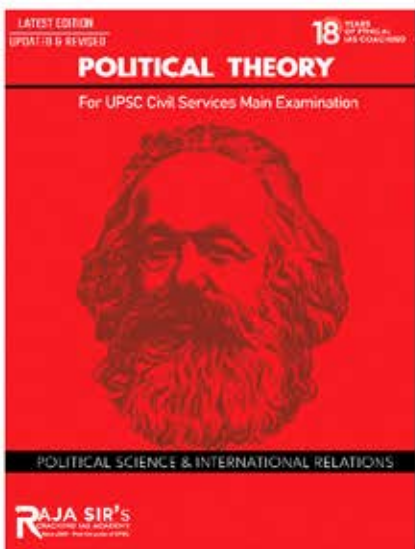


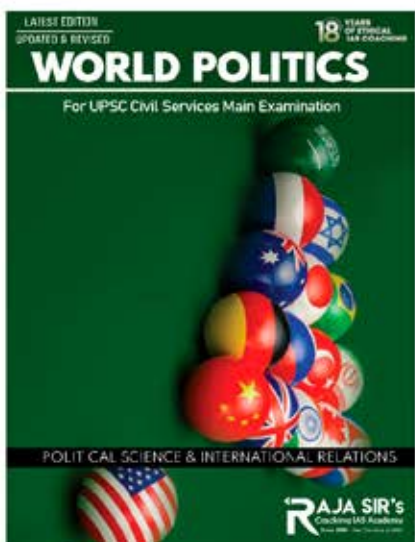
**The modernization thesis asserts that affluence breeds stable democracy. How do you explain the success of India being the world's largest democracy as an exceptional case?**

Wealth leads to other factors as evidenced by the data from affluence capitalist countries of Europe and North America. There is a functional inter dependence among these .....



**Marx's concept of 'alienation' is an essential part of the reality in capitalism. Explain.**

Alienation literally means “separation from”. This term is often used in literature and Marx has given it a sociological meaning. Marx has conceived of alienation as a phenomenon related to the structure of those societies in which the producer is .....



**Explain the impact of electoral systems and cleavages in shaping party systems with reference to developing countries.**

The set of democratic institutions a nation adopts is thus integral to the long term prospects of any new regime as they .....

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**Do you think that the Buddhist traditions have lent greater ethical foundation to the ancient Indian political thought? Give your arguments.(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- The ethical principles propagated by Buddhism played a significant role in shaping the political ideologies and governance in ancient India.
- Buddhism is other worldly religion. Buddha is not considered as a political philosopher though scholars like Gail Omvedt and Kancha Illaiah do recognize Buddha as political philosopher. According to them, many kings visited Buddha to take advice on good governance. Buddha also provided his wisdom on the statecraft.
- Like Dharmashastra, Morality occupies highest pedestal in Buddhist tradition. The functions of state were similar to those of Arthshastra and Dharmashastra. Buddhist traditional too believes in welfare state. Primary objective of state is the well-being of the people.
- The origin of state is result of social contract: Earlier individual conduct was moral and they abided by principle of Dharma. There was peace and harmony in society. Later people became selfish, egoistic and hence anarchy emerged in society and for maintaining social order, state became necessary. It is result of contract among the people.
- Buddha's political philosophy is therapeutic, because Buddha's entire philosophy is paideia. This finds echo in Plato. Two-thirds of Plato's Republic is devoted to education. A "just" pedagogy – a paideia which does justice to evolving beings – is a pilgrimage of centering; nourished by dialogue and debate; manifest in creative talent, "giving birth to beauty in time."
- Buddha, like Aristotle, was less concerned with the form of government than its consequence. Monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, or any combination thereof – its measure is benevolence: the social virtue it serves.
- The highest social virtue is awakening (prajna) – in mindfully compassionate body, speech and mind (karuna). Compassion is the essence of Buddha's political philosophy. In Kantian terms: Wisdom without compassion is like concepts without percepts. Kant articulates the Buddhist challenge: The task – individual and collective – is to move "from an age of enlightenment to a more enlightened age."
- Buddhism asserts (with echoes in Rousseau, Blake, Wordsworth, and Emerson) that joy and compassion constitute our "natural attitude;" that unity has primacy over separation; that interbeing – universal brother-sisterhood – is the quantum field sustaining the dance of diversity.
- Buddha's famous declaration of no-self – anatman – is not a denial of individuality or soul. It is a way of showing "soul" as window to the universe. The universe of interbeing. Our mutually interpenetrating influence in a unified field spiced with karmic effort and a common pedagogical project.
- "Interbeing" (pratitya-samutpadha – "dependent co-origination") is Buddha's quantum insight into universal brother-sisterhood. Universal brother-

sisterhood promotes heart-centered rationality. Heart-centered rationality points to the tension in detached action.

**Marx's concept of 'alienation' is an essential part of the reality in capitalism. Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Alienation literally means “separation from”. This term is often used in literature and Marx has given it a sociological meaning. Marx has conceived of alienation as a phenomenon related to the structure of those societies in which the producer is divorced from the means of production and in which “dead labour” (capital) dominates “living labour” (the worker). Let us take an example of a shoemaker in a factory. A shoemaker manufactures shoes but cannot use them for himself. His creation thus becomes an object which is separate from him. It becomes an entity which is separate from its creator. He makes shoes not because making shoes satisfies merely his urge to work and create. He does so to earn his living. For a worker this ‘objectification’ becomes more so because the process of production in a factory is decided into several parts and his job may be only a tiny part of the whole. Since he produces only one part of the whole, his work is mechanical and therefore he loses his creativity.

A systematic elaboration of the concept appears in Capital under the heading “Fetishism of commodities and money”. But the ethical germ of this conception can be found as early as 1844, when Marx unequivocally rejected and condemned “the state” and “money”, and invested the proletariat with the “historical mission” of emancipating society as a whole. In Marx’s sense alienation is an action through which (or a state in which) a person, a group, an institution, or a society becomes (or remains) alien

- a)** to the results or products of its own activity (and to the activity itself), and/or
- b)** to the nature in which it lives, and/or
- c)** to other human beings, and in addition and through any or all of (a) to (c) also
- d)** to itself (to its own historically created human possibilities).

Alienation is always self-alienation, i.e., one’s alienation from oneself through one’s own activity.

Mere criticism of alienation was not the intention of Marx. His aim was to clear the path for a radical revolution and for accomplishing communism understood as “the re-integration of one’s return to oneself, the supersession of one’s self-alienation”. Mere abolition of private property cannot bring about de-alienation of economic and social life. This situation of the worker, or the producer does not alter by transforming private property into state property. Some forms of alienation in capitalist production have their roots in the nature of the means of production and the related division of social labour, so that they cannot be eliminated by a mere change in the form of managing production.

Far from being an eternal fact of social life, the division of society into mutually interdependent and conflicting spheres (economy, politics, laws, arts, morals, religion, etc.), and the predominance of the economic sphere, are, according to Marx,

characteristics of a self-alienated society. The dealienation of society is therefore impossible without the abolition of the alienation of different human activities from each other.

Alienation in the Marxian sense of the term cannot be overcome by the reorganisation of the economy, however radical the programme of such transformation may be. Alienation of the society and of the individual are integrally connected. Therefore, the de-alienation of neither can be carried out without the other, nor can one be reduced to the other. The concept of alienation is a key tool of analysis in Marx's thought. According to Marx, one had always been self-alienated thus far. The bourgeoisie relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production causing alienation. At the same time, the production forces developing in the womb of bourgeoisie society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism and alienation.

**Free and fair deliberation is key to the foundation of democracy. Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Proponents of deliberative democracy like Joshua Cohen and David Miller believe that people's preferences are formed during the political process and not prior to it.

Rather than thinking of political decisions as the aggregate of citizens' preferences, deliberative democracy claims that citizens should arrive at political decisions through reason and the collection of competing arguments and viewpoints. Democracy, then, is a process of arriving upon judgement or a consensus.

Such an agreement is an outcome of deliberation, i.e. a process where people try to persuade each other through the give and take of rational arguments. In this way, people become aware of information and perspectives that they are previously unaware of and then they can question each other's views. In this process, preferences or interests get transformed to reflect a common agreement.

Deliberation, thus, reinvents a participatory model of democracy and key idea is that of a dialogue. Through open participation and unlimited discourse, a better argument emerges.

Two of the early influences on deliberative democratic theory are the philosophers John Rawls and Jürgen Habermas. Rawls advocated the use of reason in securing the framework for a just political society. For Rawls, reason curtails self-interest to justify the structure of a political society that is fair for all participants in that society and secures equal rights for all members of that society. These conditions secure the possibility for fair citizen participation in the future.

Habermas claimed that fair procedures and clear communication can produce legitimate and consensual decisions by citizens. These fair procedures governing the deliberative process are what legitimates the outcomes.

When seen critically, deliberative democracy requires a consensus, which is difficult, if not impossible to achieve in diverse and complex societies.

**“The Constitution of India is a product of a historical process, rich with constitutional antecedents.” Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The Indian Constitution has, as part of the history of nation making and the process of nation building, become the site of contestations of power. This article seeks to frame this discourse through a history of negotiations between communities seeking to create for themselves a “shared” constitution and resolve cultural fault lines through a vision of a cultural document that was to be the “Indian” Constitution. It attempts to comprehend the specificity of the constitutional design and the history of the idea of the text that is the Indian Constitution as an ideological contest between two visions, “constitution through nation” and “nation through constitution”.

The Constitution of India embodies provisions providing basic democratic rights of human beings including the persons who are not Indian citizens. It also embodies provisions for the availability of institutions for legislation, execution and jurisdiction for the fulfilment these rights. It presents a vision for social transformation and deepening of democracy in India. The process of evolution of democratic institutions and rights had started much before the Constituent Assembly really made the Constitution of India. It, however, must be underlined that the features of democratic institutions and values which were introduced during the colonial period were meant to serve the colonial interests in contrast to the purpose of the provisions of the Constitution made by the Constituent Assembly of India. Although the Indian Constitution was result of the deliberations (from December 9, 1947 to November 26, 1949) of the Constituent Assembly, some of its features had evolved over three quarters of a century through various Acts, i.e., from 1858 to 1935.

The very idea to have our own Constitution was given by MN Roy. MN Roy was a great political philosopher. Then a Constituent assembly of India was set-up in December, 1946. Constituent assembly was set up in accordance with Cabinet Mission Plan under the chairmanship of Sachidanand Sinha.

The Indian Constitution's historical underpinnings can be traced back to various sources, including indigenous traditions, colonial experiences, and Western political thought.

1. Indigenous Traditions: The Constitution draws upon India's ancient and medieval political and social traditions. Ancient Indian texts such as the Vedas, Upanishads, and Dharmashastras provided insights into the nature of governance, rights, and duties.
  - The Buddhist and Jain teachings on non-violence, tolerance, and equality also influenced the Constitution's framing.
  - Similarly, the medieval Bhakti movement's emphasis on individual liberty and spiritual equality also found reflection in the Constitution.
2. Colonial Experiences: The British colonial rule in India had a profound impact on the Constitution's framing. The Indian National Congress and other political movements that emerged during the colonial period drew heavily on Western ideas of liberty, democracy, and constitutionalism.



- The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 and the Government of India Act of 1935 laid the groundwork for the Constitution's eventual drafting.
- 3. Western Political Thought: The Constitution also reflects the influence of Western political thought, particularly the ideas of liberal democracy and the separation of powers.
  - The framers of the Indian Constitution were inspired by the American and French Constitutions and the British parliamentary system.
  - The Constitution also incorporates elements of socialist and Gandhian thought, such as the idea of social and economic justice and the emphasis on non-violence.

The historical underpinnings of the Indian Constitution reflect India's diverse social and political experiences. The Constitution draws on India's indigenous traditions, colonial experiences, and Western political thought, and has evolved through amendments to reflect changing aspirations and challenges. Despite this the Constitution remains a living document, reflecting India's democratic and pluralistic ethos.

**“The Constitution makers faced the great task of forging a common national identity in the face of unparalleled social and cultural diversity in India.”**  
**Comment.(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- We are a multitude of peoples – we are not one people. We have many sub-identities, these identities are based on our differences. This is a key attribute of these identities: national identity; religious identity; class identity; regional identity; professional identity; tribal or clan identity.
- “Constitutional nationalism”
- has several features.
  1. The first is the maintenance of secular character. When we merge national identity with a particular form of religious identity – it leads to othering a host of people. That is why maintenance of neutrality or secular character is of essential importance, because that characteristic is what gives each of us the space to live our unique lives and different identities.
  2. The second feature of constitutional nationalism is that it gives us a code to negotiate differences, and pursue the common goals of peace, progress, prosperity. These are all fundamental goals that have motivated every human society since we existed as a species. This code is crafted through an elaborate system contained in the preamble, our fundamental rights and the directive principles, and continues into the

checks and balances that keep different arms of the state accountable to each other and the people.

3. The third feature of constitutional nationalism is that it requires citizens to practice citizenship everyday. Citizenship rights are the glue that binds us together, the common journey we undertake. These rights take on many forms, such as the right to freedom, not just our own, but also that of others, ensuring that everyone has space to exercise their individualities. Or upholding a civic code where we do not instigate, perpetuate, or otherwise condone, othering. Or where we ask questions of the government, preventing the state from becoming a carrier of hegemonic tendencies. We contest and debate. We vote.
4. The fourth feature of constitutional nationalism is the creation of a syncretic culture. When we speak of things like these, we need to add one important caveat, that this story of constitutional nationalism, of this artificial, neutral, negotiable, identity we have gifted ourselves, was penned only in 1950. We are, therefore, by all means, very much still a young country. Contestations over identity creation are still happening, and things are still in turmoil. This was not unanticipated by the Constitution, for the powers that it grants – of negotiation and contestation – allow some very interesting things to happen. When diverse sub-cultures live together, negotiating their differences in a peaceful and harmonious fashion, over time, the country becomes a site of confluence, and our individual identities undergo evolutionary changes, in an organic fashion. This is also an element of constitutional nationalism – because this confluence and change is made possible by the coexistence of our diverse cultures as negotiated by the Constitution.
  - All of these diversities exist because of multilingualism and multiculturalism, and arguably, what binds all of us is “Indianness”, which is the outcome of our allegiance to the Indian Constitution.
  - The strength of a nation is not gauged by the uniformity of opinion of its citizens or a public profession of patriotism. The true strength of a nation is when there is no threat from citizens expressing revolutionary views; when there is a free and open press that can criticise the government; and when citizens do not resort to violence against fellow citizens merely for expressing a contrary view or for just being different. That is when we will be truly free, and we will become the nation that our constitution builders envisioned for us – secular, democratic and free.

**Mention the founding principles that define India's Constitution. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Every constitution reflects the ideas and ideals of the people who framed it. Although it is intended to be a document of permanent value, it is bound to reflect also the conditions and circumstances of the period in which it was framed. The Constitution of India is no exception to this; it embodies certain founding principles.

**Liberty**

- The Constitution provides every citizen a number of liberties and freedoms under Article 19 to 21, 21A, and 22. It is established that no unreasonable restrictions can be imposed upon citizens to regulate their freedom.
- Right to Freedom under Article 19 includes –
  - The right to freedom of speech and expression;
  - The right to form association;
  - The right to move freely;
  - Reside in any part of the country; and
  - The right to practice any profession, occupation, or business.

**Equality**

- The Constitution states that all citizens are equal before the law and the government should ensure that the traditional practice of social inequalities on the grounds of caste, religion, and gender has to be ended.
- Right to Equality is enshrined under Articles 14 to 18 of the Indian Constitution of India, which guarantees the right to equality to all persons and prohibits any kind of discrimination against any citizen on any of the grounds of religion, race, caste, gender, and place of birth.
- Article 14 provides that all persons are equal before the law. This means that all persons shall be equally protected by the laws of the country.
- Article 15 states that no citizen can be discriminated against on the basis of his/her religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth.
- Article 16 states that the State cannot discriminate against anyone in matters of employment.
- Article 17 abolishes the practice of untouchability from India. It provides that every person has access to all public places including playgrounds, hotels, shops, etc.
- Right against Exploitation is enshrined under Article 23 to 24 of the Constitution of India. It provides fundamental right against exploitation to every citizen of India.
- Article 23 of the Constitution provides for prohibition of any kind of forced labor and any violation of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with the law.

- Article 24 protects the children by stating that no child below the age of 14 shall be employed to work in any factory or mines or any other hazardous employment.

#### Fraternity

- All the Indians are members of a family, no one is inferior or superior, all are equal and have same rights and duties.

#### Sovereignty

- The government of India is free to take any decision on internal as well as external matters and no external power can dictate it.

#### Socialist

- In a socialist country, citizens have the right to property but the government should regulate it by law, the socio-economic activities to reduce inequalities in the society and hence, every citizen has equal right to share the resources of the country.
- The concept of social justice was adopted by the 42nd amendment of Constitution that enables courts to uphold provisions to remove economic inequalities in our society.

#### Secular

- India is a secular country. There is no official religion of the government and the government treats all the religions equally.
- Articles 25 to 28 provide 'Right to freedom of Religion' for every citizen. This is a Fundamental Right that allows every individual a freedom to live by their religious beliefs and practices as they interpret these beliefs.
- Cultural and Educational Rights (Article 29 to 30) state that all minorities, religious or linguistic, having a distinct language, script or culture of its own, (they) can set up their own educational institutions in order to preserve and develop their language, script, or culture.

#### Democratic

- The democratic system of government runs according to some basic principles, which are collectively called as 'Rule of Law.'
- In a democratic form of the government, the people of the country enjoy equal political rights, choose to elect and change their representatives, and hold them accountable.

#### Preamble

- The Indian democracy is founded on those values that had inspired and guided the freedom struggle.
- The Indian Constitution embedded the values in its Preamble. Therefore the Preamble emanates lights that glitter all the articles of the Indian Constitution.
- The Preamble provides a short introductory statement of the basic values of the constitution to start with. In other words, it is the 'Soul of the Constitution.'
- It is the preamble that provides a standard to examine and evaluate any law and action of the government to judge its validity and sanctity.

**Analyze the Marxist perspective of the nature of Indian National Movement.  
(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The Marxist analysis of the national movement was based on an understanding of the role of economic factors and classes in the making of the nation as well as a movement. According to them, although the national movement was an expression of the basic antagonism between the Indian people and imperialist government, it was a movement either directly influenced by bourgeoisie or indirectly working in the direction of capitalist development. Thus, even though various classes and groups were involved in the movement, it ultimately served the fundamental interests of the Indian bourgeois classes.

R.P. Dutt formulated the most influential Marxist interpretation of Indian nationalism in his famous book *India Today* (1947). Dutt held that the revolt of 1857 'was in its essential character and dominant leadership the revolt of the old conservative and feudal forces and dethroned potentates'. Thus it is only from the last quarter of the 19th century that Dutt traced the beginning of the Indian national movement. The Indian National Congress, established in 1885, was the main organisation of this movement. Dutt believed that although the previous activities of the Indian middle classes formed the background, the Congress came into existence 'through the initiative and under the guidance of direct British governmental policy, on a plan secretly pre-arranged with the Viceroy as an intended weapon for safeguarding British rule against the rising forces of popular unrest and anti-British feeling.' However, Dutt argues that, owing to pressure of popular nationalist feelings, the Congress slowly abandoned its loyalist character and adopted a national role. This resulted in its transformation as a strong anti-colonial force which began to lead people's movement against colonial rule.

Applying the Marxist class analysis to the study of Indian nationalism, he argues that the class base of the Congress and the national movement changed over the period. Thus, in the initial years, Indian nationalism represented 'only big bourgeoisie – the progressive elements among the landowners, the new industrial bourgeoisie and the well-to-do intellectual elements'. Later, in the years preceding the First World War, the urban petty bourgeois class became more influential. After the War, the Indian masses – peasantry and the industrial working classes – made their presence felt.

However, Dutt argues, the leadership remained in the hands of the propertied classes who remained most influential in the Congress. These elements prevented any radicalisation of the movement which could become dangerous to their own interests. He is particularly harsh on Gandhi whom he castigates as the 'the mascot of the bourgeoisie'. He asserts that the Non-cooperation Movement was withdrawn because the masses were becoming too militant and a threat to the propertied classes within and outside the Congress. The Civil Disobedience Movement met with a similar fate when it was 'suddenly and mysteriously called off at the moment when it was reaching its height' in 1932. According to Dutt, the Congress had a 'twofold character' which persisted throughout its history. It was because of the very nature of the Indian bourgeoisie. On the one hand, its contradictions with imperialism prompted it to lead the people's movement against colonial government. But, on the other hand, its fear of a militant movement, which could jeopardise its interests and privileges, drew it back into co-operation with imperialism. It, therefore, played a vacillating role throughout the period of the national movement. Dutt's work proved to be a trendsetter in Marxist

historiography on Indian national movement. The latter works of the Marxist historians were in some measures influenced by it.

**Underline the significance of the first constitutional amendment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

#### Significance of Constitution First Amendment Act, 1951

- The First Amendment was passed in **1951 by the Provisional Parliament, members of who had just finished drafting the Constitution as part of the Constitutional Assembly.**
- The First Amendment Act amended **articles 15, 19, 85, 87, 174, 176, 341, 342, 372 and 376.**
- Provided for the saving of laws providing for the acquisition of estates, etc.
- Added **Ninth Schedule** to protect the land reforms and other laws included in it from the judicial review. After Article 31, Articles 31A and 31B were inserted.
- **Reason for Amendments:**
  - The immediate reason for the amendments were a series of Supreme Court and High Court judgments that had struck down provisions of public safety laws, press related laws and criminal provisions that were deemed to be incompatible with the constitutional right to freedom of speech.
- **Implications:**
  - Under the **provisions of Article 31**, laws placed in the Ninth Schedule **cannot be challenged in a court of law** on the ground that they violated the fundamental rights of citizens.
  - Article 31(A), has vested enormous power to the State with respect to the acquisition of **estates or taking over management of any property or corporation in public interest.** It sought to exclude such acquisitions or from the **scope of judicial review under Articles 14 and 19.**
  - The Ninth Schedule was widely misused. Ninth Schedule contains more than **250 legislations receiving protection under Ninth Schedule** from judicial scrutiny.

#### Looking Forward

- The power to introduce amendments is with the Parliament/Executive. Several times, **this power is exercised to assert its supremacy.** Therefore, it is crucial that the **Supreme Court performs the simultaneous role** of interpreting and evaluating them judiciously. It is the role of the judges to limit these powers or declare the arbitrary and flawed amendments unconstitutional.

- The implications of the first amendment act 1951 have been **areason for numerous political debates on the relevancy** and sanctity of democracy.
- The ninth schedule has become controversial due to its absolute exemption from judicial scrutiny. This has led to the misuse of the laws several times.
- Hence, **it is a positive approach to revisit the amendment to rectify the shortcomings.**

**"Constitutionally reconciling the Fundamental Rights with the Directive Principles of State Policy has led to frequent amendments of the Constitution and judicial interventions." Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- Directive Principles of State Policies (DPSP) are positive as they require the State to do certain things while Fundamental rights (FR) are negative as they impose limitations on the working of the state.

The conflict between the DPSPs and Fundamental Rights seems not to be a novice situation. The character though may be similar but points of conflicts even today in the contemporary times rests at the following points:

1. Justiciability of the Fundamental Rights and the Non- Justiciable character of the DPSP.
2. Moral Obligation and duty casted upon the state to implement the Directive Principles as per Article 37 has also raised a serious point of contravention since the inception of the Constitution and Part III and Part IV.

#### Conflicts Between Fundamental Rights and DPSP: Associated Cases

- **Champakam Dorairajan v the State of Madras (1951):**In this case, the Supreme Court ruled that in case of any conflict between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles, the former would
  - It declared that the Directive Principles have to conform to and run as subsidiary to the Fundamental Rights.
  - It also held that the Fundamental Rights could be amended by the Parliament by enacting constitutional amendment acts.
- **Golaknath v the State of Punjab (1967):**In this case, the Supreme Court declared that Fundamental Rights could not be amended by the Parliament even for implementation of Directive Principles.
  - It was contradictory to its own judgement in the 'Shankari Parsad case'.
- **Kesavananda Bharati v the State of Kerala (1973):**In this case, the Supreme Court overruled its Golak Nath (1967) verdict and declared that Parliament can amend any part of the Constitution but it cannot alter its "Basic Structure".

- Thus, the Right to Property (Article 31) was eliminated from the list of Fundamental Rights.
- **Minerva Mills v the Union of India (1980):**In this case, the Supreme Court reiterated that Parliament can amend any part of the Constitution but it cannot change the “Basic Structure” of the Constitution.

The doctrine of Harmonious construction as a new technique of interpretation was inducted and innovated by the Supreme Court in the case of Quareshi Mohd. v. State of Bihar where the court stated that the Constitution has to be construed harmoniously, the Directive Principles must be implemented in such a way that it does not take away or encroach upon the fundamental rights of citizens. The courts should adopt the principles of harmonious construction and attempt to give effect to both Part III and Part IV of the Constitution.

**The role of the President of India becomes more significant during a minority government and a coalition government. Explain.(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- India has enough experience with the functioning of unstable and opportunistic coalition governments both at the central and the state levels. Governors have often asked the leader of a newly formed coalition government to seek a vote of confidence to prove majority support.
- Shankar Dayal Sharma invited A B Vajpayee, leader of a minority party in the Lok Sabha in 1996, to form the government. This first BJP-led government at the Centre lasted from May 16 to June 1, 1996. It resigned without facing the vote of no-confidence moved by parties opposed to it.
- That was not the first time that a minority-party led government has functioned at the Centre. The classic example of a minority-led government was of Indira Gandhi from 1969 till she asked for the dissolution of the Lok Sabha at the end of 1970.
- The Congress party had split in 1969 on the issue of ‘conscience vote’ for the office of President of India and Indira Gandhi-led Congress was reduced to the position of the largest party with minority of seats in the Lok Sabha.
- Legality or constitutionality of Indira Gandhi’s government from 1969 to the end of 1970 was not at all questioned because it was left to the opposition parties to either move a vote of no confidence or allow such a government to continue in office.
- This story was repeated in 1991 when P V Narasimha Rao formed a Congress led government that had the largest number of seats, but was in a minority in the Lok Sabha. Incidentally, to characterise the V P Singh or the Chandra Shekar governments at the Centre from 1989 to 1991 or the purely temporary prime



ministerships of H D Deva Gowda and I K Gujral from 1996 to 1998 as coalition governments is a complete misnomer.

- These four PMs did not have any support base and they survived on the 'outside' support of other parties and groups. These short-lived PMs enjoyed power at the pleasure of the 'outside supporters.
- Under the Discretionary Powers of the President, if no single party gains majority and a "coalition government" is to be formed, President can exercise a little discretion and select the leader of any party who, in his opinion, can form a stable ministry. However, even in such a situation, his action should be guided by certain conventions. President may first invite a person and appoint him the Prime Minister and then ask him to prove his majority or seek a vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha within a reasonable time.
- In the absence of any clear provision relating to the manner in which a government should be appointed in case of a "Hung Parliament", we must evolve our own conventions. Asking the house to elect its own leader seems to be a wise step in this regard. It is time that political parties rise from petty politics and devote their energy and resources in keeping the people's trust alive, which they are obliged to do.
- It can be hence seen that the President's role is not only confined to installing a relatively stable government but also extend to constantly and carefully scrutinising its activities, rectifying its mistakes and in devising new and effective methods of governance. The President must personally supervise the appointment of Governors to the states, and carefully monitor their functioning. The appointment of suitable candidates can pre-empt situations wherein the gubernatorial posts could be used for partisan political designs. Art. 356 is another area which the President would have to prevent from being misused. The fiasco in UP and the rare political sagacity and constitutional propriety, which the President displayed in asking the Union to reconsider its recommendations was laudable.
- The very fact that the Cabinet did not press the matter further is clearly indicative of the fact that the Cabinet acknowledged the latent power of the President, acting as a check on the unbridled exercise of power by the Council of Ministers. This is especially important in the light of the fact that "Hung Parliaments" are also being replicated in the States at an even faster rate. Thus the President has a very big responsibility on his shoulders, as he is the defender of the constitutional ethics.

**Do you think that despite having significant limitations the Panchayati Raj institutions have strengthened the process of democratic decentralization? Give your views.(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Decentralisation and democracy are the most significant themes in the development discourse. Decentralisation means transfer of planning, decision-making or administrative authority from the central government to its field agencies. Democratic decentralization is an extension of the democratic principle aims at widening the area of the people's participation, authority and autonomy through devolution of powers to people's representative organizations. Despite various limitations Panchayati Raj Institution has played its crucial role w.r.t.

- Promote Democratic Representation
- - The PRI system generally consists of three level: Gram Panchayat at the village level, Block Panchayat or Panchayat Samiti at the intermediate level and Zilla Panchayat at the district level. This scheme of the PRI system increases cooperation among people, democratic participation and decentralization.
- Effective and Efficient Planning
- - The 2.5 lakh Gram Panchayats (GPs) in the country have been entrusted to provide basic services in the villages and plan for local economic development. The Gram Sabha (GS) discusses the development work plans of the GP called Gram Panchayat Development Plan (GPDP) and the elected representatives execute the plans. Formulation of GPDP improves efficiency of public services.
- Ensures Good Governance
- - 'Consensus oriented' and 'Participation' are two important pillars of Good Governance and the PRI helps in ensuring both these pillars. For example, GS is a channel to include the less privileged section of society and ensure their participation in the village level governance wherein they can advocate their developmental aspirations. This bottom-up approach is meant to reflect the needs of various stakeholders

The recommendations of the **6th report of the 2nd Administrative Reform Commission** (ARC) can be implemented for a better and effective functioning of the Panchayati Raj institutions.

- **Genuine fiscal federalism.** fiscal autonomy accompanied by fiscal accountability can provide a long term solution.
  - The 2nd ARC had recommended that there should be a clear-cut demarcation of functions of each tier of the government.
- The **2nd ARC** also recommended that state Governments should encourage local bodies to **outsource specific functions** to public or private agencies, as may be appropriate, through enabling guidelines and support
- **The Comprehensive and holistic training** requires expertise and resources from various subject matter specific training institutes.

- This can be best achieved by 'networking' of institutions concerned with various subjects such as financial management, rural development, disaster management and general management.
- **Audit committees** may be constituted by the State Governments at the district level to exercise oversight of the integrity of financial information, adequacy of internal controls, compliance with the applicable laws and ethical conduct of all persons involved in local bodies.

**"The Indian party system is shaped by a complex interaction of the country's federal structure, electoral system and social cleavages." Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

The Indian party system is certainly the consequence of its characteristics like the federal structure, electoral system and social cleavages.

India's federal structure plays a significant role in shaping the party system. The existence of regional parties is a direct consequence of the federal structure. Different states in India have distinct political and regional dynamics, and regional parties often emerge to champion the specific interests and demands of particular states or regions. These parties focus on regional issues and often play a crucial role in state-level politics.

The electoral system in India, which follows a multi-party proportional representation system, also influences the party system. The use of the first-past-the-post system at the constituency level and the allocation of seats based on proportional representation at the state and national levels have led to a multi-party system in India. This system encourages the emergence of multiple parties and provides opportunities for smaller parties to gain representation, especially in states where regional dynamics are prominent.

India's social cleavages, such as caste, religion, language, and region, also create a significant impact on the party system. These cleavages influence the formation of political alliances, party ideologies, and voting patterns. Parties often cater to specific social groups or seek to mobilize support based on social cleavages. For example, parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) focus on Dalit empowerment, while parties like the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) often mobilize support along religious lines.

It is important to note that these factors interact with each other in a dynamic manner, leading to a complex party system in India. The party system is not static, and it evolves over time as a response to changing political, social, and economic dynamics. Factors such as the emergence of new social cleavages, shifting regional dynamics, and changes in the electoral system can further shape the party system in India.

**Do you think that there has been a gradual shift in the basis on which the demands for the creation of new States have been raised in different regions of India? Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- The demands of new states on the grounds of language, ethnicity and cultural factors were integral part of the preindependence nationalist discourse. After the independence, the euphoria of freedom struggle and **'Nehruvian consensus'** turned this demands silent. Rather, contrarily, integration of many princely states took a grand momentum. Some areas, e.g. Kashmir and North Eastern states gained some autonomy but unfortunately it had pragmatic presumption.
- Since late 1980s, Indian political spectrum saw different momentum in which it was not that the same game started producing different results rather the rule of game itself had changed. This was visible through recurrent assertion of language of rights, self-respect and non-discrimination by the marginalized groups.
- Indian social-political spectrum soon changed into the pour of political activism which questioned the dominant language of epistemology. In short, this disjuncture was visible through the political consciousness of marginalized (which includes caste, class, gender as well as region). The newly aroused consciousness further intensified with the centralized tendencies of state machineries. This led to the birth of what Sunil Khilnani has called 'Layered Indianness' in which language, caste, class, region became the base to intensify the identity based politics.
- The germination of the **'layered-Indianness'**, according to Khilnani, is due to: the maturing and deeper penetration of the democratic processes in India, people's responsiveness to it, bottom-up agenda setting and also Indian state's failure to respond appropriately to the breadth of the change. Resultantly, the Indian political system is going through the phase in which regional/local issues take precedence over national issues.
- The government of India too instituted several commissions to look into the mode of functioning of the constitutionally mandated federal system in the changing social, economic and political context. At the functional ground Indian state's imagination of nation under the framework of fusion and uniformity have produced a strong centrifugal thrust which is visible through the recurrent demands of new and smaller states.
- Experience shows that the various provisions of constitution have been used, multiple times, to broaden the scope of rights, dignity, equality, liberty as well as justice. At this time it is necessary to re-look at the same platform, with appropriate alteration, to ensure the best possible delivery of justice. Rule of law should be the proper mechanism to deliver the appropriate entities to subjects and same is true for the feedback. Unless the rule of law is respected the demand-supply model of political system would cease.
- At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the already available platform like- Inter-State Council. Besides this many informal platform could avail the

proper facilities for broad deliberation. This would be an effective tool to mitigate the centrifugal thrust of sectarian demands.

- One obvious problems of this is that identity based movements fail to put their demands under deliberative framework, and hence consequentially, articulate the halftruth demands. It also fails to reach what John Rawls has called **'Reflective-Equilibrium'**. Unless imagined notion of truth is not assessed with the all available grounds it falls short of its emancipatory potential. The underlying notion of Rawls' Reflective-Equilibrium, if applied to the theory of federalism, is that one must continuously keep their imbibed beliefs to check with other's believes. Continuous revising and refining of beliefs is very important to arrive at a coherent set of larger belief in a human society embedded with identity and sectarian belief-systems.

**What explains India's modest improvements in social development outcomes even as the rate of growth has accelerated since the initiation of economic reforms?**

- Economic reforms in India refer to the neo-liberal policies introduced by the Narsimha-Rao government in 1991 when India faced a severe economic crisis due to external debt. This crisis happened largely due to inefficiency in economic management in the 1980s. Economic reforms that began 30 years ago have transformed India. What used to be a poor, slow-growing country now has the third-largest gross domestic product (GDP) in the world with regard to purchasing power parity and is projected to be the fastest-growing major economy in the world.
- The important consideration is not whether the economic reforms measures are anti-poor or not, but whether they are in fact "pro-poor". In other words, is there an explicit "equity" dimension to the economic reforms or is the "humane face" merely an attempt to neutralise the negative impact that the reform measures would have on the extant structure of income and asset distribution? The very fact that the social sector spending policies, including the creation of the National Renewal Fund (NRF) for retrenched workers, is defined as a "safety net" such policies are meant to compensate for equity losses and would not necessarily improve the existing structure of incomes and asset inequality in the country.
- There are areas in which government intervention is specifically required to ensure that apart from efficiency gains, the economic reform measures would have a positive impact on equity as well. These areas are: (i) employment, (ii) food security, (iii) health, (iv) education, (v) technology, and (vi) environment. While "equity" is not an explicit goal of the economic reforms measures, it is necessary that this is so and a clear definition of what equity should imply in the Indian context should be developed.
- Another important consideration relates to the fact that while we are assessing the social impact of the reforms measures, a distinction be made between the direct "transitional costs" of reform measures in terms of equity losses, and the already pre-existing equity loss that occurs due to the inequitous nature of the

extant economic regime. One should not confuse between the inegalitarian consequences of the existing social and economic order and what might be the specific product of the economic reform measures.

- The economic reform measures should not imply a retreat of government from all spheres of the economy and society. While in some areas there would have to be reduced governmental intervention/support, in others like health care, education and social welfare, they ought to be more purposive and better targeted in terms of equity intervention by the government.
- The broad thrust relating to the education, health and the public distribution system is that public provisioning of these services is still important and there is inadequate attention being paid to improving the quality of these services in the public sector. On the other hand, the increasing privatisation of these services has created a dualistic structure in which a high value, high quality private sector is growing while a low value low, quality public sector is stagnating. Unless the government invests more money and improves the quality of the services rendered the retrogression in these sectors would have adverse social externalities resulting in a national loss.
- If financial allocations are no measure of public support, there is no evidence either to suggest that the government be any more committed today than before to improving the efficiency of resource utilisation. The real challenge before the government today is, therefore, not so much to reduce the role of the government in the social sectors but in fact to make government more responsive to the needs of the people.
- Indeed, the popular base for economic reform can only be built when ordinary people perceive an improvement in the quality of life. Deregulation, debureaucratisation, decontrol, disinvestment and so on are only ways to wind down the involvement of the government in the economic life of the people. While much of this is popular with the business community, most consumers of public services are desperately seeking a more efficient and humane government rather than just less government. For, less government is no substitute for good government (Sanjay Baru, 1993).
- Prof. V.S. Vyas has cautioned the Central Government against resorting to “unmindful cut in government expenditures” on sectors like education and health, besides infrastructure and human resource development to reduce deficit. In our enthusiasm to reduce deficit we must not curtail the expenditure vital for development. Fiscal adjustment and economic reform is not simply a matter for the drawing room. In the period of transition, it imposes a burden of adjustment that is distributed in an asymmetric manner. Without correctives, the burden of adjustment is inevitably borne by the poor. Whatever we might say about social safety nets, we do not have the resources for this purpose. It cannot and will not suffice to assert that the burden of such adjustment would have to be borne by the affluent and the middle class, simply because the rich in our society have the incomes to immunise themselves from the burden of structural adjustment.

**The success of electoral democracy can partly be attributed to the status and role of the Election Commission of India.” Explain.(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- The EC has been referred to as “the means to the end of a vibrant representative democracy ” and as “a bulwark for free & fair elections in India”. In the case of Indira Gandhi v. Raj Narain, the Supreme Court ruled that one of the most important & central features of the Indian democracy is “free exercise of franchise”.
- The Election Commission has been the only commission that has been mostly relied upon by the judiciary, police & political parties (According to the reports of 1996 National Election Study).
- ECI ensures that the elections to the Parliament & State Legislatures is conducted freely & fairly with highest degree of transparency, accountability & utmost professionalism.
- It helps in the establishment & execution of Model Code of Conduct (MCC) for smooth conduct of elections & to regulate the conduct of candidates & parties. It has been rigid on the contravention of the MCC.
- The Commission has advocated the ideals embodied in our Constitution, namely, equity, equality, biasness and impartiality, supervising rule of law & control over the electoral process. Several efforts have been made to prevent increasing criminalization of politics by keeping a tab on muscle power & money expenses estimated by the candidates during elections, by disqualifying candidates with conviction for more than 2 years.
- The commission had never failed in taking disciplinary actions against the political parties if they neglect to preserve democratic values within the party.
- The Commission has been fruitful in building confidence & trust in the minds of elector regarding the conduct of election procedures & electoral system, thereby guaranteeing greater participation of people. It has generated awareness among the citizens about the importance of voting, its procedure of conduct & governance.
- There has been an exemplary rise in voter turnout in elections, especially the women voters. Fair election in India gives more licitness to the government eventuating in implementation of schemes effectively & efficiently.
- Rudolph and Rudolph note that the Election Commission has a key position at the heart of the new regulatory centrism of the Indian state, as an institution which acts as an enforcer of ‘rules that safeguard the democratic legitimacy of the political system’.

**Examine the evolution of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India as a Constitutional Court. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Under the Indian Constitution, the power to interpret the Constitution and entertain judicial review petitions is exercised by the Supreme Court and the High Courts. The term constitutional courts hence refers to the Supreme Court and the High Courts taken together.

Over the last 7 decades, the Supreme Court's extraordinary power has manifested itself in the form of judgments encompassing every sphere of the nation's activity. No grievance has been too insignificant to attract the court's palliative and curative jurisdiction. Inspired by the desire to give true meaning to the Constitution's promise of justice, liberty and equality for all, no litigant has been turned away by the Supreme Court, and there is virtually no area of human endeavour in regard to which it has not exercised its jurisdiction, original or appellate.

The ambit of judicial review is limited to three grounds in case of administrative action.

1. In the case of unreasonability or irrationality
2. Unlawfulness or illegality
3. Proportionality and procedural impropriety

Judicial review of a decision matter process whenever it has been depraved through irrationality and ignorance of such essential factors that no reasonable authority conferred with the power could have made such a decision, follows the due procedure of law and through examination takes the relevance of the factors.

In a federal system, the courts also act as independent and impartial arbiters between the federal government and the governments of the federating units, as also between the federating units themselves. Whenever there is a dispute or conflict between any set of governments, the judiciary is responsible for interpreting the provisions of the Constitution. This interpretation is taken as final. In this way in a federation the judiciary assumes the status of the "Constitutional Court".

**Explain how caste as a social category is also becoming a political category in the democratic politics of India. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

- Caste acts both as divisive and cohesive factor in Indian Politics. It provides a basis for the emergence of several interest groups in the Indian political system each of which competes with every other grouping in their struggle for recognition and power. The caste-consciousness has led to the emergence of new trends in the India politics whereby the previous caste affiliations with different political parties are getting broken down and new caste equations are emerging to replace the old ones. Under the impact of modern politics,



associations of caste have become the hall- mark of political mobilization. They have emerged with the object, of pursuing political power, social status and economic interest. Members of certain caste groups, who were considered low or the lowest in socio economic hierarchy a few decades ago, now amalgamate together into a common organization to press for their demands. With the growing confidence and status, they not only actively participate in the political process but also assert their identity and even strive for positions.

- Although all kinds of factors influence voters' decision to support political parties, caste also is one of them. Indeed, some caste or group of castes form support base of some parties. For example, the Dalits form a substantial support base of the BSP. Till the 1980s, the Congress party's support base in north India largely consisted of Dalits, backward classes and the High castes. Paul R. Brass termed it as "coalition of castes". Following these strategies different parties take into consideration the caste composition of a constituency and make assessment as to which caste-candidate should be allotted tickets to contest election. Even the voters quite often take into considerations the castes of the candidates while casting votes in elections. Several studies have underlined the role of caste in empowering the people, especially those from the marginalised sections of the society. Some examples these studies include: Jaffralot and Kumar (eds. 2011) the book *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face on Indian Legislative Assemblies* shows that in the post-Independence period the social profiles of several legislative assemblies in India has seen the increase in number of persons from plebeian or marginalized caste groups such as the Dalits and the OBCs; in his book *Who Wants Democracy?* Javeed Alam suggests that the low castes find caste as an empowering tool. Pratap Bhanu Mehta in *Burden of Democracy* argues democracy has inherited inequality and there is a gap between representation and responsiveness; scares state and more demands, more discretion of the state. Yogendra Yadav observes shift in changing participation of different social groups in terms of democratic upsurge. He divides this upsurge into two phases: phase of first democratic upsurge; second phase of democratic upsurge. The first democratic upsurge indicated the rise of backward classes during the 1960s-1970s, and the second democratic upsurge shows the increasing participation of Dalits. This has been due to the effective role played by the caste organizations.
- Rajni Kothari underscores that the alleged 'casteism in politics' is thus no more or no less than politicization of caste. In other words, it is not politics that gets impacted by caste, it is caste that gets politicised. Caste is one of the most important aspects of social and political life in India. As a social institution, it is strongly entrenched and despite the modernisation trends in India (as a result of urbanisation, improved means of communication and development of secular education) the caste factor persists. Although caste has undergone many changes it has become a factor to be reckoned with in politics and no political party ignores it.

**Discuss the political economic approach to the comparative analysis of politics. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Political economy refers to a specific way of understanding social and political phenomena whereby, economics and politics are not seen as separate domains. Adam Smith considered political economy as "a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator".

The political economy approach focuses on the issues at the interaction of economy and politics. It analyses the macroeconomic policies of the state. The role played by various political organs like bureaucracy, judiciary, the legislature in the formulation and implementation of such policies. It even studies the tariff structures of state and the influence of domestic and international factors in determining these.

The political economy approach is widely used. It has the advantage of being quantitative as well as prescriptive. There are also a lot of variations in political economy. While liberal scholars like Adam Smith support the laissez-faire model of the economy, Marxist scholars suggest common ownership of means of production.

The modernisation, underdevelopment and dependency, world systems, articulation of the modes of production, class analysis, state-centred analysis and the neoliberal analysis are dominant among the various explanatory frameworks which have emerged in the last few decades. While, the analytical tools of all these frameworks have varied, almost all have "development" as their key problem. The process of exploring this problem within a comparative perspective, they have, inevitably seen the world in terms of a hierarchised whole. They do, however, provide important insights into the intricacies of economic forces and the manner in a symbiosis of economy and polity works within and in connection with external forces.

The disadvantage of the political economy approach is that it focuses only on economics and hence cannot be used alone. It should be used with other approaches for broader and better understanding.

**"Political parties and pressure groups are sine qua none of democracy."  
Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- Both political parties and pressure groups are generally comprised of individuals with similar views on policy and governance who organize together to achieve their policy goals.
- Pressure groups and political parties constitute very important structure of a political system. Both pressure groups and political parties are extra-constitutional agencies and play a crucial role in the political process. Pressure groups may give rise to political parties.

- A political party is a larger organisation, while a pressure group is comparatively a small organisation. The main objective of a political party is to come to power whereas the main concern of a pressure group is to influence the government for promoting its specific interest. However political parties have to represent the aggregate of diverse interests of the people. That is why pressure groups are regarded as non-political. Parties put up their candidates, try to win maximum number of seats in the legislature and form government if possible.
- Pressure Groups do not, on their own, do any of these things. A political party requires an ideology which enables it to have an identity. Pressure groups do not need ideology and sometimes they may be subjected to the influence of an ideology.
- Pressure groups try to bring about changes in policies of the government either by influencing its institutions, or even otherwise. Almost all democracies have adopted the electoral democracy mode. Thus, it is also argued that voters lose control over the government after elections. Pressure groups help to retain such control over the government, making it accountable.
- Political parties and pressure groups are essential for the healthy working of modern democratic states and will continue to exist in one form or another.

**“Marxist approach to the study of international relations has lost its relevance in the post-cold war era.” Comment. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- Robert W. Cox has divided IR theories into two categories: **Problem Solving and Critical Theory**. The problem-solving theories include realism and liberalism, while critical theories encompass a broad range of theories like Marxism, feminism, postmodernism and postcolonialism. Marxist approach of world politics is not limited to the ideas of Karl Marx. A wide range of theorists such as Vladimir Lenin, Antonio Gramsci, Andre Gunder Frank, Robert Cox, Stephen Gill, Justin Rosenberg, Andrew Linklater and Mark Rupert have contributed to the development of Marxist approaches.
- The Marxist approach to international relations provides a framework for understanding global politics through the lens of class struggle, capitalism, and imperialism. It **highlights economic inequality, exploitation, and structural constraints** as crucial factors in shaping international relations.
- **Imperialism** has been a keen area of interest for Marxists. Earlier Marxists have linked the origin and development of imperialism with the advancement of capitalism. However, based on the analysis of imperialism presented by Marxists after Lenin, it can be said that to have a proper understanding of the Marxist theory of imperialism, we necessarily need to go beyond Hobson and Lenin and include neo-Marxist and globalisation era Marxist account of imperialism in our

study. Taking inspiration from Marxism, three variants of neo-Marxism have significantly enhanced our understanding of world politics.

- The **dependency theory** explains how unfair terms of trade between developed and newly independent states lead to exploitation of post-colonial states by the developed capitalist states. The neo-Gramscian approach has splendidly shown how the powerful state establishes and maintain their hegemony and suggested the way to end it. Going a step further, the critical theory has underscored the need and way to end the exploitation of human being and realise their emancipation.
- Marxists make the **connection between globalisation, capitalism and the impoverishment of the third world**. They argue that all protection from the looting of the worlds poor by global capital is being dismantled. Even the decision-making of the enforcers of global capitalism; WTO, IMF, and World Bank; is directed by the advanced capitalist countries.
- However, the **Marxist approach faces criticisms** for over-simplifying complex phenomena, neglecting non-class issues, and underestimating the role of agency in global politics. It is important to critically engage with these perspectives and consider alternative theoretical frameworks to gain a comprehensive understanding of international relations.

**What measures have been undertaken by the United Nations for its reforms?  
(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- The United Nations (UN) was set up, 75 years ago, with the principal aim of maintaining world peace and security. It has been successful in the decolonization process and preventing another World War. However, the 21st century world is very different from that 20th century and poses many new problems and realities.
- The present humanitarian and economic losses associated with Covid-19 pandemic are comparable to that of major wars and unemployment is worse than at any time since the Great Depression 1929. This has highlighted the challenges pertaining to the multilateral UN system.
- Furthermore, there has been a general trend of increasing the number of challenges that are Trans-national in character (for example, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, pandemics, climate crisis, cyber-security, and poverty). UN being the epitome of multilateral world order will be much needed in dealing with global issues.
- Therefore, reforms in the UN are necessary in order to strengthen the UN's effectiveness as a multilateral organization, bring more transparency to the institution and enhance its credibility.

The current UN reforms are focused on three areas:

1. Reform of the UN development system (UNDS) - The UN has reorganised its country teams under the leadership of UN resident coordinators and revised their funding practices in order to improve the efficiency of UN agencies and the impact of development activities on the ground. It is in part thanks to Switzerland's efforts that the member states have been able to agree on the reform measures now underway in this complex area.
2. UN management reform - The UN has restructured its secretariat and simplified its budgetary practices in order to ensure that UN operations are more effective, efficient and responsive. Further reform projects will follow, including in the area of human resources.
3. Reform of the UN peace and security infrastructure - The UN has reorganized two departments: the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA; former Department of Political Affairs) and the Department of Peace Operations (DPO; former Department of Peacekeeping Operations). The two departments have now created a joint country division. Better coordination between the two departments is expected to enhance conflict prevention efforts. In addition, the area of peacebuilding has been strengthened. The overall aim is to bring lasting stability to countries emerging from armed conflict.
  - The UN is also engaged in further reform efforts in addition to the three reform tracks outlined above. Perhaps the best known is the reform of the Security Council. In addition, regular review and revitalisation processes are underway in the UN's various entities and programmes, including the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Human Rights Council and UNESCO. Several UN organisations have made periodic reviews part of their mandate.

**Discuss the five proposals made by India in the recent COP-26 conference held in Glasgow. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Suffering from global warming, frequent floods and fires, Covid-19 pandemic and numerous other problems, the planet is going through an existential crisis, citing an urgent need for scientific and innovative steps to secure humanity's future.

COP 26 or 2021 United Nations Climate Change Conference is the 26th United Nations Climate Change conference. It started on October 31 in Glasgow, Scotland and will conclude on November 12, 2021. It is the third meeting of the parties of Paris Agreement. During the conference, parties were expected to commit to enhanced ambition since COP21. Parties were required to carry out ratchet mechanism every five years, in accordance with the Paris Agreement. In this context, India at UNFCCC CoP-26 announced its enhanced climate commitments — the “Panchamrit”, including a commitment to reach net-zero carbon emission by 2070.

India's 'Panchamrita' promises include:

- India will get its non-fossil energy capacity to 500 gigawatt by 2030

- India will meet 50 per cent of its energy requirements till 2030 with renewable energy
- India will reduce its projected carbon emission by one billion tonnes by 2030
- India will reduce the carbon intensity of its economy by 45 per cent by 2030
- India will achieve net zero by 2070

India accounts for 17 per cent of the world's population. However, it only contributes five per cent of emissions. In terms of renewable energy capacity, India stands at fourth position.

The Glasgow Summit, or COP 26, is of extreme significance as it has initiated extensive programs for countering the situation of climate change.

- The summit in Glasgow focused on cutting down on emissions of hazardous elements and restoring the forests.
- The summit has also prompted the members to make extra efforts concerning achieving the targets before 2030.
- The summit urged nations to cut their emissions to zero to maintain the overall global temperature well below 1.5 degrees Celsius.

**“The post-colonial state was thought of as an entity that stood outside and above society as an autonomous agency.” Explain.**

- The states in Asia, Africa and Latin America were lacking in terms of political cohesion and economic dynamism, which enabled the imperial states of the west to colonise them. While colonial exploitation did explain the lack of development in these states, as the dependency theorists argue, it was also ‘historically rooted in their distinctive social and political traits... brittle state structures that were overcentralised or fragmented, and control of economic resources by nonproductive groups’. During colonial dominance, states in Asia, Africa and Latin America witnessed the consolidation of non-productive dominant classes and a centralised state structure to appropriate economic surplus and maintain order. The surplus was used by the imperial states for non-developmental purposes to maintain law and order, further their imperial interests and direct appropriation. All these factors contributed to the economic underdevelopment of the colonies.
- Asian, African and Latin American countries inherited the overdeveloped colonial state apparatus and its institutionalised practices, through which the operations of the indigenous social classes in these dependent/peripheral states were regulated and controlled by the imperial states. This allowed aspects of the state itself to play the dominant role in the state. Arguably, no indigenous propertied class in the post-colonial society i.e., the indigenous capitalist class or the landed rich peasantry, was sufficiently strong to assume political dominance within the post-colonial societies. As for the metropolitan bourgeoisie based in the

imperialist states, it enjoyed relative economic dominance within the peripheral states. However, the fact of independence precluded it from occupying the role of ruling class as it was formally excluded from party politics. In such a situation, weak social classes found themselves trapped in bureaucratic controls. The running argument in the neo-Marxist literature on the nature of the postcolonial state has been that the state enjoys autonomy mainly due to the weak indigenous propertied classes.

- The need Post-Colonial State felt in civil society to bring about social and economic change and achieve modernisation or development allows the authorities in the post-colonial state to play a central role in all spheres of society. The liberal perspective at the outset, also viewed the post-colonial state as playing a central role as modernising state. Being led by the western educated, modern political elite, they were entrusted with the task of following the growth trajectory of the developed western countries. However, the processes of globalisation have led to qualitative changes in the role and significance of the post-colonial state, bringing them under the influence of the transnational capital once again in an incremental manner.

**Discuss the emergence of neo-realism and its basic tenets. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- Classical realists are explicitly concerned about the basic values at stake in world politics; they provide a political and ethical theory of IR. Most realists today are usually silent about them and seem to take them more or less for granted without commenting on them or building them into their IR theories. They limit their analyses to political structures and processes and they largely ignore political ends.
- In the aftermath of the Second World War, Hans Morgenthau (1948) sought to develop a comprehensive international theory as he believed that politics, like society in general, is governed by laws that have roots in human nature. His concern was to clarify the relationship between interests and morality in international politics, and his work drew heavily on the insights of historical figures such as Thucydides and Machiavelli. In contrast to more optimistically minded idealists who expected international tensions to be resolved through open negotiations marked by goodwill, Morgenthau set out an approach that emphasised power over morality. Indeed, morality was portrayed as something that should be avoided in policymaking. In Morgenthau's account, every political action is directed towards keeping, increasing or demonstrating power. The thinking is that policies based on morality or idealism can lead to weakness – and possibly the destruction or domination of a state by a competitor. In this sense pursuing the national interest is 'amoral' – meaning that it is not subject to calculations of morality.
- In Theory of International Politics (1979), Kenneth Waltz modernised IR theory by moving realism away from its unprovable (albeit persuasive) assumptions

about human nature. His theoretical contribution was termed 'neorealism' or 'structural realism' because he emphasised the notion of 'structure' in his explanation. Rather than a state's decisions and actions being based on human nature, they are arrived at via a simple formula. First, all states are constrained by existing in an international anarchic system (this is the structure). Second, any course of action they pursue is based on their relative power when measured against other states. So, Waltz offered a version of realism that recommended that theorists examine the characteristics of the international system for answers rather than delve into laws in human nature. In doing so, he sparked a new era in IR theory that attempted to use social scientific methods rather than political theory (or philosophical) methods. The difference is that Waltz's variables (international anarchy, how much power a state has, etc.) can be empirically/physically measured. Ideas like human nature are assumptions based on certain philosophical views that cannot be measured in the same way.

**What is 'complex interdependence'? Discuss the role of transnational actors in the international system. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Complex Interdependence is a theory which stresses the complex ways in which as a result of growing ties, the transnational actors become mutually dependent, vulnerable to each other's actions and sensitive to each other's needs.

Robert O Keohane and Joseph S. Nye in their book 'Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition', described three main characteristics of Complex Interdependence: -

1. Multiple Channels: In international politics there are multiple channels connecting the societies, including all the interstate, transgovernmental, and transnational transactions.
2. Absence of Hierarchy Among Issues: In the world of Complex interdependence, there is no hierarchy among the issues. The dividing line between domestic and foreign policy becomes blurred and there is no clear agenda in interstate relations. There are multiple issues which are not arranged in a clear or consistent hierarchy. Among other things, "military security does not consistently dominate the agenda."
3. Minor Role of Military Force: As opposed to the central role that force is given in realist's world, i.e. an ultimate necessity to guarantee survival, Complex Interdependence assumes that in international relations force is of low salience. When Complex Interdependence prevails, military force could be irrelevant in resolving disagreements on economic issues among members of an alliance, however simultaneously be very important for the alliance's political and military



relations with its rival bloc. According to Keohane and Nye, intense relationships of mutual influence may exist but force is no more considered an appropriate way of achieving other goals such as economic and ecological welfare which are becoming more important, because mostly the effects of military force are very costly and uncertain.

Keohane and Nye do not claim that military power is insignificant. They argue that military actions are costly and these costs have increased for a number of reasons. For example, nuclear weapons increase the costs associated with conflict. In addition, using force on one issue could have negative effects on other economic goals. Thus, relative to cost there is no guarantee that military means will be more effective than economic ones to achieve a certain goal. Keohane and Nye explained such a cost with four main explanations: There is a risk of nuclear escalation, negative effects on achievement of economic goals, domestic opposition to the human costs in the case of war and peoples resistance in weak countries. Also Keohane and Nye stresses that transnational actors would seek their own goals rather than a state based desire. Consequently, international organizations would play significant role on setting the security agendas as also be voice of the weaker states.

**What is globalisation ? Why is there an intense debate about globalisation and its consequences?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Globalisation envisages a borderless world or seeks the world as a global village. It may be attributed by the accelerated flow of goods, people, capital, information, and energy across borders, often enabled by technological developments.

**Intense debate about Globalisation is there because**

**Increasing Inequality**

- The general complaint about globalization is that it has made the rich richer while making the poor poorer.
- The **UN Development Program reports** that the richest 20% of the world's population consume 86% of the world's resources while the rest 80% consume just 14 percent.

**Malpractices of MNCs**

- Multinational corporations (MNCs) are accused of social injustice, unfair working conditions (including slave labour wages, living and working conditions), as well as lack of concern for the environment, mismanagement of natural resources, and ecological damage.
- Also, Multinational corporations, which were previously restricted to commercial activities, are increasingly influencing political decisions.
- Many think there is a threat of corporations ruling the world because they are gaining power, due to globalization.

### **Fail to Contribute Towards Desired Gains**

- The argument that globalization has helped people in developing most of the countries out of poverty is somehow controversial. Because the opinions differ as to the quantity and the quality of the jobs being offered by globalization.

### **Contribute Towards Cultural Homogeneity**

- Globalisation promotes people's tastes to converge which may lead to more cultural homogeneity.
- Due to this, there is a danger of losing precious cultural practices and languages.
- Also, there are threats of cultural invasion of one country over another.

**Explain the impact of electoral systems and cleavages in shaping party systems with reference to developing countries. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- The set of democratic institutions a nation adopts is thus integral to the long-term prospects of any new regime as they structure the rules of the game of political competition.
- The great potential of electoral system design for influencing political behavior is thus that it can reward particular types of behavior and place constraints on others. This is why electoral system design has been seized upon by many scholars (Lijphart, Sartori, Horowitz) as one of the chief levers of constitutional engineering to be used in mitigating conflict within divided societies.
- An electoral system is designed to do three main jobs. First, it translates the votes cast into seats won in a legislative chamber. The system may give more weight to proportionality between votes cast and seats won, or it may funnel the votes (however fragmented among parties) into a parliament which contains two large parties representing polarized views. Second, electoral systems act as the conduit through which the people can hold their elected representatives accountable. Third, different electoral systems serve to structure the boundaries of “acceptable” political discourse in different ways, and give incentives for those competing for power to couch their appeals to the electorate in distinct ways. In terms of deeply ethnically divided societies, for example, where ethnicity represents a fundamental political cleavage, particular electoral systems can reward candidates and parties who act in a cooperative, accommodatory manner to rival groups; or they can punish these candidates and instead reward those who appeal only to their own ethnic group. However, the “spin” which an electoral

system gives to the system is ultimately contextual and will depend on the specific cleavages and divisions within any given society.

- That said, it is important not to overestimate the power of elections and electoral systems to resolve deep-rooted enmities and bring conflictual groups into a stable and institutionalized political system which processes conflict through democratic rather than violent means. Some analysts have argued that while established democracies have evolved structures which process disputes in ways that successfully avoid “conflict,” newly democratizing states are considerably more likely to experience civil or national violence (see Mansfield and Snyder, 1995). The argument that competitive multiparty elections actually exacerbate ethnic polarism has been marshaled by a number of African leaders (for example, Yoweri Museveni in Uganda and Daniel arap Moi in Kenya) in defense of their hostility to multiparty democracy. And it is true to say that “elections, as competitions among individuals, parties, and their ideas are inherently just that: competitive. Elections are, and are meant to be, polarizing; they seek to highlight social choices”. Elections may be “the defining moment,” but while some founding elections have forwarded the twin causes of democratization and conflict resolution, such as South Africa and Mozambique, others have gone seriously awry, such as Angola and Burundi.

**Critically examine the decline of the United States of America as a hegemon and its implications for the changing international political order. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The Cold War period provided some amount of predictability and certainty in international relations. The fall of communist bloc allowed the USA and its allies to play a dominant role in world politics. The end of Cold War certainly expanded the US role from being the chief protagonist of capitalism to other areas such as global security, peacekeeping and peace-making and peace enforcement, ‘war on terrorism’, and further to areas such as regime change, democracy promotion, human rights etc. In the name of protecting the democratic regimes and international security, the post-Cold War era saw US intervention in several countries. The Gulf war of 1991, US-led NATO intervention in Afghanistan in the post 9/11 period, invasion of Iraq without UN sanction, interventions in Libya and Syria are the examples of US and its allies’ aggressive policies.

However, the US hegemony started declining since 2010 due to the following reasons

- Rise of China as a rival to challenge the US hegemony. **For example**, China is the world leader in renewable energy, dominates global investment and trade, and with a military budget of \$230 billion.
- Rising economic power of the BRICS nations that are aggressively building a parallel economic order.
- A decline in America’s image as a result of Trump-era policies. For instance,

- Threatening to withdraw from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Withdrawing from the Paris Agreement on climate change
- Poor handling of the marginalized immigrants
- Apathy towards Democratic values in support of ultra-nationalism and ethnic purity.

Rising impact of **Asian Regionalism** on international trade and commerce with China spearheading Asian regionalism.

USA will continue to play a prime role in the international world order. Because its economy and Military strengths are still unmatched, and the global dominance of its MNC's.

### **China counters the hegemony of the US**

- China must strengthen the opposition to the West through the promotion of regional multilateral institutions. China's self-centred policies such as **Belt and Road Initiative** and the **Silk Road project** have raised scepticism among the other countries. Hence, China must push to harmonise regional tensions.
- Power rivalry in a multipolar world is a possibility, and it will give rise to military conflict. For instance, Russia's assertion of power in Georgia and Ukraine, India's disputes with Pakistan and China's infiltration into India, etc., China must resist using its military might in the Power rivalry. Rather, it should focus on challenging the established western world economically.
- China adopted the idea of absolute sovereignty and followed the nation-state model. This helped China to rise as a global superpower. But it cannot continue to rise by following the same idea of absolute sovereignty. It needs to ensure the liberal democratic model, to gain trust from other countries. Otherwise, U.S will deepen the divide against China. For instance, the U.S is already encouraging NATO members to join the US against China.

### **Looking forward**

- The developing countries should attempt to overcome their territorial aspirations. They should prioritize cultural mediation and democratic values.
- They should increase their cooperation through mutual sharing of knowledge and signing inclusive treaties.
- This will help them to tackle the challenge posed by the western hegemony.

**Explain the success of ASEAN as a regional organisation. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration which is also known as Bangkok Declaration by the Founding Fathers of ASEAN, namely Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. ASEAN had acted as a forum which has provided a fillip to regional integration and economic development. **Various reasons for this contrasting nature of Success are as follows:**

Seamless connectivity among the ASEAN countries has been one of the major factors behind the integration of the region and boost of the intra-regional trade. Waving entry requirements, promoting the region as a tourist destination are some of the steps taken.

ASEAN has always shown its ability to resolve disputes swiftly and without any major bilateral-tensions. The North-Borneo dispute between Philippines and Malaysia and claims over south china sea are such instances where the members have mitigated the problem through the peaceful mechanism.

ASEAN has shown rapid growth in its trade. Both intra-regional trade and investment are very high as compared to other regional groupings and stand at 25 per cent and 20 per cent respectively.

The major Economic Strengths of ASEAN are

- ASEAN commands far greater influence on Asia-Pacific trade, political, and security issues than its members could achieve individually.
- **Demographic dividend** –As of 1 July 2019, the population of the ASEAN was about 655 million people (8.5% of the world population).
  - **Economic:**
    - Major global hub of manufacturing and trade, as well as one of the fastest-growing consumer markets in the world.
    - **7th largest economy** in the world. It is projected to rank as the fourth-largest economy by 2050.
    - ASEAN has the third-largest labor force in the world, behind China and India.
  - **Free-trade agreements (FTAs)**
    - ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand Free Trade Area
    - ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreements
    - ASEAN-India Free Trade Area
    - ASEAN – Japan Free Trade Area
    - ASEAN-Republic of Korea Free Trade Area
    - ASEAN – Hong Kong, China Free Trade Area
    - Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

ASEAN is the fourth-largest exporting region in the world, trailing only the European Union, North America, and China/Hong Kong accounting for 7% of global exports.

ASEAN has contributed to **regional stability** by building much-needed norms and fostering a neutral environment to address shared challenges.

ASEAN has attached great importance to enhance people-centered Community, contributing to social progress by reducing poverty, enhancing ASEAN's identity, and safeguarding human rights. The ASEAN Socio Cultural Community is all about realizing the full potential of ASEAN citizens. On such, ASEAN has devotedly fostered functional cooperation in many areas among themselves and with its external counterparts from different continents not only to promote a cultural agenda, but also cooperation towards protecting and preparing its citizens from natural disasters, pandemics, effects of climate change, while enhancing people-to-people connectivity.

**Explain India's relations with the European Union in the context of Brexit. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Brexit is a term being used for Britain's exit from the European Union. Both Britain and India share an age-old history of common interests and values and with India growing fast, the relations between the two countries can reach new heights post Brexit. The UK is India's 5th largest trading partner and provides great opportunities for India to develop stronger relations with Britain, post-Brexit.

**Post-Brexit prospects:**

1. **Stronger Trade ties:** Brexit provides a fresh opportunity to India to strengthen its economic relationship with the UK through an India-UK free trade agreement (FTA). A study carried out by the Commonwealth Secretariat after the Brexit vote has identified 13 new products which India can export to the UK. It has estimated market access of around \$2 billion for these products. A well negotiated bilateral trade arrangement between the UK and India has the potential to increase bilateral trade by 26%.
2. **Foreign Direct Investments (FDI):** Indian government has considerably liberalised the FDI regime in the country and there has been an increase in FDI inflows over the last two years. India is expected to get continued attention from the investors including investments from the UK. The UK is the third largest investor in India and accounts for about 8.0% of the total FDI inflows in the country. Several British companies have exhibited interests in India post launch of the Make in India campaign.
3. **Boost Immigration from India:** The UK is experiencing a great shortfall in skilled manpower. Brexit would provide a new opportunity for the Indian professionals to look for the work options in the UK.

4. **Cheaper Pound Sterling:** The British pound is among the most expensive currencies in the world. The cheaper UK currency would likely boost exports from India as an alternative to the overpriced Eurozone. Indian students could pay less for the rupee conversion and for the Indian tourists UK travel could become much more affordable.
5. **Education Sector:** Britain's exit from the EU is expected to open up significant business and economic opportunities for the Indian Education Sector. Education in the UK will likely become more affordable. For Indian students studying in the UK, Brexit might result in a more level playing field compared with other EU students who hitherto had an informal edge over the rest of the world in the job market. India being one of the largest skilled labour markets, with a population well versed in the English Language could have a distinct advantage.
6. **Agricultural opportunities:** Key opportunities for Indian companies, post-Brexit could arise in the food and agro products sector, since the UK is a net importer of food and food products from the EU. Indian exporters would need to comply with the regulatory framework and accompanying phytosanitary requirements, depending naturally on what framework the UK adopts.

#### **Post-Brexit challenges:**

1. **Depreciation of Pound:** India businesses have presence in a wide array of sectors in the UK which include automobiles, auto components, pharmaceuticals, gems and jewellery, education and IT enabled services. Most of these sectors will be vulnerable to changes in demand and currency values. The depreciating Pound will impact the revenue stream of companies over the near term.
2. **Potential loss of market access in EU:** Many of the largest Indian employers operate in the services sector, which will be seriously impacted. Businesses in the UK might be treated as third country service providers by the EU, with potential loss of market access and increase in non-tariff barriers.
3. **Impact on garment industry:** Readymade garments are one of the key export items to the UK from India. It accounts for about 20% of India's total exports to the UK. The sector is expected to feel the pinch on account of moderation in demand.
4. **Loss of jobs:** India is one of the largest exporters of IT-enabled services and the sector has significant exposure to the European market especially the UK. The UK accounts for about 17% of India's total IT exports. IT companies thus are expected to face the heat in light of Brexit. Given the risk of further moderation in growth in the UK and EU, there is an increased probability that the companies lower their IT budgets and many may lose their jobs.

Brexit does provide an opportunity to expand India's trade and economic relations with the UK. Much will depend on the fine print of Brexit and the ensuing negotiations. The challenges that Brexit throws up have to be addressed before an India-UK FTA becomes a reality. Even though the Indian economy may be in better shape than a post-Brexit UK, we will need to leverage our strengths so that the complementarities in our economies are harnessed. We need to work towards a win-win situation so that we are able to translate adversity into an opportunity for mutual prosperity.

**Discuss the strategic implications of India's 'Look East Policy' transforming into 'Act East Policy'. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

India's 'Act East' policy is a diplomatic initiative to promote economic, strategic and cultural relations with the vast Asia-Pacific region at different levels. The country's eastward drive since 1992 has underscored the importance of this region in its contemporary international relations. 'Act East' and its early avatar, 'Look East' are not different; rather, they are two sides of the same coin, representing two different, but continuing phases in the evolution of India's policy towards the Asia-Pacific region. When India launched the Look East policy in 1991, its own economic strength, its global status and the external environment were not what they are at present. At the time of its launch, India was struggling to transition from a state-controlled economic regime to a more liberalised one. It took many years for the country to get adjusted to the newly emerging economic environment. When in 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched the Act East policy, India's economy was relatively robust and its global profile was higher than it was in the decades prior. Modi gave a new thrust to intensify economic, strategic and diplomatic relations with countries that share common concerns with India on China's growing economic and military strength and its implications for the evolving regional order.

'Act East Policy' announced in November 2014 is the upgrade of the "Look East Policy".

- The focus of the "Look East Policy" was to increase economic integration with the South East Asian countries and the area was confined to South-east Asia only.
- On the other hand, the focus of the "Act East Policy" is economic and security integration and the focus area increased to South East Asia as well as East Asia.

The objective of 'Act East Policy' is to promote economic cooperation, cultural ties and develop strategic relationships with countries in the Asia-Pacific region by providing enhanced connectivity to the States of the North Eastern Region including Arunachal Pradesh with other countries in our neighbourhood.

Act East Policy provides an interface between North-Eastern India including the state of Arunachal Pradesh and the Association of south-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) region.

Act East Policy focuses on ASEAN countries + Economic Integration + East Asian countries + Security cooperation.

The 4C's of Act East Policy:

1. Culture
2. Commerce
3. Connectivity
4. Capacity building

India needs to continue with stepped-up efforts to forge closer partnerships with concerned regional and Multilateral organizations such as ASEAN, ASEAN Regional



Forum, East Asia Summit, BIMSTEC, Asia Cooperation Dialogue, Mekong Ganga Cooperation, and Indian Ocean Rim Association.

**The modernization thesis asserts that affluence breeds stable democracy. How do you explain the success of India being the world's largest democracy as an exceptional case?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Seymour Martin Lipset posits that three social prerequisites are essential for a successful and sustainable democracy. They are

1. Wealth
2. Education
3. Industrialization.

Wealth leads to other factors as evidenced by the data from affluent capitalist countries of Europe and North America. There is a functional interdependence among these factors. However, India fails to fit into Lipset's model, due to the following reasons

1. Post 200 Years of colonial suppression America emerged a liberal democratic regime of Lockean model. India too through its struggle for independence preferred a limited government with due Checks and balances, creating a Value system for Rights, Freedoms and liberties [constitutional provision like FRs, DPSP etc]
2. Democratic ideals are not new to India. Democracy is as old as India as we witness from Uthiramerur Inscriptions and various other sources of Indian History.
3. Though it is to be admitted that Caste based prejudices, discriminations and inequalities exist in India, various constitutional safeguards like Art. 15, 16, 11 and 18 of Indian constitution and legislations like Prevention of SC | ST Act, 1989. Provide necessary procedural and institutional mechanisms to create a conducive democratic way of life.
4. Democratic Decentralization through 73rd and 74th amendment acts, facilitated the active participation of grass roots in the political process.
5. In order to ensure fair and equitable representation in Parliament, state assemblies and Panchayat, reservations have been provided to the disadvantaged groups. Conduct of free and fair periodic elections through the principles of universal adult Franchise has further strengthened the democratic spirit. India's Pluralistic democracy has created enough space and scope for participation of pressure groups, interest groups and Civil society members.
6. In the substantive dimensions, democracy is concerned with people standing up and asserting that they Count. The way the farm laws were repealed in recent

years stand testimony to the fact that there is a scope for "Dissent" mechanism in Indian democracy.

7. Despite being still economically developing, India shares the same playing field in education as other Capitalist giant democracies do. In fact, The oldest university in the world – Nalanda University existed in India in 5th – 6th century B.C.

Hence India is an exceptional case to Lipset's correlation between Modernisation and democracy. It is we the people who rule India and not any despotic ruler.

**Explain the philosophical foundations of India's foreign policy. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- Theoretically, foreign policy of no country can be bereft of certain foundational principles and profound objectives. The principles and objectives, in fact, provide the structural and functional frameworks within which the foreign policy is to be framed and in accordance with whom it has to be conducted. Obviously, principles and objectives are not the same things. While principles are the guiding philosophical norms and values that lay at the root of long term formulation of a foreign policy, objectives are the concrete goals enmeshed in the overall national interests of a country which the foreign policy seeks to achieve in short or long run. Clearly, India's foreign policy has been underpinned by a number of cardinal principles and lofty objectives that impart it a distinguished character.
- Several factors - historical, civilisational, cultural - that are innate to our people's genius, as well as current relevant ones like economic, technological, and demographic, lie behind our foreign policy consensus in shaping it. The quintessential strands of our foreign policy: peaceful co-existence, non-interference, peaceful resolution of disputes, non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, multilateralism, pluralism, general and complete disarmament, opposition to all forms of terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism, pro-development, wider global cooperation in general, and South-South cooperation in particular, and so on, are moored in India's civilisational beliefs in peace, tolerance, and One World. These have admirably stood the test of time. India, as an open, inclusive, and responsible member of the global community, believes that durable peace is only possible in a world in which all are equal stakeholders in prosperity, progress and happiness. We also propounded Panchasheela, the five principles of peaceful co-existence for international relations.
- While policy of Non-alignment was invented to act as the philosophical signpost of India's foreign policy vis-à-vis the wider international relations, doctrine of panchsheel was formulated to act as the bedrock of India's interface with its neighbours. Literally, panchsheel means a set of five principles of peaceful

coexistence. These principles were enunciated in the treaty that India signed with China to set the trajectory of relations between the two countries. The five elements of the doctrine of panchsheel are: respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression towards each other; non-interference in the internal affairs of each other; mutually beneficial relations based on equality; and peaceful co-existence. These principles were in fact nothing short of articles of faith for Nehru who appeared to turn oblivious to Chinese expansionist overtures to India. Thus, though scrupulous observance of the principles of panchsheel cost India dearly in terms of substantive loss of territory and notional loss of face in international community, she continues to be guided by these principles in setting the trajectory of its relations with its neighbours. At the larger scale, India professes these principles to be the guiding foundations of the foreign policies of different countries in all parts of the world. Only the observance of these principles could bring about and maintain long lasting peace in the neighborhood of different countries.

- Our longstanding commitment to disarmament, non-proliferation, and international security is widely acknowledged. Time and again we reached out swiftly to our neighbours, and to others in distress, such as to Maldives in the Eighties, and after the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004. India champions the interests of the countries of the South in forums like G-8, G-20, G-24, UN, IMF and World Bank, WTO, and at international conclaves like the climate meets. India has demonstrated her ability to contribute to peace and security in the region and beyond, as also, conclusively, that substantive social and economic progress is possible through true democratic governance.

**Write about the growing significance of QUAD. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

### QUAD

- It is the grouping of four **democracies –India, Australia, the US, and Japan.**
- All four nations find a common ground of being democratic nations and also support the common interest of unhindered maritime trade and security.
- It aims to ensure and support a **“free, open and prosperous” Indo-Pacific region.**
- The idea of Quad was first mooted by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in 2007. However, the idea couldn't move ahead with Australia pulling out of it, apparently due to Chinese pressure.
- Finally in 2017, India, Australia, the US and Japan, came together and formed this “quadrilateral” coalition.

### Significance of Quad for India

#### **Countering China:**

- The maritime space is a lot more **important to China than engaging in opportunistic land grab attempts** in the Himalayas.
  - A huge chunk of Chinese trade happens via the Indian oceanic routes that pass through maritime chokepoints.
  - In the event of any Chinese aggression on borders, India by cooperating with Quad countries can potentially disrupt Chinese trade.
  - Hence, unlike in the continental sphere where India seems facing a 'nutcracker like situation' due to China-Pakistan collusion, the maritime sphere is wide open to India to undertake coalition building, rule setting, and other forms of strategic exploration.
- **Emerging as a Net Security Provider:**
- There is a growing **great power interest in the maritime sphere**, especially with the arrival of the concept of 'Indo-Pacific'. For instance, many European countries have recently released their Indo-Pacific strategies.
  - With India, located right at the centre of the Indo-Pacific geopolitical imagination can realise **the vision of a 'broader Asia' that can extend its influence away from geographical boundaries.**
  - Moreover, India can build around **collective action in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, monitoring shipping** for search and rescue or anti-piracy operations, infrastructure assistance to climatically vulnerable states, connectivity initiatives and similar activities.
  - Further, India with **Quad countries can check imperialist policies** of China in Indian ocean region and ensure Security and growth for all in the region.

### Issues Related to Quad

- **Undefined Vision:** Although there is potential for cooperation, the **Quad remains a mechanism without a defined strategic mission.**
- **Maritime Dominated:** The entire focus on the Indo-Pacific makes the **Quad a maritime, rather than a land-based grouping**, raising questions whether the cooperation extends to the Asia-Pacific and Eurasian regions.
- **India's Aversion of Alliance System:** The fact that India is the only member that is averse to a **treaty alliance system**, has slowed down the progress of building a stronger **Quadrilateral engagement.**

### Looking Forward

- The Quad nations need to **better explain the Indo-Pacific Vision in an overarching framework** with the objective of advancing everyone's economic and security interests.
- India has many other partners in the Indo-Pacific; therefore, **India should pitch for countries like Indonesia, Singapore** to be invited to join in the future.
  - India should develop a **comprehensive vision on the Indo-Pacific** which would ideate on the current and future maritime challenges, **consolidate its military and non-military tools, engage its strategic partners.**

**Explain India's position on the waiver of intellectual property rights on COVID-19 vaccines in WTO. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- The **1995 agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS)** requires ratifying countries to adopt a minimum standard of intellectual property rights to protect creators and promote innovation.
- **India and South Africa have proposed a waiver from the implementation and application of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement** (waiving IP rights like patents, copyright, and trademarks) **for prevention, containment or treatment of Covid-19.**
- **If the waiver is granted**, WTO member countries will not be under an obligation, for a temporary period, to either grant or enforce patents and other IP-related rights to Covid-19 drugs, vaccines, and other treatments.
  - This will immunise the measures adopted by countries to vaccinate their populations from claims of illegality under WTO law.
- **Need to Waive Patents on Covid Vaccines:**
  - **Monopoly of Drug Companies:** At present, only drug companies which own patents are authorised to manufacture Covid vaccines.
    - A lifting of patents will allow the formula to be shared with other companies.
  - **Vaccine Cost:** Once the formula is shared, any company which possesses the required technology and infrastructure can produce vaccines.
    - This will lead to **cheaper and more generic versions** of Covid vaccines and will be **a big step in overcoming vaccine shortage.**
  - **Inequitable Distribution of Vaccines:** This has opened up a glaring gap between developing and wealthier countries now.
    - The countries having surplus doses of vaccines have already vaccinated a considerable percentage of their population and are returning to normalcy.
    - Whereas, the poorer nations continue to face shortages, have overburdened healthcare systems and hundreds dying daily.

- **Against the Interests of the World:**The longer Covid circulates in developing nations, there is a greater chance of more vaccine-resistant, deadly mutations of the virus emerging.
- **Significance for India:**
  - **Help in Increasing Production:**The bulk of the vaccine doses produced in India are taken up by foreign countries which **could pay more for the doses.**
    - This move can help **scale up production to meet demand** besides making the vaccines **more affordable for everyone.**
  - **Preparation for the Third Wave:**Indian authorities have stated that the third wave of the pandemic is inevitable.
    - Once the number of cases and deaths plateau, addressing shortages and making more affordable vaccines readily accessible could be the best way to prepare for the surge once again.
  - **Counter Arguments:**
    - **Vaccine Quality and Safety may get Compromised:**Lifting of patents would be a compromise on control of safety and quality standards for vaccine manufacturing.
    - **Disincentive Pharmaceutical Companies:**Lifting of patents would be a huge deterrent to investing heavily on vaccine development during pandemics in the future.
    - **Can Lead to Confusion:**Eliminating those protections would undermine the global response to the pandemic, including ongoing effort to tackle new variants.
      - It will create confusion that could potentially undermine public confidence in vaccine safety, and create a barrier to information sharing.

Waiving IP protections alone isn't enough to make vaccines available around the world. The countries must work with each other to expand manufacturing capabilities and support international vaccines.

It's important for both Indian manufacturers and the government to address concerns of patent holders to make sure that India's vaccination drive is not compromised in any way.

**How does the recent takeover of Afghanistan by Taliban impact India's strategic interests?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

After a strategic retreat from Kabul following the Taliban takeover in August 2021, India has re-established its diplomatic presence in Afghanistan. India has deployed a team in its embassy in Kabul, 10 months after it pulled out its officials from the mission following the Taliban's capture of power. The current state of affairs is far from being business as usual. However, India is on the path for enhancing engagement with the new regime in Afghanistan. The engagement will be full of challenges, but with a well-planned and long-term strategy it has the potency of securing many of India's strategic interests in Afghanistan and the region.

**India's Approach towards Taliban**

- India had **refused to recognise the Taliban regime of 1996-2001**. India had at that time supported the 'Northern Alliance' in fighting the Taliban in Afghanistan. The alliance was a united military front that came to formation in late 1996 after the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (Taliban) took over Kabul. It fought a war with the Taliban in 2001. This ended the Taliban's rule over Afghanistan.
- India has long held the position of **dealing only with the elected government** in Kabul. India supports an **Afghan-led, Afghan-owned and Afghan-controlled peace process**. Due to this, India pulled out its officials from its embassy following the Taliban's capture of power in August 2021.
- India was the one of the first countries to immediately ban all Afghans traveling to India, including students and patients with a valid Indian visa. However, India has been showing flexibility in its earlier rigid policy of engagement with Taliban considering the changing geopolitical landscape.

**How has India sustained its engagement after the takeover by Taliban?**

- Even after the closure of the consulates and embassy, India continued to express concerns about the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan.
- It built regional consensus about the threat of terrorism, voiced its support for an inclusive government, and **provided aid and assistance to the people of Afghanistan**. Much of this is in sync with the **Agreement on Strategic Partnership (ASP)** that India had signed in October 2011.
- However, India chose to abstain from the UN Security Council's calling on the Taliban to open girl schools. It continues to remain silent about the worsening situation in Afghanistan.
- India is one of the most visible actor in Afghanistan in humanitarian support post Taliban takeover. India has supplied 20,000 metric tonnes of wheat, 13 tonnes of medicines, winter clothing, 500,000 doses of COVID-19 vaccines to Afghanistan, as well as 1 million doses of Covid-19 vaccines for Afghan refugees in Iran.

- Recently, India sent a small technical team to Kabul in June 2022, to deal with the humanitarian crisis following the earthquake in Paktika and Khost provinces as a first responder.

### **Need to engage with the Taliban**

- **Security:** A stable Afghanistan is crucial for regional and domestic security of India. With Afghanistan becoming a centre of radical ideology and violence, such a development would affect Pakistan and inevitably reach India. Engagement is desired to prevent Afghanistan from becoming another safe haven for anti-India terrorist groups, and also check Pakistan's deepening influence in Kabul.
- The Taliban's victory realised two important ideological and strategic goals of militant Islamists and their Pakistani patron: **(a)** Establishing a "pure Islamic Government" in the Heart of Asia; **(b)** Securing Pakistan's "Strategic Depth". The two concepts are necessary pre-conditions for attaining another long-held vision of Islamists.
- **Connectivity:** The most important role of Afghanistan is always considered as **India's gateway to Central Asia**. It implies continental outreach. For instance, connectivity with Afghanistan and further with Central Asia have been primarily the reasons for India's engagement with Iran to develop Chabahar port.
- **Strengthening regional foothold:** Increasing strategic engagements with Afghanistan is beneficial for strengthening a foothold in the region. For example, India's relations with Iran at present are dominated by oil. Diversification of engagements would strengthen India's relations with Iran and other countries.
- **Energy Security:** To address its energy needs and to sustain its economic growth, pipelines from Iran and Central Asia would be extremely important. India sees Afghanistan as an essential component of the TAPI (Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India) pipeline.
- **Trade:** In case of trade, Afghanistan can help India export its products to Europe, gaining foreign exchange. The railway line from Chabahar to Zahedan in Afghanistan envisages to connect New Delhi with Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Europe.
- **Diplomatic Outreach by Taliban:** The Taliban have also tried to reach out to India. Indian Officials had first met Taliban's Political Head in Doha (Qatar) in August 2021 at the request of Taliban. In the 1990s, the Taliban had excessive reliance on Pakistan for international recognition. However, circumstances are now different, Pakistan's economy is in shambles and its diplomatic space has contracted considerably. India's economy and international standing has improved appreciably since 1990s. Taliban realizes that it has to reach out to all regional powers, especially India, to get international recognition for the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.

### **Change in India's stance signify**

- **First**, there seems to be a definite realization that the **Taliban regime is there to stay** and no amount of pressure building will dislodge it from power at least in the near-medium term. There are indications of the development of some



opposition to the Taliban in the Panjshir valley. However, there is also no indication of a popular countrywide upsurge which could push them out.

- **Second**, there seems to be some convergence in the policy and strategic circles that **engagement, not complete detachment**, could be the key to **securing India's vital strategic interests in Afghanistan**. This needs to be done when the Taliban regime is still isolated internationally and therefore amenable to India's presence.
- The complexity of circumstances in Afghanistan leaves very limited options, as summed by the US Officials: **Engage, Isolate, or Oppose**. The US officials say they are focusing on the first two options. India's approach appears to be similar.
- **Third**, it shows that India is **unwilling to repeat the past mistake of 1996**, when New Delhi shut its embassy for 5 years, reducing Afghanistan to a strategic and intelligence black hole.
- **Fourth**, it will give **India an opportunity to exploit the divisions** within the Taliban to win over the moderates and dilute the agenda of the hardliners.
- **Fifth**, India understood that its **absence was working to the advantage of countries** who did not wish it to return and were using the space to restart proxy warfare.

#### Challenges in engaging with the Taliban

- **Lack of Legitimacy**: Taliban still doesn't command legitimacy of the majority population. It is controlling them by sheer use of force which may give rise to another civil war and bring instability in the region.
- **Human Rights Violations**: The Taliban have excluded all non-Taliban Pashtuns from public space as is shown by the house detention of former President Hamid Karzai. There are also systematic violations of the human rights of the non-Pashtun communities which amount to crime against humanity, and ethnic cleansing which borders on genocide.
- **Regressive Outlook**: Taliban is a predominantly Pashtun men-only regime which has imposed harsh restrictions on women at home. Its orthodoxy may bring more misery for women in future and undermine gender equality.
- **Mistrust on Taliban**: Though there are indications of a policy shift but still there has been a high degree of mistrust on Taliban since the Hijack of an Air India flight to Kandahar in 1999.
- **External State Influence**: Pakistan and China will place numerous barriers to diminish the growing closeness of India and Taliban. Since August 15, 2021, Afghanistan has descended from a Pax Americana experiment to a "Pax Pakistana" ambition.

#### Looking ahead

- **First**, for now, the **'engagement' formula seems to work for both**. Engagement by India will enhance the profile of the former insurgents and may even be the mark of an ice-breaking event following which other countries will follow suit. On the other hand, it may also allow India to moderate the radical stance of the Taliban. For instance, the Taliban has followed up with two back-

to-back statements on **strengthening its defense relationship with India**. It is also offering to welcome former members of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF) trained in India back to their jobs.

- **Second**, India needs to frame a **comprehensive long-term policy of engagement** with all the stakeholders to ensure that peace and stability return to Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan and not the current regime needs to remain at the centre of its declared Afghan policy.
- **Third**, the prospects for peace and stability in Afghanistan under a Pax Pakistana lordship are not feasible as Pakistan itself is overwhelmed by multiple internal and external challenges. Afghanistan **needs a strong UN mandate**, including a UN-led political transition process supported by a UN peacekeeping force. India can lend its support to such endeavors which are worthy of its character, ambition and Afghanistan's needs.

India should work with other regional and global players to push the Taliban to adopt a more inclusive regime. At the same time, it should maintain a policy of gradual bilateral engagement rooted in realism.

**“Non-alignment was little more than a rational strategy on the part of a materially weak India to maximize its interests with a bipolar distribution of global power.” Comment.(UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The year 1947 was one of great uncertainty. Newly independent India was in no position to decide on a definite foreign policy course. Stalin's Russia was not adored much by the nationalist leaders of Colonies though it stood committed to the freedom of Colonies. As for America Nehru had already presaged its emergence as an imperialist power on the ruins of the 19th century empires. He knew that Washington would be guided by the British Foreign Office on Indian affairs.

- The term "non-alignment" was coined by V K Menon in his speech at the United Nations (UN) in 1953, which was later used by Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru during his speech in 1954 in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in which he described the Panchsheel (five restraints) to be used as a guide for Sino-Indian relations, which were first put forth by Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. These principles would later become the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement. The five principles were: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in domestic affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence.
- Beyond principles like neutrality and equidistance, India's non-alignment policy was about the autonomy of decision-making and flexibility of choices in pursuit of national interest. It also demonstrates how visionary leadership seeking to influence international politics could develop ideational frameworks to propel their grand strategy.

- The fundamental objective of being non-aligned in the bygone era - when states breaking free of colonial shackles were being sucked into a new form of global politics - was the conviction of the leadership that it will be in the best interests of the country. At the time, the cost of being aligned to any one bloc was assumed to be much higher than the cost of being neutral, which, in turn, secured the autonomy of sovereign choices and flexibility in taking strategic decisions.
- The quest to influence the making of post-colonial world order was duly shaped by Jawaharlal Nehru's concept of internationalism, characterised by his idea of 'One World' with non-alignment among its five core elements. While espousing these ideals, Nehru was also lucid about where India has to place itself in the evolving global political system. Through various elucidations, Nehru asserted that India had the influence and potential for playing a prominent role in global affairs given its unique geographical (a bridge between East and West) and political positioning (as a former colony with a tradition of nationalist struggle against imperialism). In his address to the Parliament in February 1953, Nehru remarked, "the strength which limits or conditions the foreign policy of a country may be military, financial or, if I may use the word, moral. It is obvious that India has neither military nor financial strength. Furthermore, we have no desire to and cannot impose our will on others."
- Though non-alignment has been a natural outcome of the Nehruvian conceptions, its actual relevance was in determining the space for India and the third world in the Cold War spectrum from the early 1960s, when the superpower competition began to acquire numerous dimensions - of conflict, cooperation and détente. Furthermore, after its initial mobilisation as an anti-imperial voice, the movement was about the struggles of members to engage and reconcile with the normative structuring of the global order by the superpowers. India's non-aligned postures, for that matter, remained contested and subjected to varied interpretations as it evolved in the next four decades of pivoting India's foreign policy.
- Nehru had two streams of thought on the virtues of being non-aligned:
  - (a) as a model of third world self-sufficiency bereft of influence of imperialism or colonialism,
  - (b) as a platform to safeguard the interests of those who wished not to align with the superpowers in their rivalry.
- Non-alignment was a bridge between two hostile ideological blocs, and a policy of independence to judge issues on its merits irrespective of external pressure.
- The West essentially saw India's non-alignment as a negative policy. Then US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles termed it as immoral, a policy of expediency, of sitting on the fence, and so on, and contended that "those who are with us are with us and those who are not are against us." In fact, most Western analyses of non-alignment treated it in relation to the bipolar world: as an effort to mediate superpower rivalries or to prevent global war, a repudiation of traditional machinery of power politics, reactive diplomacy, representing a posture of moral superiority, substituting balance of power model, etc.

- Non-alignment was not merely defined by principles like neutrality and equidistance, but also by the autonomy of decision-making and flexibility of choices to act in the best interests of the country. As is evident from the many instances of realistic decision-making and unrelenting pursuit of national interests, non-alignment was a decisive practice of realist statecraft or pragmatic conduct of international relations. When seen from that perspective, the era of non-alignment could provide immense insights on how visionary leadership seeking to play an influential role in international politics could develop ideational frameworks that would propel the grand strategy of their choosing. Finding an effective grand strategy inevitably requires a balancing act. Non-alignment has been India's answer to this challenge and an influential tenet of its foreign and security policy since its emergence from colonization. This approach has in the past enabled India to avoid many of the limitations and entanglements of formal alliances; but it has also left the country in the position of shaping policy in a reactive manner.

**Examine the Geo-strategic points of contention in the bilateral relationship between India and China. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Since formally establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1950, Indo-China relations have been rather volatile, lacking in confidence, with long-standing and unresolved territorial issues proving to be the major sticking point between the neighbours. These issues need immediate redressal for any meaningful progress between two of Asia's biggest economies.

1) Border disputes

- Probably the biggest sticking point in Sino-Indian relations, border disputes between the two countries have existed since many years, and remain unresolved. While several territorial land pockets (14 divisions) along the 3488-km-long border, (Line of Actual Control) have come under dispute, the two main unresolved issues remain Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh. In 1962, the two countries fought a brief war in Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh, in which the Chinese People's Liberation Army handed the Indian Army a comprehensive defeat.
- Though Aksai Chin is administered by China, India's official position on the issue is that, by virtue of it being a part of Jammu and Kashmir (Ladakh), the region remains an integral part of India. For China, which claims Aksai Chin as part of its Xinjiang province, the region is of utmost strategic importance as it connects Xinjiang with Tibet.
- The other border dispute between the two countries involves the north-east Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. While the Indian side claims Arunachal Pradesh to territorially be an integral part of India, China refers to it as South

Tibet, mainly because of its Tibetan Buddhist affiliations. Chinese maps often include a major part of Arunachal Pradesh (around 90,000 sq. km) as part of their country, which China primarily uses to provoke India.

## 2) Border incursions

- An immediate fallout of the several unresolved territorial claims by both nations, border incursions/intrusions have been a major stumbling block to improving relations between India and China. Both countries have been strengthening their military presence along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). While China has deployed close to 300,000 troops (13 full 'Border Defence Regiments') India has deployed around 120,000 troops in the Eastern Sector.
- In 2009, China began the practice of issuing stapled visas to residents of Jammu and Kashmir and Arunachal Pradesh, provoking a strong protest from India. It rejected this practice saying these acts by China amounted to questioning India's sovereignty and territorial integrity. In 2011, China stopped issuing such visas for people from Jammu and Kashmir.
- However, in the recent past, several sportspersons from Arunachal Pradesh, including weightlifters and archers, have been issued stapled visas by the Chinese embassy, causing further annoyance to India.

## 4) Tibet

- At the very heart of India's relations with China is the unresolved issue of Tibet. In 1950, Chinese troops invaded Tibet to reclaim and re-assert its sovereignty (Tibet declared independence from China in 1913) over the region, which was confirmed after both parties signed the Seventeen Point Agreement. In 1950, following an uprising in Tibet, the 14th Dalai Lama fled to India, with many of his followers joining him in exile, where he established the Central Tibetan Administration (commonly known as the Tibetan government-in-exile). When the uprising took place, according to a 1959 report in the Xinxua, Chairman Mao Zedong accused India of "aiding the rebels, and that Nehru and the bourgeoisie in India had sought to maintain Tibet as a buffer zone and restore its semi-independent status." In 2003, when then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Beijing, India recognized the Tibet Autonomous Region as an "integral" part of the People's Republic of China.
- However, while India's official position on the Dalai Lama is that it considers him a spiritual leader and an honoured guest, China on the other hand said, "it opposes any country that provides a platform for his (the Dalai Lama's) anti-China activities in any form."

## 5) String of pearls

- One of India's growing concerns in the last decade or so is China's ever-expanding sphere of geopolitical influence in the Indian Ocean. Dubbed as "string of pearls" in wonk-speak, it involves the development of commercial ports in various countries as part of its new "Silk Route". The route, which China claims as an important trade corridor, extends from its naval base in Hainan Island (South China Sea) to Bagamayo in Tanzania, Africa, with several of the ports encircling mainland India. These include Hambantota (Sri Lanka), Gwadar (Pakistan), Chittagong (Bangladesh) and Marao Atoll (Maldives). Also, besides India, China is the only other country to have a fully functional embassy in Male.

- Officially, India does not see these developments as “competition” between itself and China. China denies that these ports are to be used as naval bases to threaten its neighbour.
- The other areas where India and China are engaged in a few bouts of shadow boxing involve increased trade and development projects in Africa and Latin America.

#### 6) Water dispute

- While China is already involved in several water-sharing disputes with countries like Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam over the Mekong River, its plans to build several dams on the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra (known as Tsangpo in China) hasn't gone down well with New Delhi. The Brahmaputra, which originates as Tsangpo in Tibet, is one of the major water resources in India's north-east, especially as a source for irrigation and industry.
- China has a unique, exclusivist policy when it comes to sharing natural resources. It follows a doctrine that believes in exclusive use of resources that originate from its soil. India, in the meanwhile, is looking to build 25 hydropower plants in Arunachal Pradesh before China completes its project. India is also concerned about “a decrease in the flow of the river water” and “the destruction of the Himalayan ecosystem.”

#### 7) Trade imbalance

- Trade relations between India and China formally resumed in 1978. Six years later, the two countries signed the most favoured nation (MFN) agreement. India's trade with China began rather modestly, as low as \$2.92 billion in 2000. Eleven years later, it rose to a phenomenal all-time high of \$73.9 billion. In 2012, decreasing Indian exports over the previous 12 months meant, it fell to \$66.57 billion.
- While China is India's largest trade partner today, concerns about trade imbalance between the two countries remain, with the imbalance skewed in China's favour. During 2013-14, the trade deficit between the two countries was at \$36.22 billion.
- Decreasing Indian exports aside, strong Chinese regulatory systems have put off exports from India, especially from sectors like information technology (IT), meat and pharmaceuticals, where India is believed to have the upper hand.
- India is an exporter of raw materials to China, with India importing finished goods from China that have virtually invaded the markets in various sectors like toys, consumer electronics and even areas like firecrackers, thereby affecting India's own manufacturing sector. Various other goods like glasses, ceramics, bathroom fittings among many others are also getting easier to import from China.
- Traders prefer buying finished goods from China, as they're better in quality and come cheap, compared to the rising production costs and other related taxes and duties back home, and offer them better margins. While some traders and small manufacturers have adapted themselves to an ever-expanding Chinese import situation, it has also put some Indian industries on notice, while some have decided to shut shop.

**Write a brief analysis of the ethnic conflicts and cross-border migrations along India-Myanmar and India-Bangladesh borders. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Given the ethnic and cultural similarities between India on one hand and Bangladesh and Myanmar on the other, the “ethnic-cultural space” of each intrudes into the “geographical-territorial space” of the others. It is natural that ethno-cultural contiguity and continuity give opportunities and scope to immigrants to India to relate to their respective country of “origin”.

India- Myanmar

- Since the military coup in Myanmar on February 1, 2021, the ruling junta has launched a campaign of persecution against the Kuki-Chin peoples. This has pushed large numbers of Myanmarese tribals across the country’s western border into India, especially into Manipur and Mizoram, where they have sought shelter. Mizoram, where a large section of the population has close ethnic and cultural ties with people across the border, has set up camps for more than 40,000 refugees, despite protests from the Union Ministry of Home Affairs.
- **A Free Movement Regime (FMR)** exists between India and Myanmar. Under FMR every member of the hill tribes, who is either a citizen of India or a citizen of Myanmar and who is resident of any area within 16 km on either side of the Indo-Myanmar Border (IMB) can cross the border with a border pass (with one-year validity) issued by the competent authority and can stay up to two weeks per visit.
- The regime has been reviewed from time to time, and most experts agree that the FMR needs better regulation. As the crisis in Myanmar escalated and the influx of refugees increased, India suspended the FMR in September 2022.
- Given the interests of the local population, however, neither the complete removal of the FMR nor full fencing of the border may be desirable. Livelihoods will be impacted, and essential travel for health care and education may be hit. Oinam’s paper argued that “it is imperative for New Delhi to tackle the issue by pursuing ‘killing the snake without breaking the stick’ approach.”
- It is not easy to plug illegal immigration or drug trafficking across an unfenced border in treacherous terrain.

India- Bangladesh

- The Chakmas and Hajongs are ethnic people who lived in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, most of which are located in Bangladesh. Chakmas are predominantly Buddhists, while Hajongs are Hindus. They are found in northeast India, West Bengal, Bangladesh, and Myanmar.
- The Chakmas and Hajongs living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts fled erstwhile East Pakistan in 1964-65, since they lost their land to the development of the Kaptai Dam on the Karnaphuli River. In addition, they also faced religious persecution as they were non-Muslims and did not speak Bengali. They eventually sought asylum in India. The Indian government set up relief camps in Arunachal Pradesh and a majority of them continue to live there even after five decades. According to the 2011 census, 47,471 Chakmas live in Arunachal Pradesh alone.

- The Chakmas and Hijongs opposed their inclusion in undivided Pakistan during Partition. They later opposed their inclusion in Bangladesh when East Pakistan was fighting the Liberation War with West Pakistan, on grounds that they are an ethnic and religious minority group. A group of Chakmas resorted to armed conflict with Bangladeshi forces under the name "Shanti Bahini". The conflict increased the inflow of refugees to India.
- Illegal migration and cross-border activities are major challenges along the India-Bangladesh border, which is marked by a "high degree of porosity". According to the annual report of the home ministry, to curb infiltration, smuggling and other anti-national activities from across the India-Bangladesh border, the government has undertaken the construction of a fence along it.
- The non-physical barrier will comprise technological solutions, while sanction has also been accorded to replace the old design fence with a new design fence.
- There have been some problems in the construction of fencing in certain stretches on this border due to riverine and low-lying areas, habitations within 150 yards of the border, pending land acquisition cases and protests by the border population, which have delayed the completion of the project, the report said.
- Border roads have been constructed for better communication and operational mobility in border areas. So far 3,750.87 km of border roads have been constructed out of the sanctioned length of 4,223.04 km. The ongoing work is to be completed by March 2024.

**Why is South Asia considered as the world's politically and economically least integrated region? Explain. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

South Asia region was geographically and culturally designed for the widest possible cooperation but in reality, it was the least integrated region in the world. Protectionism is highly prevalent in South Asian countries, while Southeast Asian economies have preferred accelerated trade and investment reforms even after the Asian crisis.

- **Low Inter-Regional Trade:** South Asia's intra-regional trade is the **lowest globally, constituting only 5% of the region's total trade**. The current economic integration is just one-third of its potential with an annual estimated gap of 23 billion dollars.
- **External Influence in South Asia:** Smaller neighboring countries are quite predictable in seeking to **balance India's influence through closer relations with external powers**, in the past this was the US at the moment it is
  - Recent Chinese actions and policies in South Asia as well as its maritime neighbours, including **Indian Ocean Island nations**, have made it necessary for India to take its neighbours very seriously.



- **Territorial Issues:** Territorial disputes in South Asia remain a **challenge to the peace, stability, and prosperity of the region.**
  - Of all interstate disputes, those over territory tend to be more likely to lead to **armed conflict.**
- **Inefficient Management of Global Supply Chain:** South Asia's international **trade integration is lower than the global average**, and it is way less integrated into global value chains **compared to East Asia.**
  - The countries have abysmally low exports due to the low productivity of many countries in this region.

South Asia is the least integrated in the world which needs to be improved through bilateral FTAs for fuller benefits of cooperation with ASEAN and political commitments from the governments.

Trade creation and trade diversion will cause overall welfare gains in the economies of South Asia as the larger countries India and Pakistan would particularly gain from preferential arrangements with a bigger block such as North American Free Trade Association and the European Union, while smaller ones like Bangladesh and Nepal would benefit more from regional integration.

**How do the constituent states influence the foreign policy making process in India?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- John Kincaid of Lafayette College had coined the term "**constituent diplomacy**" in 1990 to denote the "international activities of a foreign-policy character undertaken by the constituent governments...and local governments (mostly municipalities) of federal countries and decentralized unitary states, as well as by citizen organizations and non-governmental organizations".
- The concept of **paradiplomacy** was first proposed in 1990 by John Kincaid, an American scholar who outlined a foreign policy role for local governments within a democratic federal system. Economic paradiplomacy related to trade and investment in particular has become an institutionalised practice across the world – in federal states like the United States, Canada and Belgium, quasi-federal states like Spain, non-federal states like Japan and even non-democratic states like the People's Republic of China.
- The **distribution of legislative powers** between the Union and states in India is quite explicit. A threefold distribution of legislative powers between the two (Art 246) is envisaged in the Indian Constitution. Foreign affairs, diplomatic, consular and trade representation, participation in international conferences, entering into treaties and agreements with foreign countries and implementation of treaties, agreements, and conventions with foreign countries, foreign jurisdiction and

trade and commerce with foreign countries, import and export are the areas where only the Union government is competent to legislate.

- States may attempt to sway a range of foreign policy issues in India, in a way that is **not always in sync with national priorities** and can occasionally lead to suboptimal policy outcomes. Of all issues, border disputes, cultural and diaspora, and foreign investments frequently feature in center-state dynamics.
- **Political parties in Tamil Nadu, for example**, influenced the Manmohan Singh government's policies on Sri Lanka when the island country was being offered a number of sweetheart deals by China. The Singh government was not just forced to vote against Sri Lanka in the UN Commission on Human Rights but the Tamil Nadu parties effectively vetoed Singh's plan to travel to Colombo for the November 2013 Commonwealth heads of government meeting.
- With the historic rise in states' share of funds from 32 to 42 percent as suggested in the 14th Finance Commission of India, regional governments are becoming fiscally wealthier and politically assertive. There is a simultaneous increase in the realization that NRIs can be leveraged for prestige and politics. In what can be called **competitive federalism**, states want to reach out to foreigners to attract tourists and investment independent of center's efforts.
- Any and all efforts by the states are a win-win for the national government as well. Apart from traditional friction points involving neighbors, New Delhi should support and harness state efforts to attract tourism and investment wholeheartedly, while states should not hesitate from using the MEA's expertise, even if they are political rivals. If such **policy harmony could be created by expanding the remit of States Division of MEA** and involving local missions, there is much the states and the center can achieve collectively.

**Examine the evolution of India's role in the global nuclear order. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The global nuclear order is facing unprecedented challenges in contemporary times. Specifically, there are four. First, the major concern is clandestine development of nuclear weapons by non-nuclear weapon states like North Korea and Iran. Second, the challenge arises from the nuclear energy renaissance and the proliferation risks it engenders. Third, and most dreaded, is the threat of use of weapons of mass destruction by non-state actors, especially by millennial actors like al Qaeda. However, the defining factor challenging the established nuclear order is the power transition which the international system is witnessing in the post-cold war era. India, along with China and Brazil, are pivotal to this power shift. Consequently, the global nuclear order envisioned by the 1970 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), reflecting the power balances of the Cold War, is increasingly becoming archaic.

India is fully committed to complete Nuclear Disarmament. India supports complete disarmament within a specified timeframe which distinguishes its stance from Nuclear

Weapon States (NWS) which have an ambiguous stand regarding timeline for disarmament.

India also insists that disarmament must be 'non-discriminatory' and pursued 'on the basis of equality' i.e., there must be no discriminatory provisions in favor of NWS as is the case with the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The NPT call for ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons but hasn't put on timeframe for the same. India calls for complete disarmament despite being a non-signatory of the NPT.

The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) was created following the explosion in 1974 of a nuclear device by a non-nuclear-weapon State (India), which demonstrated that nuclear technology transferred for peaceful purposes could be misused. It is a group of nuclear supplier countries that seeks to contribute to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons through the implementation of sets of Guidelines for nuclear exports and nuclear-related exports. The NSG takes decisions by consensus. India is keen to become a member of NSG as it seeks to significantly expand its nuclear power generation and also enter the export market in coming years.

#### Areas of Focus for India

- **Enhancing Nuclear Power:** India must **recognise and adapt to the changing global nuclear discourse** as major instruments of great power military strategy. It must also **examine the potential** of its nuclear weapons, **if it is capable of deterring the expanding atomic arsenal of its rivals.**
  - After 1998, India premised its strategy on building **“credible minimum deterrence”**.
    - The time has come to reflect on the “credible” side of that strategy and redefine what the ‘minimum’ might be.
  - Also, India must **gradually revise its posture of ‘active deterrence’ to ‘dissuasive deterrence’** by building up its infrastructure along the border and improving the surveillance and warning capabilities among other things.
- **Enhancing Nuclear Energy Potential:** India, which commissioned Asia's first nuclear power station more than 50 years ago, is currently stuck with a total generating capacity of barely 7,000 MW.
  - **India must find ways to end the current dormancy in its civilian nuclear power generation**, especially at a time when it has outlined an ambitious programme to reduce the share of fossil fuels in its energy consumption.
- **Revisiting Civil Nuclear Liability Act:** India's civil nuclear initiative was meant to **open up international collaboration to boost the production** of atomic electric power.
  - However, the **Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Act of 2010 made it impossible for private players — internal and external — to contribute** to the programme.
  - **Revisiting that law is an urgent imperative** for any Indian strategy to rapidly raise the contribution of nuclear power to India's energy mix.

**“Relations between India and Russia are rooted in history mutual trust/and mutually beneficial cooperation.’ Discuss. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- **Russia has been a long standing and time-tested partner for India.**  
Development of India-Russia relations
- 
- has been a key pillar of India’s foreign policy.
- Since the signing of **‘Declaration on the India-Russia Strategic Partnership’** in **October 2000**, India-Russia ties have acquired a qualitatively new character with enhanced levels of cooperation in almost all areas of the bilateral relationship.
- **During the Cold War, India and the Soviet Union had a strong strategic, military, economic and diplomatic relationship.** After the Dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia inherited its close relationship with India which resulted in both nations sharing a Special Strategic Relation.
- Under the **Strategic Partnership**, several institutionalized dialogue mechanisms operate at both political and official levels to ensure regular interaction and follow up on cooperation activities.
- During the visit of the Russian President to India in December 2010, the Strategic Partnership was elevated to the level of a **‘Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership ‘**.
- However, the **relations have taken a steep downfall over the past few years, especially in the post-Covid scenario.** One of the **biggest causes for this is Russia’s close relations with China and Pakistan**, which have caused many geopolitical issues in the past few years for India.

### Soviet Legacy

- The deep roots of this relationship go back to the early 20th century when India was **under British rule and the Tsars ruled Russia.**
- The **Russian Revolution of 1905 inspired Indian freedom fighters.** Mahatma Gandhi, then in South Africa, was struck by the similarity in the prevailing conditions in Russia and India.
- **Indian freedom fighters were greatly inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution** and after visiting the Soviet Union in 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru was convinced that poor developing countries like India needed to follow not the capitalist path but a development model that emphasized social justice, equality and human dignity.
- It is noteworthy that even before India became independent, an official announcement was made on 13 April 1947 on the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and the Soviet Union.
- **It was Soviet diplomatic backing and material support, and the confidence provided by the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, which enabled India to successfully undertake the operations in 1971.**

- **Public sector companies like BHEL, HAL, ONGC and Steel Plants** were setup with Soviet cooperation.
- During Soviet times, it was a truly strategic, if somewhat unequal, partnership which helped India become more self-reliant . As the relationship evolved, it gained strength based on five pillars:
  - (a) Similar political and strategic perceptions of the world;
  - (b) Intensive military-technical cooperation;
  - (c) Strong economic bonds;
  - (d) Deep ties in science and technology; and
  - (e) People-to-people and cultural links.

There is perhaps no other example of two large countries having domestic consensus about their strategic partnership. The two countries have no bilateral issues or threat perception from each other and exhibit mutual trust and confidence in each other's strength.

Above all, there is a positive popular perception about each other. India and Russia have similar security concerns. They strongly condemn terrorism in all forms and manifestations, and call for comprehensive international efforts to combat the menace. They have similar position on global hotspots such as Afghanistan, Syria, and others. Russia has consistently supported India's candidature for the expanded United Nations Security Council's permanent membership and its application for NSG membership. There is an annual strategic dialogue; besides, the two countries meet regularly in plurilateral groupings such as the BRICS and the SCO. Both countries call for a multipolar order based on the centrality of the United Nations and "rule of law" in the international system.

**Discuss the "Sustainable Development Goals" as set by the United Nations. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

The Sustainable Development Goals agenda was accepted by all members of the United Nations in 2012 at the Rio De Janeiro Council Meet with an aim to promote a healthy and developed future of the planet and its people. It was in 2015 when the Sustainable Development Goals were implemented after a successful fifteen-year plan of development called the Millennium Development Goals.

The documentary screened at the Rio+20 conference – "Future We Want" presented the idea of a post-2015 development agenda. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is an intergovernmental agreement formulated to act as post-2015 Development agenda, its predecessor being Millennium Development Goals.

It is a group of 17 goals with 169 targets and 304 indicators, as proposed by the United Nation General Assembly's Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals to be achieved by 2030. Post negotiations, agenda titled "Transforming Our World: the

2030 agenda for Sustainable Development” was adopted at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit. SDGs is the outcome of the Rio+20 conference (2012) held in Rio De Janerio and is a non-binding document.

The 17 goals under the Sustainable Development Goals are as mentioned below:

1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere
2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well being for all at all stages
4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
9. Built resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation
10. Reduce inequalities within and among countries
11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production pattern
13. Take urgent actions to combat climate change and its impact
14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources
15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably managed forests, combat desertification and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development

India's record in implementing Sustainable Development Goals

- Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA) is being implemented to provide jobs to unskilled labourers and improve their living standards.
- National Food Security Act is being enforced to provide subsidized food grains.
- The government of India aims to make India open defecation free under its flagship programme Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.
- Renewable energy generation targets have been set at 175 GW by 2022 to exploit solar energy, wind energy and other such renewable sources of energy efficiency and reduce the dependence on fossil fuels. (Read about International Solar Alliance in the linked article.)

- Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) and Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana (HRIDAY) schemes have been launched for improving the infrastructure aspects.
- India has expressed its intent to combat climate change by ratifying the Paris Agreement.

**Identify the drivers of India's new interest in Africa. (UPSC CSE Mains 2021 - Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

- The main drivers of India's relations with Africa feature an assorted mixture of inter-related political, strategic and economic factors related to its national and international ambitions. While such drivers can be ascribed to the government of India and its foreign policy, the term 'India' clearly encompasses a much more complex set of internally diverse actors. Despite efforts to enhance the coherence of India's engagement, these do not always cohere in the pursuit of common goals. This is indicative of how Indian relations with Africa now mix government engagement with various other actors, to which Indian business is central.
- A defining overarching driver is India's pursuit of strategic autonomy in new, global circumstances characterised by economic interdependence and the pursuit of status and influence in the international system. Such an aim is couched within efforts to forge a new India's historic promotion of its own form of alternative universalism based on the moral and democratic political credentials pioneered by modern India's founding fathers, like Gandhi, Nehru or Ambedkar. India has sought to develop and pursue a long-term strategic partnership, while at the same time following other bilateral foreign policy objectives.
  1. One area where this is seen, if not always publicly acknowledged, is in India's relations with China. Made more competitive and compelling due to neighbourhood proximity, these have developed into an unstated form of rivalry projected onto Africa. This motivation for India's Africa policy has been especially important in the process whereby a formerly distant continent has come to be more noticed within India by a slightly wider, though still restricted domestic audience.
  2. Second, India pursues wider international objectives via its African relations. Africa features in India's efforts to position itself as an aspiring smart power with global reach, trying to reconcile global aspirations with its domestic developmental imperatives and the need to balance development assistance with the promotion and expansion of its own interests in Africa. New Delhi's commitment to reforming and democratising international relations dovetails with its aspiration to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Africa is seen as a support base for this ambition, mirrored by India's support for the

Security Council's ambitions for key regional African states. Collaboration with Africa is also bound up in India's wider international roles in other senses. This is seen in India's contribution to international peace and security via its active UN peacekeeping role in Africa, from which India can claim and receive credit.

3. Third, economic interests are a further and important driver in India's relations with Africa. Energy security clearly demonstrates this point. Holding 0.3 per cent of the world's total oil reserves and a fifth of its population, India has been importing on average more than half of its crude oil needs since 1965. The 'India Hydrocarbon Vision 2025' of February 2000 called on India 'to assure energy security by achieving self-reliance through increased indigenous production and investment in equity oil abroad'. While outlining a greener, cleaner India using renewable energy, oil was at the core of this vision, galvanising efforts to find new overseas sources.
4. Finally, a related factor concerns the geostrategic propulsion behind India's mounting interest in and engagement with the strategically important African Indian Ocean Rim. India's maritime doctrine, published in 2004 and revised in 2007, spelled out the immense importance of the Indian Ocean to India's security and economic development, manifest in the high dependence upon seaborne supplies of natural resources (for instance, nearly 90 per cent of its oil supplies are seaborne). New Delhi's quest for natural resources – especially oil and natural gas – to power continued economic growth renders its interdependence with overseas supply sources a strategic matter.