

1. **Identify the constraints / challenges to the regional cooperation in South Asia. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

South Asia is the southern region of Asia, which is defined in both geographical and ethno-cultural terms. The region consists of the countries of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. India's vision of regional economic integration in South Asia is based on enhanced intra-regional trade, investment flows and regional transport and communication links in South Asia. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and India's Neighbourhood First Policy are the two vehicles in this process. Culturally, there are many similarities, but there are a number of cross-sub regional challenges like political and economic instability (Sri Lankan Crisis and Afghanistan Crisis) , high inflation, depleting foreign exchange reserves (Pak's forex reserves have fallen to USD 4.3bn -its lowest since 2014) and domestic unrest that continue to simmer in the South Asian region, which hosts around a quarter of the world's population.

Constraints / Challenges to the regional cooperation in South Asia

- **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 neighbouring 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 China. 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.
- **Political Tensions:** Historical conflicts, border disputes, and ongoing political tensions between countries in the region make it difficult to foster cooperation and regional integration.
- **Economic Disparities:** Significant economic disparities between countries in the region make it difficult to establish a level playing field for trade and investment.
- **Different levels of Economic Development:** South Asia is home to some of the world's most economically advanced countries as well as some of the least developed. This makes it difficult to establish a common economic agenda.
- **Security Concerns:** The region is plagued by various security concerns, including terrorism, extremism, and separatist movements, which can make regional cooperation and integration difficult.
- **Small Size of Markets:** Most of the countries in the region are small in terms of population, area, and GDP. This makes it difficult for businesses to operate and for regional trade to thrive.
- **Lack of Trust:** Lack of trust between countries in the region is a major obstacle to regional cooperation and integration.

Perhaps South Asia could learn from the ASEAN experience where concerted action and a shared vision has made it a dynamic regional grouping. In such a scenario, it becomes imperative to assess the impediments that SAARC faces in the path of regional cooperation in order to lift it out from the morass of poverty and underdevelopment. Given the historical context, topographic

	<p>and demographic features, natural resource endowments and socio-cultural ethos, South Asia could be the most natural unit of cooperation and integration.</p>
2.	<p>Ethic conflicts and insurgencies in North-East india can be better managed by improving relations with the neighbouring countries. Substantiate the statement with suitable examples.(UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <p>The North East region of India comprises eight states – Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura – each with its own distinct history and identity. The region shares its borders with Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Bangladesh and has been one of the most sensitive regions in India. Since 1947, the history of this region has been marred with insurgency and under development. India has been making continuous efforts to end insurgency and violence in the region. Several efforts have been made for the overall development of the region.</p> <p>India has identified three core objectives for the North East Region:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. to preserve its dialects, languages, dance, music, food, and culture and to create attraction for it all across India;2. to end all disputes in the North East and to make it a peaceful region,3. to make the North East a developed region and bring it on par with the rest of India <ul style="list-style-type: none">• In this regard, various border dispute settlement agreements and peace accords have been signed with relevant stakeholders. Further, with the help of the armed forces, satellite camps of insurgent groups operating from foreign soil have also been neutralized at scale. Long pending disputes between various states in the Northeast had been a major concern in the development of the region. Many decades-long disputes are finally getting permanently resolved through the proactive

	<p>efforts of India. This has given a push to integration and trust and has paved the way forward for long-term peace and progress.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The government is committed to the all-round development of the Northeast region and making it an economic hub connecting Southeast Asia under the Act East Policy. 'Act East Policy' announced in November 2014 is the upgrade of the 'Look East Policy' which was promulgated in 1992. The Objective of "Act East Policy" is to promote economic cooperation, cultural ties and develop strategic relationships with countries in the Asia-Pacific region through continuous engagement at bilateral, regional and multilateral levels thereby providing enhanced connectivity to the States of North Eastern Region with other countries in our neighbourhood. The Act East policy is playing an instrumental role in bringing a paradigm shift and marking a significant change in the potential role of the North-East region.• India has been extremely responsive to the needs of this region, by making enhanced connectivity, improved infrastructure and people's welfare part of its core development agenda. From being on the margins of the India story, the Northeast is quickly becoming one of the country's growth engines.
3.	<p>How does the Parliament determine and influence the making of india's foreign policy?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <p>According to article 246, 'All matters which bring the union into relations with any foreign country' falls under the jurisdiction of Parliament. Hence, broadly the parliament has the right to take decisions on all the matters of foreign policy. Members of parliament can not only debate any matter of foreign policy in parliament but can also influence this process through various activities. Two important committees of parliament have comprehensive and direct influence on this subject. These committees are: –</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Parliamentary Advisory Committee of External Affairs Ministry.

- Standing Committee of External Affairs Ministry.
- The government takes the suggestions seriously given by these committees. Two other committees of parliament also influence the formulation of foreign policy individually and indirectly. These are— Estimate Committee and Public Accounts Committee. Hence, the parliament influences the functional aspects of making of foreign policy in an important way through its various activities.
- But the power of parliament depends upon the following many factors:
 - on the charismatic and expertise personality of executive.
 - On the level of interest and expertise of parliamentarians in foreign policy.
 - Emergency situation of country.
 - On the nature of representation of various forces in parliament.
- On many occasions, the parliament has significantly influenced the foreign policy of India. Nehru's foreign policy towards China in the early period was soft despite several border violations due to the overwhelming support of the Parliament. But, following constant pressure in parliament, Nehru was forced to restructure his policies during the late 1950s. The parliament also successfully pressurized the Nehru government to disclose every single document on China, which was tabled in the form of white papers in the Parliament for discussion.
- In relation to the 2008 Indo US Civil Nuclear Deal aka 123 Agreement. The proposed deal was discussed in parliament in November 2007. CPI(M) and CPI had warned against the deal and withdrew their support from Congress-led central govt. However, with the help of regional parties and independents, the UPA govt. won a trust vote in Lok Sabha with 253 members voting in favour and 232 against.

4. **Before the year 2000, the Indo-US relationship has been marked more with estrangement than cordiality. Why?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

India has had a peculiar hot and cold relationship with the US since its independence. Throughout the Cold-War era, despite having many shared common values, both countries lacked conviction in their respective policies. The myopic Pakistan-centric American policy completely disregarding core Indian interests was the major cause of differences and mistrust between the two nations. Pakistan was an important cog in US Cold War strategy in the wider region of South Asia and the Gulf. India's was leader of the Non-aligned countries; and had a tilt towards socialism. India's model of "mixed" economy was a closed model that had high tariffs and regulations for the operations of foreign multinational corporations – leading MNCs after the Second World War were American MNCs. And the US, too, always alleged that India's strategic perception and policies were heavily tilted in favour of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Many scholars described India's Non-aligned policy as unethical in the context when, they said, the world was facing the threat of Communist totalitarianism against freedom.

- The India-US relations touched their Nadir when in 1971, the Pakistani army unleashed a genocide in East Pakistan. It killed 15 lakh Bengali Pakistanis, raped thousands of women, forcing an exodus of nearly 1 crore refugees to West Bengal. However, US President Richard Nixon & and Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger opted to support Pakistan and even tried to intimidate India by moving the US 7th fleet to the Bay of Bengal. The relations soured further in 1974 when India carried out a nuclear test for the first time.
- The trend reversed with the end of Cold War and the opening up of the Indian economy during 1991-92. The Eastern bloc had ceased to exist, NAM had lost its relevance, the USSR was no more a threat, and the Indo-US relations seemed promising.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• However, this positive phase received a drastic setback when India carried out 5 nuclear tests in May 1998. An enraged US imposed severe sanctions on India; with her allies Japan, Canada and Australia following the suit. The ban included key Indian Defence and science organizations and laboratories as well as well-known scientists.• Indo-US relations have made significant strides in the post-Cold War era, leaving the infamous tag of "estranged democracies" behind. In fact, the two countries have premised their strong bonds upon the strength of their traditions as the oldest and largest democracies in the world. As governance structures, education, awareness and governments themselves have evolved in both countries, there is even more that has come under the ambit of –common values shared between the US and India.
5.	<p>‘Economic interest has emerged as the main component of india’s foreign policy’. Discuss the statement in the light of india’s initiatives to improve relations with China, Japan and the Central Asian republics.(UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Indian diplomacy’s moment is a recognition of its incipient rise and growing economic and geopolitical stature. That is why today there is greater emphasis on the economic component of India’s foreign policy. Globalization and the digital revolution have made trade and other economic interaction, including movement of capital and labour across countries, more important for India’s development. Economic liberalization has raised the stakes and the influence of businessmen, industrialists and entrepreneurs in foreign affairs. Foreign policy has to promote trade, create jobs (both in India and abroad), bring in needed civilian and defence technologies and promote inward as well as outward investments. It also has to ensure India’s energy security, since India depends hugely on

imported oil, gas and coal, as well as many other raw materials and natural resources.

- Today, an increasing number of Indians, particularly the younger generation – students, professionals, and businessmen – have global interests. Millions of Indians travel abroad for business, education or tourism. An equally large number of Indian citizens and people of Indian origin live and work abroad. Looking after the welfare of all these groups of Indians is a very important task of Indian foreign policy.
- Relations with the United States (US) appear to be on cruise control. Positive ties with Washington have propelled strategic partnerships with Japan and Australia, both Quad partners. Indeed, the Quad's turn to address transnational issues like global health, climate change, and digital issues gives New Delhi an opportunity to contribute to regional public goods in the Indo-Pacific.
- European Union (EU)-India relations have been on the ascent, driven by a shared desire to enhance economic security. Importantly, dissonance with such major powers on Russia's invasion of Ukraine has not dented or slowed their diplomatic prioritisation of India. India has also pivoted to seize diplomatic opportunities in the Middle East, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Countries such as Israel, Egypt, the UAE, Singapore, and Brazil are forming partnerships with India to improve economic ties and help address regional challenges.
- World Bank estimates suggest that China is now the biggest lender to low and low middle income countries (LMICs) but Beijing's disinclination to provide meaningful debt relief has given India a diplomatic opening to address difficulties in a region on which its own development hinges. India has the opportunity to use the G20 to not just reduce debt burdens across the Global South but also encourage other governments, especially China and the US, private

	<p>firms, and multilateral development banks like the World Bank to support more equitable debt burden sharing to ensure the current crisis does not engulf countries. Nearly 60% of LMICs stand at the precipice of default which makes the situation precarious. India can use the G20 to move multilateral development banks to provide more concessional financing to LMICs that allows these countries to offset external outflows.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The efficacy of a geo-economic foreign policy fundamentally hinges on how credibly India manages and sustains economic policy. Despite optimistic prognostications on the economy, difficulties in establishing and adhering to a predictable economic policy framework could dent the use of economic instruments to achieve foreign policy goals.
6.	<p>In 1998, India declared itself as a nuclear weapon state. India refuses to sign NPT and CTBT. What would be the implications for india's nuclear policy in case it signs both the treaties?. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <p>There are several valid reasons for signing the treaty – some based on the benefits that would accrue if we announced such a decision, others by showing that the “option” of testing forgone is not very important.</p> <p>Diplomatic gains</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ It would enhance our stature further. The fact that India would be doing so without requiring prior ratification by China and the US, would establish our ability to take independent initiatives that are good for the country and the world.▪ At a more pragmatic level, the move will greatly strengthen our case for being admitted to the NSG and other international groupings. <p>Forgoing future testing</p>

- Legally speaking, as a sovereign nation, we can certainly resume testing again. Realistically, however, we can't really exercise that option without seriously damaging our credibility in the international community. Abandoning our voluntary moratorium on testing would nullify all the effort we have made during the last two decades to shed the unfair tag of being a pariah state and to be viewed as a responsible nuclear nation.

A unilateral decision

- India has a nuclear doctrine which clearly eschews nuclear aggression and seeks to build only a credible minimum deterrent. Unlike the US and Soviet Union during the Cold War, India does not entertain notions of conducting a nuclear war and winning it.
- Traditional wisdom pertaining to conventional weapons – the bigger the better – does not apply to nuclear weapons for minimal deterrence. As we have repeatedly argued for years, just a pair of 20 kT fission bombs dropped on a pair of major cities of the adversary would kill half a million people. That represents sufficient unacceptable damage for any modern state, the prospect of which is enough to deter any thoughts of an attack by them. For such counter-value attacks, 50 kT thermonuclear weapons are not needed. The arsenal of fission weapons we already possess is more than sufficient, with plenty of redundancy.
- Lastly, let us put to rest the standard objection that in signing the CTBT, we would be – or be seen as – succumbing to US pressure. It is true that the Americans have time and again urged us to join the CTBT despite themselves stopping short of ratifying it. But these periodic suggestions do not add up to any significant pressure, unlike the pressure mounted on us when the Narasimha Rao government was planning the nuclear test.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Today, there are no penalties or threats of sanctions for our not signing the CTBT. Besides, to not take a step that is good for us simply because others have suggested it for their own reasons is as much allowing ourselves to be dictated by them as taking the step.▪ Additionally, Pakistan's suggestion that we enter into a bilateral agreement with them to not test does not merit a serious consideration. To test or not is not a bilateral matter. If we join the CTBT, it would be a unilateral step. Therefore, no serious commentator aware of the situation can attribute our joining the CTBT at this juncture to any external pressure.▪ A nation aspiring to be a world power must not shy away from taking bold initiatives at crucial periods. As Shakespeare wrote, "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." Such an opportunity is available to India to fortify its place as a leader in the community of nations, that too without flexing its military or economic muscle.
7.	<p>Vision of a new world order has emerged as the major objective of india's foreign policy. Discuss the policy initiative taken by India in this regard and challenges faced by it. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <p>India's vision of a New World Order is guided by its commitment to multilateralism, inclusivity, sustainable development, and global peace.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ India advocates for a multipolar world order where power is distributed among multiple major nations. It seeks to promote a global system that respects the diversity of nations, cultures, and ideologies. India believes that a multipolar world fosters a more balanced and inclusive global governance structure, allowing for the representation and participation of all nations.

- It emphasizes the importance of adhering to international law, including the United Nations Charter and other global conventions. It calls for upholding the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. India believes that a rules-based international order helps prevent conflicts, promotes peaceful resolution of disputes, and fosters mutual respect among nations.
- Holding the leadership of the Global South, India advocates for an inclusive and sustainable economic order that addresses global poverty, inequality, and environmental challenges. It emphasizes the need for fair trade, technology transfer, and investment flows that promote development, particularly in developing countries. India supports initiatives such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to achieve equitable and sustainable global growth. India promotes South-South cooperation, recognizing the importance of developing countries collaborating and sharing experiences and resources. It advocates for strengthening ties among developing nations to address common challenges and promote collective development.
- India's vision of a New World Order is rooted in its historical legacy, democratic values, and commitment to global peace and development. It seeks to build partnerships, foster dialogue, and work towards a more equitable and inclusive global system.

8. **Discuss the factors for the decline of india's presence in Latin America. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)**

Latin America denotes the region south of the United States i.e., Mexico, the Caribbean Islands and South America. The various factors for the decline of india's presence in Latin America.

1) Linguistic and Cultural Unfamiliarity

Spanish and Portuguese are the main languages of the Latin America region. While English remains the language for Indians to communicate with rest of the world. The familiarity of language brings with it cultural and idea exchanges and paves the way for greater cooperation. Unfamiliarity in this domain has obstructed the India Latin America relations from achieving their true potential.

China has over 60 Latin American study centres besides hundreds of Spanish and Portuguese language institutes. In India, there is a need for more Latin American study centres and language institutes.

2) Absence of Diaspora

While India has the highest diaspora across the world, the figures do not do well when it comes to Latin America. There are almost no settled Indian-origin industrialists or businessmen with the heft to act as nuclei in Latin America for their erstwhile compatriots or pull the investment from there into India, a model that has created vibrant linkages with other countries. Their modest economic conditions do not generate the levels of remittances nor tourism to warrant the attention bestowed on communities of Indian origin elsewhere. As Amb. Deepak Bhojwani suggests, “This may be the only region where professionals outnumber the settlers from India.”

3) Geographical Distance

Among all continents, South America is the farthest from India. The direct air and shipping links are considered uneconomical, because of low volume. Although both sides see each other as exotic tourism destinations, the industry has not achieved critical travel mass which will ensure direct connectivity. However, as S Jaishankar suggests, “We live in a globalized era and we must now make sure that distance is no longer an impediment. Modern logistics offer us collaborative possibilities so do modern communications.”

Further, this factor also doesn't deter China, whose trade with the region is around eight times that of India, nor does it deter Indians travelling to the US, whose east and west coasts are as far from India as Sao Paulo and Mexico respectively.

4) Diverse Geography and Lack of Regional Cohesion

Indian companies shipping to Brazil cannot automatically access all other countries and markets in the region, given problems of infrastructure and connectivity. Thus, India has to ship separately to the eastern and western coasts of South America.

Further, it should also be understood that when India deals with the EU or ASEAN, particularly for trade, it deals with the whole region as a whole, since they are customs unions. This is not the case in Latin America. Mercosur and Pacific Alliance, prominent trade blocs, do not cover all the countries of South America, even together. Venezuela is a full member of Mercosur, but its membership has been suspended since 1st Dec 2016. Thus, India transacts business bilaterally with more than 20 countries and occasionally engages at the regional level.

5) Political Environment

Historically, Policymakers in New Delhi have not given sufficient attention to Latin America. There are no strategic interests for India in the region. Latin America rarely inserts itself in the arena of geopolitics, no country in the region has nuclear weapons, and the region has not seen an intra-country war since the late 1800s. Partnership with the region does not have a great power charm associated with it and it has historically been consigned to the corners of India's foreign policy priorities.

Further, the internal politics of the region also looms large on bilateral relationships. Most of the countries in the region have a political system, which can be termed a 'procedural democracy'. Any abrupt change in leadership changes policy priorities and prevents long-term relations from developing. The large resources of the region, coupled with an unstable political system also invite great powers to interfere in the region, affecting their external relations. Venezuela, which holds the largest crude oil reservoirs in the world is a classic example of this.

6) Variable Economic Growth

While the Indian economy continues growing around 6-7 percent annually, with an optimistic future outlook, the same is not the case with Latin America.

	<p>Various factors have ensured that Latin America does not grow steadily on the economic front. This results in fluctuations in trade volumes as well as composition. This also prevents long-term trade relations from being built.</p>
9.	<p>River water disputes are emerging as a major source of conflicts and suggest the remedial measures. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <p>Water remains a politically contested issue in much of South Asia. India shares its rivers with several international neighbours including China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan. Ganga, Brahmaputra and Indus are important river systems which India shares with its neighbours. These river basins are of immense importance for the future socio-economic growth of India. The water-sharing treaties and agreements signed with these countries have become more relevant in times of increasing water crisis and the higher capability of all partner countries to tap the most difficult of the waters from the shared basins.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Over-extraction of groundwater is of particular concern, with an estimated 23 million pumps in use across Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan.▪ Moreover, salinity and arsenic contamination affects over 60% of groundwater in the Indo-Gangetic plain.▪ Combine these factors with the impact of climate change that's reducing the amount of water in the Brahmaputra basin and changing the patterns of water flow.▪ Under such circumstances, the increasing need for power and stable water levels could prompt reconsideration in bilateral water-sharing treaties in future. <p>With time, the geopolitical and economic strength of these countries has also dramatically changed. Such as, China has gained immense economic and diplomatic power in the last few decades making it a difficult partner to negotiate on issues of mutual interests and conflicts.</p>

The construction of a large number of storage structures by China upstream of Brahmaputra is a cause of concern both for India and Bangladesh. The 1960 Indus Water Treaty between India and Pakistan has again opened up the conflict, and the Baglihar and Kishanganga projects have come under dispute. India shares 54 rivers with Bangladesh. Disputes with Bangladesh over the Farakka barrage, Hardinge Bridge and Teesta river have remained in news for long. If not resolved amicably the transboundary water disputes are bound to get more severe and difficult to settle.

The fresh negotiations will have to go beyond the historical treaties based on age-old data of precipitation and surface water flows. This becomes more important considering the increasing groundwater withdrawal and alteration in catchment areas which is hugely impacting the river flows. As this exercise would be time-consuming and require professional support, a unified agency at the national level with a strong implementation framework to negotiate interstate water disputes will have a positive impact.

In context to the international water conflicts, the Convention on the Protection and Use of Trans boundary Water courses and International Lakes of the UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 1992 and the UN Convention on the Law of the Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses (UNCILW) 1997 can be the good guiding principles in taking fresh negotiations ahead.

To mutually succeed in negotiations the critical part is to convince people beforehand, and this would require developing trust with them about the sincerity of the governments in addressing the regional and local water security issues first.

- Near-term hydro diplomacy in south asia could start with less sensitive areas like
 - managing flooding by sharing forecasting data
 - collaborating on navigation, electricity generation, and water quality

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ If successful, these types of less formal cooperation might eventually make countries more willing to consider an official multilateral forum, which (despite some limitations) could help them further build trust, resolve grievances, and manage shared waterways.
10.	<p>The United Nations completes 70 years of its establishment in 2015. What reforms is india asking for to strengthen the global institutions of governance and why? (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <p>India was one of the founding members of the UN in 1945 and played an active role in the drafting of the UN Charter. As the world has evolved in the 21st century, the UN's structure, decision-making processes, and effectiveness have come under scrutiny. Consequently, reforms within the structure of the UN are imperative to bolster its efficacy as a multilateral organization, enhance transparency, and boost its credibility.</p> <p>Over the years, India has consistently demonstrated its commitment to global peace, security, and development through its participation in UN peacekeeping missions, humanitarian assistance programs, and contributions to various UN agencies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Reforming UNSC: As former UN secretary general noted that “No reform of the UN would be complete without reform of the Security Council”. Therefore, equitable representation as well as expansion of the UNSC is the desired reform that India envisages. However, this would be the most challenging aspect of UN reforms, as the most permanent five are generally opposed to strengthening the institution and use their power to stop any significant change. While the UNSC was dysfunctional, India developed a multilateral agenda of its own — from decolonisation and disarmament to a new international economic order — and mobilised considerable political support for it. This underlines the possibilities for shaping the global discourse in the present.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Engaging With Other Multilateral Forums For UN Reforms: Possible solutions to reform UN finances can be establishing a 'reserve fund' or even a 'world tax'. Also, in order to make UNGA more effective, India can propose a bicameral parliamentary assembly framework for UNGA.▪ Balancing National Interest and Multilateralism: The primary objective of India's present multilateralism should be to ensure its territorial integrity, especially at a time when China has adopted aggressive posture on the border. Here, India can leverage multilateralism to serve India's interests. Like aligning with Quad countries or working with mechanisms like FATF to mount pressure on Pakistan to stop supporting cross-border terrorism in India. Further, while reclaiming its role in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), India must engage with other multilateral institutions as new rule-making as India is not at disadvantage if rule making takes place outside the UN.
11.	<p>Discuss the realistic foreign policy initiatives taken by India to balance its relations between Israel and the Arab world. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <p>Amid the turmoil of the Middle East, India has conventionally adhered to a policy of equivalence in dealing with Israel and neighbouring Arab countries. Israel is a major defence and strategic partner for India while Arab state are leading trade partners, mainly fulfilling India's energy needs and serving as a destination for India's food exports. To maintain a friendly relationship with both sides, India prefers to avoid the Arab-Israeli conflict and advocates a dialogue-driven, peaceful, two-state solution.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Shift in India's Policy:<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Establishment of Diplomatic Relations: In 1992, India established full diplomatic relations with Israel, marking a

significant shift. Despite this, India continued to **voice support for the Palestinian cause.**

- It was only after the end of the Cold War that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao took the bold step of **establishing diplomatic ties with Israel, irrespective of potential fallout** with the Arab nations.
- **Balance in National Interest:** India's diplomatic decisions are guided by **national interest**, necessitating a balance between maintaining strong relations with Israel, supporting Palestine, and **developing ties with the Arab world.**

Current Policy and Diplomatic Nuances

- **Relations with Israel as a National Interest:**
 - India's relations with Israel have strengthened considerably in recent years, encompassing **various sectors like trade, technology, defence,** and counter-terrorism cooperation.
 - India's support for Israel is seen as a response to its **fight against cross-border terrorism**, although the situations in Israel and India differ significantly.
- **Stands With Palestine's Cause:**
 - Besides growing relations with Israel, India has reiterated its stand for Palestine's cause.
 - Amid the ongoing tensions, USD 29.53 million has been contributed by India to the **UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)** for Palestinian refugees.
 - India also sent nearly 6.5 tonnes of medical aid and 32 tonnes of disaster relief material for the **people of Palestine.**
- **India Balancing its Stance:**
 - In 2017, the Indian Prime Minister for the first time visited Israel and in 2018 he made an official visit to Palestine for the first time.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ In 2017, India voted against the U.S. and Israel for an attempt to declare unilaterally all of Jerusalem as the Israeli capital.▪ India's policy is clear, they condemn terrorism but do not support indiscriminate reprisal bombings.▪ India's Official Stand:<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ India's official position on the Israel-Palestine conflict remains unchanged, advocating for a two-state solution with Israel and Palestine as good neighbours.<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ It was only after the mediation of the US, in the 1991 Madrid Peace conference a two-state solution was agreed to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.▪ This is evidenced by the Indian Prime Minister's visit to Ramallah in the West Bank in 2018. <p>The India-Israel-Arab world in its current form offers a definitive example of a blend between <i>Realism</i> and <i>Constructivism</i> approaches in International Relations.</p>
12.	<p>Discuss the humanitarian role played by India in the crisis-stricken Gulf countries like Yemen and Iraq. (UPSC CSE Mains 2015- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 2)</p> <p>India's growing presence in the domain of humanitarian assistance coincides with its rise as an economic power over the last few decades and its inclination to assume a position of regional and global leadership.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Government of India regularly and closely monitors the evolving security situation in the Middle East, including in Iraq, Libya and Yemen, which had substantial Indian communities. The safety and security of our nationals in these countries is a matter of foremost concern for us. The Government has made extensive efforts to enable the evacuation of Indian nationals from war-affected countries.

- Our Embassy in Baghdad has facilitated the return of over 7,000 Indian nationals to India till date, by providing them assistance with travel documents, immigration and departure facilities and air tickets. The Government had setup special camp offices in Erbil, Najaf, Karbala and Basra, to facilitate efficient evacuation. We have established 24 hour helplines to assist our nationals in Iraq and their concerned family members in India. The Mission is in close and regular contact with the Iraqi Government to ensure the safety and security of the remaining Indian nationals in Iraq. A group of 39 Indian nationals working in a construction company in Mosul continue to be held captive by ISIS. The Government is making every effort to secure their release.
- The Government conducted Operation 'Raahat' in March-April 2015 for the evacuation of Indian nationals from Yemen. This was acknowledged as a successful operation by the international community. Under this operation, we evacuated 6,710 persons from Yemen, including 4,748 Indians and 1,962 foreign nationals. The Hon'ble Minister of External Affairs regularly reviewed the arrangements made in this regard. An inter-ministerial 'Standing Group for Repatriation of Indian Nationals from Abroad' was setup under the chairmanship of Secretary(East) in the Ministry of External Affairs, to coordinate and implement the evacuation plans in cooperation with the Ministries of Home, Defence, Shipping and Civil Aviation. We established a 24 hour control room and helplines in the Ministry of External Affairs. Similar helplines were also set up in our Embassy in Sana'a and a camp office was established at Djibouti. India continues to monitor the internal developments in Yemen.
- Successful humanitarian aid and disaster relief (HADR) efforts can significantly contribute to building diplomatic capital for a country. For India, enhancing its HADR capabilities, fostering regional cooperation and promoting capacity building can help bolster its diplomatic relations in the region and beyond.

13.	<p>” ... political theory is not an escape mechanism but an arduous calling.” (John Plamanetz) (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Political Theory since the dawn of modern human civilization remained the intellectual discourse for defining basic structures of society like Law, Power, Authority, Legitimacy, Rights etc. It is the political theory which always provided the essential concepts to assist such developments. As Political theories were built by various thinkers coming from different ideological, moral, intellectual and philosophical backgrounds, theories like rights, liberty etc could hardly escape themselves from the essential normative judgements. The subjective analysis of various theory building process created various debates and discussion essential for the a subject to grow.▪ However, the approach was criticised by the behavioural school as an escape mechanism. David Easton blamed traditionalists for the decline and purported irrelevance of the discipline. He stated that political theories were indulging in old ideas rather than dealing with contemporary issues. His behaviouralist theory sought to systematise political theory to make it more scientific, dynamic and value-neutral.▪ Behaviourism was criticised for ideological reductionism by Dante Germino. Normative scholars criticised it for compromising with scope and relevance of the discipline i.e. it was neither necessary nor desirable to make political science ‘value-neutral. They critiqued the unrequited jargon as well as the status quoism (Herbert Marcuse). There was limited critical analysis of existing political phenomena – behavioural school was more descriptive and empirical than critical and analytical. Thus, traditionalist scholars faulted behaviouralists for denigrating the normative method. For Plamenatz, the normative approach to political theory was not ‘an escape mechanism’ rather, an

	<p>arduous task of scrutinising the present and formulating and striving for an ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ After 1960s a new web of political thinkers called for rejection of such narrowness discipline and advocated for incoming of different web of ideas for good. The strong effect of Marxist -Socialist ideas, Feminism and post-Modern ideas called for more intellectual analysis for the burning problems of this century like-Globalised world order, threat from the non-state actors, movements for saving the environment, ending the poverty etc. Hence, political theory in the 21st century has not become an escape mechanism but an arduous calling for differing ideas for the welfare of all.
14.	<p>“All silencing of discussion is an assumption of infallibility.” (J. S. Mill) (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• If society has to advance, that can be made possible with the help of creative individuals. Creativity could be effective only if allowed to function freely. The early liberals defended liberty for the sake of efficient government, whereas for Mill, liberty was good in itself, for it helped in the development of a humane, civilized, moral person. It was “beneficial both to society that permits them and to the individual that enjoys them”.• Mill emphasized the larger societal context within which political institutions and individuals worked. For Mill, the singular threat to individual liberty was from the tyranny and intolerance of the majority in its quest for extreme egalitarianism and social conformity. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence: and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs, as protection against political despotism. The majority projected itself as the controller of social opinion, as the “moral police”.

	<p>Social tyranny was exercised in subtle forms like customs, conventions and mass opinion, which did not make an individual stop and think where and how one had come to acquire these. There was an absence of “individuality”. Individuality, to Mill, was not mere non-conformism, but signified the act of questioning, the right to choose.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• He encouraged eccentricity, “the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom” at a time when mass opinion was exceptionally assertive. On the contrary, when the pressure to conform socially was not so strong, then there was no need to encourage eccentricity. Individuality, to Mill, meant the power or capacity for critical enquiry and responsible thought. It meant self development and the expression of free will. He stressed absolute liberty of conscience, belief and expression, for they were crucial to human progress.• Mill offered two arguments for liberty of expression in the service of truth:• The dissenting opinion could be true and its suppression would rob humankind of useful knowledge; and• Even if the opinion was false, it would strengthen the correct view by challenging it. But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race, posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it.• If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error
15.	<p>“Nationalism is not a mere political programme but a way of life like religion.” (Aurobindo Ghose) (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</p>

Sri Aurobindo Ghosh was considered as a prophet of Indian nationalism. Along with Bankimchandra, Tilak and Dayanand, he developed the theory of nationalism in India. Sri Aurobindo's theory of nationalism was based on Vedanta philosophy which saw unity and oneness in man and God. He declared that India was in fact Mother India which represented the united power and Shakti of millions of her children. Mother India represented the infinite energy of her people: He identified Mother India with God and maintained that it was God's divine mission to set India free. He said that the village should retain its autonomy and self-government but at the same time, 'should seek to promote national cohesion. The ideal of national Swaraj must be modeled on the old village community which was self-sufficient, autonomous and self-governing.

- Sri Aurobindo's rise into the political scene of India coincided with the outbreak of the swadeshi movement, following which he expressed his opinions in his periodicals like Jugantar, Bande Mataram and Karmayogi, criticizing British imperialism by preaching the gospel of militant nationalism.
- Aurobindo made a great contribution to the theory of passive resistance and boycott to curtail functioning and growth of British administration and commerce. Aurobindo made it clear that the passive resistance may turn to be violent in case of ruthless suppression by the ruler. In this way it differed from Gandhiji's technique of Satyagraha.
- Following his imprisonment, there was a spiritual development in Aurobindo's thought impacting his conception of nationalism as well:
 - His conception of spiritual nationalism was linked to his philosophy that rests on evolution of human life into the divine life. He elevated the demand for national freedom to a religious faith so that the masses could be awakened, an idea that was further developed by Gandhi in his mass movements.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Sri Aurobindo's concept of nation was deeply influenced by Bankimchandra. He believed that the nation is not just a piece of land nor a mass of human beings. He glorified India as a Mother Goddess, and liberation of the motherland is the most urgent duty of her children for which they must be ready to sacrifice even their lives.▪ According to Aurobindo's understanding, the 'nation' is a living entity-'shakti' composed of all the shaktis of all the millions of units that make up the nation. Thus, nationalism was not merely a political programme but a spiritual one.▪ Therefore, Sri Aurobindo sought to move away from Swaraj (political freedom) towards independence (complete freedom).▪ In Sri Aurobindo's vision, the modern and free Indian nation was not meant to be a colonial copy with an outer machinery of elaborate bureaucratic structures left over by the British and now-merely-to-be-filled by the Indians – though he recognised the necessity for an effective external organisation.▪ He envisioned the rebirth of a nation which will be grounded in India's unique temperament shaped by her spiritual genius and conscious of her true mission. This new India would play a crucial role in creation of future society which would be a society of complex oneness, a world society in which present nations will be intrinsic parts of the whole.▪ Despite these novel ideas, Sri Aurobindo's idea of nationalism was criticised as distracting attention of masses from real issues like poverty, economic exploitation, inequality. Further, his concept was overtly based on Hindu civilisational values making it hard to accommodate the diverse beliefs of pluralist India.
16.	“India has thrown up a form of judicial democracy that has no parallel anywhere else, and has nurtured a kind of civil society that is uniquely

its own.” (Bhikhu Parekh)(UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)

Judiciary is that branch of government that interprets the laws or says what the laws mean & democracy means a form of government in which the citizens share the power. The anatomy of the Indian Constitution is broadly Montesquiean, and among the customary trinity, the Founding Fathers vested in the Judiciary, especially the Supreme Court, sweeping powers beyond what comparable courts in other countries, including the United States. Judicial democracy does so on the grounds that judges, though in some ways accountable to the democracy of which they are part, are usually relatively independent compared to other officials.

The Court's greatest judicial innovation—and the most important vehicle for the expansion of its powers—has been its institution of Judicial Activism. In PIL cases, the Court relaxes the normal legal requirements of “standing” and “pleading,” and the Court has expanded its own powers to the point that it sometimes takes control over the operations of executive agencies.

During COVID-19 pandemic, Delhi High Court even issued a contempt notice to the Centre on the oxygen issue. Court played its role in micro-management of pandemic, fixing oxygen quota and distribution. Similarly, the Uttarakhand High Court pulled up the state government for allowing the Kumbh Mela to go ahead against scientific advice and not following standard operating procedures. According to a study, there is direct correlation between judiciary and economic growth. Thus, judicial governance becomes imperative in democracies.

Significance

- Judicial activism acts as a mechanism to **curb legislative adventurism and executive tyranny** by enforcing Constitutional limits.
- It helps in **upholding faith of citizens** in constitution and judicial organs.
- Judicial activism **fills legislative vacuum** areas, which lack proper legislation. This help country to meet the changing social needs.

E.g. **Vishakha guidelines** to counter harassment of women at work place.

- Sometime politicians afraid of taking honest and hard decisions for fear of losing power. Judicial activism helps in plugging such active political lacunae.
- Judicial activism help in enhancing administrative efficiency and help in **good governance**.
- It sometimes helps in **balancing powers** among various organs of government through judicial control over discretionary powers.
- Progressive interpretation of law has **expanded the rights of the people**. e.g. **Right to privacy** under Article 21.

Criticisms

- It **destroys** the spirit of **separation of powers**. Thus damage the balances between various organs of government.
- Judicial activism may lead to **inactivity of legislature and executive**, leading to running away from duties and responsibilities which they hold for people of India.
- The judiciary is **neither competent nor responsible** for exacting executive accountability. Under the parliamentary system this role falls upon the parliament in general and the Lok Sabha in particular.
- Judicial interference into the working of a democratically elected executive **undermines the mandate of the people** reposed in the elected government. For example, the SC **struck down NJAC Act** in favour of the collegium system.

However, through the doctrine of basic structure, Supreme Court of India has established constitutional government in true sense by protecting basic ethos of the Constitution. To conclude, quoting Lord Bryce, “There is no better test of the excellence of a government than the efficiency and independence of its judicial system.” It means an independent, impartial and effective judiciary is an indicator of excellence of a thriving democracy.

17. **“Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together.” (Hannah Arendt). (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Hannah Arendt's (1906-1975) conception of power is entirely distinctive. It is rooted in a political philosophy that celebrates the public realm of freedom that emerges when people act with others as citizens or political equals. For Arendt, power is actualized where people act together to sustain or to change the world, they share with one another. Her fundamental claim is this: 'Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together'.

- In contrast to the split between those who think and command, and those who obey without thinking, Arendt imagines an ideal egalitarian society where all practice the range of their skills. Such a political group is engaged in "isonomy" or "self rule," akin to a participatory democracy.
- According to Arendt, people who have come to an agreement on a common course of action can be a powered community because power is a relationship, not a property, of those who belong to the group. Power depends on an unreliable and temporary agreement of many wills and intentions and is not something that can be "possessed." However, a group can try to prolong the power realized in its first meeting by continuing the group by mutual promise or contract.
- Violence is used by the authority whereas power belongs to the people. On the basis of above differences, we can tell following characteristics of power.

1] It is a characteristic of human world.

2] It is a characteristic of collectivity.

	<p>3] It belongs to the people. Since it belongs to the people, power does not require legitimation, power is always legitimate.</p> <p>4] Power is sui generis. It means power emerges on its own, neither the control of economic power nor political offices give power. Power cannot be stored. Power emerges whenever people come together, power disappears when people go back to private sphere. Thus, power belongs to the people, acting in concert with each other.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• She insisted that the pair of opposites should be "violence" and "power," not "violence" and "nonviolence." For similar reasons, Mohandas Gandhi coined the term satyagraha, or "truth force," to emphasize the active aspect of nonviolence. Thus, power is a source of freedom which is exercised in the state of plurality.
18.	<p>Comment on the view that socialism in the 21st century may be reborn as anti-capitalism. (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</p> <p>Some of the key assumptions of 20th century socialism were perhaps not valid in the political economy of 21st century India. In what seemed like a reinterpretation of some practised Marxist tenets the means of production must be “socially-owned” but not necessarily “state-owned”.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Socialism, as applied in the USSR and other centrally-planned economies has gone and will not be revived. It is also crucial to note, that Marx himself deliberately abstained from specific statements about economics and economic institutions of socialism. Or even about the concrete shape of communist society, except that it could not be constructed or programmed. All that Marx said was that the “jagged rhythm of capitalist growth” would produce periodic crises of overproduction (called recession in today’s parlance), which would sooner or later prove incompatible with a capitalist way of running the economy. In some ways, this has proved prophetic as most Western capitalist economies of 20th century vintage are currently having to inject massive doses of social welfarism to sustain further

capitalist progress. Massive future public spending on healthcare, etc is at the heart of the political economy debates in the United States, for instance.

- The way most of our public sector companies have been run to the ground since the 1970s shows how the old socialist institutions have degenerated. The key challenge for the Congress party, which ushered in economic reforms in the 1990s, is how to invent new institutions that adequately meet the challenges posed by the process of globalisation.
- At the heart of this process is to create new frameworks that enable a smooth transition from state-led economic activity to empowering people to participate in broad-based wealth creation. Only this endeavour will ensure a genuine public ownership of wealth in a decentralised manner.
- In the 21st century Marxian context, instead of depending on state-led institutions to deliver, it is imperative that new socially inclusive, market-based projects are put in place. India's political economy is unique in the sense that nearly 50 per cent of its 470 million employed are self-employed. Today big businesses have a free run and face no entry barriers to wealth creation. But the millions of small self-employed face myriad controls imposed by a heartless bureaucracy, a vestige of 20th century socialism. We cannot have a reasonably decentralised and socially-owned means of production unless the self-employed, who dominate the economy, are released from the vice-like grip of an insensitive state apparatus.
- The world of the twentieth century had fixed geopolitical and ideological frontiers, whereas our age is characterized by vague and confused frontiers in all domains. The twenty-first century left will be anti-capitalist. It will radically question the dominant socio-economic system that is in the process of exploiting the human being.

19. **Examine the conditions that are required for the maintenance of legitimacy in modern societies. (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)**

Legitimacy is commonly defined in political science and sociology as the belief that a rule, institution, or leader has the right to govern. State legitimacy can derive from a range of sources, **including:**

- **Effectiveness of public institutions:** the effectiveness of public institutions in their performance of various functions, such as service delivery, taxation, distribution of Justice and social protection systems provides positive attributes to the notion of maintenance of legitimacy.
- **Degree of representation and accountability:** it reflects the will and confidence of citizens, the more representation and accountable the people's government will be the more will be its legitimacy.
- **Consent of the governed:** the most important condition required for maintenance of legitimacy is consent of the governed, as it is the ultimate way that makes Political authorities legitimate in the eyes of citizens.
- **Sociological equations:** the society and its consensus is the only source that decides the source and center of legitimacy and its Dynamics as in the modern democratic era the people decide.
- **Input and output factors:** Input legitimacy in his connotation is about legitimacy gained from the process of government, government by the people, while output legitimacy is gained from the result, government for the people, so balance between both input and output variables of input and output legitimacy is essential.

Jurgen Habermas, while underlining the class-exploitative basis of modern societies, pointed out that liberal democracies possess the means of drawing support from the people through democratic mechanisms. These, however, while aiming at legitimisation, also stir up popular pressures for increased state intervention in social sectors. The contradictory pulls between

	<p>pressures for democratisation (legitimation) and capitalist accumulation, make liberal (capitalist) democracies ridden by the legitimisation crisis. Liberal democracies try to overcome these crisis tendencies by taking recourse to 'steering measures' i.e., decoupling the economy from the political sphere, making the political sphere less participatory and more impersonal and bureaucratic, and holding the system together ideologically through 'universalist' discourses of rights, citizenship and justice.</p>
20.	<p>Evaluate the contributions of Buddhist tradition to Indian political thought. (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</p> <p>According to professor, V. R. Mehta, Buddhist tradition lack political thinking. Primarily Buddhism is a religious tradition. Politics is not subject of Buddhist tradition. Nevertheless we can infer some political thought from Buddha Charita written by Aswag Ghosh. We can draw some political teachings from Jatak stories. Term Sammat refer to contract. Sammat is term of Pali literature- Jatakas stories, related to previous birth of Buddha. Apart from that Sutta-Pitak is also source of few political ideas.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Professor V.R. Mehta pointed out two paradoxical ideas, mentioned in Buddhachrita:• Politics is similar to treachery, opportunism and deceit. It is said that Buddhist monks should keep themselves away from kings and prince.• On the other hand, Buddhist traditions also hold politics as an important activity to manage society. Morality dominated in thoughts of Buddha's tradition. <p><u>Social Contract</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• It is clear that 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.

- 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.

Morality Centric

- Like Dharmashastra Morality occupies highest pedestal in Buddhist tradition. King is also subject to morality. If moral principles are neglected by the King. Automatically people will not follow moral path. This lead to the development of anger in nature. Subsequently there will be no rain, no crops. People will die due to hanger. It means diversion from moral path will result in destruction of community. Politics becomes, secondary to morality there is a cosmic moral order in the universe.

Form of government

- Buddha, Dharma and Sangha are three basic elements of Buddhist tradition. Evolution of Sangha refers various form of government.
- Buddha was himself a leader of Sangh. He alone decided initiation in Sangh. There was no consultation with other monks. Sangh was not based on any formal rulers and regulation. Sangh is fully controlled by Buddha. Politically, it is considered as monarchical form of government.
- With increase in size of Sangh functions of Sangh is also transferred to monks. (Bhikkus) Training and supervision of monks is given to senior monks. Power of Sangha lies in group of monks. Relation between senior monks and junior monks were like relation between father and son. Politically it can be described as aristocratic form of Government.
- Now Sangh became more organised, like admission of monks and training belong to the entire community. Community stands for

	<p>Sangh. In the first phase of evolution of Sangh division making power belong to Buddha, only. Few monks were given the decision-making power in second stage. But in third phase entire power and decision-making is given to entire community. This is very similar to republic or democratic form of government.</p>
21.	<p>Explicate the conception of justice in the critiques of communitarian theorists. (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</p> <p>Since the 1980s, the theory of liberal individualism has found its most distinctive and rigorous challenge and critique in what has been labelled as communitarianism. As mentioned above, the term communitarian was first elicited by Michael Sandel in his work Liberalism and the Limits of Justice (1982) in which he developed a critique of the liberal individualist foundations of John Rawls's theory of liberal justice. Some of the other communitarian critics of liberal individualism are Alisdair MacIntyre, Michael Walzer and Charles Taylor. These communitarian thinkers are highly inspired by Hegel and Rousseau.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Communitarians are first and foremost concerned with community. Two or more people constitute a community when they share a common conception of good and see this good as partly constitutive of their identity or selves. Such a "constitutive community" may be a close friendship, family relationship, neighbourhood or even a comprehensive political community.• Communitarians insist that each of us as individuals develops our identity, talents and pursuit in life only in the context of a community. We are by nature social beings. Since the community determines and shapes the individual nature, political life must start with a concern for the community, and not the individual. In other words, the locus of philosophical concern in reflecting on the ideal and the just state must be the community and not the individual.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The main fault of liberal individualism according to communitarian thinkers, is then that it is mistakenly and irreparably individualistic. The liberal conception of the relationship between the individual and the state is, according to communitarianism, unduly limited as well as misrepresentative of the true nature of society. In the communitarian view, it is not enough to think in terms of a two-level relationship; with the individual at one level and the state at the other. Groups and communities occupy an intermediate position between the individual and the state and should be included among the kinds of rights-and duty-bearing units whose inter-relationships are explored. According to communitarians, by emphasising rights and freedom of individuals over society, liberal individualism neglects the importance of community membership and identity to social and political life. It ignores the extent to which the society/community in which people live shapes who they are and the values they have.
22.	<p>Examine the conception of the State in the ideologies of Fascism and Marxism. (UPSC CSE Mains 2014- Political Science and International Relations, Paper 1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The conception of state in the ideologies of Fascism and Marxism not only differs but differs significantly. Both have views about state poles apart.• Fascism draws its inspiration from Hegel and therefore considers state as a virtue. Fascism considers state as march of god on earth. Fascism believes in the supremacy of the state. Mussolini used to say, " nothing outside the state, nothing above the state and against the state". Fascist state denies rights and liberties to the people and emphasizes on duties and discipline. The economic system of fascism is dominated by autarky meaning self sufficiency. Another concept

	<p>associated with fascism is CORPORATE STATE state as a negotiator between capitalists and workers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Marxism does not consider state as march of god earth rather considers state as an instrument of exploitation. State as an instrument of the dominant class. In the words of Karl Marx " state is an executive committee of the bourgeoisie". Lenin believes that the continuation of state itself indicates the existence of classes and class conflict and struggle. Marxism believes that the workers cannot and should not expect justice from the state. They should prepare themselves for revolution, for violent overthrow of state and establish a stateless society which Marx calls as Communism - a perfect stage and end of history. Communism the final stage, according to Marxists, is characterized by need based society and perfect freedom and perfect equality.• It is to be noted that scholars like Karl popper have compared fascist regime in Germany, Italy with that of communist Russia and called them as totalitarian regimes while other scholars like Laski calls fascism as last desperate attempt of capitalism to protect itself.
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