actions of others. Positive liberty, on the other hand, is the ability to act according to one’s own will and interests.
- Positive liberty is often associated with socialism and is defined by the ability to act in accordance with one’s own values and interests. This requires the

individual to be free from internal barriers, such as ignorance or irrationality, which prevent them from recognizing their own interests. Positive liberty is characterized by the ability to act freely, rather than the absence of external barriers.

- According to Berlin, the two concepts of liberty can often come into conflict with one another. Negative liberty emphasizes the importance of individual freedom, but it can lead to inequality and injustice if individuals are not able to exercise their freedom due to external factors, such as poverty or discrimination.
- Positive liberty, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of collective action to promote social justice, but it can lead to authoritarianism if individuals are forced to act in accordance with the collective will. Berlin's theory has been influential in political philosophy, particularly in discussions about the role of the state in promoting individual freedom and social justice.
- Some have argued that negative liberty is the most important value in a liberal democracy, while others have argued that positive liberty is necessary to promote social equality and justice.

Criticisms of Berlin's idea of liberty

- Berlin's ideas have been critiqued by other scholars who say he never made clear the distinction between positive and negative liberty.
- Also, he lived and wrote during a period of history which saw the ideas of positive freedom exploited to justify horrific atrocities, such as the Holocaust. This, they argue, is no justification for associating positive liberty with totalitarian regimes.
- They argue that far from being forced to adopt their ideas, proponents of positive liberty simply aspire to help others attain self-mastery.

According to Gramsci, 'hegemony is primarily based on the organisation of consent.' Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Gramsci a neo-marxist was the first thinker who called for turning the focus of Marxism from its prime obsession of base (economic conditions) towards the culture sphere (superstructure). According to him, the superstructure has developed independently of the base and analysing it would only help in understanding the reasons behind the non emergence of revolutions in the capitalistic societies.

In his observation of modern states, Gramsci recognised that after the mid-nineteenth century, the state did not rule and control the public through coercion and force. Instead, it had cultivated consensual support throughout civil society, which he described as hegemony. Hegemony as a concept was inspired by Italian political thinkers who employed the term to describe the gradual building of consensus and favour across the nation for the ruling class instead of relying exclusively on the exercise of coercion. Hegemony was the consensual domination of the masses by a social class which successfully expanded its influence and leadership across civil

society. Army, law, police and other forms of control and threat were only employed during a crisis of command when spontaneous consent from the masses failed. By trying to keep this consent intact, the state could no longer be separated from civil society. The state became a combination of political and civil society and functioned as an ethical educator that moulded a specific way of life for its citizens. Therefore, the backing of educational and religious institutions, media persons, and groups that influenced civil society became essential to maintain power. Therefore the structures supporting it are known as Structures of legitimation.

When these structures fails then only the other coercion by the political means- governmental help is resorted and such structures are known as structures of coercion. Domination is an overarching method of exercising power over the subjects by these two methods.

Moreover, the state also needed to win over potentially hostile or volatile groups and appease the dominant classes. It is here that intellectuals play a major role. According to Gramsci, in a state's struggle for hegemony, intellectuals had an important role due to their capacity to influence civil society and gain the consent of the masses. They are used as tools of the state to maintain their hegemonic power.

Discuss Kautilya's views on the elements of the State. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- Kautilyan concept of state is very broad. Kautilya being a practical and rational thinkers spent no time in discussing the origin of state and dealt directly with the concept of state. Kautilyan state is very exhaustive in its functions. It can be called as welfare state. The state of Kautilya also took the measures to provide avenues of employment to a large body of inhabitants.
- Kautilya on the one hand, accepts the joint family system and on the other hand, forced the individual's responsibility towards his family. These views of Kautilya's theory of state is very relevant in contemporary times. The fact that countries act in their own self-interest was a timeless principle of Kautilya's Arthashastra.
- The Kautilyan theory of state is very Mesiculons exhaustive and comprehensive. It explains not only the Administration of the state but also explains the relationship with the foreign states. Arthashastra speaks less about the politics and deals with various aspects of administration of the state in detail, yet it provides necessary proposal and proposition for the removal of hindrances from the path of progress and development of the state.

Saptanga theory

- Kautilya's saptanga (seven organs) theory of state illustrates a novel dimension of state power that dialectically engages political rationality and normativity; artha and dharma respectively. His theory borrows from the Ayurveda medical treatise which speaks of seven elements of the body. It echoes the ideas of health, disease and cure in the context of 'body politic'.

- Drawing from a complex political life, Kautilya hand picks a set of seven key structural elements (prakritis) as 'state factors' which together constitute state power. The seven prakritis are constitutive of the state – swamin, the ruler; amatya, the ministers; janapada, territory and population; durga, fort/capital city; kosa: treasury; danda, coercive power of the state and mitra, ally.
- With this cluster of seven prakritis of the saptanga theory, the state is theorised.
- The prakritis are ordered according to the weight and importance Kautilya assigns to them, the ruler (swamin) being the most important state element, and the ally (mitra) being the least. The ordering represents a logical and substantive architecture. It is the ruler who appoints the ministers who, in turn, provide the institutional framework for the territorial state, which is constitutive of the people (janapada).
- The first three state factors contribute to the defence of the state (durga). The revenues collected feeds the state treasury (kosa) which maintains the armed forces (danda). The first six prakritis are the precondition for the conduct of a state's foreign policy. It is the health of the first six that determines the use of ally. There is both a 'logical verticality' and a 'horizontal entanglement' between the state factors.

Distinguish between liberal feminism and radical feminism. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Feminism as an organized political ideology has come a long way from its early days. Mary Wollstonecraft in 'A Vindication of the Rights of Women' (1792) argued that women should be entitled to the same rights as men on the grounds that 'human beings'. Feminism through its four waves has grown to bring more and more people under its fold through the recognition of intersectionality in the third wave and inclusion of LGBTQIA+ community in the fourth wave. Yet the fundamental difference between liberal and radical feminism remains important for anyone willing to explore feminism.

Liberal Feminism

- Liberal Feminism is the earliest form of feminism with Mary Wollstonecraft as its earliest proponent. It is philosophically based on the ideas of individualism, the belief that the human individual is all-important and therefore that all individuals are of equal moral worth and are entitled to equal treatment regardless of their sex, race, colour, creed or religion. The demand for equal rights lies at the core of liberal feminism. The Suffragette Movement in the 19th and early 20th century was based on the ideas of liberal feminism and the conviction that female emancipation would be brought about once women enjoyed equal voting rights.

- Liberal Feminism is reformist that is it seeks to reform the current structure to make it more equitable rather than to challenge what many other (radical) feminists see as the patriarchal structure of the society itself. In particular, liberal feminism does not seek to abolish the distinction between personal and political. They believe that opening up public life to equal completion between men and women is important by ensuring equal political rights such as the right to education, right to vote, right to pursue a career, etc. However liberal feminist doesn't focus much on the personal spheres such as sexual division of labour, etc.
- Liberal feminists succumb to biological determinism which is the idea that men and women are biologically different and women are biologically more suitable for certain responsibilities as child-rearing, taking care of the house, etc. Liberal feminism has often been accused of being privileged white feminism since only women that are educationally and socially well off can take advantage of a wider education and career opportunities. Thus it fails to address the problem of working-class women, black women and women in the developing world. Betty Friedan's 'The Feminine Mystique' marked the start of second-wave feminism. Although Betty Friedan is a liberal feminist icon, second-wave feminism came to be largely dominated by radical feminists.

Radical Feminism

- The central feature of radical feminism is the belief that sexual oppression is the most fundamental feature of society and that other forms of injustice- class, exploitation, racial hatred and so on- are merely secondary (Andrew Heywood, Political Ideologies). Radical feminists insist on highlighting the role of patriarchy in sexual oppression of women. They seek to abolish the entire structure of patriarchy. Pioneer radical feminists have been Simone de Beauvoir (The Second Sex, 1949), Germaine Greer (The Female Eunuch, 1970), Kate Millet (Sexual Politics, 1970), Andrea Dworkin, Catherine Mackinnon, etc.
- The major achievement of radical feminism is the 'Personal is Political' Movement which brought issues related to women's bodies and personal lives such as abortion and divorce into the political sphere and demanded to be legislated upon. Roe v Wade, a major Supreme Court judgment in the United States which gave women the right to abortion was a step in reducing the sexual control that men have on women. The idea of sexual control is of centrality in radical feminism. Susan Brownmiller's 'Against Our Will' (1975) emphasizes that men dominate women through a process of physical and sexual abuse. Men have created an 'ideology of rape' which 'amounts to a constant process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear'. Brownmiller argued that men rape because they can, because they have the 'biological capacity to rape' and that even men who do not rape nevertheless benefit from the fear and anxiety that rape provokes in all women. Andrea Dworkin and Catherine Mackinnon provided a similar critique of pornography which they believe is "the graphic sexual explicit subordination of women through picture and words". It constitutes violence against women and perpetuates rape culture.

In conclusion, liberal and radical feminism remain two extremely polar yet equally intrinsic schools of thought within feminism and both find equal number of followers

even today when feminism has branched out into socialist feminism, black feminism, intersectional feminism, eco feminism, postmodern feminism, etc.

Critically examine Hannah Arendt's conceptual triad of labour, work and action. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- Hannah 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.
- Arendt has talked about the conceptual triad of labour, work, and action in her book “The Human Condition” which offers a unique framework for understanding different dimensions of human activity.
- Arendt defines labour as the realm of biological necessity, referring to the activities involved in meeting basic physical needs, such as food, shelter, and reproduction. Arendt argues that labour has a dehumanizing effect, as it reduces individuals to mere biological beings driven by necessity. But Arendt has been criticized as labour, while tied to biological needs, can also be imbued with meaning, creativity, and personal fulfilment.
- Work for Arendt is the human activities that transform the natural world and produce durable artefacts. Unlike labour, work is characterized by its tangible outcomes and the lasting artefacts it produces. But Arendt’s concept of work tends to prioritize and valorize certain forms of human activity, particularly those associated with material production. Critics argue that this neglects other valuable aspects of human endeavours, such as artistic expression, intellectual pursuits, and spiritual or contemplative practices, which may not result in tangible artefacts but are equally significant to human existence.
- Lastly, Arendt defines action as the highest form of human activity. It involves individuals engaging in collective decision-making, participating in public affairs, and exercising their capacity for speech and political agency. But her conception of action neglects the importance of private life and personal relationships. Arendt’s focus on the public sphere as the exclusive site of meaningful human activity may undermine the value of intimate relationships, personal growth, and individual autonomy.
- Hannah Arendt’s triad of labour, work, and action offers a thought-provoking lens to understand different aspects of human activity, but it has been criticized for the dichotomies it establishes, the potential devaluation of certain forms of activity, and its neglect of the private realm and marginalized experiences.

Discuss the doctrine of 'rights as trumps'. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

1. The Doctrine of Proportionality formulates a set of conditions that, when jointly satisfied, indicate that the limitation of a constitutional right is justified. The doctrine justifies a limitation when
 - there is a rational connection between the means that the law employs and the objective that it pursues,
 - the law pursues its objective in a manner that minimally impairs the right, and
 - the values of a free and democratic society are realized more fully by the limitation than the right itself.
2. At each stage of this justificatory sequence, government bears the onus of justifying the limitation of a constitutional right. In the case of *Om Kumar v. Union of India*, the Supreme Court of India adopted this proportionality concept. The Supreme Court has also noted that Indian courts have been using this approach in circumstances of legislation that violates fundamental rights provided in Article 19(1) of the constitution since 1950.
3. Ronald Dworkin's rights as trumps model argues against government regulation of morals (Doctrine of Proportionality). It states that that fundamental rights have an elevated status with respect to a range of collective goals asserted in the name of the public interest, including utility, popular preference, non-prohibitive cost, and administrative convenience. The temptation to balance fundamental rights against collective goals must be resisted.
4. Collective goals might violate rights, but there can be no conflict between them. According to Dworkin, individual rights should prevail over government initiated laws promoting the collective good because such laws violate every person's right to equality.
5. Dworkin argued that the concept of right against the government becomes most useful particularly when the society is divided on racial lines into majority and minority. The right to freedom of speech and religious freedom belong to this category. Therefore, they are strong rights. He asserts that these rights should be permitted and they should not be interfered or banned. These freedoms are to be allowed even if the welfare of the collectivity is infringed. On the contrary, he also presupposes a large area of rights where the state can make legislations curtailing those rights to achieve common welfare. They can be called weak rights.
6. For example, restraining the movement on the roads for safety and smooth traffic movement does not mean restraining the rights, on the other hand, putting a restriction on publication or restraining the freedom of speech will infringe the rights even if it enhances general welfare. Thus, even though in both cases rights are involved, curtailment of one is justified, whereas the other is not.
7. Habermas criticised "rights as trumps model" on the proposition that even if we assume that the human dignity usually prevails over other rights, it should not be considered absolute. There can be some unavoidable circumstances, where the right to dignity will be at least partially defeated.

What is the contemporary relevance of Marxism? . (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- Marxism is a social, economic and political philosophy that analyses the impact of the ruling class on the laborers, leading to uneven distribution of wealth and privileges in the society. It stimulates the workers to protest the injustice. The theory was formulated by Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels in their work, 'The Communist Manifesto'. It was a pamphlet they created during the age of Imperialism, rooting from their own struggles as members of the proletariat lot. According to Marx, History demonstrates the existence of class struggle centuries earlier.
- Marxism, along with socialism and Communism were formulated to put an end to the Capitalist ideologies. Socialism insists on common ownership of wealth and land while still allowing individuals to own assets privately. The main idea of this philosophy is to ensure equal distribution of wealth and reward people based on the level of contribution an individual extends to the economy of the country. Whereas Communism means the absence of private property. It insists the control of such assets be only in the hands of the Government. The government shall provide the people with all the necessities like education, medical aids and housing.
- Though an absolute socialist or communist country or democracy is still impossible, some countries have managed to set up such governments using maximum efforts. Some of the countries that follow Communism are China, Cuba and North Korea. And the most Socialist countries are Norway, Sweden and Denmark.
- The continuing relevance of Marx has been dramatically demonstrated by the current crisis of contemporary capitalism. Marx had made several important observations about the laws of motion of capitalism. He had made the point that as the capitalist competition progresses, centralization and concentration of capital would inevitably occur. This would lead to an ever-increasing monopolisation. Competition among capitalists and the class struggle between labour and capital would lead to increasing mechanization, which would constantly create and replenish a reserve army of labour, an expanding pool of workers who would go in and out of employment. An increasing proportion of them would become permanently unemployed. These processes of capitalist accumulation would concentrate wealth and income in fewer and fewer hands, while inequalities will increase enormously. Marx made the brilliant observation that the general law of capitalist accumulation was the accumulation of wealth at one pole and misery at the other.
- A key consequence of this would be that there would always be a problem of demand under capitalism. Even as the capitalist mode of production causes the rapid growth of productive forces, the profit-driven system limits the growth of the consuming power of society, causing capitalism to function as a demand-constrained system. Moreover, given its unplanned character, there would always be 'overproduction' in some sectors relative to demand and 'inadequate production' in others. These imbalances can also be the cause of a general crisis in a capitalist economy. Further, as capitalists mechanize to meet competition and to overcome the power of workers, production would involve the use of more and more machinery and less and less of living labour, which

is, in fact, the source of surplus value and of capitalist profit. This, too, would give rise to a tendency for the rate of profit to fall, from time to time. Taking all this together, it is clear that, under capitalism, though there can be episodes of rapid growth, there would also be economic breakdowns from time to time, resulting in massive unemployment and collapse of markets. The history of capitalism since Marx wrote his magnum opus, *Das Kapital*, has borne out Marx's analysis of the crisis-prone nature of the capitalist economy. Nothing illustrates this better than the contemporary situation, so dramatically different from what was observed twenty years ago.

- Around 1989-91, ten years before the new millennium arrived, it appeared to many that the battle for a society free of exploitation and not based on the drive for private profit had been lost, with the decisive rise to unipolar global dominance of the USA, the dismemberment of the mighty Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism in former USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe that had been engaged in building socialism. Confident spokespersons for global capitalism even announced 'the end of history'. Unfortunately for those who thought that capitalism had decisively won the battle for the hearts and minds of the people all over the world and that history had effectively been "ended", the world today presents a rather different picture. Since the last quarter of 2007 when the US economy officially entered into a recession – recall, by the way, that this was several months before the collapse of Lehmann Brothers and the official recognition of what is somewhat misleadingly referred to as the 'global financial crisis' – there has been no end to the prolonged economic slump and a long period of slow growth in the developed capitalist world.
- The recurrent crises of capitalism alone would testify to the continuing relevance of Marx's analysis of capitalism and the viewpoint of historical materialism. But there is much else that Marx had anticipated, including many of the contemporary concerns about the environment. In a brilliant passage in the first volume of *Capital*, Marx makes the point that capitalism advances agriculture precisely by sapping the basic sources of wealth, namely the soil and the labourer. His analysis of many aspects of culture, of the alienation that characterises capitalist society, of the issues of gender equality, of colonial plunder and its role in the development of capitalism in the western world –all these remain relevant today, as we face the onslaught of contemporary imperialist globalization that seeks to once again enslave the developing countries and is causing grave and irreparable damage to the environment and the earth we live in. The climate crisis cries out for collective solutions, but the logic of corporate profit maximization, without let or hindrance that defines contemporary globalization, makes it impossible under capitalism.

Unity and integrity of India was perhaps the single uppermost factor in the minds of the Constitution makers. Comment.(UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Linking the Constitution to January 26 affirmed that this was not a constitution created through elite discussions but a product of mass political struggle, and that it was not a gift from benevolent rulers, but one that was seized by the masses.

- India is a pluralistic country known for its diversity, with a rich cultural heritage, several languages, and different religious beliefs. The Indian Constitution, which came into effect on January 26, 1950, plays a crucial role in maintaining the unity and diversity of the country. The constitution aims to promote fraternity, equality, and justice to all its citizens, irrespective of their caste, creed, religion, or gender.

The Indian Constitution is a remarkable document that reflects the diversity and unity of India. It has several features and provisions that aim to encourage unity in diversity in Indian society. Some of these are:

- **Single Constitution:** The entire country is governed by one single Constitution that applies to all states and union territories.
- This ensures a common framework of law, rights and duties for all citizens. An example of this is Article 1, which declares India that is Bharat as a union of states.
- **Fundamental Rights:** The Constitution guarantees certain basic rights to all citizens, such as equality, freedom, religion, expression, etc.
- These rights protect the interests and dignity of individuals and groups and promote tolerance and harmony among different sections of society.
- An example of this is Article 14, which ensures equality before law and equal protection of laws.
- Further, article 15 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. It ensures that all citizens are treated equally under the law, promoting unity among diverse groups.
- **Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP):** The constitution also lays down certain guidelines for the state to follow in order to achieve social justice, economic welfare, environmental protection, etc.
- These principles reflect the aspirations and values of the people of India and foster a sense of common good and national integration.
- An example of this is Article 39A, which directs the state to provide free legal aid to ensure justice for all.
- **Federalism:** The Constitution establishes a federal system of government, where power is divided between the center and the states.
- This allows for regional autonomy and diversity within a unified framework. The Constitution also provides for mechanisms to resolve disputes between different levels of government, such as inter-state councils, finance commissions, etc.
- An example of this is Article 246, which lists the subjects on which each level of government can make laws.
- **Devolution of Power:** The Indian Constitution also recognizes the importance of local governance and provides for the establishment of local self-governing bodies, such as Panchayats and Municipalities.

- This provision has helped to promote the participation of people from diverse backgrounds in local governance and decision-making.
- **Secularism:** The constitution declares India as a secular state, where no religion is given preference or discrimination by the state. The state respects all religions equally and protects their freedom.
- The constitution also promotes religious co-existence by allowing multiple personal laws for different communities.
- An example of this is Article 25, which grants freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion.
- **Linguistic Diversity:** The Constitution recognizes 22 languages as official languages of India, while leaving scope for other languages to be recognized by states or regions.
- The Constitution also provides for linguistic minorities to have education in their mother tongue.
- An example of this is Article 350A, which provides for linguistic minorities to have education in their mother tongue.
- **Cultural and Educational Rights:** The Constitution recognizes the importance of preserving cultural and educational rights. Article 29 and 30 of the Constitution provide for the protection of the interests of the minorities in India. It ensures that every community has the right to conserve its culture, language, and script. The Constitution also provides for the establishment of educational institutions to promote the interests of the minorities.
- Further, Article 371 of the constitution provides for the special provisions for the development of the Northeastern states and tribal areas.
- This provision recognizes the unique cultural and linguistic diversity of these regions and provides for their development while protecting their cultural identity.
- The Indian Constitution is a unique and remarkable document that reflects the diversity and unity of India. Its provisions for fundamental rights, directive principles of state policy, federalism, local governance, secularism, linguistic diversity, and cultural and educational rights promote unity in diversity in Indian society. The Constitution has played a crucial role in maintaining the harmony and unity of the country and has helped India to emerge as a democratic, secular, and diverse nation.

Dalit perspective on Indian national movement. Discuss. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- Efforts made by leaders of nationalist movement succeeded in bringing a section of Dalit leadership in the fold of national movement besides the participation of Dalit masses in various popular movements against the colonial rule. But majority of Dalit intelligentsia was critical of the lack of commitment on the part of the Congress to share power with Dalits and expressed serious doubt about the commitment of upper caste leadership to bring social equality. The best example of this was Ambedkar's book he wrote in 1945, titled 'What Congress and Gandhi had done to Untouchables'. Ambedkar was so much concerned about oppression and exploitation faced by Dalits that any form of struggle without referring to the abolition of internal oppression had no importance to him. To Ambedkar, without ensuring equal rights of Dalits political freedom had no meaning. Gaining political freedom from the British was not adequate to him unless the struggle for freedom ensured the dignity of life and equal rights to all its citizens. Ambedkar said, 'the freedom which the governing class in India was struggling for is freedom that rules the servile classes in India'.
- In the high noon of India's struggle for freedom Dalit intelligentsia in a big way expressed its support to the British government on the ground that the upper caste Hindu leaders were not inclined to share power with Dalits. They felt that, without social revolution giving equality to Dalits, change in political leadership would further strengthen the hold of the upper castes over Dalits. Analysing Dalit movements in Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka Gail Omvedt has observed that '...the Dalit movement and the overall radical anti-caste movements were a crucial expression of the democratic revolution in India, more consistently democratic – and in the end more consistently "nationalistic" – than the elitecontrolled Indian National Congress.'
- Valerian Rodrigues argued that 'irrespective of their other differences, dalit bahunjan thinkers conceive the nation as a good society where its members, considered as individuals or collectivities, respect one another, protect mutual rights and show concern and solidarity. Self-respecters, therefore, felt that as long as there is the existence of untouchability, all talk of freedom and self-rule is empty. Periyar argued that the liberation of the Shudra was contingent on, and would be complete only with the liberation of the Panchama'.
- What is important to note in this context is that strong advocacy of Dalit intelligentsia for giving primacy to their socio-economic and political rights and not to anti-colonial struggle was primarily rooted in their experiences of living in an unjust society. Their notion of nationhood was based on abolition of existing inequalities and also having equal rights in every sphere of life. To the mainstream nationalist leaders uniting Indians against the atrocities of the colonial rule and to compel the British to leave India was the major goal before the nation. It is also important to note that Dalits were not a homogenous group and there were differences at various levels within the Dalit leadership and in many popular revolts like Tebhaga movement in Bengal Dalit masses in large numbers took part in movement against the wishes of their caste elders.

Despite constitutional mandate the Inter-State Council has not come of age. Discuss. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Inter-State Council (ISC) is a constitutional body as provided by Article 263 of the Constitution of India to deal with federal issues. Its mandate is to inquire and advise on interstate disputes and to provide recommendations for better policy coordination. Although the council was established for promotion of cooperation and coordination, it has been ineffective.

Reasons of non-effective functioning of Inter-State Council:

- Underutilisation: Underutilization of the council is one of the major problems. Despite repeated assertions by different Commissions, the ISC has held only 10 meetings in the last 22 years of its existence and made tardy progress in addressing inter-State disputes.
- Advisory in nature: It is merely an advisory body with no bindings on either the centre or the state. Thus, often its recommendations are ignored by the government at the centre as well as the states.
- Lack of expertise: It lacks technical and management experts along with the autonomy that is required for effective functioning.
- Not participatory: There is no presence/engagement of the civil society in the council which makes it less participatory and cooperative.
- Not permanent body: The Inter-state council is not a permanent constitutional body for coordination between the states and Central government. Rather, the President can establish it at any time if it appears to him that the public interests would be served by the establishment of such a council.

Way forward:

- Regular meeting: It is important that the council meets regularly and within a fixed time frame so as to effectively address the problems/matters pertinent to the prevalent times. Punchhi commission had recommended strengthening and activating the ISC and said that ISC must meet at least thrice a year.
- More authority: Suitable amendments must be made to Article 263 so as to give more power and authority to the council rather than merely being an advisory body.
- Adequate manpower: The council must be staffed by technical and management experts so as to carry out its functions more effectively.
- Civil society engagement: The council should also engage the civil society in its functioning so as to become truly participative.
- Making it permanent: ISC must be made a permanent body which was one of the important recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission.
- The Inter-state council mandate was inter-State coordination on issues such as river water disputes, problems pertaining to the location, funding and execution of mega projects, ecosystems management, development of tourism etc. The ISC has not been able to achieve much progress on these fronts. Thus, effective measures are needed to strengthen ISC in order to make it able to fulfil its mandate.

Political decentralization has not been matched by administrative decentralization at the grass roots level. Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment to the Indian Constitution formally recognised a third tier of government at the grassroots level, thereby creating the legal conditions for local self-rule i.e. Panchayati Raj and Municipalities. Under the Article 40 of the Indian Constitution, the States shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them powers and authority to function as unit of self-government.

Achievement of Decentralisation of Power

- Decision-making: The local people can participate in decision-making at local-level issues.
- Women representation: 33% reservation for women has helped to increase women's voice and representation in our democracy.
- Swachh Bharat Abhiyan: In 2019, India became open-defecation free because of ground level work by local bodies.
- Literacy campaign: Arati Devi, sarpanch in a village in Ganjam district in Odisha is credited with starting a literacy campaign for women and reviving traditional folk art in Ganjam.
- Self-help Groups: Meena Behen, sarpanch from a village in Gujarat, has worked for inculcating leadership skills to the self-help group (SHG).

Some Issues Which Halt the Decentralisation of Power in Letter and Spirit

- Inadequate Finances: Limited power to impose cesses and taxes.
- Unscientific Distribution of Functions: Panchayat and the Panchayat Samiti functions overlap, leading to confusion, duplication of efforts.
- Lack of Coordination: Government officials do not coordinate with local representatives.
- No real Functions: Functions like education, health, sanitation and water are remain concentrated with State Governments.

For Local bodies and Panchayats to play a bigger role in human capital interventions, there is need for adequate fiscal resources along with functions and functionaries. The kind of autonomy for governance is provided to 5th and 6th Schedule States needs to be extended to all the States.

Write a short note on the significance of the Chipko Movement. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Chipko Movement

- It was a forest conservation movement in India. It created a precedent for starting non-violent protest in India.
- It began in 1973 in Uttarakhand, then a part of Uttar Pradesh (at the foothills of Himalayas) and went on to become a rallying point for many future environmental movements all over the world.

Causes for Movement

- There was reckless deforestation which denuded much of the forest cover, resulting in the devastating Alaknanda River floods of July 1970.
- The incidences of landslides and land subsidence due to rapid increase in civil engineering projects.

Impacts

- It was a movement that practised methods of Satyagraha where both male and female activists from Uttarakhand played vital roles, including Gaura Devi, Suraksha Devi, Sudesha Devi, Bachni Devi and Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Virushka Devi and others.
- Sunderlal Bahuguna gave the movement a proper direction and its success meant that the world immediately took notice of this non-violent movement, which was to inspire in time many similar eco-groups by-
- helping to slow down the rapid deforestation,
- expose vested interests,
- increase social awareness and the need to save trees,
- increase ecological awareness, and
- demonstrate the viability of people power.

In the Western Ghats region, it was an important inspiration for the great Appiko movement for saving forests and it gathered support for similar movements against environmental degradation.

National movement in India was anti-imperialist and increasingly radical in its socio-economic and political programmes. Discuss. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- The emergence of the movement in India coincides with the radical trends in anti-imperialist movements in various other colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries, particularly in Asia.
- Although spread over generations, Indian nationalist movement marks unique continuity in its agenda and methods. It evolved from a moderate constitutional struggle against British rule to an ultimate call for 'do or die' in 1942.
- The revolt of 1857 can be considered as a new phase of nationalism in India. However, the process was formalized in the form of Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885. In its early years, the INC was dominated by 'moderates'. This was a class of educated Indians, who believed in peaceful constitutional methods. And though, apparently, their methods did not produce quick results, it created political awareness amongst people. The exploitation of British rule was critically presented to people, and it sowed the seeds of nationalism.
- From the split of Bengal in 1905, we see new generation of leaders, known as 'extremists' leading the anti-British struggle. There was clear goal of 'Swaraj' and methods were anti-British i.e. Swadeshi and boycott. This phase culminated in Home Rule Movement of 1917.
- Increasing Leftist tendency can be seen in light of formation of Communist party, Trade unions, peasants groups, etc. which were based on demands of poor and their deprivation by the Raj. Nehru attended International Congress against Imperialism and statements like Militarism and Colonialism are twin daughters of Capitalism, show anti-colonial agenda. Karachi resolution declared National Economic Program and the anti-colonial agenda is visible on the election manifestos of INC. Demands of reduction of taxes, rents, salt taxation, working conditions of labour, rights of workers, etc. are abundant in our struggle. For World War 2, anti-Nazism stand was common. Post 1947, we followed Socialist model mostly because of Russian inspiration and we identified The Great Depression of 1928 with capitalism.
- With increasing realization of British stubbornness, the national movement received new energy with arrival of Gandhi. Although non-violent, Gandhi's methods were highly provocative. Gandhi led successful mass movements in 1919 and 1929 and in 1942 gave an ultimate call for 'do or die'. Gandhi was a clever politician who adjusted his strategy according to prevailing circumstances.
- As a result of this prolonged struggle against British rule, with evolving strategy, India got independence in 1947.

What has been the political fallout of the Green Revolution in India? Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- The green revolution heralded a new era for agriculture in India, but it also changed the country's politics, the effects of which are still being felt today. In a recent paper in the American Political Science Review, Aditya Dasgupta of the University of California says the green revolution was influential in the rise of agrarian opposition parties in the 1970s and the accompanying decline of the Congress. In the late 1960s, Indian farmers began using high-yielding variety (HYV) seeds, launching the green revolution which saw crop yields and production rise dramatically.
- The green revolution heralded a new era for agriculture in India, but it also changed the country's politics, the effects of which are still being felt today. In a recent paper in the American Political Science Review, Aditya Dasgupta of the University of California says the green revolution was influential in the rise of agrarian opposition parties in the 1970s and the accompanying decline of the Congress. In the late 1960s, Indian farmers began using high-yielding variety (HYV) seeds, launching the green revolution which saw crop yields and production rise dramatically.
- He also shows that as the share of farm land planted with HYV seeds increased, the vote and seat share of agrarian opposition parties also rose significantly.
- According to Dasgupta, there were three channels through which the green revolution generated these changes. First, it provided wealth to farmers, especially lower and intermediate caste farmers, who until then had been excluded and unrepresented in politics. Second, it intensified farmers' dependence on the government for inputs and subsidies which were needed for growing HYV crops. This created a strong incentive for farmers to seek political representation.
- Finally, increased production from the green revolution depressed crop prices, providing a rallying point for farmers and enabled collective action. All these forces combined led to the emergence of multi-party competition in Indian politics. More generally, Dasgupta argues that technology, such as HYV seeds, can weaken incumbents, strengthen outsiders, and potentially increase democratization in society.
- Three key forces were at work. First, farmers grew wealthier and therefore became less dependent on traditional patron-client ties to the Congress party. Second, because HYV crop cultivation was extremely dependent on the usage of inputs like pesticide, fertiliser, electricity, irrigation, and mechanisation, farmers gained the incentives to mobilise to obtain greater subsidies for agriculture. Third, the improved productivity of HYV crops exerted downward pressure on crop market prices, providing a focal point for cross-class collective action by farmers to demand higher crop procurement prices from the Indian government.

The changing socio-economic profile of our legislators does not augur well for the health of Indian democracy. Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Parliament is a mirror of the society, which being a representative institution reflects nature of society, its economic and social structures, and level and direction of change in societal relations. As per Edmund Burke, Parliament is a microcosm of society. In democracies, it is assumed that circulation of elites takes place. In Indian context also, changing profile of parliament can be analyzed in the light of theory of circulation of elites.

During the first two decades after independence, the power was consolidated in the 'identifiable power center'(Rajni Kothari), which was a continuation of the legacy of the national movement, comprising the homogenous political elite sharing the common socio-economic background i.e. educated, urban, upper caste belonging mainly to upper and middle classes.

Late '60s and early '70s saw the major change with the emergence of two phenomenon: political mobilization of the masses and emergence of the new political class. First, electoral politics based on the universal adult franchise mobilized and increased the political consciousness of the masses, especially those belonging to backward and lower castes. Second, in the backdrop of land reforms and green revolution, the new proprietary peasant class emerged in rural India i.e. bullock capitalists, demanding their share in the political pie. It consisted mainly "intermediate castes"(Rudolph & Rudolph). Rural elites replaced urban elites. Middle class replaced upper class. Lawyers and teachers were replaced with agriculturists. This phenomenon was known as 'Ruralisation of Indian parliament'. This period also saw the new trend of giving refuge to lost candidates in the Rajya sabha, affecting its repute, and criminals was also started getting rewarded with Rajya sabha seats rising criminalisation of politics.

'70s and '80s saw the emergence of professional politicians, as per M P Singh and Sunil Khilnani. Indira Gandhi's push to youth politics and involvement of students in JP movement can be considered reason for this, attracting youths towards politics in their formative years resulting in full time politicians.

Another change took place in 1989 with 'regionalisation and federalization' of Indian politics. Regional parties came to dominate the parliament. OBC's formed the major constituents in parliament. Presence of persons with criminal background also increased. By 1990s dalits also became important factor.

In contemporary context, composition represents complex character having persons with almost all backgrounds, classes, castes, interests. However, in one context i.e. representation of women haven't changed much. The number of women has gone up, but they are still under-represented. OBC representation has risen since 2009, but is still not enough. The rich, educated and professional elite continue to overwhelm businessmen, farmers and social workers.

There has also been a decline in the conduct of parliamentarians, where recently a MP used pepper spray to obstruct the parliament, obstruction and protesting in the well of the house has become a common phenomenon nowadays.

Thus, in conclusion one can say that though representation of different sections has increased but the performance has sharply fallen, There is need to support women

representation in the parliament and more authoritative speaker/chairman so to maintain the decorum and respect of the heart of Indian democracy.

Development has overshadowed the influence of caste in electoral behaviour in recent elections. Discuss. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- According to Christophe Jaffrelot, 'While caste-based politics remains largely true, the 2014 and 2019 general election reflected the growing importance of some class elements within the caste, which is partly due to the socio-economic differentiation of caste groups'.
- According to him, the promise of caste-based reservations has lost momentum. In the 1990s, in the wake of the pro-Mandal mobilisation, some parties could tell OBC voters, 'Vote for me and you'll get quotas.' But such claims are not sustainable any more as quotas have reached 60 percent, beyond its saturation point. A similar dynamic can only be started again if reservations in the private sector became a realistic prospect, but that is not the case today.
- For decades, caste and class almost coincided and, as a result, from the 1990s onwards, upper castes monopolised middle-class positions. Changes have occurred in the context of the post-1991 liberalisation. This process has fostered a very high growth rate that has helped some poor people to become part of the neo-middle class.
- This very amorphous social category is made of aspiring people who have initiated some upward mobility and sometimes some geographical mobility too, as they shifted from rural to urban or semi-urban localities to get a non-agricultural job. This group is more focused on development internally and also on the geopolitical location of India globally.
- However, caste continues to play a significant role at the jati level, a more relevant unit of analysis than the large categories like upper castes, OBCs and Scheduled Castes. But some socio-economic differentiation is also taking place within jatis, and this process, along with other subdivisions, affects the voting pattern at that level too.
- So, while we can still explain the electoral behaviour of Indians on the basis of their caste background, new variables need to be factored in, including development politics.

The Comptroller and Auditor-General of India enhances the accountability of the Government and serves as the watchdog of the finances of the Government. Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Under Article 148, The Constitution of India provides for an independent office of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG).

- CAG is the head of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department.
- He is the guardian of the public purse and controls the entire financial system of the country at both the levels—the Centre and the state.
- His/Her duty is to uphold the Constitution of India and the laws of Parliament in the field of financial administration.
- He is one of the bulwarks of the democratic system of government in India.

Duties and powers of CAG

The Constitution (Article 149) authorizes the Parliament to prescribe the duties and powers of the CAG in relation to the accounts of the Union and of the states and of any other authority or body. Accordingly, the Parliament enacted the CAG's (Duties, Powers, and Conditions of Service) Act, 1971. The duties and functions of the CAG as laid down by the Parliament and the Constitution are as follows:

- He audits the accounts related to all expenditures from the Consolidated Fund of India, the consolidated fund of each state, and the consolidated fund of each union territory having a Legislative Assembly.
- He audits all expenditures from the Contingency Fund of India and the Public Account of India as well as the contingency fund of each state and the public account of each state.
- He audits all trading, manufacturing, profit, and loss accounts, balance sheets, and other subsidiary accounts kept by any department of the Central Government and state governments.
- He audits the receipts and expenditures of the Centre and each state to satisfy himself that the rules and procedures on that behalf are designed to secure an effective check on the assessment, collection, and proper allocation of revenue.
- He audits all transactions of the Central and state governments related to debt, sinking funds, deposits, advances, suspense accounts, and remittance business. He also audits receipts, stock accounts, and others, with the approval of the President or when required by the President.
- He audits the accounts of any other authority when requested by the President or Governor. For example, the Audit of local bodies.
- He advises the President with regard to the prescription of the form in which the accounts of the Centre and the states shall be kept.
- He submits his audit reports relating to the accounts of the Centre to the President, who shall, in turn, place them before both Houses of Parliament.
- He submits his audit reports relating to the accounts of a state to the governor, who shall, in turn, place them before the state legislature.

Role of CAG in the Public Accounts Committee (PAC)

- The CAG submits three audit reports to the President— on appropriation accounts, on finance accounts, and on public undertakings.

- PAC examines the reports of CAG: The President lays these reports before both houses of Parliament. The PAC examines these reports and submits its findings to the Parliament.
- Ensuring checks and balances: CAG helps PAC to ensure a check on the government, especially with respect to its expenditure bill.
- Ensuring accountability: The CAG assists the PAC in examining these reports. Thus, there is a close working relationship between CAG and PAC to secure the accountability of the executive in the field of financial administration and fiscal federalism.
- CAG as a guide to PAC: CAG acts as a guide, friend, and philosopher of the Public Accounts Committee of the Parliament.
- Corrective action: CAG ensures that the corrective action suggested by him has been taken. In cases where it has not been taken, CAG reports the matter to the PAC, which will take up the matter.
- Interpreter and translator: CAG acts as interpreter and translator, explaining the officials' views to the politicians and vice-versa.
- Listing the urgent matters: CAG prepares a list of the most urgent matters which deserve the attention of the PAC.

“The basic structure doctrine is implicit in the Indian Constitution; the Supreme Court has only given it an explicit form.” Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Basic structure doctrine

- In 1973, a 13-judge Constitution Bench ruled in *Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala* that Article 368 of the Constitution does not enable Parliament to amend the basic framework of the document.
- The historic ruling came to be known as the “basic structure” doctrine — a judicial principle that the Constitution has certain basic features that cannot be altered or destroyed by amendments by Parliament.
- Over the years, various facets of the basic structure doctrine have evolved, forming the basis for judicial review of Constitutional amendments.

Evolution

- In *I.C. Golak Nath v. State of Punjab* (1967), the Supreme Court held that Parliament could not curtail fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution. The term ‘basic structure’ was first used in this case, by lawyer M.K Nambyar.
- The then government enacted a series of constitutional amendments following successive rulings against it.
- The 24th Constitutional (Amendment) Act, 25th Constitutional (Amendment) Act and 29th Constitutional (Amendment) Act gave Parliament uncontrolled power to alter or even abolish any fundamental right.

- In 1970, Kesavananda Bharti, the head of a math in Kerala, challenged the Kerala Land Reforms Act related to restrictions on the management of religious property. The case was heard by the largest-ever Constitution Bench of 13 judges.
- The Supreme Court held that although Parliament has the power to amend any part of the Constitution, it could not use this power to alter or destroy its “basic structure”.
- The verdict also made it clear that judicial review was only part of a “system of checks and balances” to ensure constitutional functionaries do not exceed their limits.

Follow up verdicts

- The “basic structure” theory was applied for the first time after its introduction in the 1975 case Indira Gandhi v. Raj Narain.
- The Allahabad High Court had ruled against Indira Gandhi and convicted her of electoral malpractices in the Lok Sabha election, after a challenge by rival Raj Narain.
- Emergency was declared and Parliament passed the 39th Amendment prohibiting any challenge to the election of the President, Vice-President, Speaker and Prime Minister, irrespective of electoral malpractice.
- The five-judge Bench, categorised the independent conduct of elections as “basic structure” and ruled that Parliament could not amend the Constitution if alterations affected basic issues like fundamental rights.

Minerva Mills case

- The doctrine was back in focus in 1980 in the Minerva Mills case, which pertained to the 42nd Amendment Act introduced by the Indira Gandhi government.
- In a majority verdict, the top court upheld the power of judicial review of constitutional amendments.
- Judicial review is a vital principle of our Constitution, and it cannot be abrogated without affecting the basic structure of the Constitution.
- If by a constitutional amendment, the power of judicial review is taken away and it is provided that the validity of any law made by the legislature shall not be liable to be called in question on any ground, even if it is outside the legislative competence of the legislature or is violative of any fundamental rights, it would be nothing short of subversion of the Constitution.
- And it would make a mockery of the distribution of legislative powers between the Union and the States and render the fundamental rights meaningless and futile.

Criticism

- After 50 years it was propounded, the legitimacy of the term “basic structure” and the theory underpinning its doctrinal creation is still seen as an abstract idea in certain quarters, since it is missing from the text of the Constitution.
- Its critics believe that the doctrine gives the judiciary the power to impose itself over a democratically formed government.
- Arun Jaitley termed it the “tyranny of the unelected” in his criticism of the NJAC judgment in 2015.

- Referring to the 2015 verdict which had invoked the “basic structure” theory, the VP, remarked that the scrapping of the NJAC Act was “a scenario perhaps unparalleled in the democratic history”.
- Parliamentary sovereignty and autonomy cannot be permitted to be compromised by the executive or judiciary, he said.
- In words of VP Jagdeep Dhankar, “Democracy sustains and blossoms when the legislature, the judiciary and the executive act in tandem and togetherness to fructify constitutional goals and realise aspirations of the people. Judiciary cannot legislate in as much legislature cannot script a judicial verdict”.

Discuss, in brief, the role of the National Commission for women. Do you think it is a toothless organization?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

The National Commission for Women was set up in 1992 under the National Commission Act. It was established to review the constitutional and legal safeguards for women. It recommends remedial legislative measures, facilitates redressal of grievances and advises the government on all policy matters affecting the women. It enjoys all the powers of a civil court. But there are many limitations that prevent it from working towards women with ease.

Role of National Commission for Women

- Investigation and Examination: NCW investigate and examine all the matters related to the safeguards provided for the women under the Constitution and other laws.
- Presentation of Reports: It table reports to the central government, every year and at such other times as the commission may deem fit, reports upon the working of those safeguards
- Recommendation to government: Make in such reports and recommendations, for the effective accomplishment of those safeguards for enhancing the conditions of the women by the Union or any State.
- Legislative reviews: Review, every now and then, the current provisions of the Constitution and other laws distressing the women and prescribe alterations and suggest curative legislative measures meet any break, inadequacies and incapacity in such legislation.
- Cases of violation: Take up cases of infringement of the provisions of the Constitution and of other laws relating to the women with the relevant authorities.
- Suo motu notice: It looks into complaints, and takes Suo Motto notice of matters relating to – deprivation of women’s rights, Non-implementation of the laws and Non-compliance of the policy decisions guaranteeing the welfare for women society.

- **Special Studies and Investigation:** It conducts special studies or investigation on the concerning issues or circumstance emerging out of segregation and outrages against ladies and recognises the limitations in order to suggest techniques for their expulsion
- **Research:** It also undertakes promotional and educational research so as to propose ways of ensuring due representation of the women in all fields.

Limitations of National Commission for Women

- **Not concrete powers:** The NCW is only recommendatory and has no power to enforce its decisions. Often it takes action only if the issues are brought to light. Unreported cases of oppression and suppression of women are not attended to.
- **Legal powers:** Commission lacks constitutional status, and thus has no legal powers to summon police officers or witnesses. Also, it has no power to take legal actions against the Internal Complaint Committees that prevent grievance redressal of women facing harassment.
- **Less funding:** NCW's functions are dependent on the grants offered by the central government. Financial assistance provided to the Commission is very less to cater to its needs.
- **Political interference:** It does not have the power to choose its own members. The power selecting members is vested with the Union government leading to political interference at various levels.

Steps need to be taken

- **Staff selection:** Commission must be granted the power of selecting its own members. The members should be chosen without any prejudice and should have fair knowledge of law and understands the society and human behaviour.
- **Awareness generation:** More awareness has to be created especially among the rural women about the existence of the Commission. The Commission can employ a person at the district level to bring into light the atrocities occurring at the district level.
- **Legal powers:** Functioning of the NCW has to be strengthened and given more legal powers as part of any effort to strengthen the laws for safety of women at the workplace. The chairperson of NCW should be given the status of the Union Cabinet Minister and the members that of minister of state.
- **Funding:** Centre must devolve more funds to NCW. NCW should have an independent budget and must not be dependent on the Women and Child Development Ministry for funds.
- Though the NCW have done some good work for the women in India, the above mentioned shortcomings must be addressed. NCW was instrumental in various campaigns, for example, against triple talaq. But at numerous times the Commission has not been able to come up to the expectations of women in India. Empowering NCW with enough powers can help in making it more efficient.

Prime Minister's Office (PMO) has emerged as the most powerful institution in India. Discuss. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

- The PMO is a staff agency meant for providing secretarial assistance and crucial advice to the Prime Minister.
- The PMO enjoys the status of a department of the Government of India under the Allocation of Business Rules, 1961. It has no attached and subordinate office under it.

Functions

- Acting as the 'think-tank' of the Prime Minister.
- Faster decision making: It helps in faster decision making as it involves experienced and powerful decision makers. Assisting the Prime Minister in respect of his overall responsibilities as head of the government like Maintaining liaison with central ministries/departments and the state governments.
- It acts as the residual legatee of the Central Government, that is, it deals with all such subjects which are not allotted to any ministry/department. Certain functions like RAW, CBI, ISRO etc. report directly to them and they need to be kept out of politics of the day.
- It is not concerned with the responsibilities of Prime Minister as the chairman of the Union Cabinet.
- Specialists: Certain function needs specialists and also needs to be done away from public eyes for greater good. Ex: Pokhran-II, External intelligence etc.
- Transformation or Evolution of PMO
- The PMO came into existence in 1947 by replacing the Secretary to the Governor-General (Personal). Till June 1977, it was called as the Prime Minister's Secretariat (PMS). The evolution of PMO has a distinct stamp of incumbent prime ministers:
- During Nehru's period, secretariat was a low key affair manned by officer of the rank of joint secretary. Cabinet secretariat was the apex body in that era.
- Lal Bahadur shastri enlarged the role. And first time the body become to be known as prime ministers secretariat, manned by senior IAS officer of country. Still, the decision making power was comparatively lesser than cabinet secretariat
- The post of Principal Secretary to Prime Minister was created during the tenure of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister.
- In 1977 Prime Minister Morarji Desai renamed the Prime Minister's Secretariat as the Prime Minister's Office. He also circumscribed its roles and functions significantly.
- In Rajiv Gandhi era it expanded qualitatively and quantitatively. It took keen interest in technology and in the field of science.
- Subsequently during the tenure of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao between 1991 and 1996, the Prime Minister's Office played a crucial role in reshaping economic policies in response to the balance of payments crisis of 1991.
- During the period of Vajpayee It was by any reckoning an active PMO in the triple area of economy, foreign policy and security framework.

- After a subdued tenure under last PM Manmohan Singh, it has again gained its vigor under the incumbent prime minister Narendra Modi.

Now PMO has become a necessity in last two decades due to:-

- Governance has increased in its complexity and scope.
- The international situation is more complicated.
- PMO is the nerve centre of power. This office is the mirror to the incumbent's character, personality and style of functioning. Like in current government, PMO is more powerful due to influence of PM over political party internally, full majority in the lower house and dominating personality characteristics.
- Since, Independence, there has been tussle between PMO and Cabinet secretariat for being the apex bureaucratic organization of country. Some critics call PMO as supra cabinet, micro cabinet, government of government etc.
- A centralizing and powerful PMO is a hindrance to collective responsibility, against parliamentary ethos and democratic set-up of executive but a weak PMO might lead to anarchy, policy paralysis and inefficiency.

Comment on the relevance of the Directive Principles of State Policy in an era of liberalization and globalization. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1).

Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) is enshrined in Part-IV (Article 36 to 51) of the constitution. It guarantees social and economic democracy and tries to establish a welfare state. These are the ideals that the State should keep in mind while formulating policies and enacting laws.

Relevance of DPSP in era of liberalisation and globalisation:

- Sustainable development: DPSP are the principles of a welfare state in India. DPSP are important as it seeks to create a balance between economic progress and competition on one hand and environmental sustainability and social and economic equity on the other.
- Inequalities: With liberalisation and globalisation inequalities have increased as reflected in Oxfam report, which says that India's richest 1% holds over 40% of national wealth. Transition from socialist pattern of society to liberalization and market economy where inequalities were bound to come, it is the duty of the state to reduce these inequalities through tax structure, subsidies, various welfare schemes etc.
- Accountability: DPSPs are important as it allows the citizens to hold the government accountable in their policy formulations and implementation e.g. equality at work, minimum wages etc.
- Fair market: Globalization is based upon competition and monopolistic tendencies in the market. DPSP are important to provide a laissez faire business environment to industries.
- Human rights: Liberalisation and capitalism has scant regards to the human work environment, wages, gender sensitivity and labour concerns. DPSP are relevant to provide a humane work milieu, equal wages for equal work and

increase quality of standard of living of workers. It also provides for participation of workers in management of industries for better harmonisation between workers interest and industrial interest.

- Human capital: Modern industries seeks best talent and most productive labour from the market having required skills and education. DPSP puts an obligation on the part of the government to provide free, compulsory and quality education up to primary level and improve public health.
- Environment: Further it obliges the government to protect and improve the environment and safeguard forest and wildlife in the era of indiscriminate exploitation and deforestation based globalization.
- Women rights: Liberalisation and globalisation has led to women empowerment. DPSP put an onus on the state to work towards women education, equal opportunity, equal wages, uniform civil code etc. that would further enhance women rights. Recent triple talaq act was in this direction.
- Thus, DPSP still holds relevance in this globalised world for a better informed, productive, equity based and sustainable developmental model. There is an increasing realisation that these directives act as bedrocks for good governance and socio-economic justice in the society.

Discuss the utility of Nuclear Deterrence Theory in the context of the recent standoff between India and Pakistan. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

- In general, nuclear weapons are much harder to be contested by enemy actions. The reason for that is that even a small fraction of the nuclear weapons that would survive in the aftermath of a preemptive strike would be more than enough to incur impossible costs. This was especially true during the early Cold War as there was little in the way of defending against a nuclear attack, but even now when the anti-missile systems are much more advanced, the risk of (even fairly limited) second strike possibility is not to be taken lightly. At its core, nuclear deterrence is based on mutually assured destruction that would come to be in case of full war.
- An example of nuclear deterrence in practice is the Kargil Crisis of 1999, had likewise revolved around Kashmir, this time around the strategic area of Kargil. This area is well beyond the Line of Control and its capture by Pakistan soldiers threatened crucial supply lines and communication. Unlike the previous crisis where the nuclear capabilities of both nations were kind of ambiguous, the nuclear tests performed by both countries during the 1990s meant that both nations were aware of the credibility of each other's arsenals. As such, India was well aware of the risk that would come with a hostile incursion into Pakistani territory. Strict orders were given not to cross Indo-Pakistan borders, even though there were Indian plans that would result in an invasion of Pakistan.
- The first country to demonstrate its nuclear capabilities was India, which managed to conduct its first nuclear test (Operation Smiling Buddha) in 1974

even though the country was initially opposed to the development of nuclear weapons based on Gandhian ideals of non-violence. Due to continuous disputes with Pakistan and China, India simply needed to develop an effective deterrence strategy to defend itself from its regional rivals, Pakistan and India. As of today, India dedicates approximately 150 nuclear warheads to this cause.

- As for its doctrine, India adopts a firm no-first-use policy of nuclear weapons. Though such a policy is quite common and respectable, it brings its own set of issues for deterrence. Since deterrence is in many ways a game of brinkmanship, the lack of resolve to confidently employ nuclear weapons could make the country look less resolute. Furthermore, the no-first-use policy also means that nuclear weapons will not be used in the case of conventional attack and by itself offers only limited deterrence against non-nuclear threats.
- Despite the certain disadvantages of having a nuclear arsenal solely for the purpose of retaliation, there are practical reasons for why India adopted such a doctrine. As a late nuclear power, it is not one of the signatories of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which severely limits its access to the market with nuclear material/technologies. However, the Indian need for nuclear deterrence also means that it cannot give up its nuclear weapons. Because of it, India has to show a more responsible approach to its nuclear program and tread carefully in order to not attract unwanted attention from the international community that might result in worsening of relations or economic sanctions.
- Pakistan, on the other hand, is perceived to be the nominally weaker party (proved by the secession of Bangladesh), and as such, it needed to develop a nuclear arsenal to defend against its eastern neighbor in an almost existential struggle. Furthermore, the fact that India managed to test nuclear weapons first then gave Pakistan further incentives to advance its own program. Lagging, the country's nuclear program became operable most likely in the late 1990s as it was not able to convince India of its nuclear capabilities in the 1990 crisis, but played an important role in the Kargil crisis.
- Due to its position as an "underdog", Pakistan also did not adopt the no-first-use policy as it needs its nuclear arsenal not only to deter Indian nuclear weapons but also its conventional forces.
- Like in the cold war, India and Pakistan may try to use the risk of escalation to get the upper hand. Hence, nuclear weapons can also make such instances dangerous instead of reducing wars. The deterrence theory is also unable to deal with the non-state armed groups which are a significant element of Indo-Pak relations.
- The nuclear deterrence theory is highly unstable. The likelihood of a deterrence failure and nuclear catastrophe in India and Pakistan is not high, but it remains significant and alternatives should be searched.

Write a brief note on the 17th NAM Summit in Venezuela. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

- The 17th NAM Summit was organised by Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro in Margarita Island, in the year 2016. The theme of the summit was 'peace, sovereignty and solidarity for development' and a 21-article final declaration was issued. The summit comes amid political and economic turmoil in the oil-rich country which has skidded into crisis as global crude prices have plunged since mid-2014.
- The summit deliberated on issues of contemporary relevance and concern such as terrorism, UN reform, the situation in West Asia, and threats to peace and security.
- The summit talked about the consolidation, strengthening and revitalisation of the NAM. The resolution to work to achieve a world free of nuclear weapons to achieve international security was reiterated. The members reaffirmed their commitment to the promotion and protection of universal human rights, strengthening of the international order and the right to self-determination. Although the Summit was not attended by the Indian head of state, the vice president raised the issue of terrorism.
- The final declaration also talked of comprehensive and just solution to the Palestinian refugees' cause, and reform of the UNSC to transform it into a more democratic, effective, and transparent body.
- NAM continues to represent space for action in pursuance of the collective interests of the developing world, along with the G-77, especially on subjects such as the reform of the global economic system and disarmament.

In what way does the predominance of the USA in the UN funding affect its decision-making?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

- The finance of United Nations works from assessed contributions and voluntary contributions. The assessed contributions are made by all the member countries which help in functioning of the core of the UN. But many UN bodies like UNHCR, UNICEF rely upon voluntary contributions.
- The United States remains the largest donor to the United Nations, contributing roughly \$10 billion in 2018, slightly less than one-fifth of the body's collective budget. This financial reliance on the US has led to a power imbalance in the UN tilting towards the USA.
- The USA can single-handedly disrupt the functioning of a UN body. For example, the UN agency for Palestinian refugees, UNRWA, which previously relied on the United States for about one-third of its budget, said it would be forced to cut 250 jobs in 2018 after the Trump administration halted contributions to the agency.

- The US can coercively impose its decisions by threatening to stop the funding. Moreover, it is powerful enough to disregard the position of the UNSC as a decision-maker. The US did not wait for UN negotiations during the 2000s, post the 9/11 incidents.
- The pre-dominance of USA in the UN funding has made the UN a mere tool of the USA's foreign policy. A more practical and shared approach is needed which will reduce the dependence on donations for the day-to-day working of the United Nations.

Evaluate the role of BIMSTEC in multi-sectoral technical and economic cooperation. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) is a regional multilateral organisation.

Its members lie in the littoral and adjacent areas of the Bay of Bengal constituting a contiguous regional unity.

Out of the 7 members,

Five are from South Asia –

- Bangladesh
- Bhutan
- India
- Nepal
- Sri Lanka

Two are from Southeast Asia –

- Myanmar
- Thailand

BIMSTEC not only connects South and Southeast Asia, but also the ecologies of the Great Himalayas and the Bay of Bengal.

It mainly aims to create an enabling environment for rapid economic development; accelerate social progress; and promote collaboration on matters of common interest in the region.

Potential of BIMSTEC

- Bridge between South and South East Asia and represents a reinforcement of relations among these countries.
- The Bay of Bengal region has the potential to become the epicentre of the Indo-Pacific idea, a place where the strategic interests of the major powers of East and South Asia intersect.
- Platform for intra-regional cooperation between SAARC and ASEAN
- Home to around 1.5 billion people that constitute around 22% of the global population and a combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of USD 3.8 trillion, BIMSTEC has emerged as an influential engine of economic growth.

- A fourth of the world's traded goods cross the bay every year.
- Important Connectivity Projects:
 - Kaladan Multimodal Project – links India and Myanmar.
 - Asian Trilateral Highway - connecting India and Thailand through Myanmar.
 - Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicles Agreement - for seamless flow of passenger and cargo traffic.
- Significance of BIMSTEC for India
 - Allows India to pursue three core policies:
 - Neighborhood First - primacy to the country's immediate periphery;
 - Act East - connect India with Southeast Asia; and
 - Economic development of India's northeastern states – by linking them to the Bay of Bengal region via Bangladesh and Myanmar.
 - Allows India to counter China's creeping influence in countries around the Bay of Bengal due to the spread of its Belt and Road Initiative.
- A new platform for India to engage with its neighbors with South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) becoming dysfunctional because of differences between India and Pakistan.

Road ahead

- Since the BIMSTEC region is notable for its diversity, the member states need to build on the regional synergies and work towards utilising the available resources in the most optimal manner.
- This would help build a stronger and a more dynamic BIMSTEC.
- Multilateral Discussions: Given the complexity of domestic and geopolitical factors, this sphere will require sustained bilateral and group-level discussions to prevent problems such as the Rohingya crisis from becoming impediments to the smooth delivery of economic and security outcomes.
- India too will have to ensure equally sustained political engagement with partners such as Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh to prevent any domestic political spillover from affecting bilateral and group-level working relationships.
- India and other members will also need to be astute in managing Myanmar's engagement until the political situation in the country becomes normal.
- Boosting Connectivity and Cooperation: For India's vision to bolster trade connectivity in the grouping, an FTA spanning the maritime resource-rich members such as Myanmar and Sri Lanka could bring dramatic gains for all members.
- A 'coastal shipping ecosystem' and an interconnected electricity grid, in addition to the adopted Master Plan for Transport Connectivity, have the potential to boost intraregional trade and economic ties.
- Also, BIMSTEC needs to generate additional funding and push for timely implementation of the projects.
- India as the Torchbearer: For the revived grouping to realise its trade and economic potential, India will have to take a leadership role in assuaging any apprehensions among the smaller members of intragroup power imbalances and strive to facilitate greater cross-border connectivity and flow of investments by lowering barriers to the movement of people and goods.

- Even at the summit, India was the only country to offer additional funding to the Secretariat and also to support the Secretary General's proposal to establish an Eminent Persons Group (EPG) for producing a vision document.
- Other countries need to emulate this sincere matching of words with action.
- Other Areas of Focus: BIMSTEC should focus more in the future on new areas such as the blue economy, the digital economy, and promotion of exchanges and links among start-ups and Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs).

Do you think that sustainable development goals are really attainable by 2030? (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

Set in 2015 by the UN General Assembly, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are the "blueprint to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all", intended to be achieved by 2030. The goals include zero poverty, zero hunger, good health and well being, quality education, gender equality, clean water and sanitation, clean and affordable energy, sustainable cities and communities, and climate action. In connection with achievability of SDGs there is substantial variation both between regions, and between goals within regions. For example:

- In sub-Saharan Africa, although the proportion of people living in extreme poverty is set to fall by 2030, the absolute number is projected to rise due to population growth. Only two-thirds of children in sub-Saharan Africa are projected to complete secondary education by 2030, while for the rest of the world the proportion is expected to reach 90 per cent.
- South Asia is on track to see 350 million people escape extreme poverty, yet the region is likely to have a maternal mortality rate almost double the global target.
- In East Asia and the Pacific, both extreme poverty and maternal mortality are projected to fall substantially, however it is set to continue to have the most unequal economic growth in the world.
- Latin America and the Caribbean is projected to sustain impressive progress on pro-poor growth, but is likely to continue to suffer a high number of violent deaths – the highest of any region.
- The OECD is projected to continue to impose the biggest environmental impacts in per person terms. This highlights that even in the richest countries, major shifts are needed in order to achieve the SDGs, particularly in regard to addressing climate change and sustainable waste management.

A rapid acceleration in current progress is required to achieve these ambitious goals. Simply maintaining the status quo won't be enough. Radical change is required. Many of the SDGs would be within reach by 2030 if the world could replicate the progress of some of the top performing countries over the MDG era. However, change will need to begin immediately and countries must not delay implementing the SDGs at a national level. Each additional day that the current rate of progress is just maintained will make it that much more difficult to achieve the SDGs by 2030.

Examine the significance of the comparative method in political analysis. Discuss its limitations. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

- Comparative politics involves the systematic study and comparison of the world's political system. It seeks to explain difference between as well as similarities among countries. In contrast to journalistic reporting on a single country, comparative politics is particularly interested in exploring patterns, processes and regularities among political system.
- The comparative method is one of four main methodological approaches in the sciences (the others being statistical method, experimental method, and case study method). The method involves analyzing the relationship between variables that are different or similar to one another. Comparative politics commonly uses this comparative method on two or more countries and evaluating a specific variable across these countries, such as a political structure, institution, behavior, or policy.
- The comparative method is important to political science because the other main scientific methodologies are more difficult to employ. Experiments are very difficult to conduct in political science—there simply is not the level of recurrence and exactitude in politics as there is in the natural world. The statistical method is used more often in political science but requires mathematical manipulation of quantitative data over a large number of cases. The higher the number of cases (the letter N is used to denote number of cases), the stronger are inferences from the data. For a smaller number of cases, like countries, of which there is a limited number, the comparative method may be superior to statistical methodology. In short, the comparative method is useful to the study of politics in smaller cases that require comparative analysis between variables.

Limitations

- Comparative politics is methodologically and epistemologically dependent on other subjects.
- Scholars of comparative politics used many new terms but there is no consensus among scholars regarding meaning of terminology.
- Serious difficulties are faced by the comparative political analyst while collecting information and data about the political system and other non-state institution.
- The adoption of inter-disciplinary approach in comparative politics has so much widened the scope of this subject that one is often faced the difficulty of knowing what subject of political analysis included and what it excluded.
- Universally acceptable results are not possible in comparative politics because political economy and social conditions of every country are diverse. As the problems of developed countries are not similar to developing countries.
- Political behaviour is not concluded on a rational basis or scientific principles therefore, doing systematic study in comparative politics is more difficult.

Explain the reasons for low voter turnout in democratic countries with suitable examples. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

According to NGS Kini, voting behaviour can be regarded as the mode of legitimizing democratic rule. And although voting is an individual act, it does not take place in isolation. Votes are influenced by a host of factors.

Reasons of low voter turnout

- One of the reasons attributed to lower voter turnout in recent elections in Iran was voter apathy to the controlled elections. Voters believed that their vote would not make any difference.
- Election fatigue due to frequent elections also plays a major role. It was evident in the recent series of elections in Israel when voters stopped bothering with the casting of votes. Moreover, a heterogeneous community would see lesser voter turnout due to lack of solidarity. In India, voter turnouts in local elections are higher than in national elections because in local elections there are closer networks between people.
- Most of the migrants are unable to cast their vote in their states.
- Lack of enthusiasm among voters due to ideological issues, political parties performances etc.
- Voter registration is a cumbersome process and due to this the eligible voters are out of the ambit of voting.
- Lack of awareness about voting rights in low literacy areas.
- Often, in urban areas, voter turnout remains low due to laziness, holiday etc.

Road ahead

- The registration process can be simplified and make citizens friendly such as registration at
- Removing discrepancies in electoral roll and regular publication of updated electoral roll
- Blockchain technology can be used to increase voter turnout.
- Remote voting for migrants can be implemented in the whole country.
- The Vote works like the democratic voice of a citizen. Hence, the citizens must cast a vote to strengthen the democratic ethos and also, the government must take all the steps so that no voter should be left behind.

Evaluate the role of the International Court of Justice in inter-State disputes. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

International Court of Justice (ICJ) is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. Its seat is at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands). Notably, it is the only UN principal organ not situated in New York.

The ICJ has two types of jurisdictions:

1. Contentious cases

ICJ, in accordance with international law, settles disputes of legal nature that are submitted to it by states.

Countries should apply and only then appear before the ICJ. International organisations, other authorities, and private individuals are not entitled to institute proceedings before the ICJ.

The Court can only deal with a dispute when the States concerned have recognized its jurisdiction.

The judgment is final, binding on the parties to the case and without an appeal.

2. Advisory opinions

The advisory procedure is available to five UN Organs, fifteen Specialized Agencies, and one Related Organisation.

Despite having no binding force, the Court's advisory opinions nevertheless, carry great legal weight and moral authority and thus help in the development and clarification of international laws.

Limitations of ICJ

ICJ suffers from certain limitations, these are mainly structural, circumstantial and related to the material resources made available to the Court.

- It has no jurisdiction to try individuals accused of war crimes or crimes against humanity. As it is not a criminal court, it does not have a prosecutor able to initiate proceedings.
- The ICJ is not an apex court to which national courts can turn to. It is also not a court of last resort for people. It also does not act like an appeal court for international tribunals, however, it can make a ruling on the validity of the arbitration awards.
- The ICJ cannot suo moto take up a case. It can only hear cases or disputes when requested to do so by States. It can also not investigate and rule on acts of States.
- The ICJ only has jurisdiction based on consent, not compulsory jurisdiction.
- It does not enjoy a full separation of powers, with permanent members of the Security Council being able to veto enforcement of cases, even those to which they consented to be bound.

Kulbhushan Jadhav Case

Kulbhushan Jadhav, an Indian naval officer, was arrested in March 2016 by Pakistani security forces in Balochistan province after he reportedly entered from Iran.

Key Highlights of Judgement

- Pakistan Violated the Vienna Convention: ICJ upheld that Islamabad had violated Article 36 of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1963, by

not informing India about Jadhav's arrest immediately after Pakistan Army had taken him into custody.

- ICJ found that India had been deprived of the 'right to communicate with and have access to Jadhav, to visit him in detention and to arrange for his legal representation', which meant that Pakistan had breached obligations incumbent upon it under Article 36, paragraph 1 (a) and (c), of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.
- The provisions of the 1963 Vienna Convention defines a framework for consular relations between countries.
- The International Court of Justice is endowed with both a privileged institutional status and procedural instruments whose potential is frequently underestimated. It needs strengthening for the promotion and development of international peace.

Explain the relevance of the Marxist approach in the context of globalization. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

- Marxism is a relatively new approach to IR. In terms of basic assumptions, methodology and dealing with the issues, the Marxist approach presents a different and fascinating picture of world politics. Imperialism has been a keen area of interest for Marxists.
- Earlier Marxists have linked the origin and development of imperialism with the advancement of capitalism. However, based on the analysis of imperialism presented by Marxists after Lenin, it can be said that to have a proper understanding of the Marxist theory of imperialism, we necessarily need to go beyond Hobson and Lenin and include neo-Marxist and globalisation era Marxist account of imperialism.
- Taking inspiration from Marxism, three variants of neo-Marxism have significantly enhanced our understanding of world politics. The dependency theory explains how unfair terms of trade between developed and newly independent states lead to exploitation of post-colonial states by the developed capitalist states.
- The neo-Gramscian approach has splendidly shown how the powerful state establishes and maintain their hegemony and suggested the way to end it. Going a step further, the critical theory has underscored the need and way to end the exploitation of human being and realise their emancipation.
- Despite its retreat after the economic crisis of 2008, there is no denying that globalization continues to be one of the central tendencies of capitalism's law of motion. Indeed, exactly 150 years ago, Marx recognized the phenomenon now understood as globalization as the world market, although he did not use the former term, because it was coined about a century after his death. However, what Marx meant by 'intercourse with foreign nations ... the expeditions of adventurers, colonization ... the extension of markets into a world market ... a new phase of historical development' in *The German Ideology*, co-authored with Friedrich Engels (1820–95), was nothing else than today's globalization.

- According to the economist Joseph Stiglitz, “Countries find themselves in situations where they are having policies imposed on them”. He finds it similar to the 19th-century opium wars when the countries were told to open the economy by using military power.

Identify the benefits of a multi-polar world. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

- A multipolar world is one where power is distributed among several states rather than being dominated by one or two states. During the Cold War, the world was divided into two major power blocs, leading analysts to call it a ‘bipolar’ world. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War, the world witnessed a brief unipolar Pax-Americana moment, when analysts believed that the United States of America (USA) had emerged as the sole dominant power at the global level. However, with the emergence of China, Japan, Germany, India, Russia, Brazil, South Africa, etc., as alternate power centres in different continents of the world, ‘multipolarity’, as a concept, received wider scholarly attention. Today's world is thus conceived as multipolar, multi-civilizational and multiplex, where no single country has the wherewithal to dominate the affairs of the world to the disadvantage of others.
- As power is not concentrated in any single state, and is distributed at the global level, ‘multipolar world’ opens up the foreign policy and security choices for all countries. Theoretically, the transition from a bipolar (through a short unipolar moment) to a multipolar world throws open the windows of opportunity for weaker states to exercise their strategic autonomy and multi-align themselves with multiple powerful states, in pursuit of their developmental and security interests. It also augments their choices in the face of possible competition among powerful states for expansion of their influence. It enlarges the scope for bargaining in the global discourse/effort for resetting international norms and re-configuring international institutions. In reality, however, the transition, if it is long and fuzzy, may lead powerful states both to manipulate global norms and institutions to their advantage, and to flout them at will to the disadvantage of weaker states in the sense that they may be forced to take decisions that constrain their sovereign authority to make independent choices.
- Ultimately, whether the states can make good use of multipolarity would depend on their relative power potential, geo-strategic location, demography and people power, resource base and, above all, the quality of leadership available with them to forge these elements into their foreign policy to sustain their relative autonomy. Multipolarity is what the states make of it.

Discuss the importance of personal data protection in the context of human rights. (UPSC CSE Mains 2019 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2).

- The right to privacy is enshrined in article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), article 17 in the legally binding International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and in article 16 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC). Many national constitutions and human rights documents mention the right to privacy.
- When we talk about personal data, we refer to that data that is intrinsically linked to each of us: name, ID, blood type, physical characteristics, or even biometric information. In the context of the internet, we can also include in this concept the data we generate every day – our likes in social media, posts, purchase preferences, browser history, among other things – that define us as network users, in any platform whatsoever. In the legal sense, personal data is information that identifies or can be used to identify an individual as defined in the General Personal Data Protection Act (LGPD).
- Protection of personal data, which may become a constitutionally guaranteed right, to another extent, is broader, involving the protection of intimacy, privacy and the guarantee that the personal data we generate will be treated in accordance with the proper protective legislation.
- The protection of personal data is taken today as a norm, in either the broad and the strict senses of the word – as it is now enshrined in legislation not only in Brazil, but also in Europe and several other countries around the world. It is therefore necessary to question what changes when we treat such protection as a fundamental right.
- Data protection laws are underpinned by a respect for fundamental human rights. That's because the storage and use of personal information should be at the service of people. To ensure this happens, data protection laws should take into account people's right to a private life, which is protected by Article 8 of the Human Rights Convention.
- The protection of personal data, as we can see, is fundamental for maintaining citizenship in a democratic regime. Encryption, in turn, is one of several techniques by which citizens can be guaranteed this right.