

# **POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

## **Answer Writing Practice**

**Dr. Ambedkar's idea of social justice leads to 'egalitarian justice' as compared to Rawls' 'justice as fairness' which aims at the notion of 'pure procedural justice'. Comment.**

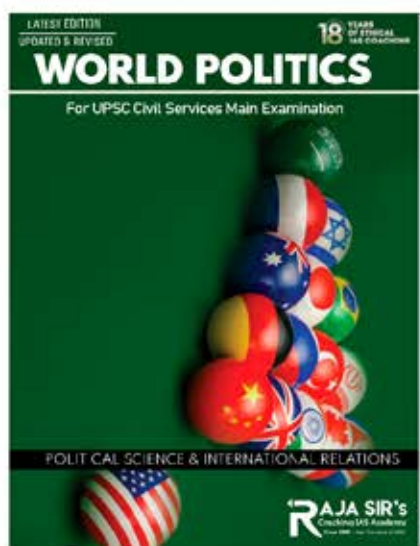
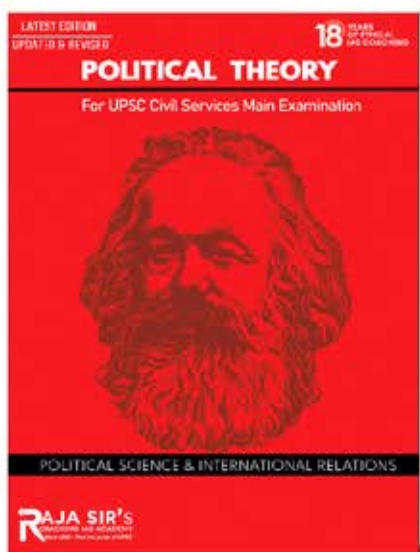
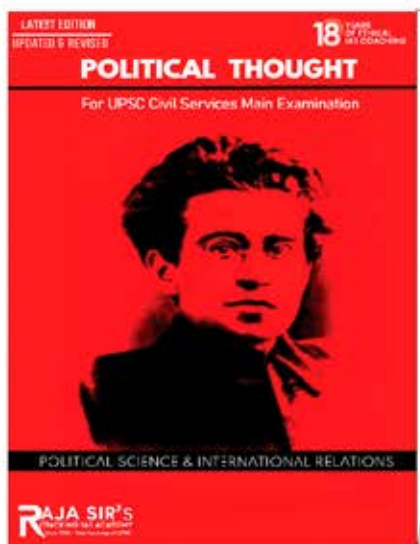
Justice as Fairness - Justice as fairness refers to the conception of justice that John Rawls presents in A Theory of Justice. John Rawls' theory of justice is a theory in which he attempts to define justice. In it, he proposes a hypothetical scenario where a group of people ignorant of their or others' social...

**Electoral behaviour of voters is governed more by the social and economic factors than the political factors. Explain.**

Voting behaviour defines the pattern of casting vote or the factors that influence people in casting vote. It is not only about the observation of voting statistics, record.....

**The Doctrine of Basic Structure of the Constitution has enhanced the power of judicial review of the Supreme Court. Examine..statement.**

The Kesavananda Bharati judgment held that Parliament cannot use its constituent.....



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**Write on the "Locke's Social Contract" in about 150 words. (10 Marks). UPSC MAINS 2022**

Locke believed that the human nature is good and social. It is obvious that they live in relative peace and harmony with their fellow beings. People were neither nasty nor uncivilized nor brutish but they lived happily and peacefully with each other. They enjoyed certain natural rights and there was no perpetual war in state of nature.

Locke observed that this state of nature suffered from certain inconveniences. Locke observed that there were three, drawbacks in the state of nature,

- (1) laws were not clearly defined
- (2) there was no common authority to enforce the natural rights and
- (3) there was no recognised and commonly accepted judge to settle disputes.

This means that there was no legislature to make laws, there was no executive to implement laws and there was no judiciary to interpret laws. Thus the three parts of government were missing in the state of nature. These drawbacks were responsible for the people getting out of the state of nature, and entering into civil society.

Men made a contract to enter into a civil society or the state. This was a social covenant. It was entered into and agreed upon by the people among themselves. Locke calls this a Social Contract. The social contract puts an end to the state of nature. People who entered into this contract, did not surrender all the natural rights which they enjoyed in the state of nature. They surrendered only one aspect of their rights, (i.e.) the right of interpreting and enforcing the law of nature. This surrender was made in order to protect their existing rights in a more effective manner. The contract was for limited and specific purposes. The people surrendered the right to the community as a whole and not to one man or to an assembly of men. Locke recognises and establishes the sovereignty of the people. To him, the state existed only for the people. All these ideas differ from the ideas of Hobbes.

The first contract as we have seen is a **social contract**. Locke speaks by implication of a second contract, namely, a **governmental contract**. The government is authorised by the society to make positive laws consistent with the laws of nature. The second contract was subordinate to the first contract. This is because the government was only a Judiciary power. It should act for a certain end. Original exercise of authority or power was also limited to achieve the society in its corporate capacity establishes the government those ends.

The second contract is not expressly stated by Locke. This was only implied by him. Locke observed that the legislative power becomes the supreme power in the commonwealth. This is based on the consent of the people. This power should be exercised only to promote "the peace, safety and public good of the people." Locke considers the government as a trust. The law of nature must not be violated by the government. The rules of the government are expected to be in accordance with the law of nature. The judges must dispense justice according to the standing laws. Locke also

observed that the government had no right to deprive the individual of his property without his consent. No taxes can be levied without the consent of the people or their representatives, except in emergencies. The community thus perpetually retains the supreme power. The sovereign of Locke is thus given a limited authority. The people were given the right of revolution. They can overthrow a government which does not exist for the good of the people.

### **Equality of estates caused equality of power, and equality of power is liberty.**

The idea of estates or property came from the concept of Lockean idea of property. Under the Lockean idea of property, if an individual creates the blend of natural resources and materials with their effort and hard work, the resultant will be the property of the individual.

For Locke, property is a natural right. Locke was with the idea that with the advent of social contract, right to property is something that needs to be mandatory in the form of rights given to individuals who are giving their consent to form the state.

Locke ensured that liberty of acquiring and creating property should be there about which he has mentioned in his book, "Two Treatise of Government". However, to ensure that there is a some check and balance existing with this right (somewhat like reasonable restrictions imposed on the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Part III of the Indian Constitution), through the following manner:

- Labor limitation where he stated that property should only be earned by the use of labor, including labor of individuals' horse and slavery. It should not be acquired by force or fraud.
- Spoilage limitation imposes the restriction for its right utility and not to be spoilt in any manner, thus, ensuring that it can be acquired by others to build productivity of the property.
- Sufficiency limitation meant that acquisition of property in such a manner that there should be enough property is left for others and not lead to any kind of deprivation. This restriction can be also imposed through the idea of equality of resources by Ronald Dworkin who stated that individuals should not be envious of the pack acquired by others and all acquisition is done through bid action, thus, giving the liberty to all to acquire natural resources as per their choice.

Both spoilage and sufficiency limitation allowed all individuals to acquire property as per their mechanistic effort and access to natural resources. Therefore, it allowed for an equitable distribution of power with the acquisition of property.

With acquisition of property through inculcating power, there is the chance for all individuals that sufficient natural resources are present in nature and it is at the behest of labor of individuals who have to make efforts to produce a property and consolidate the same. Due to this reason, CL Wayper criticized Locke for promoting the idea of possessive individualism.

Read more - <https://www.livemint.com/Opinion/gUeuGWflbfmqpR4OqkYSN/The-conflict-between-liberty-and-equality.html>

**Factors like community, culture and nation weaken the hegemony of neo-liberalism today. Discuss. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Neoliberalism is an updated version of classical political economy, dedicated to, market individualism and minimal statism. (i.e) It refers to rolling back of the state.

Hayek in his book Constitution of Liberty has stated that social justice is a mirage and that progressive taxation is bonded labour. Further Robert Nozick in his book Anarchy State and Utopia has suggested that minimal state is inspiring as well as right.

On the other hand, community, culture and nation forms the basis of communitarian ideology. This ideology as represented by Michael Sandel and Michael Walzer, states that human beings are not atomized individuals (as propounded by liberalism) but rather they are 'situated-self' where they are guided by identity variables like culture, community, nature and ethnicity.

Recently international trade has seen the rise of regional organizations which have often surpassed the performance of neoliberal institutions like the World Trade organization (WTO). This proves that the hegemony of neoliberalism is in shambles.

Issues concerning Neoliberalism

- Communitarianism on the other hand is more grounded on solidarity principles wherein people's surroundings, ethnicity, culture are considered while framing political principles. In the same lines Mahatir Mohammad had come up with Asian values principles. This was in retaliation to the excessive western domination/ hegemony of liberal notions of political values. It was more like 'imposition of democratic values at the gunpoint'. Moreover, neoliberal policies also led to the development of underdevelopment.
- Rise of national and regional organizations like New Development Bank, SCO, SAARC shows that neoliberalism no longer remains hegemonic discourse.
- Revivalism of Nationalism across political, economic and cultural domains. Like Trump's American Great, India's Aatmanirbharbharat, BREXIT show the direction towards deglobalisation.

But still, it is too fast to arrive at any conclusion. To offset the cons posed by the hegemony of neoliberalism, the concept of social liberalism arrived. Here the policies proposed focused more on capacity building rather than cut throat competition as advocated by neoliberalism. Amartya Sen has suggested balanced participation of every organ of state. This also is in sync with the culture and values of a particular community.

**Elitist theory of democracy denies the possibility of democracy as 'rule of the people'. Elucidate. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- The elitists argue that elite group rules because it includes the most capable person and thus by the qualities of their wisdom they can convince the people to obey their commands. The elitist view of liberal democracy originated in the positivist political sociologies of **Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca**. Initially developed as a critique of socialism.
- The **critics** of Elite theories are of the view that the Elitists doctrine is opposed to, or critical of modern democracy. They argue that upholding the idea of elitism simply means the denial of democratic ideal or the denial of democracy. They have expressed their opposition in two ways. **Firstly**, the insistence in the elite theories upon the inequality of individual endowment runs counter to a fundamental stand in democratic political thought that emphasis on underlying equality of individual. The Elite theories are, therefore, critical of modern democracy and socialism. **Secondly**, the notion of a governing minority contradicts the democratic theory of majority rule.
- But the supporters of elitism do not agree with view. They believe that **democracy is still compatible with elite theories**. They argue that right from the day the representative democracy spread in Europe, there arose misgiving about its nature among intellectuals, conservatives and socialists. If democracy is regarded as being primarily a political system than in actual practice in modern mass society, government by the people is impossible in practice.
- But the significance of political democracy is primarily that the positions of power in society are open in principle to everyone. **There is competition for power**, and that the holders of power at any time are accountable to the electorate. Other elitists thinkers also point out that political democracy envisages that the choice of personal should be 'open and subject to negotiation and bargaining', among the various elements of the population. Democracy, therefore, provides an opportunity to the people to choose among competing elites. It needs to be emphasize at that political competition and of equality of



opportunity can be presented as corollaries of liberal or laissez-faire economic theory. Democracy will then be treated as a type of society in which the elites-economic, cultural, as well as political- are open in principle and are in fact received from different social strata on the basis of individual merit.

**Examine the liberal theory of State in contemporary politics. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- The Liberal perspective of the State is based on the philosophy of Liberalism, that vouches freedom, modernity and progress. Liberalism became associated with the doctrine that freedom of choice should be applied to matters as diverse as marriage, community, religion, economic and political affairs. It views that the world consists of free and equal individuals with natural rights. The concern of politics should be the defence of the rights of these individuals in a way that must enable them to realise their own capacities.
- The classical and neo-classical streams of liberal theory propounded the concept of a minimalist state i.e., a "least governing state" premised on the assumption of rational and free citizens.
- The origin of the liberal theory of state can be traced back to the **social contract theorists - Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau** - who challenged the divine theory of state and advanced a conception of state created by mutual consent among individuals for the purpose of self-preservation and social stability.
- Classical liberals such as John Locke and Adam Smith propounded that the primary role of state was to safeguard individual freedom and enable a societal system, conducive to their freedom. This school instilled utmost faith in the rationality and wisdom of individuals. The individuals were considered fully capable of determining one's destiny. Hence, it urged for individual liberty defined as "absence of restraints".
- Similarly, neo-classical scholars such as **Robert Nozick, Milton Friedman** rejected the model of an interventionist welfare state for being inefficient and amounting to loss of individual initiative and encroachment of individual freedom. Hence, they advocated a roll back of the state, replacing it with a market-led model of development.
- According to liberal thinkers, the state has to play a minimalist role of maintaining law and order and has to be essentially a non-interfering state. The state is not imagined as an entity that regulates all social relations or private lives of its citizens but an arbiter of any possible disputes between free individuals or groups.

- This view exhibits unrelenting confidence in the capacity of the market to safeguard interests of individuals and society. The classical liberal belief had emerged as a response to the feudalism and mercantilism, whereas the neo-classical belief had the context of excessive state intervention during welfare regime. However, it needs to be noted that the model of least government runs the danger of deepening pre-existing inequalities and inadvertently promoting social Darwinism.
- The statement in question also portrays the liberal fear of a state that exercises too much control over the lives of its citizens, which may lead to the emergence of authoritarianism. It would be impossible for individuals to develop fully in such an autocratic or totalitarian set-up, nor would social progress be possible to achieve.
- Therefore, the liberal theory of the state eulogizes the least governing state as the best state.

**Human Rights are complex and contested social practice that organises relations between individuals, society and the State. Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The idea of human rights connotes fundamental and inalienable rights which are so essential to life as human beings. Human rights are referred to fundamental in the absence of which one cannot live as human being. Human Rights define relationships between individuals and power structures, especially the State. Human rights delimit State power and, at the same time, require States to take positive measures ensuring an environment that enables all people to enjoy their human rights. History in the last 250 years has been shaped by the struggle to create such an environment. Starting with the French and American revolutions in the late eighteenth century, the idea of human rights has driven many a revolutionary movement for empowerment and for control over the wielders of power, governments in particular.

Human rights mean five key things-

1. Rights those are inherent in and integral to every human being by the fact of one's birth.
2. Rights are basic for human life and its development.
3. Human rights presume the existence of these social conditions in which they can be exercised,
4. Human rights are those which every civilized state ought to incorporate in its constitution and laws as the recognition of basic human needs and demands.
5. Regarding human rights 'Dignity' is the key word.

Human rights are legally guaranteed by human rights law, protecting individuals and groups against actions which interfere with fundamental freedoms and human dignity. They are expressed in treaties, customary international law, bodies of principles and other sources of law. Human rights law places an obligation on States to act in a particular way and prohibits States from engaging in specified activities. However, the law does not establish human rights. Human rights are inherent entitlements which come to every person as a consequence of being human. Treaties and other sources of law generally serve to protect formally the rights of individuals and groups against actions or abandonment of actions by Governments which interfere with the enjoyment of their human rights.

The concept of Human rights, though central to political science is poorly understood. There is no agreement on its meaning, nature, and content. It is a concept very much contested not only between East (representing former socialist states) and West (representing liberal - democratic states) but also between developed and developing countries. Each group of nations has a different perception of human rights.

Equal dignity of all persons is the central concept of all human rights. These rights have been designated to be universal in application, inalienable in exercise and inherent to all persons. Human beings are entitled to some basic and natural rights otherwise their life would be meaningless. Human rights are those minimal rights which are available to every human being without distinction of language, religion, caste, nationality, sex, social and economic conditions of the society.

Human rights are on the increasing demands of the mankind for a life in which the inherent dignity and worth of each human being will receive respect and protection. These rights enable individuals to fully use their intelligence, talents and conscience to satisfy spiritual and other needs.

The features of human rights are they are universal incontrovertible and subjective. Human rights are universal means they belong to each of us regardless of ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, age, religion, political conviction or type of government. They are incontrovertible means they are absolute and innate. Human rights are subjective means they are properties of individual subjects who possess them because of their capacity of rationality, agency and autonomy. The notion of universality has been criticized for its blindness towards the issues of cultural differences. When human rights are guaranteed by a written constitution they are known as fundamental rights because a written constitution is the fundamental law of the state.

The idea of "rights" and "duties" of citizens is as old as the concept of the state. Many important events and revolutions contributed towards the development of human rights. First, the earliest charters of human rights are to be found among the three British constitutional documents, namely, the Magna Carta (1215), the Petition of Rights (1628) and the Bill of Rights (1689). These three documents were the forerunners of the modern bills of rights.

In 1948 it adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which included both civil-political and economic-social rights in a single document. Since the Universal Declaration was not a legally binding instrument, the UN subsequently adopted two covenants in 1966 (one on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social and cultural rights). These covenants are legally binding on ratifying states. It must be noted that the Universal Declaration and the two covenants constitute what is popularly known as the International Bill of Rights. Thus human rights have been internationalised and they are available to every human being wherever he lives.

Karel Vasak, a distinguished and very well-known human rights scholar, introduced the idea of **three generations of human rights**, which allows us to understand the types and evolution of human rights better. The first generation of human rights is *civil and political rights*. The second generation of human rights includes economic, social and cultural rights and the third generation of human rights are called solidarity rights.

The point of a fourth generation of human rights is to protect human life also in the presence of new kinds of intelligence. "The fourth generation of human rights" is defined as "the right to harmony," "the right to a beautiful life," or "digital rights."

Human rights have been interpreted by different communities and countries in different ways. As history took form over time, human rights have also gained new meanings and definitions. The notion of human rights has also been challenged at times. Major incidents have given rise to big debates surrounding the rights, the latest one being the revoking of the Right to Abortion that rested with American women before the Dobbs vs Jackson Women's Health Organization (2022) happened.

**Individualism is inherent in Hobbes' absolutist ideology. Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Thomas Hobbes expounded the theory of social contract. The state of nature of Hobbes represents the pre-social and pre-political phase of human society, (i.e.) prior to the formation of the state. The life of man in the state of nature was miserable. Competition, diffidence and love of glory were the three causes for the strife in the state of nature. Law and justice were absent. In such an atmosphere the "fittest" survived.

Men have craved for peace and security. Hobbes says that they entered into a contract among themselves to form a civil society or a commonwealth, which would ensure security of life and property. All the individuals surrendered their natural rights to a person or body of persons. This person or the body of persons became the sovereign. The surrender of rights was total. The individuals did not retain any rights with themselves. The sovereign was not a party to the contract or agreement. He was the product of the contract or agreement. The sovereign was not bound by any of the

contract conditions. The sovereign derived all authority from the contract which could not be revoked. The people have no right to protest against the authority of the sovereign. They were expected to render unquestioned obedience.

However the individual does not surrender those rights which by the law of nature are necessary for self-preservation. The people surrendered their natural rights for the sake of self-preservation. The sovereign is given all the power only to protect the life of the individual. The individual may even transfer his loyalty to any different authority which could guarantee preservation of life and limb, even in the absence of the laws.

Although, Hobbes argues for an absolute state and demands the obedience of his citizens to the laws of the state, he also gives the right of revolution in one respect. He says that the sovereign comes into existence only to protect the lives of the people and he cannot do any thing that will go against the safety and security of the individual lives. In spite of conceding the right to revolution in exceptional circumstances, Hobbes insists that the people should not normally resist the authority of the sovereign. From what Hobbes says, we can say that the individual's interest is safeguarded in spite of the existence of Leviathan with absolute sovereignty.

**Dr. Ambedkar's idea of social justice leads to 'egalitarian justice' as compared to Rawls' 'justice as fairness' which aims at the notion of 'pure procedural justice'. Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

**Justice as Fairness** - Justice as fairness refers to the conception of justice that John Rawls presents in A Theory of Justice. John Rawls' theory of justice is a theory in which he attempts to define justice. In it, he proposes a hypothetical scenario where a group of people ignorant of their or others' social, economic, physical, or mental factors come together to make laws for themselves. From this hypothetical initial situation, which Rawls calls the "original position," these individuals will presumably endorse two principles of justice. The first, known as the equal **liberty principle**, is that "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive scheme of basic liberties compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for others," and the second known as **Principle of Difference** is that "social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and attached to offices and positions open to all."

John Rawl's concept of social justice gives emphasis to fairness, it must be fair to all, to the most talented as well as the most disadvantaged section. Rawls theory of justice can find concurrence with the one of the basic premises of the Indian constitution that has

provided for reservation to equalize the differences, and attempted to undo the historic injustices meted out to certain communities.

**Egalitarian justice** - Ambedkar's vision of justice was of all individuals being treated as equals in terms of worth and social status. Ambedkar outrightly rejected the agents of social inequality and exploitation. He believed liberty, equality and fraternity need to be maintained in a system to secure egalitarian justice. The caste system, which violates three basic tenets, was the main obstacle to this idea of justice taking root in society. His idea of social justice is inclusive of political and economic justice too. The cornerstone of Ambedkarite justice is liberty, equality and fraternity. Ambedkar's vision of egalitarian justice allowed for unequal treatment to benefit the least advantaged in society – which resembles John Rawls' theory of "justice as fairness". He recognized rights and laws as key to justice – rights determine the concept of justice and law of the land protects the rights. Ambedkar insisted that social restructuring of society precede an economic and political revamp because he believed that social justice would eventually lead to political and economic justice.

**"The Panchayats with gram Sabhas should be so organised as to identify the resources locally available for the development in agricultural and industrial sectors." Examine the statement in the context of Gram Swaraj. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- The concept of participative democracy with its roots rising from villages is what had been one of the biggest aims that Gandhi looked after India attained independence. For this purpose, he wanted a proper development of social organizations at the rural level. According to MK Gandhi, "Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a republic or panchayat having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. It will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from outside."
- Gandhi's Gram Swaraj is an essential aspect in the Constitution – the Directive Principles of State Policy, Part IV of the Constitution, which acts as the guide to the State in planning and executing policies. The Gandhian thought in the Constitution includes Organisation of Village Panchayats (Article 40), promotion of cottage industries in rural areas (Article 43), management of cooperative societies (Article 43B), prohibition on the consumption of intoxicating drinks (Article 47) and prohibiting the slaughter of cows and improve their breeds (Article 48).

### **Importance of Community**

- Gandhi claims that the real India is not found in its citizens but in the seven lakh villages, emphasising more on community rather than individualism. His belief in Panchayat Raj was so firm that he thought public opinion will do what violence can never do. In Gandhi's model of Gram Swaraj there is no such system of punishment – the constituted Panchayat will play the role of Judiciary, Executive and Legislative, which give all the powers to the village panchayats. His idea states that every village is a republic of its own which has full powers and every village is capable of managing its own affairs.
- Gandhi talks about agriculture without the use of fertilizers and pesticides. He is clear that using organic manure will promote cleanliness and health. The Zero Budget natural farming, which consists of important factors like Jeevamrutha, Bijamitra, Acchadana (Mulching) and Whapasa, is inspired by Gandhi's model of Gram Swaraj. It is part of organic farming and relies on agro-ecology.

**Gram Swaraj has not materialized in its essence—**

- **Adoption of western model of industrialization:** Gandhiji was conscious of the fact that far industrialization would destroy the Indian society by eliminating our decentralized rural industries. Gandhiji found the only way of bringing hope of good living to the rural people is by making the village the central place in the economic programme. But India adopted top down planning through Planning Commission.
- **Gram Swaraj not on priority after independence:** Gandhi wanted to revitalize village panchayata that would ensure direct democracy at the grassroots level. But in the Constitution of independent India revitalisation of village panchayat is primarily a matter of State Policy and it was mentioned only in the Directive Principles of State Policy (Article40).
- **Lack of power with local institution:** The basic principle of village Swaraj as outlined by Gandhiji are trusteeship, swadeshi, full employment, bread labour, selfsufficiency, decentralisation, equality, Nai Talim etc. But true decentralization and inclusive development is still absent.
- **Khadi:** Khadi idea meant decentralization of production and distribution of the necessities of life. Khadi has to play an important role in the village economy of India. However this sector lags behind powerloom sector.

**However Gram Swaraj has materialized in its essence in many ways—**

- **Constitutional status to Panchayat:** The 73rd Amendment Act 1992, which came into effect on April 24, 1993, is a watershed in the decentralisation process. The most significant aspect of this amendment is that it bestowed constitutional sanction to institution of Gram Sabha. This body can be effectively used as a stepping stone for attainment of gram swaraj or local self governance visualized by Gandhi.

- **Renewed focus on Khadi:** Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme (PMEGP) has been announced on 15th August, 2008. It is launched for creation of employment in both rural and urban area of the country. Also SFURTI is a Scheme of Fund for Regeneration of Traditional Industries has been launched in the year 2005 with the view to promote Cluster development.
- **Rashtriya Gram Swaraj Abhiyan (RGSA):** It is for developing and strengthening the capacities of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) for rural local governance to become more responsive towards local development needs, preparing the participatory plans that leverage technology, efficient and optimum utilization of available resources for realizing sustainable solutions to local problems.
- Article 243G of the Constitution Amendment Act needs to be quoted with regard to the autonomy of Panchayats: Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, the Legislature of a State may, by law, endow the Panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government and such law may contain provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon Panchayats at the appropriate level, subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, with respect to
  - the preparation of plans for economic development and social justice;
  - the implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

This Article of the Amendment Act is the head and heart of the entire scheme of devolution and it elevates Panchayats as institutions of self-government or a third level of government besides Central and State Governments.

Gandhiji believed that India will have to live in villages, not in towns, in huts not in palaces. He held this conviction by saying that "If village perishes, India will perish too". The task before us is to strengthen and revitalize local institutions and gradually move forward towards the Gandhi's concept of Gram Swaraj.

**Examine the entitlement theory of justice. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Rawls's liberal-egalitarian conception of justice has been subjected to a rigorous libertarian critique by his colleague. For Nozick, progressive taxation is like bonded labour and it goes against the principle of non aggression. Like Hayek, he also believes that so called social justice programs only result into corruption. Nozick's two central claims in his book "Anarchy, State and Utopia" are

a. The minimal state is the most extensive state that can be justified



- b. Any state more extensive than the minimal state violates people's rights
- 2. Nozick's argument against a more extensive, redistributive state
  - a. The typical justification for a redistributive state rests on some patterned principle
  - b. But, patterned principles should be rejected, because
    - i. "liberty upsets patterns"
    - ii. "taxation of income from labor is on a par with forced labor"
- 3. Nozick's Entitlement Theory of distributive justice:
  - a. Nozick's Entitlement Theory is not patterned, but "historical": the justice of people's holdings – i.e., whether what people have, they have justly – "depends upon what has actually happened"
  - b. The theory consists of three principles
    - i. First principle specifies how unowned things can come to be owned justly
    - ii. Second principle specifies how (justly owned) things can be transferred justly
    - iii. Third principle says what to do about unjust acquisitions & unjust transfers
  - c. According to the theory:
    - i. A thing is owned justly if it was originally acquired justly & always transferred justly
    - ii. A person is "entitled" to the resources he or she possesses if and only if he or she acquired these resources through
      - 1. a just original acquisition (as specified by the first principle) OR
      - 2. a just transfer (as specified by the second principle) OR
      - 3. as compensation for previous injustice (as specified by the third principle)
    - iii. A given "distribution" of resources is just if everyone is entitled to the resources they possess under the distribution

State does not have any role in distributive justice (welfare state) according to Nozick. The state's role in property has to be limited only to the extent that state has to see

- 1) Property is acquired by right means.
- 2) Property is inherited or transferred in the right manner.

Thus he gives the concept of regulatory state. He admits that there may be historical injustices. However past should not be stretched too far in the present. If we stretch past too far in the present, it will create more problems. However there is only one situation where Nozick allows state to intervene in man's property. When a person asserts his right in a way that puts the life of large number of people in danger.

#### Criticisms

- The first criticism of Nozick could be said to emphasize procedural justice, but he, like John Rawls, failed to universalize procedural justice. His theory of justice is suitable only for the capitalist state. He has over-simplified his theory of justice, which has made his theory less effective. On this basis, he becomes a supporter of privatization and capitalism by separating the state from the political and the general public, over which State has no control. Critics refer to Nozick as a "devotee of oddity".

- It is said that Nozick is a ruthless thinker because he says that one who is poor, is poor because his fate is poor, they are worth that. Critics say that poverty is not someone's hobby. Therefore, poverty alleviation is the duty of the state. Necessary steps should be taken by the state to break the vicious cycle of poverty. That is why critics consider this principle of Nozick inhuman and immoral.

**Analyse the workers' movement in India in the pre-Independence period. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The modern worker made their appearance in India in the second half of 19th century with the slow beginnings of Railways and modern industries. Before the nationalists began to associate with working class agitations towards the end of 19th century, there were several strikes, agitations. But these were sporadic, spontaneous and unorganized revolts based on economic grievances.

- **Phase 1 (1850s -1900):** In this phase, the worker class remained largely unorganized on a class basis. There were some early organized effort to improve the conditions of workers. Ex: Workingmen's club by Sasipada Banerjee in Bengal. One major reason for the relatively lukewarm attitude of the early nationalists was that during this phase they didn't wish to create any divisions within the ranks of Indian people. Thus, we notice lack of class consciousness among workers in this period.
- **Phase 2:** With the coming of Swadeshi movement, the situation began to change rapidly and the nationalists took up the task of organizing stable trade unions, strikes etc. Thus, there was a perceptible shift from purely economic issues to wider political issues.
- **Phase 3 (1910 onwards):** In this phase, there was a close integration of workers movement with the national movement and class consciousness was fast developing among the workers. The formation of Ahmedabad Textile Labor Association in 1918, All India Trade Union Congress in 1920 were the important events of this phase.

**Emergence As An Organized Class**

- **Phase 4 (late 1920s onwards):** The impetus given by the Russian Revolution in 1917 helped the leftist ideas to have a significant impact on the working-class movement. WPPs (workers and peasant's parties) organized by various communist groups were rapidly gaining in strength within the Congress. Communist influence on the trade movement became very strong since late 1920s and onwards. After that almost all the trade unions barring few identified

themselves with the radical leftist ideas and the working class emerged as an organized, self-conscious class in 1920s.

This process of emergence of working class as an organized all India class is inextricably linked with the growth of national movement as Indian working class could not exist before the notion of 'Indian' people had begun to take root.

**Legislative Council is a house without any effective powers. Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

India has a bicameral system i.e., two Houses of Parliament. At the state level, the equivalent of the Lok Sabha is the Vidhan Sabha or Legislative Assembly; that of the Rajya Sabha is the Vidhan Parishad or Legislative Council. Under Article 169 of the constitution, Parliament may by law create or abolish the second chamber in a state if the Legislative Assembly of that state passes a resolution to that effect by a special majority.

**Need for legislative councils in states**

1. To allow leaders, professors, and other people who shy from elections to participate in legislative process.
2. To formulate better and detailed discussed legislation.
3. Upper House consisting of graduates, teachers, outstanding persons in the fields of art, literature, science and social service, check-mate the radicalism of the lower House.
4. Having a second chamber would allow for more debate and sharing of work between the Houses.

**Significance of state legislative councils**

1. **Check against Hasty Legislation:** A second House of legislature is considered important to act as a check on hasty actions by the popularly elected House. If there are two chambers, the measures passed by one would be scrutinised by the other minutely. Hence the laws enacted finally would be carefully analysed and thoroughly discussed.
2. **Prevent autocracy:** It is argued that second house put a check on autocratic tendencies of the lower chambers. To vest the legislative powers with a popularly elected House alone may prove harmful to the people of the state as legislation may be arbitrary.
3. **Accommodation of Talent:** Elderly, experienced and sober individuals, cannot-bear the ordeal of electioneering neither campaign nor are they keen to indulge in vicious party politics. The legislative councils accommodate such personalities not only through the nominated quota but also through the quota reserved for teachers and the graduates.

4. **Reduce workload of legislative assembly:** Since the legislative assemblies are generally flooded with work, due to the rapid growth in the functions of a modern welfare state, a unicameral legislature cannot cope with the work and devote fully to the bills brought before it for enactment. Legislative council lessens the burden of the lower House and enables assembly to fully concentrate on measures of greater importance.

#### **Criticism of state legislative councils**

1. **Superfluous and Mischievous:** If a majority of the members in the upper house belong to the same party which holds majority in the lower house, the upper house will become a mere ditto chamber. On the other hand, if two different parties are in majority, the upper house will delay the bills for months unnecessarily. Thus its role may become nasty and obstructive.
2. **Not an Effective Check:** Powers of the Legislative Councils are limited and hardly impose any effective check on the Assemblies. Whether a Bill is approved by the Council or not, assembly can still go ahead after four months.
3. **Vested Interests:** Legislative Council serves only as stronghold of vested interests of people, who are not interested in legislation. Instead they may block such legislation initiated by popularly elected Legislative Assembly.
4. **Backdoor Entrance of the Defeated Members:** Legislative Council can be utilised to accommodate discredited party-men who may not be returned to the Assemblies.
5. **Expensive Institution:** It is expensive and a big drain on the State's exchequer.

Second chambers in our States have proved to be ornamental which is a burden on public money. The members of the Legislative Council also owe allegiance to one party or the other and eventually act according to the dictates of a party to which they belong. The provision of the law for Councils to have seats for graduates and teachers should be reviewed. Legislative councils should be a responsible body that can also form their part in policies and programmes for the development of states.

**How far is the National Commission for Backward Classes an empowered body? Assess its role in the context of rising demand for backwardness among dominant communities. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

**NCBC – an empowered body**

- 102nd Constitution Amendment Act, 2018 provides constitutional status to the National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC).
- It has the authority to examine complaints and welfare measures regarding socially and educationally backward classes.
- Previously NCBC was a statutory body under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.

**Enhanced role of NCBC**

- Under the old NCBC Act, the Commission merely has the power to recommend inclusion or exclusion of communities in the OBC list.
- The new Bill will allow it to look into all matters regarding the welfare and development of backward classes, as well as to investigate complaints.
- Currently, the Scheduled Castes Commission, which looks into cases of atrocities against Dalits, is also in charge of hearing grievances from OBCs.
- The amended Bill will give the Commission powers equivalent to that of a civil court.
- To investigate any matter deeply, NCBC will have the power to “summon and enforce” the presence of any person from any part of India and also examine them.
- NCBC can also demand any document, receive evidence on affidavits, obtain any other records from the court or police and also issue a commission for the examination of witnesses and documents.
- It is aimed at providing justice to the socially and educationally backward sections of the society.
- NCBC will address the concerns of the backward classes and bring social equality in society.
- NCBC would help the backward classes people fight atrocities against them and ensure quick justice to them.

**Concerns**

- Mere Acts will not do as they did not percolate down to the grassroots level, as recent data showed that only 7 out of 100 teachers in the Central Universities belonged to SC/ST and OBC categories.
- OBCs have negligible presence in the Supreme Court and high courts.
- Skewed representation of OBCs in various committees, commissions, boards and other different forums of the government.

- The recommendations of the commissions are not binding on the government.
- Critics argue about the scope of reservation at the time when NITI Aayog is promoting public-private partnership and privatization of public sector undertakings.
- The SC/ST commissions have had judicial powers all along. There is a provision that these commissions have to present annual reports to the parliament each year based on the action taken reports (ATR) submitted by each ministry on the recommendations previously made.
- But since hardly any ministry has submitted the ATR, the commissions have not presented their annual reports in the last 10 to 15 years.
- So, giving the constitutional status to the NCBC is fine but implementation will remain the key

### **Looking ahead**

While giving NCBC constitutional status is a step in the right direction, However, only by giving NCBC a constitutional status will not be enough to improve the socio-economic condition of the OBC community and along with this number of other steps are required which include

- Proper representation of backward classes of the deprived sections to join the national mainstream.
- The government must make public the findings of the caste census and implement reservation accordingly.
- The sub-categorization of OBCs will ensure increased access to benefits such as reservations in educational institutions and government jobs for less dominant OBCs.
- Political parties should “rise above vote bank politics and work towards social justice”.
- Government should launch a separate skill development program for the OBC community.

**High concentration of economic activities and consumption patterns in post-liberalisation period has led to the failure of environmental movements in India. Elucidate.(UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- In 1991 the Indian economy started to liberalise. The dismantling of state controls was in part welcome, for the licence-permit-quota-Raj had stifled innovation and entrepreneurship. Unfortunately, the votaries of liberalisation mounted an even more savage attack on environmentalists than did the proponents of state socialism.
- The regulations of the industry, commerce, textiles, and other such ministries had to be dismantled — and they mostly were. But the regulations that popular struggles had forced on what was now the ministry of environment and forests remained even more important than before. For, as many studies have shown, it is in the economic interests of private firms to pollute the environment. Nature is an ‘externality’; owned not by the firm but by society at large. So, in order to increase profits, it is perfectly ‘rational’ for entrepreneurs to pollute rivers, destroy forests, damage soils, etc, in the process of producing or marketing products for sale.
- The environmental regulations so painstakingly put in place in the 1980s remain, but politicians of all parties have allowed them to be wilfully and ubiquitously violated. Meanwhile, newer environmental problems, such as those associated with rapid urbanisation and with climate change, have not generated the necessary legislative or institutional response. So India today is a veritable environmental basket-case; with alarmingly high rates of air and water pollution, the ongoing depletion of aquifers and decimation of forests, and pervasive contamination of the soil.
- The guilty men of India’s multiple environmental crises are corrupt politicians and amoral entrepreneurs — in that order. Yet the media cannot escape censure. In the 1980s it did excellent work; from the 1990s, swayed by the prevailing winds, it succumbed to the canard, assiduously promoted by industry lobbies, that environmental regulation was ‘setting India back’. Some leading columnists, either out of ignorance or malevolence (or possibly both), have carried on a vicious campaign against some of our most courageous and public-spirited environmentalists.
- According to one scholarly study, the economic costs of environmental degradation in India amount to as much as \$80 billion a year. Ironically, even as the media has largely abdicated its role as a watchdog, scientific research has developed impressively. The CES, ATREE, Prayas in Pune, research departments at the Jadavpur, Delhi, and other universities — all have excellent scientists whose inputs can greatly help to mitigate these problems. Tragically, this

reservoir of scientific expertise has been shamefully neglected by our political class, even though it is entirely Made in India. It is past time that our leaders look to scientists rather than ideologues to forge a path of sustainable development that can safeguard our future as a society, a nation, and a civilisation.

- Environmentalists were attacked because, with the dismantling of state controls, only they asked the hard questions. When a new factory, highway, or mining project was proposed, only they asked where the water or land would come from, or what the consequences would be for the quality of the air, the state of the forests, and the livelihood of the people.
- The prime victim of economic liberalisation has been environmental sustainability.
- A wise, and caring, government would have deepened the precocious, far-seeing efforts of our environmental scientists. Instead, rational, fact-based scientific research is now treated with contempt by the political class. The Union Environment Ministry set up by Indira Gandhi has, as the *Economic and Political Weekly* recently remarked, 'buckled completely' to corporate and industrial interests. The situation in the States is even worse.
- India today is an environmental basket-case; marked by polluted skies, dead rivers, falling water-tables, ever-increasing amounts of untreated wastes, disappearing forests. Meanwhile, tribal and peasant communities continue to be pushed off their lands through destructive and carelessly conceived projects. A new Chipko movement is waiting to be born.



**Electoral behaviour of voters is governed more by the social and economic factors than the political factors. Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- Voting behaviour defines the pattern of casting vote or the factors that influence people in casting vote. It is not only about the observation of voting statistics, record and electoral data (shifts) but also about psychological factors such as perception, emotion etc. Caste, Class, Gender, Tribes, Language, and Religion are important determinants of voting behaviour in India.
- Richard Rose and Harve Massavir point out, voting covers as many as six important functions .It involves an individual's choice of governors or major governmental policies. Samuel S. Eldersveld in his 'theory and Method in voting Behaviour research' writes. "The term 'Voting Behaviour' is not new. But it has been used of late to describe certain areas of study and types of political phenomena which previously had either not been conceived or were considered irrelevant." Voting behavior is not confined to the examination of voting statistics, records and computation of electoral shifts and swings.
- **Political factors governing behavior**
- *Charisma*: It means the exceptional quality of a factor and overrides group elements leader that becomes a source of attraction and reverence for the people in large numbers in an opposite sense, It also means a source of fear to many people because they do not speak or dare to speak against the wishes of a powerful leader. The image of Jayaprakash Narayan had the same effect in the elections of 1977. The personality of Modi, BJP won the election of 2014.
- *Caste*: Caste has deep roots in society and constitutes an important basis for social relations at all levels. Despite the adoption of various provisions that prohibit action and discrimination on the basis, the caste continues to be a determining factor in political behaviour. Morris Jones writes, "Politics is more important for caste and caste is more important for politics than before".
- *Ideological commitment*: Most of the voters are crazy about a particular ideology and they keep in view the ideology of the candidate and the political party at the time of casting their votes. This fact is applicable to the voters who are the supporters of the leftist parties.
- *Party loyalty*: In India, many of the people are attached to their different political party and they always cast their vote in favor of the party rather than the candidate. We can't change their party loyalty even when they know that their candidate would not be going to win, such voters are known as committed voters.

However nowadays Electoral behavior of voters is governed more by **the social and economic factors than the political factors**. These are:

- Firstly, with respect to state elections, many ruling parties in recent years have succeeded in transcending narrow caste appeals and instead forging much broader rainbow coalitions of many discrete caste and religious communities across the social hierarchy. This shift toward stitching together wide-ranging social coalitions suggests that parties are gradually finding ways of broadening their repertoire beyond parochial concerns to include issues of a programmatic nature. The most common example cited in this regard is Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar from the Janata Dal (United), or JD(U).
- Secondly, there are several recent examples—at the state as well as the national level—of governments being re-elected on account of their perceived economic acumen. The UPA government won a resounding re-election in the 2009 general election, having delivered the fastest rates of economic growth in India's history. At the state level, a crop of popular chief ministers has achieved lasting political power by combining good politics and successful economics.
- Thirdly, hard evidence is emerging that economic voting is now a reality. Poonam Gupta and Arvind Panagariya found in a 2014 study that parliamentary candidates from ruling parties in states that exhibited better economic performance between 2004 and 2009 were significantly more likely to win election than candidates hailing from states which grew at a slower rate. The authors found that 85 percent of the incumbent party's candidates in "high-growth" states won re-election. However Abhijeet Banarjee had stated a counter argument in this context where he said , In case of Indian politics economy does not matter much , people are still governed by caste, religion and ethnicity. Indian voters have a long history of electing politicians who are the subject of ongoing criminal cases.
- Results of last two General Elections and State Elections demonstrate an underlying demand for politicians who can get things done—even if they are connected with wrongdoing. When voters cast their vote, they did not necessarily vote for their caste. Social biases remain entrenched in India, but the transmission of those biases into the political domain is imperfect and may be weakening.

**The Doctrine of Basic Structure of the Constitution has enhanced the power of judicial review of the Supreme Court. Examine. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The Kesavananda Bharati judgment held that Parliament cannot use its constituent power to alter the basic structure or the essential features of the Constitution. The Parliament, as senior advocate Nani Palkhivala said (at whose memorial lecture Chief Justice Chandrachud gave his reply) cannot cease to be a creature of the Constitution and become its master.

The basic structure or framework of the Constitution is its living spirit, holding up the body of its text. Its existence cannot be pin-pointed to any particular provision of the text. It is the “soul” of the Constitution, inextricably linked to the values enshrined in the Preamble, without which the document and the ideas that make it sacred would collapse. “A Constitution is a living system. But just as in a living, organic system, such as the human body, [where] various organs develop and decay, yet the basic structure or pattern remains the same with each of the organs having its proper function, so also in a Constitutional system the basic institutional pattern remains even though the different component parts may undergo significant alterations. For it is the characteristic of a system that it perishes when one of its essential component parts is destroyed,” the Supreme Court explained in the 703-page Kesavananda Bharati verdict of April 24, 1973.

Granville Austin’s *Working of a Democratic Constitution* said the basic structure doctrine “is fairly said to have become the bedrock of constitutional interpretation in India”. The Constitution Bench in the NJAC judgment encapsulated the principle behind the basic structure theory when it said “a change in a thing does not involve its destruction”.

Different judges on the Kesavananda Bharati Bench gave different examples of what constituted the ‘basic structure’ of the Constitution, including supremacy; the federal and secular character of the Constitution; separation of powers among the legislature, executive and judiciary; dignity of the individual; unity and integrity of the nation; sovereignty of India; democratic character of our policy; welfare state and egalitarian society; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and equality of status and opportunity among other essential features.

Laws in the Ninth Schedule

- **Keshavananda Bharati v. State of Kerala (1973):** The court upheld the judgement in Golaknath and introduced a new concept of “**Basic structure of the Indian Constitution**” and stated that, “all provisions of the constitution can be amended but those amendments which will abrogate or take away the essence or basic structure of constitution which included **Fundamental Rights are fit to be struck down by the court**”.
- **Waman Rao v. Union of India (1981):** In this important judgement, the SC ruled that, “those amendments which were made in the constitution before

24th April 1973 (date on which judgement in Keshavananda Bharati was delivered) are valid and constitutional but those which were made after the stated date are open to being challenged on the ground of constitutionality.

- **I R Coelho v. State of Tamil Nadu (2007):** It was held that every law must be tested under Article 14, 19 and 21 if it came into force after 24th April 1973.
  - In addition, the court upheld its previous rulings and declared that any act can be challenged and is **open to scrutiny by the judiciary if it is not in consonance with the basic structure of the constitution.**
  - In addition, it was held that if the constitutional validity of any law under the ninth schedule has been upheld before, in future it cannot be challenged again.

**The making of the Indian Constitution is described as an attempt towards 'social revolution'. Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

According to K. Santhanam, a prominent southern member of the Assembly, there were three revolutions at that time, the Political, Social and Economic revolution. The political revolution would end with independence, which happened on 15th of August 1947. The social revolution meant to get India out of medievalism based on birth, religion, custom, and community and reconstruct her social structure on modern foundations of law, individual merit, and secular education. The third revolution was an economic one, which was the transition from primitive rural economy to scientific and planned agriculture and industry.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar mentioned about 3 major threats or hindrances. They were —

- social and economic inequalities
- the use of the unconstitutional method
- hero-worship

He mentions the aforementioned threats in his speech — “Grammar Of Anarchy”. Nevertheless, he argues that A Constitution, if given in right hands, can create a revolutionary wave in society.

Albeit the Indian Constitution surviving the test of time has shown its adaptability, flexibility, and dynamism. Hence, the Constitution, a doctrine for good governance, can create social revolutions in the society that would benefit not only a particular section of the society but society as a whole, despite its unintended consequences. Quoting BR Ambedkar, “Political Democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of its social democracy.” Hence, the Constitution, along with delineating the powers to the three pillars can create Social Revolutions in a society.

The core commitment of the social revolution lies in PARTS III and IV, that is the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy respectively. They give strength to the pursuit of the social Revolution in India. A clear picture of social revolution can be seen in the directive principles. They aim at making the Indian people free in the positive sense that is to free from the abject misery and physical conditions that had prevented them from fulfilling their best of needs. With the coming of the constitution, several socialistic measures have been taken to reduce poverty, ignorance, inequality and to increase the standard of living, educational and health facilities.

Due to a social change or rather a revolution; there has been a complete abolition of the Zamindari system and the tenant system. According to the constitution, “land to the tiller” concept was established. India has adhered to the word Republic, by reserving the highest office of the state to the President. Universal Franchise or adult suffrage was granted which has revolutionized the concept of voting, where people who are above 18 can vote, irrespective of caste, creed, gender, etc. This acts as proof to the democratic structure. The concepts of liberty, equality, fraternity, justice have an implication on a broader level.

The constitution has guaranteed fundamental rights to its citizens by backing it with an integrated as well as independent judiciary system — courts. The practice of Untouchability is considered a crime under the purview of the constitution. Human Trafficking and forced labor have been declared unlawful and a punishable offense. The intended consequences of the Constitution included Free and compulsory education through the Right to Education Act, Right to work through the MGNREGA, Rights to Information Act, Lokpal, etc.

In The Constitution, Article 368(1) approves amendments in certain circumstances. Due to this provision, several Amendments have brought major social Revolutions in society. The concept of reservation for the SC, ST and OBC'S was implemented by the constitution to enhance egalitarian society, however, general categories are expressing dissent by questioning the concept of equality. There are also contradictory statements in the Constitution which are unintended. For instance, Article 19, talks about freedom of speech and expression but the clause (2) in Article 19 puts a limit on the freedom of speech. Predicting the uncertainty, unintended consequences and void that would be created due to the implementation of Constitution.

It underlines that the road to social revolution has been marked by a process where attempts to give effect to the idea of justice—social, economic, and political—as laid down in the Preamble have achieved a measure of success. If the Constitution, including the Preamble, is to be viewed as a contract that the people of India had entered into with the political leadership of the times and the judiciary being the arbitrator to ensure justice, it may be held that the scheme has worked.

**Ethnicity is the underlying cause which poses a great challenge in the resolution of the problems in the North-East region of India. Comment.(UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Northeast India is home to more than 50 ethnic rebel groups – a few demanding complete secessions from India, others fighting for ethnic identities and homelands and some running the insurgency as an industry to spin easy money without any political ideology.

Major ethnic conflicts in northeast

- Assam - The call for a separate state by Bodos led to violence by NDFB(S). In Assam conflict exists between indigenous Assamese and Bengali speaking Muslim immigrants which has led to NRC. Minor Karbi-Kuki clashes also exist.
- Nagaland - Insurgency started in the 1950s over sovereign Nagaland. India recognised a Naga state within the federal framework, but issues of Greater Nagalim comprising areas of Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and some portions of Myanmar remain.
- Manipur - Kukis, Meiteis, and Nagas are at loggerheads over the political future of Manipur.
- Mizoram- Ethnic tensions exist between the Mizos and Chakma communities. Also, conflict between Mizos and Brus has led to Bru refugees in Tripura.
- Tripura - Conflict between indigenous tribes and Bengali migrants
- Arunachal Pradesh - Between Chakma community and local tribes

Ethnicity as a challenge: Challenges posed due to ethnicity in the north eastern region include the ostracization of the Bru community, Naga vs Meity, Kuki conflict, the age-old Naga insurgency, . Ethnic conflicts in north eastern India are analysed through two approaches

1. Modernisation/ developmental/ nation building approach: Ethnic conflicts have risen because the new rising middle class has come in conflict with the traditional leadership. The scholars representing this school of thought are S.K.Chaube, B. P Singh and Myron Weimer.
2. Federation building approach: this school of thought says that problems arose because national leadership ignored the periphery and the smaller leadership. The scholars representing this school of thought are Sanjib Baruah and Sajal Nag.

Other factors aggravating the challenge are:

- Availability of arms due to the presence of porous borders
- Economic grievances- oil is a major issue of conflict in Nagaland, since the region sits on the multibillion-dollar oil reserve

However, the situation in recent years is alarming. Kidnappings, murders, extortions and ethnic violence have become everyday incidents in the state. It is argued that such incidents of insurgency, human rights abuses by government security forces and

insurgents, ethnic violence, and a steady decline of the economy are largely the outcome of the strong centralizing tendency of the Indian federation. It is also argued that the Bodo demand for the separate state of Bodoland is not quite reasonable. There are many hurdles that stand in the way of realization of this demand. Small population, absence of geographical contiguity and the opposition of Assamese sub-nationalism to further divide the state will be the strongest obstacles towards the creation of Bodoland as an independent state. However, a more decentralized federal structure may help to manage and solve such sub-national conflicts in a more efficient way

**Discuss the policy initiatives of the Fourteenth Finance Commission aimed towards promoting and strengthening agricultural development in India.(UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

14th Finance Commission (a Constitutional body formulated under Article 280 of the Indian Constitution and is constituted every five years by the President of India) indirectly tried to be coherent towards accumulating agricultural activities via gram panchayats, power subsidy, and other similar key metrics.

- Calculations for distribution of divisible proceeds are based on the **formula incorporating parameters of population** (1971), changes in population since then, income distance, forest cover and area. With income distance, it ensured that there can be equitable division of funds among states, by focussing on those states that are highly dependent on agriculture than those that are mechanized and heavily built on services.
- With the 2011 Census as population, the **tax devolution affected states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu** due to their family planning programmes and helped agronomic states like UP and Bihar, thus bolstering agricultural development.
- A basic grant and a **performance grant** — the ratio of basic to performance grant be 90:10, with respect to panchayats, thus, allowing a space to keep up the pace of agro-economy.
- On the grounds of forest cover and area, there is a space made up for agro[1]forestry activities that could have helped local self government (Urban forestry as part of the 18 subjects present under the 12th Schedule). In addition to this, it promotes tribal culture who focus upon indigenous production of agro-goods.
- The States will have to show results on the ground while implementing their own **exclusively designed development programmes** in health, education, agriculture, sanitation, housing and drinking water. In future they cannot really complain that the Center is not giving enough funds for these programmes.

- The 14th FC allocated **4.31% of its divisible pool** (Rs.2,87,436 crore) to the Local Government while allocating 30% (Rs.87,000 crores) to its municipalities.
- As per the report presented by 14th Finance Commission, between the time span of 2005-06 and 2011-12, **revenue expenditure by the Union Government on State List subjects (which includes agriculture) increased** from an average of 14% to 20%.
- Due to this reason, the Commission recommended that the Union government should move its focus from spending on overlapping functional domain to subjects that squarely fall in the functional domain of the Union, as in the Union List, and limit its intervention on the 'State List' and 'Concurrent List' on subjects of national priority **having a consideration of externality.**

**The Speaker represents the freedom and dignity of the House. Examine. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The **Office of the Speaker** occupies a pivotal position in our parliamentary democracy. It has been said of the Office of the Speaker that while the members of Parliament represent the individual constituencies, the Speaker represents the full authority of the House itself.

He/She symbolises the dignity and power of the House over which he/she is presiding. Therefore, it is expected that the holder of this Office of high dignity has to be one who can represent the House in all its manifestations.

However, over the last two decades, paralysing Parliament has become the standard operating procedure of every Opposition party. The misuse of the post of speaker in the functioning of India's Parliament — and state assemblies as well — is one among many reasons for falling levels and productivity of the legislatures.

**Importance of Speaker's Independence**

- **Supreme Authority:**In the Lok Sabha the Speaker is the supreme authority. He has vast powers, and it is his primary duty to ensure the orderly conduct of the business of the House.
- **Symbol of Nation's Freedom:**Jawaharlal Nehru referred to the Speaker as "the symbol of the nation's freedom and liberty" and emphasised that Speakers should be men of "outstanding ability and impartiality".
- **Guardian of the House:**MN Kaul and SL Shakhder referred to the speaker as the **conscience and guardian of the House.**
  - As the principal spokesperson of the Lok Sabha, the Speaker represents its **collective voice.**

**Roles and Responsibility of Speaker**

- It is the Speaker's duty to decide what issues will be taken up for discussion.



- **Interpretation:**He/She is the final interpreter of the provisions of the Constitution of India, the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of Lok Sabha and the parliamentary precedents, within the House.
- **Joint Sitting of Both Houses:**He/She presides over a **joint sitting** of the two Houses of Parliament.
- **Adjournment Motion:**He has the sole discretion to permit an adjournment motion to be tabled or to admit a calling attention notice, if the issue is of urgent public importance.
- **Money Bill:**He/She decides whether a bill is a **money bill** or not, and his/her decision on this question is final.
- **Disqualifying Members:**It is the speaker who decides the questions of disqualification of a member of the Lok Sabha, arising on the ground of defection under the provisions of the **Tenth Schedule**.
- **Constitution of Committees:**The Committees of the House are constituted by the speaker and function under the speaker's overall direction.
  - The Chairmen of all Parliamentary Committees are nominated by him/her.

#### **Issues with the Post of Speaker in Lok Sabha**

- **Favour Ruling Party:**Several judgments on the **anti-defection law** have been rendered by the Supreme Court. A common factor that shows up in these rulings is the **blatant, partisan conduct of speakers** in various state assemblies.
  - Over the last decade and more, an impartial and independent Speaker is difficult to find.
- **Party Interest Over National Interest:**The present practice of the Speaker continuing to be an active member of the ruling party has the inevitable result of his refusing to allow any debate or discussion that may be essential in national interest but may embarrass the ruling party.
- **Increased Disruption in Parliament:**Partisan conduct of the speaker and his apathy towards opposition parties' demands many times leads to constant disruption of Parliament by the Opposition.
  - Indeed, a Speaker who continues to be a member of the ruling party is like an umpire being appointed by the batting side.
  - The persistent disruption of Parliament causes extensive damage not only to the prestige of the House, but also frustrates the primary function of any legislature: The responsibility to make laws for the good governance of the country after careful debate and deliberation.
- **Bills are Not Referred to Committees:**The stalling of parliamentary proceedings has led to the passing of important bills in several sessions without any discussion.

- In the 2021 monsoon session, not a single bill was referred to any select committee.

### Looking ahead

- There must be two essential qualities in a Speaker: **Independence and impartiality.**
- **Independence of Speaker:** The separation of powers is part of the **basic structure** of our Constitution. If Parliament ceases to be relevant, the foundation of our democracy will progressively get weaker.
  - It is imperative that the Speaker of every legislature resigns from his party to honour his constitutional obligation of independence and impartiality.
  - For example, in 1967, late N Sanjiva Reddy resigned from his party when he became the Speaker.
- **Choose the Best Option:** Indeed, the option is a binary: Either allow Parliament and state legislatures to descend into terminal decline or make the Speaker truly independent and let every legislature perform its constitutional function of deliberating on matters of public importance and passing laws after proper debate.
- **Responsibility of Speaker to Ensure Continuation of Debates:** In 1951, a nine-judge bench of the Supreme Court (In Re Delhi Laws Act Case) held that essential legislative functions cannot be delegated to the bureaucracy; law-making must remain the domain of the legislature.
  - The speaker must ensure that the legislature meets continuously and debate the bills.
- As per **GV Mavalankar**, the first Speaker, once a person is elected Speaker, he should rise above parties, above politics. He should belong to all the members or belong to none.
  - He should hold the scales of justice evenly, irrespective of party or person.

The Office of the Speaker in India is a living and dynamic institution which deals with the actual needs and problems of Parliament in the performance of its functions.

The founding fathers of our Constitution had recognised the importance of this Office in our democratic set-up, and it was this recognition that guided them in establishing this Office as one of the prominent and dignified ones in the scheme of governance of the country.

**Examine the unique features of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment. Do you think this Amendment would contribute in achieving the goal of empowerment of marginalised sections of the society?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The Constitution of India defines Panchayats as institutions of local self-government in rural India. The 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts, 1992 have Constitutionalised the Panchayats and Municipalities and is a step in the direction of speeding up the process of decentralisation and giving strength as well as stability to local institutions. They are historic in nature as they have got the potential to transform the existing character of our democracy.

The **unique features** of the act are mentioned below:

- *Gram Sabha* - Gram Sabha refers to a constitutional village body that Article 243 (b) of the Indian Constitution has the power to perform the functions that are bestowed to this body by the State Legislature.
- *State Election Commission* - State Election Commission is the body that takes care of the independent elections which are conducted every five years, for electing the panchayat bodies in different territories of the state government. The responsibility of controlling, maintaining and preparation of the electoral rolls lies in the hands of the State Election Commission.
- *Three-tier system* - With this, Panchayati Raj Institutions would be set up at three levels of a particular state, village level, the intermediate level and the district levels. This provision is passed on through Article 243-B of the Indian Constitution.
- *Composition of the Panchayats* - With accordance to the Article 243-C of the Indian Constitution, the power of deciding the composition of the panchayat raj bodies will be decided by the State Legislature. The members in a particular body would depend on the population of that particular area.
- *Manner of Election* - Direct elections are to be conducted for electing the bodies at the village, intermediate and the district levels. However, the responsibility of the election and the choice of the chairman from that elected body is indirectly in the hands of the body elected through direct elections.
- *Reservation of the Seats* - The problem of non-representation of the weaker sections was also removed with this Amendment and thus, now these sections of the society had an equal representation in the PRIs of the various villages. It is Article 243-D that provided for the provisions related to the reservation of the backward classes of the society. Notably, the act has given or reserved 1/3rd seats in the Panchayat bodies for the women who belongs the the category of SC's and ST's.
- *Duration of Panchayats* - With Article 243E of the Indian Constitution, it is decided that the panchayat bodies are elected by direct elections for every five

years. In fact, if a new panchayati body is elected in between the tenure of the existing panchayat body, then the new ones will work for the remaining tenure of the existing panchayati raj body.

- *Duties of the Panchayats* - The State authority has the power to bestow various responsibilities that it thinks as fine to the local self-government. Further, the panchayat bodies makes and takes detailed care of the economic development and the social justice of the area which is accorded to it. The legislations made by the central and the state government are taken into consideration by the panchayats, who implements these policies at the ground level, thus increasing the reach of the policies.
- *Finance Commission* - The Governor of the state holds the responsibility of setting up a State Finance Commission to look after the finances of the local level areas. Further, it is this body, which decides the proper and necessary division of the taxes between the state authorities and the panchayat bodies. It is the Consolidated Funds of the State that funds the activities of the State authorities and the village level bodies under the state.

#### **Marginalised sections in the local bodies**

- *Social inclusion*: It is an important planning approach regarding the minimization of the traditional feeling of SCs & STs in our society, particularly in terms of keeping them away from society
- *Issues of human rights brought into focus*: With the new generation of local bodies starting to function there are several issues which have come to force having a bearing on human rights
- *Welfare of people*: The elected representatives of Scheduled caste and Scheduled Tribes are actively participating in the decision-making and implementation of different pro-poor programmes at the local level
  - The leaders have accorded priority to the developmental activities which would lead to the benefit of the community
- *Benefits of Article 243D*: the article specifies the mandatory rotation that is the structural constraints of reservation of streams from constituencies from one election to the next election, it has benefited the same group or community to contest in the neighbouring constituency under reservation
- *Empowerment of women*: the political empowerment has enhanced the social status of women enabling them to participate in all matters concerned with the society on an egalitarian basis

#### **Challenges**

- *Lack of meaningful stakes*: many chairperson and members of local bodies feel deprived not because of their direct or indirect elections but due to lack of meaningful stakes in the local governance
- *Continuance of traditionally dominant groups*: the continued dominance of traditional groups especially in the rural India and the constitutional provisions

of the amendment have further intensified the conflict ridden rural situation resulting in violation of human rights on mass scale including violence, bloodshed and loss of life

- There have been instances when widespread violence preceded or followed elections in most of the states and many seats were won without being contested.
- This shows that tussle of power exist not just between states and local bodies but also between traditionally dominant power structure and emerging new leadership from the marginalised groups at the grassroots
- The dominant groups vehemently oppose the weaker sections particularly Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes to exercise their constitutional rights by participating in the process of voting, campaigning, lobbying their own representatives etc
- *Institutional barriers:* rotation of seats, no confidence motion and two child norm are some of the major institutional barriers to the effective participation of marginalised
  - The instances of bringing no confidence motion against the scheduled caste leaders were common
  - The two child norm for Panchayat members is likely to discourage women, particularly those belonging to the marginalised sections from being candidates
- *Participation in decision making:* as the members of Gram Sabha the participation of dalits and other excluded sections has been nominal and proxy, it is mainly because of two reasons-
  - Existing social realities and power equations
  - Lack of awareness among the marginalised sections

### **Looking ahead**

- *Social justice committee:* it should be legislated to be an integral part of each tier Panchayati Raj institutions in all states of the country to fulfil the twin purposes of economic development and social justice
- *Training of government officials:* the efforts should be made for sensitization and training of government officials especially at district and block levels to the constitutional requirement of the obligations to work for the elected representatives from the marginalised and excluded sections of the society

The marginalised sections themselves are participating in the decision-making and implementing process particularly in developing their communities and also their localities, though there are some issues which need to be addressed. A positive step in this direction would give more impetus to the empowerment of the excluded sections of the society.

**Discuss the composition and functions of the Inter-State Council. To what extent has this body been successful in achieving its objectives? (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- An Inter-State Council (ISC) is established in accordance with Article 263 of the Indian Constitution “if it appears to the President at any time that the institution of a Council would be in the public interests”.
- The council was established on May 28, 1990, by presidential order, in response to the Sarkaria Commission’s recommendation.
- It is a constitutional, advisory, and quasi-federal body. It will be chaired by the prime minister.
- For the first time, it was established in 1990 by presidential order under the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Council should convene at least three times per year.

#### **Composition**

- PM as chairman
- CM of all the states
- CM of UTS having legislative assemblies
- Administrators of UTs not having legislative assemblies
- Governors of states under the President’s rule
- Six Central cabinet ministers, including the home minister, are to be nominated by the PM
- Five ministers of the cabinet rank are permanent invitees to the council.

#### **Significance of the Inter-State Council**

- In a decentralized polity where the interaction between several levels of government is significant, the interstate council is an essential preliminary step.
- The Inter-State Council is involved in a variety of disputes between two governments. It helps in resolving disputes.
- It plays a role as a forum for conversation and debate. And as a result, it holds central and state governments more responsible for their activities.
- It provides an ideal environment for discussing the needs of the people, dealing with their issues, and making decisions that benefit everyone.
- The council aids in bridging the gap in trust between the federal government and the states. It served as a safety valve if not always a problem solver.
- Inter-State Council has constitutional support, unlike similar center-state collaboration platforms like NITI Aayog, which gives the states a stronger footing.

- The necessity for conversation becomes more critical when many political parties are in charge of the federal government and individual states. States can voice their issues on this platform.
- The council also serves as a vehicle for fostering trust between the two administrative units, much like interactions between states, the centre, and union territories.
- In the event of a crisis, the Inter-State Council aids in maintaining amicable relations between the two. The center must pay attention to the demands of the states.
- The Centre has the authority to engage with other governments, and sponsoring organizations. Inter-State Council will give them a platform to do so.

### **Functions of Inter-State Council**

- Investigating and offering guidance regarding potential issues between the States.
- Create a solid institutional foundation for cooperative federalism in the nation. And by holding regular meetings, activate the council and zonal councils.
- It looks at and talks about issues that interest all the states in the union.
- It makes recommendations on any such topic for better policy concerning that topic.
- Creates a sound system to track the application of the recommendations they make.

### **Issues with the Inter-State Council**

- One of the most significant issues is the council's underutilization. In the last 22 years of its existence, the Council has only convened 10 meetings and has moved slowly toward resolving inter-State conflicts.
- It is only a consultative organization with no obligations to the state or the federal government. As a result, governments frequently disregard their advice.
- It lacks the autonomy necessary for efficient operation as well as technical and managerial professionals. The lack of civil society participation in the council makes it less cooperative and participatory.
- There is no permanent constitutional body like the Inter-state council. If it seems to the President that the establishment of such a council will serve the interests of the public, he may do so at any moment.

### **Looking ahead**

- The purpose of the Inter-State Council was to coordinate between States on matters such as river water conflicts, issues with the placement, financing, and implementation of large-scale projects, ecosystem management, the growth of tourism, etc. On these fronts, the council has not been able to make much progress. As a result, it needs to be strengthened to be able to carry out its purpose.

- To properly address the issues and challenges relevant to the current times, the council must meet frequently and for a set period of time.
- Instead of being just an advising body, the council should have additional power and jurisdiction under Article 263.
- In addition to the All-India Services cadre, the council should have professionals from the fields of law, management, finance and economics, and political science.
- One of the key recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission was that the council be constituted as a permanent body.
- It is necessary to first establish a regular meeting schedule for the Inter-State Council in order for it to become the main institution for settling inter-state disputes.
- It needs to be strengthened as a platform for exchanges between the centre and the states on not just administrative, but also political and legislative issues.
- Inter-State Council should give more representation to NGOs, the corporate sector, and subject-matter experts to reflect their representations.

**The Preamble of the Indian Constitution reflects itself as a 'social contract'.  
Elucidate. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations,  
Paper 1)**

Social contract theory states that people live together in a society in accordance with the mutually agreed agreement that establishes moral and political rules of behavior for collective peaceful existence saving people from anarchy and insecurity of the state of nature.

While Hobbesian contract favors absolute sovereignty like monarchic kings, Lockean contract favors a liberal democracy of limited government through constitutional checks and balances Indian constitution reflects the Lockean version of Contract.

In 1950 we the people of India collectively agreed to be bound by the contract among ourselves. This special contract specifies how we Indians live together by bounded rules. The consequences of breaking this rules have been dealt with in our constitution. "Rule of law", Protection of Individual Rights, and Liberty were the main focus of John Locke and Indian constitution too.

Our social contract says in its preamble that we are sovereign, socialist, democratic and republic and we give ourselves Justice (social and economic), equality (of opportunity), Freedom (of speech and expression) and fraternity. Various organs of the government - legislature, Executive and the judiciary exist harmoniously with due checks and balances to protect the citizens of India through limited government.



**How far is it correct that the regional parties have strengthened Indian democracy and federal system? Substantiate your answer with suitable examples. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Regional political parties play a major role in strengthening federalism in a democratic country like India.

#### Strengthening Democracy

- Regional parties take regional issues to the national stage and find a solution.
- They have different agendas and hence the Parliament of India is diverse.
- They form an alliance with the National party and thus help in the formation of the Coalition Government if such a situation arises.
- Many social groups and communities represent their demands through regional parties.
- They assist the Union Government in solving local issues thus sharing the burden.
- The Regional parties check the National Government in the execution of its power thereby strengthening federalism and democracy.

#### Strengthening Federalism

- The need for a truly decentralized federal polity has been a constant demand of the states in the post- 1967 period. The changing nature of the party system and the growing importance of regional parties have federalized the working of Indian democracy to a large extent. In mid 1970s, sub-regional cultures started at the state level. It was difficult for Congress to take care of all provinces and their local issues, as different issues of local nature had begun to raise their heads. For the common masses, their local leaders were very closer to them than the national leaders, and their local leaders were more concerned with local issues than the national.
- The regional leaders and local leaders came forward to assert their regional issues and play the game of regional politics, and to build a close relationship between state and society for the people's welfare. The growth of regional parties, must, therefore be seen as mainly the out-come of over-centralization by national leaders and government. The regional parties have been grown in strength in Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Maharastra, Sikkim, Punjab, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and other states of the Union. Their distinguished feature is their cultural regional identity, their linguistic opposition to in most of the non Hindi states, political commitment to greater regional autonomy and focus on state- specific or regional specific.
- The new role of regional parties has transformed Indian federalism beyond recognition. Once those states were dominated by the Union, became asserted themselves against the super-power of Union Government. They started to

bargain with Union government for their state interest. For example, the two Dravidian state parties DMK and AIADMK are alternatively made alliances with the two all-India national parties, Congress and BJP and every time they are extracting some price in the form of project or larger grants for the State.

- The Prime Minister is no more as powerful as they used to be under One-party dominant system. The President and the Governors are no more rubber stamps endorsing the dictates of the ruling party; rather they are conscious of their constitutional roles. The new role of regional parties has transformed Indian federalism significantly. Since 1990s have seen the emergence of the state as the epic-Centre of Indian Politics. The regional parties came to play major roles at the national level and also the key players in coalition government. This kind of change in political parties in India, reflect the drastic change in politics of federalism, shifting from dominant federalism to cooperative Federalism.

**Discuss the main limitations of the comparative method to the study of Political Science. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Comparative methods have been employed for both quantitative and qualitative studies of such diverse phenomena as language, political organisation, economic relations, religion, myth, kinship, marriage, and the family. Three strategies are used in comparative methodologies: illustrative comparison, complete or universe comparison, and sample based comparisons.

#### Limitations

1. In other subfields of political science, researchers may commonly work within well-defined general research programmes that provide clear base-level assumptions for formulating testable theories. But in comparative politics, analysts usually do not draw on such well defined research programmes.
2. Instead, they find theoretical inspiration in a wide variety of general orientations-strategic choice models, state-centric approaches, patron client models, theories of international dependency, and many more – that emphasise certain key causal factors but that lack the all encompassing generality that we normally associate with a Lakotosian research programme.
3. Comparative Politics tend to suspend normative evaluation of the world in favour of describing the political world and explaining why it is the way it is. However, it is important to remember that comparativists do this not because they lack preferences or are unwilling to make normative judgements, but rather because as social scientists they are committed first to offering systematic explanations for the world as it is.

4. So they try to draw a realistic rather than normative model. Comparativists may disagree about whether the acquired knowledge may help make the world a better place or help us make better moral judgements about politics, but they usually agree that the job of describing and explaining is big enough, and perhaps some of the deeper philosophical meanings of our findings can be left to the political theorists.
5. So, for example, rather than evaluating whether democracy is good or not, comparativists spend a great deal of time trying to understand and identify the general conditions-social, economic, ideological, institutional, and international – under which democracies initially appear, become unstable, collapse into dictatorship, and sometimes re emerge as democracies.
6. Furthermore, some times in the Comparative Politics it has been tried to draw parallel between two or more incomparable themes leading to vague conclusions. But the most troublesome weakness of comparative politics is the ambiguity of the area of study to be covered under

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**What are the main challenges faced by the developing countries in the era of globalisation?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Ronald Robertson recognized globalization “as a concept that refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole”.

Globalisation is based on the principal of universalisation as against protectionism. It is guided by the rationale of capitalism which calls for free market, free competition and survival of the fittest. The capitalist logic has got a big boost by the developments in the field of computers, space and communication which have together made every part of the world easily accessible. Globalization, both as an ideology and process, has become the dominant political, economic and cultural force in the 21st century and impacted the role of state in a significant manner.

**Change in Political role**

Globalization has changed the role of the state politically because of strengthened interstate relationships and dependence on one another. States were created to be sovereign but now, due to globalization, often give their sovereignty away to ‘pooling’ in conventions, contracting, coercion and imposition. This has led to increasingly similar jurisdictions across states and to power being seen as an economic rather than political

progress because states now make political progression and regression together, causing states to become more developmental.

### **Change in Economic role**

- Globalized economic changes have a substantial effect on the state's role. The global economy has been created by online banking, stock markets and, largely, global franchises. The state no longer controls currency because of intangible assets and importation as well as online and electronic banking and a shared currency between many states, like in much of Europe.
- International organizations like WTO have a dominant role in influencing countries to adopt certain market initiatives.

### **Social dimension**

- Social globalisation has created greater social awareness of human rights violations, child labour abuses and corruption. These challenges, in turn, affect public administration and the role of government. The major change in the configuration of the public-private spheres in favour of globalising the corporate sector has changed the leading role of government
- in the allocation of resources, the distribution of wealth, the stabilisation of the economy and economic growth.

### **Advantages**

- By economic integration, it helps the government of developing countries to deal with major problems by increasing their economic growth, solving the poverty problems etc.
- The model of state and its functioning also evolves as a result of the free flow of political ideas.
- The government takes policy initiatives in the field of health, education and technology which are the direct result of globalization.
- Recent verdicts on the rights of the LGBTQ community in India are the perfect example of the changing role of the state in providing rights to its citizens.

### **Disadvantages**

- Matters related to India's subsidy regime at WTO shows too much interference by the dominant powers at the world stage.
- Globalization facilitates the spread of new diseases in developing nations by travellers between countries, and states in developing countries have to rely on developed countries due to lack of capabilities of tackling these problems.
- Decrease in skilled labor in the developing countries because of easy mobility of skilled manpower to other countries having higher opportunities.
- Globalisation has led to economic inequality in developing countries.

Globalization has thus changed the role of the state in many ways: politically through interdependence and independence of states, socially through the problems and threats of terrorism and deadly diseases, technologically through the media and internet and economically through the change from national to global economies. Globalization is

often seen to have lowered the importance of the state, but in the end, the states that will remain the most successful in the face of globalization is those who adapt to the changes their role makes.

**Discuss the commonalities between the Marxist and Realist approach to the study of International Politics.(UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- It has often been claimed that Marx, when writing Capital, followed critical realist principles before critical realism even existed. Marxists have linked the origin and development of imperialism with the advancement of capitalism. 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.
- In contrast to pure Realists, Neo-realists see power as something which does not solely stem from the degree of military capabilities but instead stems from the accumulated capabilities of the state. Nations at the top rank of the world order become hegemon, able to influence the policies of other nations in their vicinity. As stated by Kenneth Waltz, the forming of and the effectiveness of the United Nations, NATO and other international institutions, rests on the ability of the global hegemon(s) (i.e.) the United States to support them.
- Similar views for the necessity of hegemonic powers can be seen in Marxist works. Drawing upon Antonio Gramsci's conceptualisation of the hegemony of the ruling classes via "spontaneous consent" and the need for a counter-hegemonic struggle, Canadian Marxist Robert Cox developed the idea and applied it to world politics. Cox argued that hegemonies were essential to maintain stability in the international sphere. Put clearly in 'The Globalisation of World Politics,' "according to Cox, successive dominant powers in the international system have shaped a world order that suits their interests."
- The similarities lying between Marxism and Realism are hence:
  1. The mode of power maximization lies in both the forms of Marxist and Realist traditions. For example, realists seek hard power and marxist seek economic power.
  2. The objectivity of both theories is to display that there are ways to create some more powerful states and some less powerful states.
  3. Both hold the idea of anarchy existing in the international system.

4. Both Marxism and Realism consolidates the notion of colonialism through establishing economic interests of big powers.
5. Realism and Marxism both drift away from the ideology of idealism and liberalism theory of international relations.

**Bipolar structure of the world is more stable than the multipolar one. Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- International relations theorists belonging to the neo-realist school of thought suggested the 'poles' systems as a way to understand the international system and the interaction between states. According to this theory, the international system is considered bi-polar when there are two dominant adversarial superpowers and multi-polar if there are numerous powerful states (or organisations) that share power. The most significant example of a bi-polar system is the Cold War that dominated the international system for the second half of the twentieth century. Multipolarity is much more frequent, as it was the prevalent system both before and after the Cold War.
- The First World War came as a result of the division of the superpowers of the multi-polar system into two major camps and the fact that these powers were reluctant to abandon their allies and their interests. Similarly, it can be argued that the Second World War was also a result of an unstable multi-polar system in which it was not clear which states were willing to join in an alliance to check the growing power of Nazi Germany. Contrary to both of those multi-polar situations, the bi-polar Cold War was 'fought' by only two actors: the USA and the USSR.
- these two superpowers were much more powerful than any other state, ally or foe. They were powerful enough to ignore the demands of their allies and, instead, independently track their own foreign policy towards each other. Alliances were not tilting the balance significantly – even when France and China (both nuclear states and relatively strong allies) abandoned NATO and denounced the USSR respectively, the behaviour of the two superpowers was not altered.
- In a similar way, the fact that the alliances were also separated by ideological differences offered no opportunity for a change of sides, which meant that both superpowers had almost perfect information of the other and of its allies. This meant that both camps knew about the plans of the other side and this, in turn, implied both sides had an awareness of the other side's 'red lines'. Almost perfect information and more or less consistent behaviour on the part of the USA and the USSR meant that they could avoid serious miscalculations, a usual cause of wars.

- The rising tension in times of crises helped the superpowers to understand the other actor's tolerance. The most useful illustration of this is the behaviour of the superpowers following the Cuban missile crisis, which was arguably a turning point in the Cold War.
- Hence despite the fact that the Cold War was a period where antagonism and tension were high, it seems that at least the bi-polarity of the international scene was more predictable and stable compared to the multi-polar nature of previous eras. There was at least relative transparency and less complexity compared to the systems that dragged the world into two major wars (the World Wars).
- With the collapse of the Soviet Union, many thought that nuclear war was no longer a threat and money would be diverted to economic and social development schemes instead. The post-Cold War era created some immediate gains for the international community – the apartheid in South Africa was dissolved and peace negotiations resumed in Northern Ireland and the Middle East. But the bloody conflicts in Bosnia, Angola, Kosovo, Congo, Chechnya and elsewhere resulted in a surge of ethnic division. It was a desperate and angry form of ethnic hatred in a highly unstable global system, with conflicts resulting in genocides and ethnic cleansing. Ethnic and religious identification, an issue lying dormant during the Cold War, was woken up by the instability of the new system as the remaining Cold War superpower USA failed to act as an international peacekeeper.
- In the post-Cold War world, many states or groups choose to defy both the remaining superpowers (the USA, the EU etc.) and also international organisations like the UN. This, in turn, creates a global uncertainty, as it seems that superpowers can no longer control states that have a tendency towards becoming more 'rogue'. Hence it is said that bi-polar systems seem more stable than multi-polar systems and the Cold War, although not completely safe, was in many ways more stable than today's multi-polar international system.

**National Interest is an essentially contested concept. Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- National interest shows the aspirations of the state, it can be used also operationally, in application to the actual policies and programmes pursued; it can be used polemically in political argument, to explain, rationalise or criticise. Above all, all statesmen are governed by their respective national interest. It is the purpose of foreign policy to conduct foreign relations to achieve national interest to the maximum extent. But it is not easy to determine exactly what a nation's national interest is.



- Frankel divides the various attempts to define national interest into two broad categories objective and subjective approaches. The first category embraces those approaches that view national interest as a concept that can be defined or examined with some objectively definable criteria. The second category contains those definitions which seek to interpret national interest as a constantly changing pluralistic set of subjective references.
- The definition of national interest relies on the stand taken by a particular person about various pairs of extremes such as ideals versus self-interest, idealists versus realists, short-term and long-term concerns, and traditional and individual concerns.
- The task of defining national interest becomes more cumbersome as the domestic and international activities overlap. It is appropriate if national interest is seen as a synthesis of the objective and subjective approaches. In most nation-states, the iron law of oligarchy is prevalent, implying that governmental decisions are made only by a few men and women.
- These decisions are often taken in such a way as to promote the national interest as this notion is perceived and defined by the decision-makers; at best, they are justified by being related to the national interest. A renowned British scholar of international relations, Hugh Section Watson, has recommended that the expression of national interest is a misnomer as governments, not nation-states, make foreign policy.
- One cannot be more specific in explaining the meaning and content of national interest as both its value roots and the process of its synthesis are peculiar to the history, traditions, and institutional make-up of a country. One can, however, be quite clear about its function. Lerche and Said explain: As the overriding purpose governing the state's relationship with the outside world, it serves two purposes. It gives policy a general orientation towards the external environment. More importantly, it serves as the controlling criterion of choice in immediate situations. The dominant view of national interest, in other words, dictates the nature of a state's long-term effort in foreign policy and governs what it does in a short-term context.

**How has electoral democracy augmented the participation of people in the democratic process ? (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Democracy implies the utilisation of electoral processes to decide which citizens will be entrusted with the basic tasks of government.

Regardless of whether the political system is presidential or parliamentary, the elected representatives exercise the legislative and executive powers (the judicial power as well in some systems following the common law tradition), subject to controls established by the constitution, observing fundamental rights and public freedom and with the limits that determine the separation between the powers and the constitutional form of each one of them.

Electoral democracy augmented the participation of people in the democratic process:

- *Empowers the citizens*: All citizens are able to intervene in the political decisions by means of representatives elected by universal, free, equal, direct and secret suffrage. In short, the establishment of the principle 'one person, one vote'.
- *Peaceful Transfer of power*: Elections facilitate peaceful transfer of power from one political party or one group of political parties to another and legitimize the working of the government by justifying the authority of representatives to lead people.
- Regular electoral competition provides *incentives to political parties* and leaders. They know that if they raise issues that people want to be raised, their popularity and chances of victory will increase in the next elections. But if they fail to satisfy the voters with their work they will not be able to win again. So, if a political party is motivated only by desire to be in power, then it will be forced to serve the people.
- *Political participation* of the underprivileged is closely linked to the success of inclusive policies of the government and shows an individual's faith in the state. The belief that one can influence political matters, also called political efficacy by scholars.
- *The rise in the political participation* of the underprivileged shows that democracy has an opportunity for participation in these regions. But it also depends on the frequency of elections, the development of civil society organizations, and the presence of a political environment that permits free expression.
- *Margins of victory* in state elections provide another important measure of *democratic health*, as persistent landslide victories for incumbents or political parties may suggest a lack of democratic accountability or partisan gerrymandering of districts.

Democracy is hence not an end, but a means for a society to achieve its highest potential. Expanding the public's voice is essential to have a democratic polity and

broadly improves the quality of governance. The dilemma for democracy is to embrace a more active public, while ensuring the equality of political voice at the same time.

**Discuss the role of social movements in strengthening the democratic processes in developing societies. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1972) defines a social movement as a variety of collective attempts to bring about change. The attempts may be to bring about change in certain social institutions and to create an entirely new social order. Or the attempts may represent a socially shared demand for change in some aspects of the social order. Turner and Kilhan define a social movement as “a loosely organized effort by a large group of people to achieve a particular goal within the limit of constitution.”

**Strengthening the democratic processes in developing societies:**

- Contemporary times reflect the rise of Social Movements and its increased institutionalization, so much so that David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow herald the rise of Social Movement Society.
- New issues of ecology, feminism, ecofeminism, human rights shaped by postmodernism and post industrial aspirations are on the rise. The third world/ developing countries experience both old and new movements while the developed world is primarily the site of the new ones.
- The social movements are led by activists from the middle or upper class and are narrow, local, transient and sectarian. They claim autonomy from political parties and are led by NGOs. Movements such as Yellow Vests Movement (France), Occupy Wall Street highlight the growing frustration with representative politics
- Alan Rosenthal notes that across the world, there is increased participation but a decline of representative democracy. Commentators such as Keane, Pierre Rosanvallon, Brito Viera and Runciman have remarked that the present moment is “post-representative”.
- Empirically, voter turnout, party membership, trust in politicians, and interest in politics is reducing. Such assertions mean traditional channels of representative democracy are falling short to address issues and social movements are methods to express such problems. At the same time the increased usage of the internet, rise of career activists point to the independent rise of new movements.
- In developing societies old and new social movements coexist. E.g Environmental movement in India reflects coexistence, like the Chipko

movement was less for protection of forests and more for the bread and butter matter (livelihood).

- The Arab Spring can be treated as a new social movement shaped with aspirations for democracy and good governance led by educated middle classes in the Arab world.

However, there appears to be a widening gap between the policy preferences of voters and the electoral manifestos of parties, indicating the decline of political parties. As a consequence, we also witness the rise of social movements in the past few decades and the rise of anti-politics movements. These movements are seen as an alternative for the constituencies whose collective interests are not being represented by established parties. They focus on social change through both community actions and shaping the formal political process.

Even now, parties continue as vital sinews connecting the organs of government; as E. E. Schattschneider has famously said, "Political parties created modern democracy, and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties." To Jurgen Habermas, social movements in western countries were related to achievements of individual rights whereas in non-western countries it is more concerned with collective rights. Hence it has played a constructive role in strengthening democratic processes in developing societies.

**Describe the composition of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Discuss its voluntary jurisdiction. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- ICJ was established in 1945 by the United Nations charter and started working in April 1946.
- It is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, situated at the Peace Palace in The Hague (Netherlands).
- Unlike the six principal organs of the United Nations, it is the only one not located in New York (USA).
- It settles legal disputes between States and gives advisory opinions in accordance with international law, on legal questions referred to it by authorized United Nations organs and specialized agencies.
- It has 193 state parties.

**Structure and Composition of ICJ**

- The Court is composed of **15 judges**, who are elected for terms of office of nine years by the **United Nations General Assembly** and the **Security Council**. These organs vote simultaneously but separately.

- In order to be elected, a candidate must receive an absolute majority of the votes in both bodies.
- In order to ensure a measure of continuity, one third of the Court is elected every three years and Judges are eligible for re-election.
- ICJ is assisted by a **Registry**, its administrative organ. Its official languages are **English** and **French**.
- The 15 judges of the Court are distributed in following regions:
  - Three from Africa.
  - Two from Latin America and Caribbean.
  - Three from Asia.
  - Five from Western Europe and other states.
  - Two from Eastern Europe.
- Unlike other organs of international organizations, the **Court is not composed of representatives of governments**. Members of the Court are **independent judges** whose first task, before taking up their duties, is to make a solemn declaration in open court that they will exercise their powers impartially and conscientiously.
- In order to guarantee his or her independence, no Member of the Court can be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other Members, he/she no longer fulfils the required conditions. This has in fact never happened.

#### Voluntary Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ)

- The jurisdiction which the parties by virtue of an agreement or treaty confer on Court is called Voluntary Jurisdiction. In other words, when the parties to a treaty or a contract stipulate that if any dispute arises in respect of such treaty or contract the dispute shall be referred to the Court for settlement, this type of jurisdiction of the Court is said to be voluntary jurisdiction.
- So, in voluntary jurisdiction the parties to a dispute give their assent for the jurisdiction of the Court in advance.

**Critically examine the rise of People's Republic of China (PRC) as a great power and its implications on Asian Political order. (UPSC CSE Mains 2022 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

In recent years, China has undergone a rapid rise as a global power, both economically and militarily. This rise has had significant implications for the international system and the balance of power among states.

**Factors contributing to China's rise as a global power**

- **Economic Power:** China's economic power has grown significantly in recent years. The country's GDP has grown at an average annual rate of approximately 10% since 1978.
  - This has made China the second-largest economy in the world, behind only the United States. China's economic growth has been driven by a combination of factors, including a large and growing domestic market, a relatively low-cost labor force, and a focus on export-oriented manufacturing.
- **Military Power:** In addition to its economic power, China has also grown significantly in terms of military power. China has the largest active military in the world, and it has been investing heavily in its military capabilities in recent years.
  - It has modernized its military and developed advanced weapons systems, including aircraft carrier, stealth fighters, and aircraft drones.
  - Additionally, China has been expanding its global presence through its Belt and Road Initiative, which aims to connect Asia, Europe, and Africa through a network of infrastructure projects.
- **Proactive Diplomacy:** The third factor is its diplomatic efforts, China has been actively engaging in diplomacy, building alliances and partnerships, and working to shape the global order in its favor.
  - This has included efforts to strengthen relations with other countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as working to establish itself as a major player in international organizations such as the United Nations.

**Implications of rise of China**

The rise of China's economic power has had significant implications for the international system. For example, China is now the largest trading partner of many countries, including the United States.

- **The United States and China both see South Asia as important, although neither considers the region its top geopolitical priority.** They consider other areas, such as East Asia, more central to advancing their interests. Still, they recognize that South Asia's strategic geography and growing population, along with nuclear and terrorism risks, merit sizable allocations of attention and resources. South Asia is a key area in regard to Washington's goal of building a free and open Indo-Pacific, and Beijing's of revising the Eurasian political and security order and becoming the leading power in Asia. The

emerging period of Sino-American strategic competition, which could last for decades, is likely to influence both the U.S. and Chinese assessments of and engagements in South Asia.

- **U.S.-China bilateral competition and confrontation make cooperation in South Asia**, including during major crises, substantially more difficult. Both countries nominally have a mutual interest in countering violent extremism, ensuring strategic stability and crisis management between India and Pakistan, and promoting regional economic development. Yet bilateral tension and mutual suspicion about each other's activities in the region restrict the prospects for sustained cooperation beyond rhetoric. On crisis management, nonproliferation, and terrorism in particular, differing viewpoints about culpability—China mostly taking Pakistan's side and the United States often agreeing with India—will also make joint efforts difficult to agree on and implement. On Afghanistan, China and the United States have common goals of stopping the spread of international terrorism and reaching a political settlement to bring an end to decades of violent conflict, though how they try to achieve these goals differs in practice. Further, Chinese atrocities targeting Uyghurs and other ethnic minority groups in Xinjiang, carried out in the name of countering terrorism, severely restrict possibilities for productive counterterrorism cooperation until Beijing changes its approach to align with global human rights norms.
- **The China-Pakistan axis is strengthening, which has a detrimental effect on governance** and economic reform efforts in Pakistan given the concomitant lack of transparency and accountability. Chinese-funded development projects are hardly the sole cause of problems in Pakistan, but BRI projects, in working outside established standards, can exacerbate underlying weaknesses in governance and contribute to an already unsustainable debt load. Although it wants to avoid taking on the burden of Pakistan's problems, Beijing is also heavily invested in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) as the potential crown jewel of the BRI and an overland transit route to the Indian Ocean. The CPEC faces many obstacles and its visions remain largely unfulfilled, but China's commitment remains durable, particularly given the reputational risks of letting the BRI's flagship corridor fail and Beijing's increasing determination to balance India. The relationship is also buoyed by military ties and diplomatic support, which further entrench the army's role in Pakistan's government and strengthen illiberalism within Pakistan.
- **China's approach toward India-Pakistan disputes increasingly favors Pakistan** rather than adopts a more neutral stance, in part because backing Pakistan helps China constrain Indian power in Asia. Especially in the last year, China has doubled down on its support for Pakistan's position on Kashmir. Historically, Beijing's position has ranged from constructive neutrality to active support for Pakistan. Some worry that China might even abet Pakistan in future crises to pressure India and to advance Beijing's territorial claims. Meanwhile, the United States has mostly backed India's position in flare-ups along the Line of Control and New Delhi's responses to terrorist attacks in India traced to Pakistan. Overall, Beijing has only weak incentives to support comprehensive India-Pakistan conflict resolution. Keeping the situation at a low boil serves Beijing's aims better by forcing India to divide its resources and

attention and to fear the specter of a two-front war. China's support for Pakistan's territorial claims also bolsters its own. For its part, Pakistan gains the support of a powerful partner in China as well as development financing that Islamabad's shaky economic situation and political instability would otherwise make nearly impossible, barring major governance reforms.

- **The Sino-Indian border area will continue to be a major flash point.** The summer 2020 border crisis and deaths of twenty Indian and an unknown number of Chinese troops in Ladakh put New Delhi's challenge of balancing cooperation and competition in stark relief and will limit China's ability to pursue opportunities in India for years. China and India are unlikely to make progress on any final resolution of their border disputes in the near or medium term. Effective protocols for border patrol operations and crisis management can help mitigate tensions but will not stop flare-ups altogether. China's propensity for "gray zone" provocations and the prominence of territorial issues in both countries' politics mean a process to delimit and demarcate the border would face huge obstacles.
- **China-India relations will become more competitive, and the pair,** Asia's two biggest powers, will struggle to cooperate throughout the Indo-Pacific region. Beijing wants to expand its influence in South Asia for its own sake and to force India to devote time and resources to its neighborhood rather than to project influence into East Asia. For its part, New Delhi worries about encirclement by Beijing. China seeks access to India's large domestic market and potential for economic growth. To drive economic cooperation, China has relied on leader-level engagement, direct investments, and low-cost consumer and industrial goods. However, recent Indian moves to restrict access for Chinese firms, particularly in the technology industry, show deepening concerns about the economic, political, and security effects of engagement with China and a determination to avoid dependency on Beijing. Policymakers in New Delhi will continue to seek new leverage in bilateral relations and resist further erosion of India's traditionally dominant position in South Asia, although the economic downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic poses a major challenge.
- **China's growing focus on a blue-water navy** and power projection to the "far seas" has followed its economic interests. The Indian Ocean is currently a "far sea" for China, but China aims to make it more of an intermediate one. This enhancement of global reach would be akin to the second island chain in East Asia, the end goal being to project influence all the way to Europe. Over time, China's geopolitical objective may expand to matching or supplanting the United States and India as the most capable maritime force in the Indian Ocean region. That eventuality raises concerns about freedom of navigation in the Indian Ocean given China's rejection of conventional interpretations of international maritime law and generally assertive behavior in the South and East China Seas. Moreover, People's Liberation Army forces could develop the ability to block the flow of U.S. and allied forces into East Asia during a conflict.
- **Smaller South Asian states—which have their own interests** and the agency to pursue them—both face competitive pressures to align with powerful states and have more opportunities to play major powers off one another. The fluid contest for influence among and between South Asian states makes it difficult



for Washington to maintain good relations with countries across the entire region simultaneously. To some extent, countries such as Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh see engagement with China as a hedge against Indian dominance. They will not welcome U.S. overtures viewed as a proxy for Indian interests. India is historically wary of U.S. bilateral cooperation with neighboring states, but transparency and coordination have improved in conjunction with an overall improvement in U.S.-India relations. South Asian states are also using the U.S.-China rivalry to avoid criticism of their own authoritarian or antidemocratic excesses by threatening to deepen ties with Beijing.

- **Smaller South Asian states place a premium on economic development**, and China offers an enticing option but is not necessarily the top choice. Considerations about the risks and rewards of projects carried out under the auspices of the BRI are complex. On the one hand, accelerated project timelines and minimal oversight can provide local leaders with rapid and visible progress they can take credit for—sometimes lining their pockets in the process. On the other hand, those projects provide Beijing with major levers of influence, sometimes carry risks to sovereignty, and often add to already heavy public debt burdens. Political calculations play a major role as well. China's appeal lies in offering development financing where the strings attached are related to Beijing's concerns, such as political issues like Hong Kong, contracting with Chinese firms, adopting Chinese standards, and gaining strategic access. Otherwise, Chinese development offerings are agnostic or welcoming toward illiberal governments and come with few if any requirements related to transparency, anticorruption, human rights, or environmental and social sustainability. Those arrangements are designed to contrast with the liberalizing conditions that accompany Western development assistance. To the extent that China's infrastructure investment spurs regional integration in a transparent way and at a sustainable cost, it can be a genuine common good. At the same time, however, debt distress will be a major concern across the region, particularly given the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. South Asian nations will be looking for options and relief from China, the United States, and multilateral financial institutions. Debt suspension measures that G20 states, including China, recently committed to provide a good start. But monitoring implementation details will be crucial, and additional actions will likely prove necessary to ensure South Asian economies can avoid the worst potential outcomes.
- **China seeks stability in Afghanistan** to deny safe havens for anti-China violent extremist groups but refrains from intervening directly to achieve that goal. Similarly, Beijing supports the ongoing peace process but focuses on aligning its efforts with other major powers and regional players, including Russia, Pakistan, and the United States. Chinese efforts have been confined to supporting, mediating, and facilitating rather than taking on a strong leadership role in achieving, sustaining, and enforcing peace. Beijing favors a peace process and political resolution to the conflict. China is also willing to make substantial investments in Afghanistan and help generate a peace dividend, but Beijing's willingness depends on improvements in the security situation.

The rise of China as a global power has had significant implications for the international system. China's economic and military power has grown significantly in recent years, and this has affected the balance of power among states. Countries are increasingly dependent on China for trade and investment, and China's military expansion has been a source of concern for many countries. As China continues to grow in power, it will be important for countries to work together to ensure a stable and peaceful international system.