

POLITICO ANALYTICS

PURNA PARIKSHA GUIDANCE
FOR 1000 MARKS IN UPSC MAINS

Complete Syllabus Coverage of PSIR, GS-2 and Essay



- INDIA- EUROPEAN UNION
- INDIA UK FREE TRADE AGREEMENT
- INDIA- WEST ASIA
- YEMEN WAR
- INDIA-ISRAEL
- SUMMIT FOR DEMOCRACY
- HIJAB ISSUE
- ANTI- DEFECTION LAW
- DECLINING NATURE OF DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT
- ROLES OF CASTE IN POLITICS



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Your One Stop Solution to PSIR

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Editor's Foreword

It is with great sense of accomplishment and pride that I present before you the Third Edition of the Politico-Analytics Magazine. With each successive edition, we continue to improve and learn. We aim to provide one stop solution for 1000 marks in UPSC Mains Exam vide our exhaustive and innovative coverage of the entire syllabus of Political Science and International Relations Optional, General Studies Paper 2 and Essay. In this edition we have touched on all the four subsections of PSIR syllabus along with our coverage of relevant topics from Polity, Social Justice and Governance. In the coming editions, we would also provide "Purna" guidance as to how to score 150 plus in Essay Paper.

The Exam presents an immense challenge in front of students in terms of not just the immense syllabus but also how to develop an understanding of the topics and current affairs. In order to score better than others, one has to not only have sufficient content at her disposal, but also needs to develop a skill set to make inter-linkages and to analyse issues from a multi-dimensional perspective. Simply dumping facts along with charts and figures is not sufficient. The student needs to understand that knowledge from one topic can be incorporated into an answer pertaining to some other topic. Once a holistic understanding of the entire paper emerges, it would be much easier to even predict the areas from where Questions in Mains would be asked, provided one has kept a keen eye on the Newspapers.

This is where Politico-Analytics Magazine comes in. This magazine will ensure that most probable topics to be asked in the exam are covered from a multi-dimensional perspective along with scholarly views and current affairs. Scholarly Analysis is of extreme importance for PSIR optional students, it is also valuable for other aspirants. While you might not be required to quote the views of scholars in your General Studies, the views provide indispensable arguments which have to be a part of the answer without the name of the scholar. Also, from this edition we would be providing short concise notes on topics from Section 1A and 2A of PSIR syllabus with the goal to improve answer writing skills in purely theoretical topics as well.

We intend to find a way to make the students worry free in terms of finding the relevant and answer writing centric study material for Political Science and International Relations Optional, General Studies Paper 2 and Essay. This endeavour of ours would not be successful unless our work reaches each and everyone of the aspirant community. With the request to share this magazine as much as possible among your peers, I bring this sermon to much needed closure.

Yours Truly

- **Dr Piyush Chaubey**

TABLE

<u>S.R.</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
1	India - EU Relations	4-11
2	Free Trade Agreement: India - UK	12-14
3	India - West Asia	15-22
4	Yemen War	23-25
5	India - Israel: 30 Years of Diplomatic Ties	26-32
6	Scholarly & Expert Analysis of Ukraine Crisis	33-46
7	Summit for Democracy	47-54
8	Hijab Controversy	59-63
9	Resurfaced Debate on Uniform Civil Code	66-71
10	Anti-Defection Law	72-80
11	Declining Nature of Debates in Parliament	81-85
12	Role of Caste in Politics	86-98
13	Party System: National & Regional Parties	99-119
14	Case Study: Linking Aadhaar with MGNREGA	120-126
15	Demographic Dividend	127-133
16	Corporate Governance	134-137
17	Special Brief PSIR 1A - Theory of Surplus Value	138-139
18	Special Brief PSIR 2A - Two Front War	140-144

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

India-EU Relations

India-EU relations date to the early 1960s, with India being amongst the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community. A cooperation agreement signed in India-EU relations received another boost with the 13th India-EU Summit at Brussels, held after a gap of four years, in March 2016 adopting the India-EU Agenda 2020, which lay down a road map for cooperation on a wide range of issues including nuclear cooperation, investments, Internet Governance, climate change, 5G communications. In 2017 the two sides expressed their intent on cooperation through Joint Statements on Urban Partnership, Counter Terrorism, Clean Energy and Climate Change.

Importance of European Union for India

Geo-Economic- India-EU Trade

- **The EU is India's third largest trading partner**, accounting for €62.8 billion worth of trade in goods in 2020 or **11.1% of total Indian trade**, after China (12%) and the US (11.7%).
- **The EU is the second-largest destination for Indian exports (14% of the total)** after the USA.
- **India is the EU's 10th largest trading partner**, accounting for 1.8% of EU total trade in goods in 2020, well behind China (16.1%), the USA (15.2%), and the UK (12.2%).
- **Trade in goods between the EU and India increased by 12.5% in the last decade.** Trade in services between the EU and India reached €32.7 billion in 2020.
- Some 6,000 European companies are present in India, providing directly 1.7 million jobs and indirectly 5 million jobs in a broad range of sectors.
- In 2020, at the 15th EU–India Summit, the two sides also adopted **“India–EU Partnership: A Roadmap to 2025”** to further strengthen the India–EU Strategic partnership. The roadmap highlights cooperation in five critical domains—
 1. **Foreign Policy and Security Cooperation**
 2. **Trade and Economy**
 3. **Sustainable Modernisation Partnership**
 4. **Global governance**
 5. **People-to-people relations.**

- Similarly, before the 16th India–EU summit in 2021, the EU announced its Indo–Pacific Strategy which highlights Europe’s interest in the region coupled with its ambitions to counter its systemic rivals.
- The EU through its Indo–Pacific Strategy aims to promote **rules-based regional security architecture** in the region by aligning with like-minded allies and India lies at the centrality of the EU’s grand strategy. The region is the new epicenter for geopolitics as it homes more than 60 percent of the world’s population and accounts for more than two-thirds of the global economic output.
- For India, the region has been of prime importance for centuries as it perceives the region as a free, inclusive region that embraces all in a common pursuit of progress. Maritime cooperation between India and the EU has emerged as a critical area of cooperation as both have stressed upholding international law in the high seas and adherence to the UNCLOS.
- India and the EU hosted the first Maritime security dialogue in January 2021 where both discussed cooperation in maritime domain awareness, capacity-building, and joint naval activities.

Bilateral Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA)

- India and the European Union (EU) are keen to encourage a model of growth with equity, which is socially inclusive and broad-based.
- **Trade and investment continue to be the cornerstone of their multidimensional relationship. Both have a shared belief in the rules-based bilateral and multilateral trading systems and are convinced that deepening bilateral trade relations should support, rather than undermine, the multilateral route.**
- Even though bilateral trade and investment have risen dramatically, there are reasons to conclude that current levels are still below potential.
- Against this backdrop, attempts have been made to revive the **India-EU Broad-based Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA)**, negotiations that began in 2007 but stalled since 2013 due to divergence of views on crucial issues. If successfully concluded, BTIA has the potential to bring real substance to the India-EU Strategic Partnership.

Views of Sakti Prasad Srichandan: India-EU Broad-Based Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA)

Bone of contention:

- *EU’s demand for market access and higher levels of tariff concessions in **automobiles, wines and spirits, as well as government procurement.***
- *Policies of India and the EU did not converge on issues like intellectual property rights, data security, services, agricultural exports, chemicals, dairy and fishery, registration of electronic products, and certification of telecom network elements.*
- *India could have potentially gained in the services sector. **But giving work permits and visas were primarily the competence of individual EU member states, so the EU could not commit much. Moreover, the EU had different qualifications and professional standards.***
- *The differences that arose during the trade and investment talks were too wide to be overcome without a political push from the higher level.*

- *The arrest and trial of Italian marines in India led to a backlash in the EU. The ban on Indian Alphonso mangoes and four other vegetables due to the finding of pests invited a strong reaction from India. Both these issues with different levels of gravity led to the deterioration of bilateral relations in the last decade and indirectly impacted the revival of trade talks.*
- *Pursuit of self-reliance has been accelerated by the Covid-19 crisis under the Atma Nirbhar Bharat Mission. This is perceived by the European Union as India's "protectionist stance".*
- *However, recently government officials have revealed that India and the European Union (EU) are set to resume negotiations for a Bilateral Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA). While pushing for the resumption of trade and investment negotiations, India needs to pitch for a quick "early-harvest deal" with the EU, which could be followed by a time-bound and balanced BTIA. Renewed thrust on trade talks amid Covid-19 disruptions indicates India's commitment towards a rules-based world trading regime and integration with the global value chain.*

Geo-Strategic - Counter Terrorism

- The EU's counterterrorism ecosystem can be traced back to 1976 and the formulation of **TREVI, (Terrorisme, Radicalisme, Extremisme et Violence Internationale)**—a collective created by European ministers of justice and interior. However, the application of EU's own mechanisms on issues such as counterterrorism runs parallel to an individual state's foreign policy and security understandings with other states.
- India faces similar challenges in counterterrorism and cooperation and communication between various states, agencies and institutions. Even as the challenges fall within a central structure, they are also posed by the same entities that threaten the EU today. The most significant common threat between the two remains the Islamist groups, specifically those that are transnational in nature and supported by state and quasi-state entities as tools of geopolitical cunning.

Scholar Gareth Price identifies three broad areas where India and the EU can, realistically, collaborate on counterterrorism.

1. *Identifying and actively dealing with groups that both commonly see as terrorist organisations.*
2. *Debating and sharing best practices, specifically when it comes to institution-building as terror threats and the methods used to orchestrate them have only increased and expanded over the years.*
3. *Studying the most essential drivers of radicalisation and working towards developing counter and de-radicalisation practices as part of international frameworks to counter terrorism on a fundamental level.*

Views of Kabir Taneja: A Contemporary Analysis of India–EU Cooperation in Counterterrorism

- *India and the European Union (EU) share a deep political and strategic relationship that pivots around **democracy, global rule of law, security, and trade.***
- *While the depth is obvious on paper, however, the partnership has delivered short on dividends expected by both sides.*

- *Yet diplomatic engagement remains robust, and in recent times is moving towards greater mutual understanding of the challenges of terrorism and the potential counterterrorism strategies that like-minded democracies should employ.*
- ***For India and the EU to navigate away from the geopolitical roadblocks of expansive counterterror cooperation, they can focus on working together on more fundamental, but equally important tasks.***
- *India and the EU are both capable of counter-radicalisation and de-radicalisation strategies. While academic and policy debate continues over the long-term effectiveness of such programs, non-military and non-police outreach against radicalisation, specifically via community and civil society programs, remains underexplored in India.*
- *Indian agencies and ministries alike can work with the EU to develop frameworks on civil–state cooperation in this area. There already have been some dividends in dialogue between EU and India on this front; they can be expanded further.*
- ***EU can benefit by studying India’s hyper-localized policing system*** *which has been critical in pushing back against issues such as youth accessing radicalisation content online. States such as Kerala and Maharashtra, for example, employed such policing methods to significant success when accessing communities to counter the threats.*
- ***India and the EU can cooperate on developing and utilising technology to counter terrorism and violent extremism in the online sphere.*** *It is a fast-growing threat where policy response often lags behind technological advances, which terror organisations use ably as well. The two should create ecosystems that will bring together technology companies and policymakers to debate and develop solutions, from the perspectives of both law enforcement and technology, to perform the difficult task of countering radicalisation online.*
- *The global pandemic has only expanded the threat of radicalisation: extremist groups—ranging from Islamists to far-right and far-left organizations—are taking this opportunity to sow discord. Many Islamist organisations, for example, have used a mix of religion and politics to push back against vaccinations, labelling them as part of a “Western agenda” to push “anti-Islamic” methods*
- *As the EU Terrorism and Situation and Trend Report 2021 highlights: “**Extremists and terrorists have found new opportunities in the increased time spent online during the Covid-19 pandemic. With large amount of disinformation actively disseminated online, extremists and terrorists have exploited social dissatisfaction to reach out and propagate their ideologies.** EU’s technological capacities against terrorism—such as the mass takedown of IS networks on the app Telegram in 2019, significantly disrupting the terror group’s online propaganda machinery—is a good example of how India can benefit from best practices employed by Europol.*
- *Inter-agency cooperation between the EU and India can become a driver of better information and understanding of global terror trends and threats. Europol’s culture of expansive data analysis, data protection and research reports—not restricted only to law enforcement—could be a valuable addition to how Indian agencies approach counterterrorism and counter-radicalisation, and in understanding the role of technology in terrorism which is at the forefront of EU’s agenda in this field. Cooperation on issues such as transparency in counterterrorism data, and pushing back against an increasing trend of partisanship in data and data analysis itself, can help set precedence on international standards.*

- *This can help shed the long-held view that numbers are being co-opted according to specific political motivations. **Promoting transparency of information and countering disinformation and misinformation is a low-hanging fruit that can lead to more meaningful cooperation such as intelligence and information-sharing in an institutionalized manner.***
- *India should review its decision placing the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) as the lead agency for cooperation with Europol. The National Investigation Agency (NIA), which today directly deals with most terrorism investigation cases in India, is better suited to this task. While the CBI does indeed deal with criminal networks and works on issues such as financial crime, a blurring of lines between anti-crime work and counterterrorism could lead to intra-agency tussles over jurisdictions and mandates. This will only make cooperation with foreign partners a challenging task.*

Geo-Political- Sharing the goal of Climate change.

Views of Mihir Swarup Sharma: The relevance of climate change to the India-EU partnership

- *Collaboration on climate change is central to the relationship between India and the European Union. The EU and India have together pursued a **Clean Energy and Climate Partnership (CECP)**, which focuses on developing cooperation in clean energy and the implementation of the Paris Agreement, including in the area of energy efficiency, renewable energy, smart grids, storage, sustainable finance, and climate mitigation and adaptation.*
- ***Possibly, the biggest obstacle to deeper cooperation has been differences over ‘differentiation’ and more generally equity concerns, regularly surfacing in the UNFCCC negotiations. Indeed, major differences as to levels of welfare, per capita GHG emissions and vulnerabilities exist.***
- *At the same time, many opportunities for cooperation have been identified based on common interest and shared values such as federalism, multilingualism, multiculturalism, rule of law and democracy, and trust in multilateralism.*
- ***Track 1.5 dialogue** happened under the **2016 EU-India Clean Energy and Climate Partnership (CECP)**. This can become a solid starting point for a new process of bringing together officials and think tanks from both sides to catalyse better EU-India relations in climate, particularly in those areas where there is already intensive bilateral cooperation under the CECP.*

The following areas for future cooperation were identified:

- *The external dimension of the **European Green Deal**, including a focus on a social and just transition, should be strengthened and seen as important for the EU and India alike. The EU’s carbon pricing approaches and how the EU deals with the revenues would be a concrete example.*
- *Cooperation on*
 - a) urbanization (including mobility)
 - b) education and awareness,
 - c) connectivity
- *Discussions and analysis on value-added in **future global industrial value chains**, as well as India and the EU’s related opportunities and vulnerabilities.*
- *Exchanges of experiences in the area of **monitoring and data and carbon pricing**.*
- *Adaptation to climate change, including in the area of agriculture.*

- *Cooperation towards an increasing role of the EU and India in global value chains. The adoption and integration of technology into financial and industrial systems and value chains, including for **hydrogen and for new carbon pricing mechanisms**.*
- *Exchanging experiences on **the EU Hydrogen Strategy and the Indian Hydrogen Mission**, which could be linked to existing initiatives on decarbonising industry, including through the Leadership Group for Industry Transition.*
- *Moving beyond discussions of public finance to discussions on how to mobilize ‘investment’ including ensuring cheaper private finance—these fits better with the idea of ‘co-development’.*
- *Exploring and strengthening the role of India in regional climate policies to drive change and in creating a better understanding of the needs of emerging economies.*

Issues and Challenges

Views of C. Raja Mohan: India’s challenge in European geopolitics

- ***Greater engagement with Europe and dealing with its multiple contradictions must necessarily be important elements of India’s international relations today.***
- ***The European role in securing Asia becomes critical in order to rebalance the Indo-Pacific because this challenge can’t be met by one power(US) alone.***
- ***Europe remains geopolitically unstable**-neither of the three European settlements of the 20th century- in 1919 after the First World War, in 1945 after the Second World War, and in 1991 after the Cold War — has endured.*
- ***Difficulty of integrating Russia into a European order on mutually acceptable terms**- Russia was part of the great power system in Europe through the 18th and 19th centuries. If the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution put Russia and the West at odds with each other, the collapse of the Soviet Union has not resolved the contradiction.*
- ***Growing tension between the US and Europe**- Since the Second World War, Europe has relied on the US for its security, but it never stopped resenting the American dominance over its geopolitics. French President Emmanuel Macron has demanded that Europe should collectively set out its own requirements for peace in Europe. But Russia does not take the EU seriously and is betting on negotiations with the US.*
- ***EU remains a weak security**- the idea that Europe must look after its own security dates back to Charles de Gaulle. But it remains an unrealised ambition. While the EU has become a powerful economic entity (with its \$17 trillion GDP), it remains a weak security actor.*

Views of Mohammed Hassan: Is the European Union a Weak Foreign Policy Actor?

- *The EU is a unique actor which makes it complicated for anyone trying to make sense of its role in the international system. There is no one particular IR theory that could be used to conceptualize the EU but rather the three main theories all are found valuable in explaining various aspects of its behavior in the international system.*

- *As per realist perspective Realization of a coherent foreign policy at Union level is denied by the various national capitals' divergent interests. This is an inherent weakness that prevents the Union from demonstrating the capability and the willingness to move into a more Supranational level in the area of foreign policy and as **Menonputs** it loudly and clearly, “**divergent national interests and priorities – provide much scope for continued bickering**”.*
- *The lack of strategic vision (common purpose) or direction of the EU, is another huddle that reduces its foreign policy and presence in the international system to a low level. In a study conducted by **De France and Witney (2013)** which focused on 27 out of the 28 Member States national security strategies, it was found that the European Union suffers from strategic deficit as significant number of the EU Member States **national security strategies are not fit for purpose**”.*
- *The lack of EU's defence capability is considered to have further inhibited its full activity in the international system.*

Views of Emmanuel Lenain: The significance of EU-India partnership in the Indo-Pacific

- *There are immense connectivity and infrastructure needs in the Indo-Pacific. But these needs should not force the countries of the region into unsustainable dependencies. Alternative options are required. The **EU's Global Gateway Initiative** unveiled in December 2021 hopes to address this by pooling the resources of the EU's institutions and its 27 member states to raise 300 billion euros to build sustainable links. The EU and India have already concluded a Connectivity Partnership*
- *The Indo-Pacific is a crucial region for tackling global challenges such as climate change, biodiversity protection and health resilience. These challenges call for collective action.*
- *The EU will present the support it can provide to countries of the region, including in terms of green finance, to achieve their ecological transitions in a just manner. This is significant for India's efforts to meet the goals set by Prime Minister Narendra Modi at COP26.*
- *Moreover, in the fields of biodiversity protection and plastic pollution, France and India can act together to spur multilateral action, as exemplified by India's decision to join the France-initiated international coalition to protect 30 per cent of the land and seas by 2030 (**High Ambition Coalition for Nature and People**).*
- *Cooperation between France and India on protected areas and national parks can also be expanded at the Indo-Pacific scale.*

Scholar's View on European Union

George Soros: “How to save Europe”

There is no longer any point in ignoring the reality that a number of European Union member countries have explicitly rejected the EU's goal of “ever closer union.” Instead of a “multi-speed Europe,” where all members are still heading toward the same destination, the goal should be a “multi-track Europe” that offers member states a wider variety of choices.

Joseph E. Stiglitz: The euro could be nearing a crisis – can it be saved?

*If one country does poorly, blame the country; if many countries are doing poorly, blame the system. Joseph E. Stiglitz in his book **The Euro: How a Common Currency Threatens the Future of Europe**, states that - the euro was a system almost designed to fail. It took away governments' main adjustment mechanisms (interest and exchange rates); and, rather than creating new institutions to help countries cope with the diverse situations in which they find themselves, it imposed new strictures – often based on discredited economic and political theories – on deficits, debt, and even structural policies.*

Harold James: Europe's Overly Complex Union

Europe has too many moving parts. The EU is deliberately complex, in order to allow for the coordination of a wide variety of national interests. That complexity is fine in normal times, but it is problematic at exceptional moments, when the play is frenetic. At those moments, the EU looked more like the Habsburg empire – a complex vessel of nationalities where satirists joked that the situation was desperate but not serious.

Free Trade Agreement : Case Study of India- UK Free Trade Agreement (FTA)

India and the United Kingdom have launched formal Free Trade Agreement (FTA) negotiations with the aim of concluding an early harvest trade agreement over the next few months.

What are early harvest pacts?

- Early harvest agreements are used to open up bilateral trade between two countries on a restricted list of goods and services, primarily as a frontrunner to clinching a more comprehensive FTA. **The problem, though, is that these early harvest schemes potentially target the low-hanging fruits, leaving the tougher goods and services for later.** This strategy can lead to significant delays in wrapping up the more broad-based FTAs, which could potentially lead to impediments.
- India had concluded an early harvest agreement with Thailand in 2004 but has not been able to conclude a comprehensive FTA with the country. India also has a trade agreement with Sri Lanka dealing with goods but was not able to conclude an agreement on services and investments.
- Early harvest agreements that do not graduate into full-scale FTAs are exposed to legal challenges from other countries that are members of the World Trade Organization (WTO), an organization that was formed on the premise that member countries should not discriminate between their trading partners. The exception to the rule are full-scale FTAs, subject to some conditions.
- One rider, incorporated in Article XXIV.8(b) of GATT, stipulates that a deal should aim to eliminate customs duties and other trade barriers on **“substantially all the trade”** between the WTO member countries that are signatories to an FTA. “For the purposes of this Agreement... a free-trade area shall be understood to mean a group of two or more customs territories in which the duties and other restrictive regulations of commerce... are eliminated on substantially all the trade between the constituent territories in products originating in such territories”, the Article specifically states. **Experts noted that it is often beneficial to negotiate the entire deal together, as an early harvest deal may reduce the incentive for one side to work towards a full FTA.**
- ***Biswajit Dhar, professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University, said: “These agreements are not just about goods and services but also issues like investment. If you are trying to weigh the costs and benefits, it is always better to have the larger picture in front of you.”*** He noted that in the case of the early harvest agreement inked with Thailand, automobile industry associations had complained that relaxations extended to Bangkok in the early harvest had reduced the incentive for Thailand to work towards a full FTA. Dhar, however, noted that early harvest agreements may serve the function of keeping trading partners interested as they promise some benefits without long delays, as India had become known for long-drawn negotiations for FTAs.

What is the status of the trade pacts under negotiation?

- India now has in place 10 FTAs and six PTAs (preferential trade agreements). In addition, India is negotiating 16 new and expanding seven existing agreements, including with trading partners such as Canada, the EU, the US, alongside Australia and the UK.

- Government officials maintain that **“a majority” of FTAs under negotiations are “comprehensive” and cover goods, services, investment, IPR, etc**”. Non-Tariff Measures, regulatory procedures and trade facilitation are part of such negotiations.
- Unlike with the UK and Australia, **there are indications that the proposed trade deal with the EU — restarted after a gap of six years as the two sides earlier pulled out citing disagreements over tariff rules covering the auto sector and the free-movement rights for professionals — is not aiming at an early harvest and is instead looking at a full-scale comprehensive FTA.**
- Meanwhile, India is also simultaneously carrying out a review of the existing FTAs with South Korea, Japan and ASEAN on the ground of India’s rising trade deficit with these trading partners. Experts noted that New Delhi may seek conditions in such FTA that trading partners import more from India.
- Despite some potential challenges, there is a new momentum in the India-U.K. bilateral engagement these days with both sides confident of moving forward swiftly.
- Mr.Piyush Goyal was emphatic that **“nothing is necessarily a deal-breaker in this agreement,”** and suggested that no one should **“worry about issues which are sensitive to any country, because both sides have agreed that sensitive issues are not our priority”**.
- Ms. Trevelyan viewed this deal as **“a golden opportunity to put UK businesses at the front of the queue as the Indian economy continues to grow rapidly”, that will “unlock this huge new market for our great British producers and manufacturers across numerous industries from food and drink to services and automotive”**.

Views of Harsh.V.Pant: India calling with quite a lot of trade in mind

- Britain has made a trade pact with India one of its post-Brexit priorities as it seeks a greater role in the Indo-Pacific. India is at the heart of the U.K.’s Indo-Pacific ‘tilt’, which has generated considerable interest around the world. British Prime Minister Boris Johnson came to office promising one of the deepest and broadest British foreign, security, development and defense reviews since the end of the Cold War.
- And the Integrated Review (a ‘comprehensive articulation of the U.K.’s national security and international policy) categorically underlined that, **“In the decade ahead, the UK will deepen our engagement in the Indo-Pacific, establishing a greater and more persistent presence than any other European country”**.
- A range of factors have coalesced to create an impetus for the U.K. to adopt a more robust Indo-Pacific strategy:
 - ✓ The trading implications of Brexit
 - ✓ The U.K.’s changing approach towards China — shifting from being a major proponent of China to perhaps the most hawkish in Europe
 - ✓ The fact that the U.S., the U.K.’s closest ally and security guarantor, remains firmly focused on the Indo-Pacific.
- Like its allies in the region, the U.K. recognises the importance of a free and open Indo-Pacific to global stability and prosperity, and has made clear its intentions to deploy strategic assets to this end. London is also looking to amplify its efforts by entering into the regional security architecture.

- The trilateral security partnership between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States (AUKUS), announced in September 2021, enabling Australia to acquire nuclear-powered submarines with assistance from the U.S. and U.K., has given London a greater voice in the region.
- Trade and investment will be a key dimension of this U.K. tilt. **Brexit has necessitated greater access to non-EU markets, and the U.K.'s changing relationship with China requires a diversification of trading partners.** But this shift in focus is also driven by a recognition that the Indo-Pacific is now largely the force behind global economic growth. **The U.K. is looking to leverage its historical connections, development work, and its credibility when it comes to combating climate change (particularly relevant to these low-lying states vulnerable to sea-level rise) to help establish itself as a serious player in the region where there remain serious doubts about the U.K.'s staying power.**
- Through its Indo-Pacific tilt, the U.K. is finally carving out a direction and purpose to its post-Brexit foreign policy. And it is this prioritization that has opened up a new window for New Delhi and London to quickly finalize their FTA. It is a unique “now or never” moment and the two sides seem willing to seize it despite the challenges.

Conclusion

India needs to focus on close bilateral relations with individual countries like - Britain, France & Germany rather than the entire European Union at one go. India-EU relations have room to grow. Though challenges no doubt persist on trade negotiations and other issues, both sides see each other positively and sense opportunities going forward.

India-West Asia

India has had ties to West Asia since millennia. The Indus Valley civilization had trade links with **Dilmun** (modern Bahrain). In the 6th century BCE, Punjab was part of the Persian empire. In the 3rd century BCE, Egypt's Ptolemy II and the Mauryan emperors Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka exchanged ambassadors. Farsi was the language of the Mughal court, and India's official language until 1835. This connection continues. However West Asia is the most volatile and conflict prone region in the world at present. In the past it witnessed the birth of three great religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—and some of the greatest civilisations in human history. The region saw a high watermark of achievement under the Babylonian and Iranian Empires in the ancient times and the Abbasid and Ottoman Empires in the medieval times. The decline of the Ottoman power during the 19th and early 20th centuries led to an increase in the influence of the British, who considered it as the “western flank” in the defense of India. However, with the discovery of oil in Iran at the beginning of the 20th Century, followed by more substantial finds around the Persian Gulf, the region became the focus of interest for the old as well as emerging great powers.

Why is West Asia So Important for India?

Post- independence India has strategic interests in West Asia. The Gulf states supply the bulk of India's oil and natural gas, host large diasporas, promote trade and investment, and engage in security and intelligence co- operation..

Oil and gas

- The Gulf- West Asia- North Africa region meets a major share of India's energy needs – India imports 53 per cent of its oil and 41 per cent of its gas from West Asia and over 8.5 million Indians work in the region.
- Saudi Arabia is India's largest supplier of crude oil, meeting 20 percent of India's needs, valued at US \$ 21.8 billion in 2014- 2015.
- Energy trade is the anchor of India-West Asia economic relations but the trade basket needs to be diversified especially due to the Wuhan virus and the fall in energy demands.
- Goods like precious metals, food and agriculture products, chemicals, gems and jewellery, textile must all be included in the trade basket.

Diaspora and Remittances

The Indian Community-

- **There are around 8 to 9 million Indians in West Asia.** The numbers include 2.6 million in Saudi Arabia (in November, 2019), 2.5 million in the United Arab Emirates, 800,000 in Kuwait, 700,000 each in Qatar and Oman, and 400,000 in Bahrain. These include managers, doctors, technicians, engineers, IT experts,

chartered accountants, bankers, workers, and domestic help. In most of these countries Indians hold the number one rank in the number of expatriates. They are India's goodwill ambassadors.

- A vast majority of the Indian community hails from Kerala, others being from Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal.
- The Saudi government acknowledged the role of the Indian community in Saudi Arabia. The Joint Statement issued during Prime Minister Modi's visit in 2016 notes: ***"The two leaders lauded the valuable role of the Indian community in Saudi Arabia and its contribution to the progress and development of both India and Saudi Arabia."***
- This community is law-abiding. The Emir of Qatar ***"expressed appreciation for the role and contribution of the Indian community towards the development of Qatar"*** and ***"noted with satisfaction that Indians in Qatar were highly respected for their peaceful and hard-working nature."***

Remittances

- This community has a significant impact upon the Indian economy, through inward remittances. According to a UN report on international migration, in 2017, inward remittances from the Gulf into India were 38 billion U.S. dollars. Considering that total inward remittances into India in 2016 were 62.7 billion U.S. dollars, **3 percent of India's GDP, the impact of Gulf remittances on the Indian economy is significant.** In 2018, India's total remittances was around 78.6 billion dollars. Out of this, 48.6 billion dollars had come from the 6 Gulf Cooperation Council countries (GCC).
- While these numbers are big, India's ties with West Asia cannot be anchored on oil and diaspora alone. And because of the coronavirus pandemic it is the perfect opportunity to tap avenues and newer opportunities. The pandemic has triggered a lot of turbulence in this region. While new alliances are being built Gulf nations are looking within too.
- As per an estimate, Arab states of the Gulf could have a deficit of about 490 billion dollars between 2020 and 2023. Their government debt could surge by a record 100 billion this year.

Sovereign wealth funds

- India should invest in sovereign wealth funds, which are worth billions. In such an investment government invests its surplus reserves in the country and outside.
- The Abu Dhabi investment authority is worth 579.6 billion dollars and the Kuwait investment authority- 533.6 billion dollars.
- While West Asia has spending capacity, India on the other hand has investment opportunities and unmatched potential.
- Saudi Arabia's 347 billion dollars sovereign wealth fund is very crucial to crown prince- Mohammad bin Salman's vision 2030.
- As India eyes a 5 trillion dollar economy, it can attract sovereign wealth funds in several just growing companies-- across sectors

Sector-specific investment

- Major oil companies of West Asia are already developing a strategic partnership with the Indian companies both in the public and private sector.
- A 15 billion dollar deal was announced between Saudi Aramco and Reliance industry. India's ONGC Videsh has acquired a 10 per cent stake in offshore oil concession in Abu Dhabi.
- Sebacic Oman, which is an Indo-Oman venture, is setting up West Asia largest sebacic acid plant for 1.2 billion dollars.

Trade

- Taken together, **GCC member states, along with the countries of the West Asian and North African region are India's largest trading partner.** India can expand its cooperation with West Asia with trade.
- The total bilateral trade between India and the GCC stood at 121.34 billion dollars in 2018-19. At 60 billion dollars, the United Arab Emirates was India's third-biggest trade partner in the year 2018-19. Saudi Arabia was the fourth biggest trade partner with bilateral trade amounting to 34.03 billion dollars.

Investment

- The UAE-India Infrastructure Investment Fund aims at a target of 75 billion U.S. dollars to support investment in India's infrastructure, especially in railways, ports, roads, airports and industrial corridors and parks. Saudi Aramco has a 20 per cent share in Reliance Industries' oil business, with an investment of 15 billion U.S. dollars.

The GCC's Look East Policy

India's Look West Policy has been complemented by the GCC member states' "Look East" policy, with a focus on India and China, and other countries to their East

Look West Policy

The initial breakthrough in the new era of India's foreign policy in the 1990s saw an eastwards shift, a new 'Look East' foreign policy to engage South-East Asia. In more recent years, under Manmohan Singh (2004–present) this has been complemented by a westwards shift, a '**Look West**' policy to engage with Iran and the Arabian/Persian 'Gulf'.

Look West Policy and its genesis

- The strategic location of the Middle East and India's multiple linkages from the past to the present make it immensely important for India's pursuit of power. The previous government's policies have been limited to energy security owing to intractable political fault lines and fractured socio-religious landscape in the region – like the Arab-Israel contest and Iran-Saudi rivalry.
- The region has been the vital area of great power competition and conflicts and at the current juncture, it is characterised by a cocktail of the political rivalry of the regional powers, spiralling conflicts and unending violence with Arab Spring, terrorism and proxy wars.

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- The new emphasis of the “Look West” policy of India is a bold plunge with one and all in the region from the point of view of India’s national interests and strategic vision.
- Look West Policy is the overall Indian government’s strategy in dealing with the West Asian nations. It was adopted by the Indian government in 2005 and has not gained much attention since then. In recent years, under the present government, the same strategy has been followed with increased intensification.

Main axes of it

1. Arab
2. Israel
3. Iran

Current Status Look West Policy

- India is taking measures to improve its ties with all the nations in West Asia without being affected by the conflict of interests that is plaguing this region
- This outreach is sure to re-establish India as a paramount force of stability and prosperity in the region.
- The GCC has already been the largest trading partner of India and the economic mutuality is on the ascending mode. Major oil companies of the region, ARAMCO (Saudi Arabia) and ANDOC (UAE) are developing strategic partnerships with the Indian companies both in the public and private sectors.
- The pattern of economic interdependence has gained a substantial boost with the presence of Prime Minister Modi in the ‘**Davos in the Desert**’ event. **A potential fear of Chinese dominance and monopolistic pursuit is at loggerheads with the vision of economic diversification of these countries which don’t want to be a mere destination of satisfaction of Chinese energy requirements and dump yard of Chinese products.**
- The economic diversification drive in the region, mainly in the Gulf is in sync with India’s vision of a Five trillion economy with mutually beneficial and reinforcing engagements.
- Saudi Arabia is set to invest \$100 billion in India in the areas of energy, refining, petrochemicals, infrastructure, agriculture, minerals and mining, etc. Saudi Arabia’s sovereign fund has decided recently to invest \$1.5 billion in the Jio platform of Reliance Industries.

Change in India’s policy for West Asia and its outcome

- Indian policy has demonstrated a marked transformation of its policy choices in the region. The Israel policy and the growing strategic proximity and security cooperation is the perceptible success of the new vision and pursuit of the “Look West” policy as it has managed this bold pragmatic step without compromising its commitment to the Palestine issue.
- **This new diplomatic balance was proved with India’s voting with Palestine against the US recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in the United Nations and maintaining unabated momentum of India-Israel partnership.**

- In the past, India has managed a successful balancing act in a tripolar West Asia. Now, the restructuring of West Asia's geopolitical landscape has allowed India to engage with West Asian states with even less political manoeuvring.
- Through a strictly business attitude, India has pursued its most favourable economic opportunities without the burden of managing political ramifications.
- Even on the issue of US withdrawal from JCPOA, India maintained an autonomous stand. Minister of State for External Affairs, V. Muraleedharan, made it clear that India's ***"bilateral relations with Iran stand on their own and are not influenced by India's relations with any third country."***

Outcome

- The most remarkable outcome of the "Look West" policy and dense diplomatic outreach of Prime Minister Modi in the region has been the perception of OIC, 57 member organization of the Muslim world.
- **Pakistan failed again to make the OIC condemn the Indian government's revoking the special status of Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370; these all are a marked victory of India's policy, outreach and engagement in the region.**
- The "Look West" policy has perceptibly changed India's position as a credible partner in the region. The policy has been successful across multiple rivalries of the region- Saudi Arabia and Iran, Turkey and Egypt, Qatar and UAE and Israel and Palestine with diplomatic acumen and sustained strategic prudence.
- The **"Abraham Accord"** announced on 13th August, 2020 between the two allies- Israel and UAE is an endorsement for the balanced "Look West" policy of India for peace and stability in the region.
- India is staying away from the politics of Israel-Palestine issue, it remains strongly committed to the establishment of a viable Palestine state.

Constraints Associated with the "Look West" Policy

Despite Modi's efforts to cultivate ties with the Arab Gulf, Israel and Iran, each presents potential challenges and risks.

- **Israel-** Israel's improving status with the Arab world may not endure. Another intifada or revival of support for the Palestinians by the wider Arab public could put pressure on Gulf regimes to reverse their current rapprochement with Israel. If that happens, India could find its position exposed as well, given its own growing closeness with Israel.
- **Iran-** India's engagement with Iran over Chabahar is unlikely to eliminate the Pakistan/China option. **One reason is the more modest scale of India's efforts in Central Asia and the Middle East, especially when compared to China's Belt and Road.** Some current estimates suggest China has already spent about \$68 billion on its China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) alone and approximately \$200 billion on all other projects to date. Indian ambitions may become redundant, especially if Iran and Pakistan are able to overcome differences between themselves to cooperate and link their ports as they have claimed. Other powers, such as the United States, could derail Indian efforts. Indeed, the Indo-Iranian agreement over Chabahar has been repeatedly delayed, partly because of US sanctions against Iran.

- **Another challenge for India in the Middle East:** the vulnerability of its citizens and economic interests.
- **Arab-** As the US-Iran dispute shows, India is susceptible to regional conflicts over which it has little control. Perhaps the most notable of these is the Saudi-Iranian rivalry and the boycott of Qatar by Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Saudi Arabia and the UAE also distrust Iran and Qatar for their support of Islamist groups. Similarly, Israel suspects Iran of sponsoring Hamas and Hezbollah against it. When the most recent manifestation of the Qatar crisis occurred in mid-2017, India was under pressure to take sides.

Way forward

- India needs to pursue the path of Multilateralism with sustained rounds of diplomatic outreach to the favorable social and political constituencies in the region and prudently use the leverages with Russia and USA to position itself as a credible power in the region in the emerging Asian Century World Order.
- While India's footprint in West Asia was lighter during the Cold War and during the 1990s when the US was the paramount power in the region, today the situation is far more complicated. While the US' influence is not completely absent, it is relatively more modest and competes with other major powers such as China and Russia, the latter following its intervention in Syria's Civil War. Presently, West Asia has become multipolar with powers diffused among various regional and extra-regional actors.
- Within this mix, India has pursued an approach that balances against different parties and their rivalries. However, in doing so, India must not forget its national interests that outweigh the need for a neutral stance.
- It must not let major powers like the US influence its strategic interests like in Iran.

Scholarly Views

Nicolas Blarel on India's shifting relationships with the states of West Asia,-

An area in which it is clear that Modi and his government have brought about some significant change. New Delhi has deepened a security partnership with Israel—and brought it out of the shadows, not least with a prime ministerial visit. Modi has also invested heavily in personal diplomacy with a number of Gulf States, including Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, seeking investment funds, better protections for the Indian diaspora in the region, and shoring up access to oil supplies. Throughout, the Modi government has also been concerned to advance its long-running effort to loosen the ties that some of these states have to Pakistan, as it seeks to isolate Islamabad over its support for terrorist groups operating from its territory.

Prasanta Kumar Pradhan (IDSA)-

Bilateral engagement has also gathered momentum because of similar perspectives on terrorism and piracy. India's endeavors for deeper engagement with the region has been well accepted by the Gulf countries that realize India's potential as a large, stable, democratic country and an emerging political and economic power in Asia and the world.

Director General, Manohar Parrikar IDSA, Amb. Sujan R. Chinoy

India's policy of 'Look West' has been transformed into a 'Link and Act West Policy', with defence and security cooperation emerging as the key pillar of the policy. It is predicated on countering terrorism and ensuring maritime and cyber security, investing in defence manufacturing, promoting greater interaction between armed forces, including joint exercises and military training and capacity building.

Look West policy is often assessed with the lens of Look East policy. How far is this comparison relevant?

Look West Policy is often seen as counterpart of Look East Policy. It is often suggested to apply those tools of foreign policy which worked in case of Look East to Look West, but it is irrelevant to compare both the policy in letter and spirit.

Because comparisons between the regions to India's east and west are not very useful-

- **One big difference between the two regions is an institutional framework that facilitates India's regional diplomacy.** -Association of South-East Asian Nations has been the vehicle for India's expanding partnership with Southeast Asia, there is no similar forum in the Middle East. Groupings such as the Arab League, or the Organization of Islamic Conference, were never really effective. Even more narrowly focused organizations like the Gulf Cooperation Council are beginning to crack amid the region's turbulence. Once formed to counter the Iranian threat, the GCC is badly divided today.
- **ASEAN's process-driven diplomacy whereas no such thing is with the Middle-East, it is strategic impulse driven** - ASEAN with multiple lines of continuous engagement, puts pressure on India to stay focused on its Look East Policy. In the Middle East, the principal impulse has to be India's own strategic appreciation of the region matched by a vigorous bilateralism. Rapport at the leadership level is critical for success in a region ruled mostly by monarchs and strong rulers.
- **Delhi's success east of India has been the absence of domestic political discord over the region which is not the case in the Middle East.** Ideological, political and religious divisions in India over the Middle East have long complicated Delhi's thinking of the region. The Partition of the Subcontinent produced a set of outcomes that complicated India's relations with the Middle East.
- The success of India's "Look East Policy" provides a persuasive precedent but expecting results in India's west with an approach made in the east is not wise. Navigating the multiple internal contradictions of the Middle East has never been easy for external powers. India may not need a one size fits all approach to realize success in its west. It will realize the new opportunities in the region if Delhi views the Middle East on its own merits, pays sustained political attention, and delivers on the Indian economic and security commitments made at the highest levels.

Views of C Rajamohan :India and the new 'Quad' in West Asia.

In Oct 2021, a first ever meeting between foreign ministers of India, Israel, UAE and US was held.

To this C Rajamohan writes-

- ***The first meeting between foreign ministers of India, Israel, UAE and US suggests that Delhi is now ready to move from bilateral relations conducted in separate silos towards an integrated regional policy.***
- ***India's establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel nearly three decades ago broke the ideological shackles that severely limited Delhi's post-independence foreign policy in the vital but politically charged Middle East.***

- *As in the Indo-Pacific, so in the Middle East, regional coalitions are bound to widen Delhi's reach and deepen its impact. It also points to new openings for India in the region and ever-widening possibilities for Delhi's strategic cooperation with Washington.*
- *It is perhaps too early to call the new minilateral with the US, UAE and Israel the "new Quad" for the Middle East. It will be a while before this grouping will find its feet and evolve. After all, it took quite some effort to build the Quad in the east with Australia, India, Japan and the United States.*
- ***The new "Quad" in the Middle East is unlikely to be India's only new coalition in the region. It, in fact, provides a sensible template to pursue wide-ranging minilateral partnerships in the region. India's new regionalism to the west of the Subcontinent must also be informed by shifting political geographies.***

Views of Manjari Singh and Chirayu Thakkar

The International Federation of Indo-Israeli Chambers of Commerce says combining India's scale with Israeli innovation and Emirati capital could produce immense benefits to all three countries. Add American strategic support and you would see a powerful dynamic unfolding in the region.

Contemporary Issues

Yemen War

The Yemeni Civil War is an ongoing multilateral civil war that began in late 2014 mainly between the **Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi-led Yemeni government** and the **Houthi armed movement**, along with their supporters and allies. The worsening crisis with wider geopolitical implications for the Gulf region has raised questions on what the international community, especially the UN, has done to resolve the issue.

Who are the Houthis, and why is there a war in Yemen?

- The Houthis are a large clan belonging to the **Zaidi Shia sect**, with roots in Yemen's northwestern Saada province. **Zaidis make up around 35 per cent of Yemen's population.**
- The Zaidis ruled over Yemen for over a thousand years until 1962, when they were overthrown and a civil war followed, which lasted until 1970. The Houthi clan began to revive the Zaidi tradition from the 1980s, resisting the increasing influence of the Salafists, who were funded by the state.
- In 2004, the Houthis began an insurgent movement against the Yemeni government, naming themselves after the political, military, and religious leader Hussein Badreddin al-Houthi, who was assassinated by Yemeni security forces in September of that year. Several years of conflict between the Houthis and Yemen's Sunni majority government followed.
- In 2012, Ali Abdullah Saleh, who had been Yemen's president since 1990 (and before that, president of the pre-unification country of North Yemen from 1978 onward), was forced to step down in the wake of the Arab Spring protests. He was succeeded by his vice-president, Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi.
- In 2015, Saleh aligned himself with the Houthis against Hadi, and the insurgency — which at the time had the support of many ordinary Yemenis including Sunnis — captured Sana'a. The president fled to Aden and subsequently to Saudi Arabia, where he continues to spend most of his time.
- In 2017, however, Saleh broke his alliance with the Houthis, and crossed over to the side of their enemies — the Saudis, the UAE, and President Hadi. That December, Saleh was assassinated.

How did Saudi and UAE get involved in the war?

- In March 2015, soon after Hadi was forced from power, a nine-nation coalition led by Saudi Arabia, which received logistic and intelligence support from the United States, began a bombing campaign against the Houthis. The air attacks were in support of Hadi's forces, who were seeking to take back Sana'a from Houthi control.
- At the heart of the intervention, however, lay the region's fundamental power struggle — between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Riyadh and the West believe that the Houthis are backed militarily and financially by the regime in Tehran.
- Saudi Arabia shares an over 1,300-km border with Yemen. In the beginning, Riyadh claimed that the war would be over in just a few months. However, the coalition has made only limited progress since then, the war is stalemated, the Houthis remain in power in Sana'a, and a humanitarian catastrophe has unfolded in Yemen.

- Since 2015, the battle has constantly shifted shape, with the participants switching sides among the Saudi-backed forces known as Popular Resistance Committees, the Iran-backed groups, and various shades of Islamist militants including those linked with Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State.

Is that why the Houthis targeted the UAE?

- **Brig Gen Saree** commented on recent attacks that had been launched *“deep in the UAE”*, and warned the *“countries of aggression that they will receive more painful and painful blows”*.
- He told the Houthi-controlled Al Masirah TV that five ballistic missiles and a large number of drones were used in *“Operation Hurricane Yemen”* that targeted the Dubai and Abu Dhabi airports, the Musaffah oil refinery in Abu Dhabi, and other facilities.
- The UAE had since 2019 dialed down its involvement in directly attacking Houthi groups inside Yemen; however, in the past few months, some of the UAE-backed groups have launched an offensive against the Houthis.
- The Houthis have sought to take credit for attacks inside UAE earlier too — the most recent of these claims was made in 2018. While the Emirati authorities had denied those earlier claims, the country’s foreign ministry blamed “the Houthi militia” for “targeting civilian areas and facilities on UAE soil”.
- More than the UAE, it is Saudi Arabia that has been in the crosshairs of the Houthis. Since 2015, they have repeatedly fired missiles and mortar at Saudi military and civilian facilities including airports and oil facilities, and killed many Saudi soldiers. Over the last year, the two sides have been engaged in a tense battle to capture the Marib province, which is the government’s only remaining stronghold in northern Yemen, and houses vast oil and gas infrastructure.

Why the geopolitical tensions in Yemen are a matter of concern for India

- The death of the two Indian nationals brings to fore how the unrest in the Middle East affects Indians back home. In fact, the effect of the conflict rubbed off on India right at the start; it began with the evacuation of thousands of Indians since 2015. If the attacks continue, many more Indians may become casualties or get displaced.
- Thousands of Indians take up different occupations across both the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. Indians account for over 30 percent of the total population of the UAE and are often present at strategic sites such as refineries, which, as we have seen in the past, are the usual targets of Houthi attacks.

Views of Sourish Ghosh

- *“India's Yemen policy since the conflict has been marred with neutrality in a way it suffers from policy paralysis.*
- *India shares a deep relationship with Yemen and other Middle Eastern countries like Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Yemen is geopolitically important to India, yet it has turned a blind eye towards the Yemen problem. The Yemen government in exile had earlier appealed to India to intervene and ensure dialogue to maintain peace. Reportedly, Houthi rebels are backed by Iran, so there is a possibility for New Delhi to intervene. But as always India has maintained neutrality only intermittently condemning the violence.”*

- *But in recent times India has accepted more than 700 soldiers fighting for the Abdur Rabi regime against the Houthis in the civil war for medical treatment on behalf of the UAE. There are ample opportunities for India to engage but it has shown no signs of doing that.*
- *So, at present, apart from evacuating its nationals and condemning violence from time to time, there seems to be no bigger role for India in the Yemen crisis in the near future.”*

How is the UN tackling the humanitarian crisis?

- Yemen faces the world’s worst humanitarian crisis. More than half the population are at risk of famine, and 80% of the people require some form of humanitarian assistance.
- ***According to the UN, in 2021, a Yemeni child under the age of five died every nine minutes because of the conflict.***
- The UN and its agencies have been delivering humanitarian aid in Yemen from the beginning of the crisis. The UN’s World Food Programme (WFP) distributes 100,000 tonnes of food commodities monthly, reaching more than 13 million people. The WFP also delivered nutritional support to 3.3 million pregnant and nursing women and children under five.
- The UN Population Fund (UNFPA) has reached nearly 2 million people with reproductive health services. UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF) is helping treat severe acute malnutrition in children by providing essential therapeutic food and medical supplies.
- Lastly, the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) works closely with the Government and humanitarian agencies at all levels to enhance humanitarian coordination.
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India-Israel : 30 years of Diplomatic Ties

Though India had recognised Israel on September 17, 1950, full-fledged diplomatic relations between the countries were established on January 29, 1992. Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett said that Israel and India have a “**Gehri Dosti**” (deep friendship) and he thanked Narendra Modi for his “deep commitment” to the “strong and robust friendship.”

Indo-Israeli Relations in the shadow of the cold war, 1948–92

- India and Israel became independent around the same time, in 1947 and 1948 respectively – the former from prolonged colonial rule, the latter from 30-years-long mandatory rule.
- **While Israel followed a policy of *non-identification*, India pioneered a policy of *non-alignment* with either the Western or the Eastern blocs. This helped both states to maintain a more balanced relationship with the US and the Soviet Union, drawing a parallel foreign policy approach with deep practical considerations on their sides.** India recognised Israel as a sovereign independent state in 1950 but remained reluctant to establish fully-fledged formal diplomatic relations even as Israel was allowed to open a consulate in Bombay in 1953.
- During this phase, ***Jawaharlal Nehru***, was the driving force behind India’s Israel policy, explaining the decision to allow the opening of the consulate in the following terms: ***‘It is not a matter of high principle, but it is based on how we could best serve and be helpful in that area. We should like the problem between Israel and the Arab countries to be settled peacefully. After careful thought we felt that while recognising Israel as an entity, we need not at this stage exchange diplomatic personnel’.***
- ***Apart from geostrategic and economic considerations, India’s anxiety for close relations with the Arab world was based on its desire to neutralise Pakistan’s attempts to create a pan-Islamic movement and to keep its substantial Muslim minority sufficiently content.*** (Kumaraswamy, India’s Israel Policy; and Rao, The Arab-Israeli Conflict).
- Subsequent governments under Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi did not deviate from Nehru’s course as far as India’s Israel policy is concerned, sustaining a **‘principled distance’ from a close association with Israel on the assumption that such policy would widen New Delhi’s room for manoeuvre** in the face of changing political dynamics at both the domestic and international levels. (Srivastava, “India-Israel Relations,”)
- The **1965 India-Pakistan war tested the efficacy of India’s Israel policy yet again.** Given its staunch support for the Palestinians and its pro-Arab policy at the UN and other international organizations, India was deeply disappointed that not only did the Arab states fail to endorse its cause but Saudi Arabia and Jordan openly sided with Pakistan. During this time, **there were demands from parties like the Jana Sangh that New Delhi establish formal ties with Israel.** Yet when these parties came to power they failed to live to their previous demands, keeping the existing policy with minor positive changes under the stewardship of Rajiv Gandhi

End of the cold war

- The **end of the cold war** unleashed tremendous changes in the international system and gave rise to a new world order dominated by the US. **More importantly, it offered countries, especially in the developing world, more policy space by weakening the ideological barriers created by the socialist and capitalist blocs.**
- ***Changes in the relations between the Middle East and the US, and between the US and India contributed to New Delhi's shifting stance towards Israel. (Debjani Ghosal "Strategic Hyphenation,")***
- ***Additionally, expanding globalization, integration of domestic economic systems in the global economy and the resultant growth of interdependence among states brought about much greater emphasis on economic, strategic and security interests with mutual benefits poised to outweigh trivial ideological differences. (Harsh Pant)***
- It was **Prime Minister Narasimha Rao** who reoriented India's longstanding Israel policy by establishing fully fledged diplomatic relations on 29 January 1992. Since then cooperation gradually expanded ***and diversified into numerous fields, including defense and security, trade, agriculture, counterterrorism, and economic and cultural affairs.*** Initially, this cooperation focused on internal security, intelligence sharing, defence and technology.
- In 2000, **Jaswant Singh** became the first Indian foreign minister to visit Israel. Speaking to the Israeli Council of Foreign Relations, he described the new momentum in India's relations with Israel as a ***'tectonic shift of consciousness'.*** (A.G. Noorani, "Dissent in Israel.")
- Indeed, by this time the growing bilateral relations between the two countries had ***'assumed an altogether new dynamic and came under full public scrutiny with the visit of Ariel Sharon to India in September 2003, the first ever by a ruling Israeli prime minister'.*** (Pant, "India -Israel Partnership,")
- In June 2011, **the two countries signed a memorandum of understanding aimed at enhancing cross-border innovation and entrepreneurship, as well as a bilateral trade agreement between the Israel High Tech Industries Association and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII).** Yet India's stance on the contentious Palestinian issue remained more or less the same, with successive governments voicing occasional Indian support for an independent Palestinian state while simultaneously maintaining burgeoning bonhomie with Israel.

Indo-Israeli relations under Modi

- India Israel relations have gained tremendous momentum under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, expanding from the defense and security sphere to numerous fields from agriculture, to waste management, to science and technology, to tourism, and culture.

International Factors

- The emergence of a multipolar world and consequent waning popularity of NAM have brought about certain reorientations and realignments in India's foreign policy.
- **Kadira Pethiyagoda:** *"Indian policymakers feel that in an increasingly multipolar world, the way to maximize leverage is to make other states work for one's favour rather than have it taken for granted through alliance membership. Thus, what had previously been promoted as idealist nonalignment has now evolved and been rebranded as realist strategic independence."*

- *The global order has been in continuous flux since the end of the Cold War with new realignments taking place, non-state actors playing an ever-growing role, and non-traditional security challenges (e.g. human security, climate change, sustainable development) giving rise to new forms of collective efforts and cooperation between global powers and lesser power alike. (Rajesh Basrur, “Modi’s Foreign Policy Fundamentals”) In these circumstances, India’s new enhanced internal and external security concerns, from Pakistan-originated terrorism to Indians joining ISIS, have increased the Indo-Israeli collaboration, given Israel’s world leading position in such fields as counterterrorism, defence and security technology, and intelligence gathering and operations.*
- *The rise and growing assertiveness of China, India’s perennial adversary, has caused considerable concern in India and has increased the importance of partnership with Israel as a possible counterweight to the rapidly spreading Chinese influence. The importance of this partnership has become all the more critical given that Beijing, being more far-sighted than New Delhi, has already established stronger ties with Israel despite the fact that ‘China and Israel are not natural partners.’ (Abrams, “What’s behind Israel’s Growing Ties with China?”).*
- *Another major factor in the evolving Indo-Israeli cooperation has been ‘the constant, albeit neither consistent nor direct’ role of the US.’ While India has ambitiously sought to modernize its armed forces through the acquisition of the most advanced weaponry and latest technology, Washington has been reluctant to share this technology. Thus, for example, the ‘nearly completed’ negotiations over a joint venture to develop anti-tank guided missiles (ATGM) was stalled in 2016 due to the US administration’s reluctance to share the necessary technology and to allow India to manufacture the missiles.*
- *By contrast, Israel was amenable to sharing such technologies with the Rafael Advanced Defense Systems reportedly finalizing the sale of the ATGMs to India, among many other signed defense and security agreements between the two states.*
- *Iran’s steady hegemonic drive – from its dogged pursuit of nuclear weapons, to subverting regional regimes and intervening in domestic conflicts (Syria, Iraq, Yemen) – has driven many Arab states, notably Saudi Arabia and the gulf principalities, to establish close security cooperation with Israel, making them more understanding of Jerusalem’s concerns, needs and goals in general. (Yaalon and Friedman, “Israel and the Arab States.”). Hence the Gulf states’ support (and tacit acquiescence of other Arab states) for President Trump’s peace plan despite its outright rejection by the Palestinian leadership.*
- *All these changes in the political and diplomatic landscape of the Middle East have offered India a wider latitude to upgrade its relations with Israel without abandoning its traditional support for the Palestinians.*

Domestic factors

- *While Indo-Israeli relations have traditionally been centred on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the emerging public consensus in recent years of the intrinsic importance of elevating and expanding these relations has provided Modi with a tremendous impetus for delinking the bilateral relationship from the Palestinian problem (Harsh Pant, “India-Israel Ties Gather Momentum”). This trend has*

also been reinforced by the growing insertion of traditionally marginalized non-state and sub-state actors in India's international relations.

- *As such, economic diplomacy has opened up more avenues as well as expanded the scope for the private sector's role in India's diplomatic landscape and conduct of international relations, with the business community evincing keen interest in expanding the scope of Indo-Israeli relations. The latest visit of Prime Minister Netanyahu, for example, was accompanied by a large business delegation representing 100-plus companies that signed several contracts with Indian private sectors. (Mishra and Miklian, *The Evolving Domestic Drivers*; and Sajjanhar, "India-Israel Relations.")*

Area of Cooperation

Economic and Commercial Relations

- **Trade:** Bilateral merchandise trade stood at US\$ 5.65 billion (excluding defense) in 2018-19, with the balance of trade being in India's favor by US\$ 1.8 billion. India is Israel's third largest trade partner in Asia and seventh largest globally. In recent years, bilateral trade has diversified into several sectors such as **pharmaceuticals, agriculture, IT and telecom, and homeland security.**
- **Investment:** Indian investments in Israel (April 2000-June 2017) totalled USD 122.4 million (Department of Industrial Policy & Promotion, GoI). Indian companies are marking their presence in Israel through mergers and acquisitions and by opening branch offices.
- Indian software companies, notably TCS, Infosys, Tech Mahindra and Wipro, are beginning to expand their presence in the Israeli market. There are over 300 investments from Israel in India mainly in the high-tech domain and in agriculture.
- These investments are varied in nature - manufacturing plants; R&D centers; subsidiaries etc. Teva Pharmaceuticals, IDE, Netafim, ADAMA, etc. are among the leading Israeli companies, which have notable investments in India.
- **Agriculture:** Under a comprehensive Work Plan for cooperation in agriculture signed on 10 May 2006, bilateral projects are implemented through MASHAV (Center for International Cooperation of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and CINADCO (Center for International Agricultural Development Cooperation of Israel's Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development). The two sides signed the fourth phase of the joint action plan (2018-20) in July 2017.
- **India has benefited from Israeli expertise and technologies in horticulture mechanization, protected cultivation, orchard and canopy management, nursery management, micro irrigation and post-harvest management particularly in Haryana and Maharashtra.**
- **Israeli drip irrigation technologies and products are now widely used in India. Some Israeli companies and experts are providing expertise to manage and improve dairy farming in India through their expertise in high milk yield.**

Cooperation in S&T and Space

- ISRO launched TecSAR – the Israeli Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR) satellite – in January 2008, which was followed by the launch of the IAI-assisted India's own radar imaging satellite RISAT-2

- India-Israel cooperation in S&T is overseen by the Joint Committee on S&T, established under the S&T Cooperation Agreement signed in 1993. Its last meeting took place in March 2019 in Israel.
- During the visit of PM Modi in July 2017, an MoU for establishing India-Israel Industrial R&D and Innovation Fund (I4F) by the Department of Science and Technology, India and the National Authority for Technological Innovation, Israel was signed.
- During the visit of the PM in July 2017, space agencies-ISRO & Israel Space Agency- signed three agreements on space cooperation.
- India and Israel also signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on cyber security during the state visit of Prime Minister Netanyahu to New Delhi in January 2018. The MoU seeks to promote cooperation in skill development and training programmes in the field of cyber security.

Culture and Education

- Israeli youth are particularly attracted to India. More than 50000 Israelis visited India in 2018, whereas more than 70000 Indian tourists visited Israel during the year.
- Several courses related to India are taught at Tel Aviv University, Hebrew University and Haifa University. In May 2013, India and Israel launched a new funding programme of joint academic research with the University Grants Commission and the Israel Science Foundation as nodal organizations.
- Since 2012, Israel has been offering post-doctoral scholarships to students from India and China in all fields.

Indian Community

- There are approximately 85,000 Jews of Indian-origin in Israel (with at least one Indian parent), who are all Israeli passport holders. In 2013, the Indian Embassy in Tel Aviv facilitated the first ever National Convention of Indian Jews in Israel that was held on September 23, 2013 in Ramla.
- Four more annual Conventions have since been held in subsequent years in the cities of Yeruham (2014), Ramla (2015), Kiryat Gat (2016) and Ashkelon (2017). The Know India Programme has been effective in binding the Indian origin youth to India.

Defense & Security

- Defense relations between India and Israel are longstanding. ***Strategic communication between the two countries began during the Sino-India War of 1962 when PM Jawaharlal Nehru wrote his Israeli counterpart David Ben-Gurion for shipments of arms and ammunition.*** (Santosh Chaubey, "India-Israel Relation Over the Years: Ten Defining Developments").
- **It was one of the few countries that chose not to condemn India's Pokhran nuclear tests in 1998. It continued its arms trade with India at a steadily increasing rate even after the sanctions and international isolation that followed the nuclear tests.**
- **For India, the credibility of Israel as a reliable defense partner was reinforced during the Kargil War of 1999 when it supplied the Indian Air Force (IAF) with the Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) 'Searcher' and surveillance systems for Jaguar and Mirage squadrons (N. A. K. Browne, "A Perspective on India-Israel Defense and Security Ties").** It also upgraded the MiG-21 combat

aircraft for the IAF. The Indian Army also received Laser Guided Bombs (LGB) and 160-mm mortar ammunition.

- Between 2002 and 2005, India had concluded contracts with Israel worth \$2.76 billion, according to the information provided by the then Defense Minister Pranab Mukherjee to the Indian parliament in August 2005. These included three Phalcon Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS), fitted with Israel Aircraft Industry (IAI) radars mounted on Russian IL-76 aircraft in 2003 at a cost of \$1 billion.

Combating terrorism

- Fighting terrorism is a major issue and challenge for India and Israel. Both are democratic, pluralistic states with large domestic Muslim minorities and both face the scourge of Islamist terrorism sponsored by their neighbours. This shared dilemma has led to a better understanding of each other's strategic and security concerns. Both countries share an identical view of non-proliferation regimes such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).
- Both countries were left out of the post-9/11 US-led War on Terror. Washington did not want Israel in the coalition so as to be able to include the Arab states; it likewise needed Pakistan, the Taliban's erstwhile sponsor, so it kept India at arm's length despite New Delhi's unconditional support for the War on Terror.
- India has found it increasingly beneficial to learn from Israel's experience in dealing with terrorism, given the latter's long-term suffering from cross-border terrorism.
- And the terrorism that both India and Israel face comes not only from disaffected groups within their territories but is aided and abetted by the neighbouring states. There are, thus, distinct structural similarities in the kinds of threat that India and Israel face from terrorism.
- A basic understanding has emerged between India and Israel that notwithstanding the different circumstances of their respective terrorist threats, there can be no compromise with terrorists. India sees Israel as a source of training and professional/material aid in its fight against terrorism and Israel is more than willing to allow India to benefit from its extensive experience.
- There is cooperation on security issues, including a Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism. In February 2014, India and Israel signed three important agreements on **Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, Cooperation in Homeland Security, and Protection of Classified Material**. There is a Joint Steering Committee under the agreement on Homeland Security, aided by thematic Joint Working Groups.

Scholar's views

- P R Kumaraswamy : *Even 30 years after normalization, India-Israel relations continue to garner academic and media attention in both countries. Though military-security ties are dominant, relations encompass a host of non-traditional issues such as agriculture, water management, tourism and culture. Moreover, the entry of both countries into the mini-Quad (along with the United States and the United Arab Emirates) could transform their relations into a larger regional economic growth.*

- **Nicolas Blarel** : *India's prime minister Narendra Modi admires Israel's achievements, but structural differences between Indian and Israeli national security situations, differences in the leaders' worldviews and the absence of a common enemy inhibits stronger strategic rapprochement.*
- **C Rajamohan** : *Beyond trade, there is potential for India, UAE and Israel to collaborate on many areas — from semiconductor design and fabrication to space technology. Success on the trilateral front will open the door for extending the collaboration with other common regional partners like Egypt, who will lend great strategic depth to the Indo-Abrahamic accords.*
- **Manjari Singh and Chirayu Thakkar** : *In the last seven years alone, India-Israel relations have warmed up far faster than in the six preceding decades. The current fêting of diplomatic ties indicates that the strength of this bilateral entente transcends the bonhomie of any two leaders. As they celebrate this upward momentum, it is also the time to put in place the framework for a people-centric course for the bilateral relationship, one that can withstand any future domestic political swings or the ideological variation between political parties in India and continue benefiting populations on both sides.*
- **H.E. Ron Malka, "Steady partners in an unsteady world"** : The next important strategic partnership will be water security. He highlighted Israel's low starting point with water as large parts of it were covered in barren desert land and witnessed a 50% decrease in rainfall for 70 years. However, Israel combatted it by technologically developing an abundance of clean water and also supplied the same to neighbors. Israel not only increased supply (desalination and filtration are part of it) but also promoted efficient usage. Israel is keen to share its technical know-how and innovation with India.
- **Tanvi Madan**: *All these years India was treating Israel as a mistress but for the first time it has openly acknowledged her as the wife.*

Scholarly & Expert Analysis of the Ukraine Crisis



The Ukraine crisis has crossed a critical point, with Russia following up its recognition of rebel regions in **Eastern Ukraine (Donbas region)- Donetsk and Luhansk** with a full-fledged invasion to “demilitarise” and “denazify” Ukraine. This decision by Moscow is a rejection of the inviolability of national borders in Europe as agreed to in the **Helsinki agreement of 1975**.

Helsinki Accords, also called Helsinki Final Act, (August 1, 1975), major diplomatic agreement signed in Helsinki, Finland, at the conclusion of the first Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE; now called the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe). The Helsinki Accords were primarily an effort to reduce tension between the Soviet and Western blocs by securing their common acceptance of the post-World War II status quo in Europe. The accords were signed by all the countries of Europe (except Albania, which became a signatory in September 1991) and by the United States and Canada. The agreement recognized the inviolability of the post-World War II frontiers in Europe and pledged the 35 signatory nations to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and to cooperate in economic, scientific, humanitarian, and other areas. The Helsinki Accords are non-binding and do not have treaty status.

Can the developments in Ukraine be explained through a Realist's perspective?

John Mearsheimer

- He wrote with **Stephen Walt**, “*The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*,” Mearsheimer is a proponent of great-power politics—a school of realist international relations that assumes that **in a self-interested attempt to preserve national security, states will pre-emptively act in anticipation of adversaries.**
- For years, Mearsheimer has argued that the U.S., in pushing to expand NATO eastward and establishing friendly relations with Ukraine, has increased the likelihood of war between nuclear-armed powers and laid the groundwork for Vladimir Putin’s aggressive position toward Ukraine. Indeed, in 2014, after Russia annexed Crimea, Mearsheimer wrote that “**the United States and its European allies share most of the responsibility for this crisis**.”

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- *He thinks all the trouble, in this case, started in April 2008, at the NATO Summit, issued a statement that said Ukraine and Georgia would become part of NATO. The Russians made it unequivocally clear at the time that they viewed this as an existential threat, and they drew a line in the sand.*
- *Of course, this includes more than just NATO expansion. NATO expansion is the heart of the strategy, but it includes E.U. expansion as well, and it includes turning Ukraine into a pro-American liberal democracy, and, from a Russian perspective, this is an existential threat. It's not imperialism; this is great-power politics.*
- ***"When you're a country like Ukraine and you live next door to a great power like Russia, you have to pay careful attention to what the Russians think because if you take a stick and you poke them in the eye, they're going to retaliate".***
- *This is great-power politics, and what the Russians want is a regime in Kyiv that is attuned to Russian interests. It may be ultimately that the Russians would be willing to live with a neutral Ukraine, and that it won't be necessary for Moscow to have any meaningful control over the government in Kyiv.*
- *In an ideal world, it would be wonderful if the Ukrainians were free to choose their political system and to choose their foreign policy. But in the real world, that is not feasible. The Ukrainians have a vested interest in paying serious attention to what the Russians want from them. They run a grave risk if they fundamentally alienate the Russians.*

Counter Argument

Daniel W. Drezner

- *The realist position on Ukraine has been straightforward: To explain what is happening now, you have to go back to the U.S. move to expand NATO that began in the 1990s. In expanding that alliance and offering countries like Georgia and Ukraine the theoretical chance to join NATO, realists claim that the United States triggered a security dilemma with Russia that led to its invasions of Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014 and 2022.*
- *This argument rests on the premise that in the 1990s, Russia just wanted to strike a bargain with NATO and had no ambitions to reconstitute and expand its sphere of influence. That's just not true. From 1992 onward, Russia economically coerced it's near abroad all the time. A counterfactual in which Russia would not have expanded its sphere of influence in the absence of NATO expansion seems risible.*
- *More significantly, from a pure realpolitik perspective, the war in Ukraine has gone extremely well for the United States and extremely poorly for Russia. Putin's Russia is weaker now than it was before the invasion. Hopes for absorbing or neutralizing Ukraine and extinguishing Ukrainian nationalism have been dashed. Its reputation for the competent projection of power has been tarnished. Sanctions will badly damage the Russian economy.*
- *Realists predicted none of this. Realism has some useful things to say about Russia and Ukraine. But it is far from clairvoyant.*
- ***As Mearsheimer himself acknowledged, "Do I know what's going to happen? No, none of us knows what's going to happen."***

Is there an imminent threat of nuclear war failing the efforts to control the arms race in the world?

(It explains how arm race increased in the cold war, how similar events are happening now. Try to focus on these events, how they created a vicious cycle of arms development?)

While the Cuban Missile Crisis is perhaps the most potent example of nuclear brinkmanship between the U.S. and Russia, several precarious near-misses have been the result of miscalculations. Among the more prominent of these close-calls is the 1983 **Able Archer exercise** during which NATO trained for a full-scale nuclear attack against the Soviet Union, which, concerned about a potential coverup for an actual strike, put its nuclear forces on high alert.

Joan Rohlfing

- *I am deeply concerned we have arrived at the most dangerous moment in our collective nuclear history since the Cuban Missile Crisis, this is probably a moment as dangerous as the Cuban Missile Crisis. We are at a significantly escalated risk of nuclear use.*
- *Matching Russia's nuclear actions, the U.S. has flown nuclear-capable B-52 bombers to NATO's eastern flank, a region that has been at the centre of the Kremlin's enmity toward the West due to the alliance's expansion since the fall of the Soviet Union 30 years ago.*
- *Putin, who has been in power for two of those past three decades, has also overseen the collapse of the arms control architecture painstakingly built by Washington and Moscow throughout the Cold War.*
- *First, the U.S. pulled out of the **1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)** in 2002, early on in Putin's tenure and shortly after the 9/11 attacks pivoted Washington's attention away from rebuilding U.S.-Russia relations toward fighting the "War on Terror" that continues to this day.*
- *Five years later, Moscow withdrew from the **Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE)**, arguing that the level of restrictions imposed on Russia no longer made sense in the wake of the USSR-aligned Warsaw Pact's dissolution.*
- *The most recent casualty to non-proliferation efforts was the **Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)**, scrapped by former President Donald Trump in 2019 after long standing U.S. accusations that Russia had violated the accord with the production of a new missile that breached the 500-5,500-kilometer ban on ground-based weapons systems.*
- *Russia, for its part, argued that the U.S. was already in violation of the INF with the deployment in Eastern Europe of missile defence systems that Moscow has argued could not only neutralize the country's firepower but also be fitted with offensive weapons.*
- *"They didn't listen to us, so listen to us now," Putin proclaimed during his 2018 unveiling of nuclear-capable systems such as the **RS-28 Sarmat intercontinental ballistic missile**.*
- *The U.S. has largely dismissed Russia's stated concerns, arguing that NATO was solely a "defensive" alliance, so the continued pursuit of Washington and its allies of state-of-the-art weapons of their own and even the continued deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe was legitimate.*
- *So too has Russia witnessed a historic rival coalition broaden its military mandate to include intervention in the Balkans and Libya. And after unrest first broke out in Ukraine eight years ago with the ousting of a Moscow-aligned government for one seeking to join the Western alliance, here too NATO took a larger role in arming and training Kyiv's security forces against a Moscow-backed*

separatist insurgency as Russia moved to annex the Crimean Peninsula amid an internationally disputed referendum.

- He asserted that **"the biggest unacknowledged arms control challenge is for conventionally-armed missiles," including ballistic weapons that are "also very fast" as well as "cheaper and they still get the job done."** But he warned that **"nuclear weapons delivery vehicles aren't going away."** He said, **"they will be modernized, at great expense, and hypersonics will be added as niche weapons for a subset of targets."**
- The U.S. continuous effort to increase the war-fighting capability of its nuclear forces will cause the Russians to be more and more likely to take actions to defend themselves that could make the chances of an accidental nuclear war considerably higher.
- **Artem Kvartalnov** - "The arms race has already been there since Putin presented Russia's new strategic weapon systems in 2018 and since the U.S. increased funding for many of its military programs around the same time," Kvartalnov said. "What we should fear now is potential new dimensions of this arms race."
- Kvartalnov predicted- further U.S. and allied deployments in Europe, culminating in a risky remilitarization of the continent. As the invasion of Ukraine will likely result in more NATO rather than less NATO," he said, "military posturing in Europe can reach long-forgotten levels."
- **Beatrice Fihn**, executive director of the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize-winning International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons- she was "very concerned" about dark days to come for arms control. "The last ten years, we've seen a withdrawal of the arms control agreement, an undermining of international law and multilateralism and an increase in nuclear modernization and spending," Fihn said. "That's why we're in such a dangerous situation right now."

Praveen Swami

- Even though the crisis in Ukraine is underpinned by Moscow's worries over the eastward expansion of NATO, it has an important nuclear-weapons subtext.
- In 2014, the United States began complaining that Russia violated its INF obligations. Although the merit of the allegations has been debated by experts, President Donald Trump's administration withdrew from the INF. Leaving the INF wasn't an impetuous or irrational decision—though it proved unwise.
- In a 2019 study, experts Jacob Cohn and others argued that developments of new missiles in the USA could **"contribute to a cost-imposing strategy against China and Russia by pressuring them to invest in expensive defenses and resiliency measures rather than devote those same resources to power-projection capabilities."**
- The shadow of nuclear weapons, though, will hang over the New Cold War, just as it did over the old one. Ensuring strategic stability will be this era's most fundamental diplomatic challenge.

Mitch Shin

- The arms race on the Korean Peninsula will linger following the Ukraine crisis. North Korea tested a cruise missile as part of an effort to develop its reconnaissance satellite system on February 27; it may conduct more satellite launches in the coming weeks while U.S. attention is focused on Eastern Europe.

- Also, if the United States and South Korea conduct joint military drills in March or April as planned, North Korea may test an improved version of the Hwasong-15 intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) as a countermeasure, as the North Korean leader Kim Jong Un said he no longer felt bound by his self-moratorium on nuclear and ICBM tests. Pyongyang may also consider an ICBM test to send a strong signal after the new South Korean president takes office in May.
- Markets for Russian military equipment will shrink, though some of its recipient clients – Syria, Myanmar, Belarus, China, Central Africa Republic, Sudan, Venezuela, Cuba and perhaps Serbia and Pakistan and Vietnam – will remain open markets for Russian wares. Turkey is likely no longer an option for Moscow as a potential buyer, even after the S-400 air-defense missile system drama that cost Ankara participation in the F-35 program. India is a tougher question, as the US declined to impose CASA sanctions on New Delhi following acceptance of its S-400 batteries.

Is it the dawn of the new Cold war?

Brahma Chellaney

- *The Russian invasion of Ukraine and the sanctions-centred reprisals of the US and its allies are a watershed moment in international relations. They mark the advent of a new Cold War whose ramifications will extend to every corner of the world.*
- ***The current crisis has the makings of a drawn-out and dangerous confrontation between Russia and the West, particularly the US-led NATO. The West essentially is snapping its post-Cold War ties with Moscow despite the risk of creating international strategic instability.***
- *The crisis is already affecting the global economy, with higher energy prices and supply-chain disruptions set to fuel inflation and slow economic growth. **US President Joe Biden has made it clear that the US has embarked on a strategy of Containment 2.0 against Moscow.***
- *Containment 2.0 may be modelled on the Cold War-era Containment 1.0, which ended with the Soviet Union's disintegration, but it seeks to employ largely economic tools to disrupt the Russian economy and undermine the Russian state.*
- *The new Cold War's larger effects, meanwhile, are becoming visible. Germany, for example, has unveiled a remilitarisation plan, including boosting its military spending from 1.4 percent to above 2 percent of GDP.*
- ***Its center-left chancellor, Olaf Scholz, while contending that Russia's Ukraine invasion means "the world will not be the same as before", has announced an immediate investment of a whopping €100 billion in new weaponry, such as the American F-35 warplanes and Israeli drones.***
- *Russia's invasion, and the US plan to arm Ukrainian resistance forces to bleed Russia, threaten to turn Ukraine into Syria or Libya. In its own hemisphere, the US still enforces the 198-year-old Monroe Doctrine to ensure there is no unfriendly state in its extended backyard.*
- ***In 2018, then-US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson called the Monroe Doctrine "as relevant today as it was the day it was written."***
- *Yet the US has expanded NATO to Russia's borders, including deploying forces in the Baltics where the Soviet Union had its largest forward military bases. **Between 2014 and 2021, the US poured***

more than \$2.5 billion in arms and other military aid into Ukraine, which Moscow sees as part of its security perimeter.

- *To protect its heartland, especially Moscow, Russia has historically relied on such a strategic buffer. Believing the loss of the Baltic States to NATO had undermined Russian security, Putin drew a “red line” for the West with Ukraine. NATO, with the breakup of the Soviet Union, became obsolete, yet the US retained it so that it could dominate European security.*
- ***The US expanded NATO eastward by adding 14 new members, taking in the entire former Warsaw Pact and the three Baltic states, and then declaring that Ukraine and Georgia would become NATO members. Such expansionism increasingly grated Moscow, contributing eventually to Russia’s remilitarisation.***
- *With Russia feeling increasingly threatened by an encroaching NATO, Putin made clear late last year that Russia would “conduct itself as the US would behave if offensive weapons were near the US.” Yet his warning received little attention in the US media.*
- *In power politics, outcomes, not intentions or objectives, matter most. The new sanctions are likely to only embolden Putin’s belligerence. More fundamentally, Biden’s Containment 2.0 strategy against Russia is set to raise international tensions and volatility while also worsening America’s strategic overstretch through greater entanglement in European security.*
- *This will likely sap US strength to deal with the bigger challenges in the Indo-Pacific and accelerate America’s relative decline.*

Need for New Security Architecture in Europe?

- *For decades following the Cold war, Europe has exhibited a disinclination for the military and security preoccupation, as the continent was screened under the aegis of NATO, a security pact which is undergirded by the United States. However, increasing bellicosity manifested by Russia has revealed deep cracks in European security.*
- *The unceasing conflict between two camps will be devastating for the future security status-quo in the European continent, a status quo which presupposes an weakened and benign Russia.*
- *Until the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, the European security concern was contingent on the rivalry between the two hostile camps. Therefore, the management of the antagonism between the two camps determined the security architecture of that era.*
- *Unsurprisingly, the Cold war era of European security was fixated on safeguarding Western liberalism from the intrusion of the Soviet Union’s westward intrusion. However, after the end of the Cold war, NATO had been bereft of its fundamental rationale, as the menace of the Soviet Union was no longer compelling.*
- *Hence, the security architecture of Europe has undergone a marked reappraisal and adapted to the uncertainties attended with the new era. This repeated expansion, however, stoked security anxieties in the Kremlin as it construed the overtures of NATO to the Eastern European countries as a ploy of the West to extricate these countries from Russia’s fold and thereby depriving Russia of its “strategic depth”.*

- Hence, this perception chasm has pitted the “West” vs “Russia” and thus imperilled the European security architecture that had been painstakingly fashioned by the west in the wake of the world war.
- This relative turmoil and antagonism between the two countries also dispelled the west’s complacency regarding relative stability in the post-cold war world and set in motion hostilities that verge on imminent war. This evolving security landscape requires a drastic overhaul of the European security architecture to better reflect the shifting priorities of contemporary European security.

PS Raghavan

- NATO countries today span geography of uneven economic development and a diversity of political traditions and historical consciousness. Moreover, the original glue that held NATO together — ideological solidarity (free world against communist expansion) and an existential military threat — dissolved with the collapse of communism and the Warsaw Pact. There is no ideology to oppose and threat perceptions vary, depending on geographical location and historical experience.
- This heterogeneity means a diversity of interests. American leadership has normally succeeded in papering over differences, but the growing ambitions of countries are making this increasingly difficult.
- **U.S. interests have also divided NATO on energy security. For Germany, the Nord Stream 2 (NS2) Russia-Germany gas pipeline is the cheapest source of gas for its industry. Others deem it a geopolitical project, increasing European dependence on Russian energy.**
- This argument masks self-serving interests. **Ukraine fears the diminution of gas transit revenues, and also that if its importance for gas transit declines, so will Europe’s support in its disputes with Russia.**
- **The U.S. ’s “geopolitical” argument against NS2 dovetails neatly with its commercial interest in exporting LNG to Europe, reinforced by U.S. legislation for sanctions against companies building gas pipelines from Russia. Increasing LNG exports to Europe is explicitly stated as a motivation for the sanctions.** European countries that oppose NS2 are ramping up their LNG import infrastructure to increase imports from the U.S.
- **A sustainable security order has to reflect current realities: it cannot be simply an outgrowth of the Cold War order, and it has to be driven from within. Also, a European order that does not accommodate Russia’s concerns through genuine negotiation cannot be stable in the long term.**
- France’s President Emmanuel Macron has called NATO “brain-dead” and said that Europe, as a “geopolitical power” should control its destiny, regaining “military sovereignty” and re-opening a dialogue with Russia, managing the misgivings of post-Soviet countries.
- India has to brace itself for some immediate challenges flowing from the Russian actions. It will have to balance the pressure from one strategic partner to condemn the violation of international law, with that from another to understand its legitimate concerns.
- As Russia-West confrontation sharpens further, the U.S. Administration’s intensified engagement in Europe will inevitably dilute its focus on the Indo-Pacific, causing India to make some tactical calibration of actions in its neighbourhood.

- *Geopolitics, however, is a long game, and the larger context of the U.S.-China rivalry could, at some point in the not too distant future, reopen the question of how Russia fits into the European security order.*
- *There is now a long list of conflicts and security threats that affect Europe directly or indirectly. As well as Ukraine, the list includes Syria, Iraq, Libya, Egypt, the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria, Mali, Yemen, Afghanistan and Pakistan.*
- *This list isn't exhaustive, but **it highlights the worsening international security situation, and for EU countries it means an increased terrorism risk, waves of people trying to escape the horrors of war and a need for more humanitarian aid than ever.***
- *An order that does not accommodate Russia's concerns through genuine negotiation cannot be stable in the long term. NATO's expansion as a politico-military alliance, even after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, was at the U.S.'s initiative. It was intended to temper European ambitions for strategic autonomy from the sole superpower and to counter Russia's resurgence. Recent experience shows it may not be succeeding in either goal.*

Impact of Ukraine crisis on Indo-Pacific region

Sujan R. Chinoy

- *Russia's invasion of Ukraine, regardless of reasons, demonstrates that a state with an economy the size of South Korea's, about half that of India, can mount a massive conventional military invasion of a neighbouring state, the combined opposition of the US and the EU notwithstanding. Sanctions against Russia, especially US and EU sanctions, may spur the trend towards self-reliance in many countries, including China and India.*
- *To deal with the economic fallout, the economies of the Indo-Pacific will be compelled to review their critical supply chains and to plan on alternatives in a globalized economic context in which decoupling even from adversaries is not easy.*
- *The US and many European countries are still buying Russian oil and gas. For India, the importance of developing self-reliance and reliable supply chains in the defense sector cannot be overemphasized.*
- *Russia's action has highlighted the limits of NATO's reach and resolve in the European theatre, leaving one wondering how far NATO, or its member states, would be willing to involve themselves in a conflict in the Indo-Pacific region where most Western nations have fewer stakes. Putin's military resolve and genius, or foolhardiness, depending on how one chooses to view it, has implications for Beijing.*

What is the approach of Indian foreign policy towards the issue and why?

India has abstained from resolution that has been passed in UN to condemn Russian invasion in Ukraine. This is a pragmatic choice, one that reflects the complexities of a realist world and Delhi's positions on territorial integrity and sovereignty, its concerns about its unresolved borders, its difficult relationship with its two northern neighbours.

- Russia remains India's biggest and time-tested supplier of military hardware. At the height of the crisis with China in Ladakh, it was to Moscow that Defence Minister Rajnath Singh travelled to ensure that there would be no cut-back in military supplies. And since then, Russia has boosted India's defense capability against China with the S-400 air defense system.
- **Moscow is also a reliable ally in the UN Security Council. India-Russia ties have ensured that Delhi has not been entirely left out of the conversation on Afghanistan, and in Central Asia, while also providing some leverage with the US. At the same time, the US, the European Union, and UK are all vital partners, and India's relations with each of them, and the Western world in general, go far beyond the sum of their parts. India, contrarily, has abstained from three UN resolutions condemning Russia. There is also a considerable difference on the Russia-Ukraine issue in terms of the individual readouts of the Quad members.**

Chinmaya R. Gharekhan

- *India is in a difficult position. On the one hand, there is a growing relationship with the United States. As is often maintained, India-U.S. relations have never been better. This is true, especially in the defense sector. Much is also made of the famous QUAD (India, the United States, Australia and Japan) which is essentially an arrangement to contain China.*
- ***On the other hand, there is Russia with whom we have a long-standing history of friendship, which is still our principal source of military hardware and which is willing, more than other countries, to share the technology involved. Russia has also helped us out in the United Nations on many occasions.***
- *One can hardly forget how they stalled action in the UN for several days at the time of the 1971 Bangladesh war to enable us to 'finish the job'. **We might need Russian support in future as and when Pakistan, fully backed by China, brings up the Kashmir issue in the world organization.***
- *Under the circumstances, the Government had done well by maintaining a kind of neutral position. It is a demonstration of the classical Nehruvian policy of non-alignment.*
- ***Yes, the Russian invasion is wrong by every principle of international law. But the only lasting principle in foreign policy is the principle of national interest.***
- *Jawaharlal Nehru even called it a selfish policy. National interest will always trump principles. That is what Nehru did at the time of the Soviet Union marching with tanks into Hungary in 1956; he did not condemn the Soviet action. Our stand stood out in stark contrast to our stand on the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt, which we condemned when it nationalized the Suez Canal the same year.*

Radha Kumar (Counter Arguments in respect of Indian stance on the issue)

- ***As our largest arms supplier, Russia has been a dependable ally, they say; it has shielded India at the UN over Kashmir, not to mention Bangladesh, back in 1971. Moreover, to vote against Russia will push it further into China's arms, multiplying that country's security threat to India.***
- ***All three arguments have been out of date since the end of the Cold War three decades ago, and Vladimir Putin's rise 20 years ago. More dangerously still, they reveal a fatalism towards India's national security interests that will only damage us further as time goes by.***

- ***Russia is not a reliable arms provider; it has not been one since Putin came to power. Arms supplies are frequently long delayed, and Putin has used the delays to up the prices, sometimes even double them.***
- ***Far from helping us, Putin has turned a blind eye to China's many acts of aggression against India. It was Russia that kept us out of Afghan peace negotiations in the very recent past. Russia did little to help us when China raised Kashmir at the UNSC in 2019 and 2020. It was the US and European countries that helped them – going against their human rights principles.***

Vivek Mishra

- ***India's foreign policy has evolved from non-alignment to embracing strategic autonomy in defense and security policies. This crisis has displayed exactly that with India discussing the crisis with EU and the US, abstaining from taking a stance on the conflict in the UN, and talking to both Russia and Ukraine,".***
- ***China, like rival India, has also been playing a balancing act between Russia and the West.***
- ***Even if China weighs in more than it already has on the Ukraine-Russia conflict, India would continue to maintain its neutral stance. China is an imminent threat to India, so India won't want to humor Russia in a way which would threaten its national interests.***

Sujan Chinoy

- ***In choosing to abstain from voting in the UN Security Council against Russia, India has acted based on its national interest. India continues to rely on Russia for major defense supplies.***
- ***India has attached importance to the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity and called for dialogue and diplomacy to settle disputes. India's abstention was not tantamount to an endorsement of Russian military action against Ukraine. Nor did it imply recognition of the independence of Donetsk and Luhansk, two breakaway regions that Russian President Vladimir Putin recognised as independent republics days before the invasion.***

P R Kumaraswamy

- ***Abstention is not ideal and underscores India's limited space for a maneuver. Either by design or accident, India is playing great power politics by not taking a firm stand on great power aggression against a weaker state.***
- ***International relations is more about power and influence and less about morality and ethics. Like WWE, international relations are brutal and ruthless. There is no room for morality, principles, ethics and human rights. In short, India's message on the Ukraine crisis is that there is less room for ethics and morality in great power politics.***

What can India learn from this issue?

- **The big takeaway for India from the ongoing crisis in Ukraine is that no third country is going to come to New Delhi's aid, militarily, in case a war is forced upon by China. Pakistan is a different case, and India has enough military-strategic depth to counter the western neighbor.**
- **The Americans are not going to war with China over India. While a lot of global verbal condemnation can be expected in favour of India, like what is happening against Russia, the US and the European powers will stay away from any direct intervention.**
- **While Russia has been a close ally of India for decades, in the new global scenario, Moscow and Beijing are enjoying proximity. India won't be able to carry on with its balancing act in geopolitics for long. As the world gets divided afresh into blocks — the US, China and Russia — we may have to very well decide who we want to be close to, even if we don't join any bloc.**
- The way ahead is increased focus on enhancing our capabilities – both in terms of spending more on defense and making indigenous equipment. And Make in India cannot just be about Indian firms selling foreign equipment to the military with nominal indigenisation and in some cases, merely replacing brand stickers.
- The defense ministry has already rolled out new schemes for the promotion of research and has been careful about doing it on its own and not through the Defense Research and Development Organization (DRDO).
- The government should strongly push for its R&D in the military and a preference should be given to such products and companies developing systems based on their research and technology. Indian companies who have come out with indigenous products should be given preference and handholding.
- There should not be any room for palming off foreign equipment as indigenous products, be it drones or armored vehicles or any other system. The Russian onslaught on Ukraine with hundreds of tanks and armored vehicles have proved futile, with a much smaller country with limited resources causing severe reverse to a military superpower.
- This has primarily been achieved through the use of armed drones, loitering munitions and stinger man-portable air defense systems that can easily take out fully equipped and menacing attack helicopters and other aircraft swiftly without much cost.
- Forget anti-tank guided missiles, Ukrainians have shown how even Molotov cocktails can cause havoc to Russian armored columns.

Sameer Patil

- *The Ukraine conflict has panned out on not-so-unfamiliar fronts of cyber and disinformation. It points to how future battles will unfold across the continuums of land, air, sea, cyber, and information.*
- *Cyberwarfare and disinformation campaigns played a crucial role in preparing the ground for Russian conventional military operations. Even before its forces invaded, Russian state-sponsored hackers targeted Ukraine through several cyberattacks. India should strengthen its national security as the Ukraine conflict unveils new fronts on which future wars would be waged.*

Brahma Chellaney

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- ***Russia's invasion of Ukraine is just the latest example of "might makes right". Despite claims to the contrary, the world has never had a rules-based order. Considering military invasions of sovereign states that have occurred since the year 2001. International law is powerful against the powerless but powerless against the powerful.***
- *Both the Russian invasion and the West's no-holds-barred retaliatory economic war against Russia, including practically expelling it from the Western-led financial order, mock a rules-based order. Yet this conflict holds global implications, with the potential to remake our world, including spawning the polarization of both the world economy and international politics.*
- ***According to the US-based news website Axios, the State Department has recalled a strongly-worded cable to American embassies instructing them to inform India and the United Arab Emirates that their neutral stance on Ukraine put them "in Russia's camp".***
- *The US values its strategic autonomy. So should India. Undermining ties with Moscow would make India dependent on America, whose unpredictability is legendary. India now holds more annual military exercises with America than any other country.*
- *The US has already overtaken Russia as the largest arms seller to India. New Delhi wishes to further deepen its ties with Washington. But such cooperation cannot be exclusionary.*
- ***A "with us or against us" approach that seeks to compel India to choose between the US and Russia will only bring the blossoming Indo-American relationship under strain.***

The following paragraphs can be used to answer the role of the UN in the Ukraine crisis, how the spirit behind the provision of Veto power has been defeated over the period and what reforms it requires to be more effective.

Recently, the United Nation Security Council voted on the draft resolution by the US and Albania that sought to condemn Russian aggression and called for the immediate cessation of violence and withdrawal of Russian military from Ukraine. Since this resolution was vetoed by Russia, the emergency special session was convened by UNGA for discussing a resolution that called for Russia to unconditionally withdraw its troops. The resolution was discussed under the rubric of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution.

Kemal Derviş and José Antonio Ocampo

- *The war in Ukraine has once again shown the veto power of the Security Council's five permanent members to be a major stumbling block to peace.*
- *That is because the P5 have almost always been divided into rival geopolitical blocs, with a member of one bloc—mostly either the Soviet Union (and now its heir, Russia) or the U.S.—exercising its veto on many crucial decisions.*
- ***Russia's savage blitz on Ukraine is a stark reminder of the Security Council's impotence when the interests of one or more of the P5 conflict with those of the other members.***
- *After WWII, optimists hoped that a threat to security would lead the Security Council initially to impose comprehensive binding economic sanctions to deter aggression and encourage peaceful*

conflict resolution. But in the current Ukraine conflict, Russia's Security Council veto means that the U.S. and its allies can impose sanctions only through a "coalition of the willing."

- The fact that an increasingly illegitimate and ineffective Security Council lies at the heart of today's multilateral system is all the more unfortunate given the growing range of threats to peace and security.
- These include not only conventional acts of aggression of the sort the world is witnessing in Ukraine—and which could yet escalate to nuclear exchanges—but also other security threats posed by new technologies.
- For example, state or non-state actors could cause havoc through devastating cyberattacks or the abuse of artificial intelligence. Synthetic viruses are even more deadly than the coronavirus that caused COVID-19 could inflict unspeakable harm, whether through bioterror or bio-error. And climate change is a threat to all of humanity that must be on a reformed Security Council's radar screen.
- We, therefore, advocate radically changing the way the Security Council operates, by introducing the possibility of overturning a permanent member's veto.
- This could be done by adding a clause to Article 27 that would allow a large double majority—representing, for example, at least two-thirds of member countries and two-thirds of the world's population—to override a veto.
- In recent years, the council's capacity to respond to significant conflicts and crises often stymied by members' competing interests, such as Syria's civil war and the most recent — the Russia-Ukraine issue, has been questioned widely.
- The UN Security Council aims to peacefully resolve international conflicts in accordance with **Chapter VI of the UN Charter** (the foundation text of the organization, describing the goals and values that were agreed upon in 1945), which allows the council to request that parties seek resolution through discussion, arbitration, or other peaceful measures.
- If that fails, **Chapter VII of the UN Charter** gives the Security Council the authority to adopt more proactive measures, such as imposing sanctions or approving the use of force "to maintain or restore international peace and security."
- The right of veto was created by the Charter's crafters to ensure that the World War II winners spoke with a single voice on matters of war and peace, rather than giving each of them the ability to block any resolution they desired.
- The authors of the Charter expected that the victor nations would, on the whole, be willing to agree on suitable action - but experts indicated shortly after WWII ended that they were not willing to agree at any point. Since the conclusion of the Cold War, the right of veto has been invoked only on rare occasions.
- Under the **UN Charter's Article 2(4)**, States are proscribed from the threat or use of force. The two exceptions to this are, a) Security Council authorisation under Chapter VII of the Charter, which requires explicit authorisation from the Security Council, including its Permanent members, which in the current scenario is unlikely courtesy the Russian Veto, b) Self-Defense under Article 51 of the Charter, which has to meet the parameters of necessity and proportionality. **Interestingly, Russia**

has taken the defense of self-defense, claiming that Ukraine may acquire nuclear weapons with the aid of western allies: in short, a case of preemptive self-defense.

- *The burden is upon Russia to justify force in the pretext of self-defense; this contention may be untenable considering that the unabated attacks don't qualify the requirement of proportionality or necessity. Australian international law researcher Rebecca Barber makes an intriguing contention on the role that the United Nations General Assembly [UNGA] could play in line with the **Uniting for Peace Resolution [UPR]**.*
- *The UPR, introduced in 1950 in the backdrop of the Korean War, was aimed at circumventing the Security Council's permanent members' Veto. The invocation of UPR implies that if the Security Council fails to discharge its primary function of maintaining international peace and security, the UNGA can intervene and recommend collective measures (such as the 2010 Kosovo Advisory Opinion). However, it is to be noted that the UNGA'S opinion forms a mere recommendation.*

John Yoo

- *Like the League of Nations in the interwar period, the current system of collective security has failed to maintain international peace and security in the face of great power politics.*
- *Great powers with permanent vetoes on the Security Council (the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China) can always block formal efforts to respond to their uses of force.*
- *Hence, the United Nations remains as powerless now as when Vladimir Putin ordered the 2008 invasion of Georgia. The United Nations and its rules have not reduced the level of conflict between the great powers. That doesn't mean there has not been a steep drop in conflict, despite Russia's invasion of Ukraine.*
- *From 1945 to the present, deaths due to great power wars have fallen to a level never seen under the modern nation-state system. Collective security, however, is not the agent of this "Long Peace," as diplomatic historian John Lewis Gaddis has called it. **Rather, the deterrent of nuclear weapons and stable superpower competition reduced conflict during the Cold War.***
- *Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States has continued to supply the global public goods of security and free trade on its own. Democratic nations' commitment to maintaining that liberal international order, not the collective security of the UN Charter, has kept peace among the great powers.*
- ***UN rules only constrain democracies that value the rule of law, while autocracies seem little troubled by legal niceties.** Paralysis continues to afflict the democratic response to the invasion of Ukraine.*

GLOBAL CONCERN : DEMOCRACY

SUMMIT FOR DEMOCRACY

Why in the news?

- The United States recently hosted the Summit for Democracy "**to renew democracy at home and to confront autocracies abroad**". The President of the United States also announced the formation of the **Presidential Initiative for Democratic Renewal**, which will provide foreign assistance initiatives.
- The initiative, which will be funded with \$424.4 million, will encourage free media, fight corruption, improve democratic reforms, promote the use of technology for democracy, and ensure free and fair elections.

Why was it organised?

- The Summit for Democracy as part of a campaign promise made by the U.S. President Joseph Biden during his election campaign in 2020, and was as much a reaction to American domestic politics, where former President Donald Trump was seen as destroying principles of U.S. democracy by questioning the elections, defunding American programmes, ignoring human rights in countries he strengthened ties with, and cutting access to free media operations.
- In his speech, Mr Biden referred to "**retreating democracies**" globally- **pointing to the rise in populist authoritarian leaders who come to power via elections. The move then, was as much about geopolitics as it was about domestic American politics.**

What is the goal of the summit for Democracy?

- Its goal is to show how open, rights-respecting societies can collaborate to effectively address current challenges like the Covid-19 pandemic, climate crisis, and inequality.
- The Summit revolved around three major themes:
 - Defending against the authoritarianism
 - Fighting And addressing corruption
 - Advancing respect for the human rights

Critical Analysis of the summit

Suhasini Haider

- *Those who were not invited had several reasons to criticise the event. **Asking how the U.S. could arrogate to itself the right to decide who is a democracy and who is not and accusing Washington of seeking to divide the world with a new cold war mentality.***
- *Then some should have been there but were not. According to the invitee list released- 39 countries in Europe and 27 in North and South America were called, but only about 17 from Africa and 25 from all of Asia- which included just 4 from the entire South and Central Asian region. In India's neighbourhood, India, Pakistan, Nepal and Maldives were invited, but democracies like Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka were not.*
- *The U.S. move to speak of democracy globally is timely, but it also raises the question- in a year that has seen the fall of democracy in two of the newest entrants to the club- Afghanistan and Myanmar, can such summits make any difference?*
- *In the case of Afghanistan, the U.S. practically triggered the crisis with its troops' pullout, and no amount of sanctions and statements since February have deterred Myanmar's Tatmadaw from its actions of overturning*

the Suu Kyi government and imprisoning all. As almost an open challenge- Myanmar announced prison sentences for Suu Kyi in the same week.

Why is democracy as a political system preferred?

- Democracies often have conflicting priorities, and democracy promotion is not a panacea. Yet one of the few truly robust findings in international relations is that established democracies never go to war with one another.
- Foreign policy “realists” advocate working with other governments based on interests, irrespective of character, and suggest that this approach best preserves stability in the world. However, durable stability flows from domestic politics built on consensus and peaceful competition, which often promotes similar international conduct for governments.
- There has long been controversy about whether democracy enhances economic development. The dramatic growth of China certainly challenges this notion. Still, history will likely show that democracy yields the most prosperity.
- **Notwithstanding the global financial turbulence of the past three years, democracy’s elements facilitate long-term economic growth. These elements include, above all, freedom of expression and learning to promote innovation, and rule of law to foster predictability for investors and stop corruption from stunting growth.**
- It is for that reason that the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the 2002 UN Financing for Development Conference in Monterrey, Mexico, embraced good governance as the enabler of development.
- These elements have unleashed new emerging powers such as India and Brazil and raised the quality of life for impoverished peoples.
- Finally, democracy affords all groups equal access to justice—and equal opportunity to shine as assets in a country’s economy. Democracy’s support for pluralism prevents human assets—including religious and ethnic minorities, women, and migrants—from being squandered.
- Indeed, a shortage of economic opportunities and outlets for grievances has contributed significantly to the ongoing upheaval in the Middle East. Pluralism is also precisely what is needed to stop violent extremism from wreaking havoc on the world.

Is there a threat to democracy globally or is democracy in decline globally?

- When the new millennium dawned, the 21st century was hailed optimistically as the century of democracy. The future looked bright, as many erstwhile authoritarian and hybrid regimes, such as Armenia, the Gambia, Malaysia, Myanmar and Tunisia, became democracies.
- But, The last decade has witnessed a growing debate over the prospects of democracy around the world. Most scholars agree that a regressive turn has occurred in many regions, a phenomenon increasingly called “**democratic backsliding.**” Indeed, this is even true in the older representative democracies of the North Atlantic world, shocked by the rise of Donald Trump, the advent of Brexit and the resurgence of populism in general.
- Major surveys have indicated decreasing popular confidence in democratic government to provide effective governance, a greater willingness to elect strong executive leaders, and the rise of parties that represent “the people” at the expense of liberal values and minority rights. Democracy faced its most serious crisis in decades in 2017 as its basic tenets—including guarantees of free and fair elections, the rights of minorities, freedom of the press, and the rule of law—came under attack around the world.
- Seventy-one countries suffered net declines in political rights and civil liberties, with only 35 registering gains. This marked the 12th consecutive year of decline in global freedom.

- The will of the people as the only legitimate form of authority seemed to be a popular and rapidly spreading ideal. Unfortunately, the Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated a trend of increasing authoritarianism, across the globe, with many countries sliding back down the democratic scale.
- Myanmar, which had been a fledgling democracy just beginning to recover from decades of military rule, fell victim to a military coup, the leaders of which even cited faulty elections as the justification for their course of action.
- Perhaps the greatest blow to democratic ideals was the fall of the people's government in Afghanistan, which has seen war being waged for the sake of preserving democratic principles. Significantly, the United States, the bastion of global democracy, fell victim to authoritarian tendencies itself and was knocked down a significant number of steps on the democratic scale.
- Democracy is at risk. Its survival is endangered by a perfect storm of threats, both from within and from a rising tide of authoritarianism. The Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated these threats through the imposition of states of emergency, the spread of disinformation, and crackdowns on independent media and freedom of expression.
- **The Global State of Democracy 2021 shows that more countries than ever are suffering from 'democratic erosion' (decline in democratic quality), including in established democracies. The number of countries undergoing 'democratic backsliding' (a more severe and deliberate kind of democratic erosion) has never been as high as in the last decade and includes regional geopolitical and economic powers such as Brazil, India and the United States.**

What are the threats to democracy?

- Fully-fledged authoritarian regimes are growing in number, and their leaders are acting ever more brazenly. The pandemic provides additional tools and justification for repressive tactics and silencing of dissent in countries as diverse as Belarus, Cuba, Myanmar, Nicaragua and Venezuela.
- These regimes are buoyed by a lack of sufficient geopolitical pressures and support from other autocratic powers. Some of them thrive on the narrative that authoritarian governance is more effective for economic prosperity and pandemic management.
- Democratically elected governments, including established democracies, are increasingly adopting authoritarian tactics. This democratic backsliding has often enjoyed significant popular support. Some of the most worrying examples of backsliding are found in some of the world's largest countries (Brazil, India). The United States and three members of the European Union (EU) (Hungary, Poland and Slovenia, which holds the chair of the EU in 2021) have also seen concerning democratic declines.

According to International IDEA's Global State of Democracy Report :

- Authoritarianism is deepening in non-democratic regimes (hybrid and authoritarian regimes). The year 2020 was the worst on record, in terms of the number of countries affected by deepening autocratization. The pandemic has thus had a particularly damaging effect on non-democratic countries, further closing their already reduced civic space.
- Electoral integrity is increasingly being questioned, often without evidence, even in established democracies. The former US President Donald Trump's baseless allegations during the 2020 US presidential election have had spill over effects, including in Brazil, Mexico, Myanmar and Peru, among others.
- The uneven global distribution of Covid-19 vaccines, as well as anti-vaccine views, undermine the uptake of vaccination programmes and risk prolonging the health crisis and normalizing restrictions on basic freedoms.
- **Inequality in the Society:** Massive imbalances of wealth, chronic violence, famine and unevenly distributed life chances also make a mockery of the ethical principle that in a democracy people can live as citizen partners of equal social worth. Unavailability of Basic Amenities, Domestic violence, rotten health care,

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widespread feelings of social unhappiness, and daily shortages of food and housing destroy people's dignity. It kills the spirit and substance of democracy.

- **Vulnerable Remain Unheard:** Citizens' ability to strike back, to deliver millions of mutinies against the rich and powerful, is inherent in a democracy. But the brute fact is social indignity undermines citizens' capacity to take an active interest in public affairs and to check and humble the powerful.
- For many, democracy is not delivering. In part, the current moment of anxiety about liberal democracy is linked to frustration with how democratic societies are functioning. **Pew Research Center surveys have consistently found large shares of the public in many countries saying they are dissatisfied with the way their democracy is working.** And for many, this dissatisfaction is leading to a desire for political change. A median of 56% across 17 advanced economies surveyed in 2021 says their political system needs major changes or needs to be completely reformed.
- Democracy is a popular idea. When asked about it, people generally say it's a good way to govern. However, enthusiasm for it as a political system, and for specific democratic rights and institutions, is often tepid. This lack of commitment, which is driven in part by the frustration many feels about the functioning of democracy, maybe one reason some would-be autocrats and political entrepreneurs have been able to bend the rules and norms of liberal democracy with relatively few consequences.
- Political and social divisions are amplifying the challenges of contemporary democracy. Most modern democracies are increasingly diverse, with globalization, economic restructuring, immigration and urbanization all contributing to social and cultural change.

Should democracy be imposed as the only model of the political system globally? (On this line UPSC has asked a question in 2019)

- America's foreign policy apparatus reflects the worldwide advances in democracy and human rights. During the 1990s, promoting democracy became a core objective in U.S. foreign assistance. Before 1989, foreign aid for democratic development seldom topped \$100 million a year. By 1993, that figure had climbed to \$900 million.
- Change extended even to the bureaucracy. High-ranking positions to oversee democracy promotion now exist in the National Security Council, the Department of State, and the U.S. Agency for International Development; an unsuccessful effort was made to create one in the Department of Defense.
- Non-Western governments charged that democracy and human rights are lopsided concepts, skewed toward a Western preference for political and civil rights and ignoring the basic economic rights of impoverished nations. This philosophical divide is also evident in attitudes toward humanitarian intervention.
- **Some non-Western nations believe that the international community, under U.S. leadership, is more willing to intervene to halt gross violations of human rights than to address other catastrophes, such as famines. As the new century begins, broad suspicions persist that promoting democracy and human rights is merely the manifestation of Western evangelism and even of imperialism.**
- The EU and the US made democracy promotion an explicit goal of their foreign policy. Yet, they also pursue other goals, such as political stability, economic growth, energy supply, or security. While in principle these goals are seen as complementary, the democratization of (semi-)authoritarian countries entails the risk of their destabilization at least in the short run.
- The more unstable and the less democratic the target state is, the more difficult it is to reconcile democracy promotion with ensuring security and stability.
- Western democracy promoters only react to countervailing policies by non-democratic regional power if they prioritize democracy and human rights goals over stability and security goals. The prioritizing explains why

the US and the EU ignored attempts by Saudi Arabia to undermine democratization processes in Arab Spring countries and the Gulf region.

- **“How 9/11 Triggered the Arab Spring,” Dekhakhena (2013)** denotes how the U.S. has tried to promote both democracy and dictatorships around the world, depending on which is more beneficial to their national interests.
- During the Cold War, the micro-narrative of U.S. policy was to push for dictatorships in the Middle East – unintentionally producing the likes of Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda – which fell under the macro-narrative of hindering the spread of communism and Soviet ideologies.
- After the Cold War, they pushed for democracies in the region up until 2006 when funding was provided to oppressive regimes to silence opposition to their interests abroad.
- The U.S. has changed its foreign policy objectives to suit its needs without accounting for how this will affect other states. This is even more apparent when looking at Syria. Trump initially intervened to protect Syrian citizens after the use of chemical weapons by Assad, but given the strategic importance of Syria in the Middle East, this intervention was not done for purely humanitarian reasons. Although in some other nations the interventions have been claimed to have a positive effect.
- Whether this is true or not, there is some evidence of interventions having a positive influence, such as in Kuwait, Panama, and Bosnia.

Different perspectives to evaluate a Western intervention to promote democracy

- Liberalists, such as Kant, would argue that “democratic governments, economic interdependence, and international law and organizations” could all be implemented to combat the security dilemma (Russet, 2013). So as long as the U.S. is attempting to promote democracy, then the underlying motivations may not matter so much.
- Additionally, liberal scholars argue that other states have a duty to help those who are being denied human rights and the concepts of sovereignty, imperialism, and even the promotion of order in international society must fall behind the pursuit of justice (Spalding, 2013).
- However, in **“Neo-Realism and Humanitarian Action: From Cold War to Our Days,” Aliyev (2011)** analyses humanitarian intervention as being driven by self-interest, which is something still present in modern humanitarian intervention.
- Genocide in Rwanda saw few peacekeeping operations launched, partially since none of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (UNSC) had interests there and so they were reluctant to risk lives and spend resources.
- **Levin’s (1994)** report on the U.S. security strategy since the Cold War supports this notion, proposing that only the human rights of its citizens are a concern to the U.S. and, due to the resources available, it must pick and choose which states they become involved with. Whether this is morally right or wrong, a state will value the lives of its citizens tenfold in comparison to those of other states, especially when not an ally.
- Realist theory can explain why it acted this way in Afghanistan and indeed other conflicts. Realism proposes that all states are looking to further their interests because this is the only way to ensure security in the anarchic international system (Glaser, 2016: 14).
- Looking at U.S. foreign policy through a realist lens, therefore, allows for the underlying motivations of their actions in the Middle East to be investigated because the promotion of democracy, which it claims to be doing, does not directly further its interests. In regards to Afghanistan, the U.S. was uncertain of the Soviet Union’s actions in the state but viewed them as an expansion of power, which would be detrimental to its national security in the Cold War context. This meant it needed to do everything in its power to prevent this from happening, regardless of the consequences of other states.

- Liberalism opposes realism and is a more optimistic theory, suggesting that peace and security are attainable if states cooperate (Morgan, 2016). Unlike realism, it is not a theory that explains why states act as they do, but rather an approach that offers guidelines for better conduct in the international system. Kant was a key liberalist scholar and, while he accepted the realist description of why conflict occurs, he believed that **“free trade and economic interdependence, and international law and organizations”** could be implemented to combat the security dilemma (Oneal, 2000).
- Furthermore, Consequentialists could argue that so long as the state intends a humanitarian solution, the underlying motivations behind its actions should not be an issue. This suggests that so long as the humanitarian outcome the U.S. intended is achieved, other reasons for its actions in the Middle East do not matter.
- Although the way U.S. governments have tried to ensure human security in the Middle East is controversial, the desire to spread democracy and promote peace globally has been cited by multiple administrations as the reason for engaging in conflicts.
- **Democratic peace theory**, which suggests democracies are hesitant to go to war with other democracies (Doyle, 2011), can explain why the U.S. wants to ensure these values are spread far and wide. This logic is also recognized by Clausewitz, who believes achieving political objectives through war becomes more difficult in an age of mass democracy (Dannreuther, 2013).
- Therefore, U.S. ambitions in the Middle East, from a liberal perspective, are an attempt to stabilize the region and prevent a further conflict that is a result of undemocratic regimes; this will benefit U.S. security and the security of civilians within the undemocratic state in question.
- However, the invasion of Iraq has not provided stability and safety to civilians of the country. Since the war there began in 2003 “the daily death toll continues uninterrupted” . The U.S. claims it was attempting to bring democracy to the country, which it has officially achieved, yet the war removed the stability a tyrant brings.
- Consequently, the entire country was transformed into a war zone with rival insurgent groups, political parties, and foreign actors all fighting for power. As a result, the lines between war and peace and oppression and freedom have been blurred and an entire generation of Iraqis has known nothing but chaos.
- Galbraith (2006) argues that Bush was ignorant while planning for the invasion, failing to understand key cultural aspects of Iraq, such as the Sunni and Shiite divide within the country.

Why have such interventions failed or been subjected to criticism?

- The U.S. demonstrated extraordinary military power during the 20th century yet has often struggled with understanding how nations with different backgrounds to the West operate. This failure to understand the identities of states has been evident in much of its conflicts in the Middle East, which is why the promotion of democracy in this region has been harder to come by than in post-Cold war Europe.
- Touched on earlier the notion that democracies cannot be imposed and must instead be implemented at the grassroots level. The Arab Spring provides evidence for this, as do democracies that appeared in states such as Poland and Turkey during the 1990s but have moved back towards authoritarianism (Fukuyama, 2018).
- This is due in part to identity politics, which have begun to define politics rather than the traditional discourse of economic issues. The U.S. itself has been the victim of this: Trump appealed to the xenophobic sentiment in the U.S. – which was partially a result of the War on Terror – during his election campaign.
- If the growth of identity politics has been detrimental to the historically liberal U.S., then the imposition of democracy on Arab states – many of whom internally contain conflicting views, especially regarding religion – is certainly not going to have a positive outcome. However, after the Cold War, the U.S. believe that the triumph of capitalism over communism was reflected worldwide and so it had to liberate all those who were not benefitting from this ideology.

- The U.S. has constructed various actors as threats to justify an action that will increase the hegemonic power it has enjoyed globally since the collapse of the Soviet Union. By not acknowledging the long-term implications these actions may carry, the U.S. has been able to consistently influence politics in the Middle East to benefit its interests rather than the interests of those living there. The Syrian civil war is the latest.
- While the U.S. has cited the advancement of peace and democracy worldwide as the motivation for its foreign policy, it has failed to achieve this more often than not.
- Instead, the UN has been the foremost international body in promoting liberal values but has often been undermined by powerful states that have declined to offer assistance in conflicts that do not impact them.
- The EU and US failed at promoting democracy when they supported authoritarian elites in Tunisia and Egypt before they were swept away by the Arab Spring, remained silent when a democratically elected government was overthrown by the military in Egypt, and stood by when authoritarian regimes violently suppressed political opposition in Bahrain and Syria.
- This failure cannot be attributed to Russia, Saudi Arabia, and China promoting autocracy or blocking democracy. It results from the democratization-stability dilemma, where democracy promotion requires a transition of power that entails political uncertainty about the outcomes and often involves conflict.
- This dilemma is the more pronounced, the more fragile the target state is. Where the democratization-stability dilemma is less pronounced, the effectiveness of Western democracy promotion hinges on other domestic factors.
- Differential empowerment requires the existence of reform coalitions that have internalized liberal norms and values and are strong enough to use Western trade, aid, and political support to push for democratic change. Moreover, empowering domestic reformists is not enough if actors lack the necessary resources to introduce domestic change.
- Finally, Western actors require legitimacy to promote democratic change. EU and US democratic demands meet with public resentment whenever they clash with nationalist or religious beliefs, for example regarding the role of minorities, or are perceived as attempting to control the country.
- The various contributions also show that Western democracy promotion, rather than being futile, can have the opposite effect enhancing or stabilizing autocracy. The causal mechanism is domestic empowerment, however, Western aid, trade, and security cooperation may empower both liberal and illiberal forces. What has been largely overlooked by the democratization literature is that non-democratic regimes also use Western democracy promotion to advance their power and interest.
- **The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)** is a case in point. From its very inception, the ENP has focused on building and strengthening state institutions that are capable of fostering legal approximation with EU rules on trade, migration, or energy. By promoting effective government rather than democratic governance, the EU helped stabilize non-democratic and corrupt regimes in its Southern and Eastern neighbourhood rather than transforming them.
- More often than not, the EU and US share the interest of illiberal regional powers in the stability and security of a region. Not only did they fail to develop a coherent approach on how to support the Arab Spring, **but they were also silent on the military coup against a democratically elected government in Egypt, tolerated the Saudi-led military intervention of the Gulf Cooperation Council that assisted Bahraini security forces in detaining thousands of protesters, and stood by the massive human rights violations committed by the Assad regime in Syria.**
- While their overall effectiveness is limited, external democracy promoters matter if they empower liberal reform coalitions, as the US and the EU have done in Ukraine and Georgia. Likewise, illiberal regimes may empower illiberal forces by providing them with financial and military support. Russia and Saudi Arabia do not shy away from using overt or covert military coercion supporting the suppression of political protest by force or fuelling violent ethnic conflict in breakaway regions.

Dr S. Y. Quraishi

- *Popular protests for better government in countries like Sudan and Chile have led to important reforms. In Malawi, a landmark decision to annul fraudulent election results set an important precedent, one representing the victory of democratic, independent institutions over government pressure. Successful elections in Montenegro and Bolivia, as well as protests against government corruption in Bulgaria, are further examples of the resilience of democracy.*
- ***The global urge for democratic governance thus clearly remains strong. However, the pandemic has emboldened several governments to double down on popular expression, and push for more direct control. An example of this tendency is Hungary, which passed several ordinances limiting citizens' rights and giving more power to Viktor Orbán's government—under the pretext of bringing the pandemic under control.***
- ***"As the former Chief Election Commissioner of my own country, India, I have personally been witness to the changing times of global democracy. Despite India falling in the democracy ranks, I can personally attest that the spirit of democracy among the Indian people remains strong. Difficult times undoubtedly lie ahead. Democracy is on the back foot, and more countries are moving towards authoritarianism than at any other point since 1995. However, I am confident that democracy's resilience, perhaps its greatest asset, will allow it ultimately to triumph."***

Suhasini Haider

- *Isn't the United Nations the correct forum for the exercise? If the idea is to grade democracies and set baselines for what constitutes a good democracy, the event may have found more takers if it was UN-sponsored. The UN already has the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which every country signs on to, and the UNSC has the mandate to enforce these. The U.S. has been criticised for unilateral attacks on countries rather than for UN-mandated interventions for precisely this reason.*
- ***Finally, the basic premise, that democracies have better relations with each other than with other forms of rule is not scientifically borne out by anything- Relations with Gulf monarchies are a case in point.***
- *The truth is, the grading of values is always relative- do elections make a democracy, or is it representation, rights, freedoms that do? It could be argued that the real threat to democracy is not the countries that choose other systems- Monarchies, Military rule and dictatorships, but countries that hold elections, but are majoritarian, hyper nationalist republics, where the rights of minorities and women, press freedoms, space for NGOs and criticism of the government are all trampled upon.*
- *Finally, can these ills be removed by external interventions, or is democracy the only healer, with the hope that the will of the people will vote for a more just country?*

Upcoming Programs

Political Science & International Relations & GS Paper - II

Foundation Batch - Political Science & International Relations

Mode: Online

Platform: Unacademy

Start Date: Second Week of April

After ensuring several rounds of foundation batches, Dr Piyush Chaubey is back again to continue his streak of giving guidance and nurturing the minds who have opted for PSIR for their UPSC Journey. Steadily but in a consolidated manner, you will move through different epochs where every theory blends with the current contemporary event and actions happening on the national and international level. So, gear up with your copy and pen to create one of the finest notes on this subject with the jewel serving you as per your ease.

Current Affairs Session - UPSC CSE 2022 Prelims

Mode: Online

Platform: Unacademy

Start Date: 30th April

Prelims is right round the corner with almost 75 days to go! You may feel the butterfly in your stomach but it is the time to hold your nerve and feet on the ground. Any panic will destroy your flow with which you are moving with your preparation. Use Dr Piyush Chaubey in this venture of yours as a lubricant who can avoid all frictions and deliver a great deal of topics that hold the potential to be part of your Prelims Paper -1, when you will be sitting on this 5th June, 2022 to give your exam. Understand the key facets of current affairs in a span of 10-12 classes covering different subjects.

Answer Writing Programme - Political Science & International Relations

Mode: Online

Platform: Unacademy

Start Date: May 8th

Attempting Test Series is no less than a giant leap and requires that mentally ready conditions. This programme is designed for those who have a mental dilemma of how to proceed with the PSIR Test Series even after completing the course. Hence, it will act as a stepping stone that will slowly and gradually build and consolidate the bridge between your course completion and taking the first shot of full-fledged tests. Market is already flooded with several test series but this answer writing programme will help you not to

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attempt the future test series provided here but also by any PSIR other stakeholders of this domain with a great magnitude of confidence.

Every week, there will be a set of questions that will be provided through the portal and ensure that you practice 3 to 5 questions every time. These questions will have a holistic coverage and will allow you to absorb the crucial points from each topic, thus, enabling and unleashing the sense of self-trust in you. If you think that not even completing the entire PSIR course is not a correct step to start writing answers, you need to ponder again. It is the USP of this programme to ensure that you are making waves slowly and gradually to ensure that the wavefronts in the end become such a large event.

Test Series - Political Science & International Relations 2023

Mode: Online

Platform: Unacademy

Start Date: 2nd Week of June

UPSC Prelims is like the Heat of Athletics. You will go through the filtration process where such chaps who have been a little shaky during the exam than others will fall behind. Post 5th June 2022, you are somewhere knowing that where are you lying on the border? Irrespective of whether you crossed the comfort zone and the contour that allows you to enter and combat with almost 10k students over the hunt of next 1750 marks regarding 9 subjects, you have to be ready with your Optional subject. When it comes to PSIR, this hunt can be sweat-absorbing, considering the baggage of the syllabus it holds. As the wisest say, take the first step fastest and you will cross the last lap first, you have to keep yourself readily available to face the heat. And, here it is. Save the date as you need the confidence after handling 200 marks in the Prelims.

Test Series - Political Science & International Relations 2022

Mode: Offlince

Platform: Karol Bagh

Start Date: 2nd Week of June

The world is opening, so are we. And, we will be ready by this time to cater to the requirements, demands, and expectations of those who are seeking the finest set of questionnaires that are waiting for them to solve in a proper examination environment. Face the unexpected, speculate the unprecedented, and answer with might is the key with the changing trends of questions appearing in Political Science & International Relations as an optional subject. Get ready for the showdown that is necessary for you to absorb the real value of resilience. Because as the market guru says, sentiment and trade will fluctuate from time to time and it is for the nose dive that one has to be ready.

Political Science & International Relations Advance Batch 2022 & 2023

Mode: Offlince

Platform: Karol Bagh

Unacademy Code: DRPIYUSH11 Website: <https://piyuschaubey.com/> & <https://momentumias.com/>

Start Date: 2nd Week of Prelims Result

What if the pile of notes worries you for a while, giving that stress that it is not easy to revise and learn the unexplored portions even in subjects like PSIR? Honestly, it is a pain and it will be nothing but a botch over you. And, to deter the same, you need some micro-sessions targeted towards those key concepts that have recently floated in the realm of affairs. Expose yourself under the tutelage of Dr Piyush Kumar Chaubey, a renowned and reputed personality in this domain who can take you over a journey where things become easy and life becomes a comfort zone, when it comes to covering PSIR as optional. Tackle the real nuts that are hard to open and let you sweat and fluctuate your inner senses.

Answer Writing Programme - Political Science & International Relations 2023

Mode: Offline

Platform: Karol Bagh

Start Date: August 2022

Rome was not built in one day and so is the case of diving into the ocean when you don't know how to swim. Similarly, throwing yourself directly to Test Series programmes will simply add the feeling of "MY WORLD ENDS HERE". Well, to ensure that such events don't become a matter of crisis, you need to slow down, even if the Leader of Opposition criticizes you for a while. Don't eliminate such identities in you with an explanation that there will be a V-shaped recovery. No, you don't need that. Use the ample amount of time to make yourself for the TIME when you will combat with your 10k counterparts who want to somehow enter into the last phase with ease. This answer writing programme has two aims: 1) Getting you ready for the next phase - Test Series of PSIR; 2) Giving that perfect exam environment that is a MUST for your mental strength. So, why wait anymore when there is an arsenal available with which you can consolidate your position.

Foundation Batch - Political Science & International Relations 2023

Mode: Offline

Platform: Karol Bagh

Start Date: August 2022

Your graduation is over or about to get over and some of you (actually ALL of YOU who are currently reading this piece) might have postulated their plans related to giving a shot to one of the toughest examinations on this planet. And, in a journey of 2225 marks (200 marks Prelims, 1750 marks Mains, and 275 marks for Personality Test), you have to keep the pace of preparation on top every time. Out of these overall marks, 500 pointers belong to your Optional and if you have chosen PSIR, this place will perfectly cater to your results in the best possible manner by giving you holistic inputs with tools and utilities that are necessary to handle this exam. Having a persona like Dr Piyush Chaubey, you will somewhere easily or gradually grab the expertise related to this subject with a stipulated timeline. It's not merely giving you sessions is the sole aim but to let you through real-time questions related to the subject currently present as a trend for a while. Mark your calendars as this golden opportunity is for limited chaps and chirps!

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Hijab Controversy



Context- Six students were banned from entering a college in Karnataka’s Udupi district for wearing a hijab. A Karnataka school’s denial of entry to six girls in hijab throws the spotlight on freedom of religion.

How is religious freedom protected under the Constitution?

- Article 25(1) of the Constitution guarantees the “*freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion*”. It is a right that guarantees a negative liberty — which means that the state shall ensure that there is no interference or obstacle to exercise this freedom. However, like all fundamental rights, the state can restrict the right for grounds of public order, decency, morality, health and other state interests.
- Over the years, the Supreme Court has evolved a practical test of sorts to determine what religious practices can be constitutionally protected and what can be ignored. **In 1954, the Supreme Court held in the Shirur Mutt case that the term “religion” will cover all rituals and practices “integral” to a religion. The test to determine what is integral is termed the “essential religious practices” test.**

Essential religious practice test:

- Religion is an important and integral facet of society. However, it cannot be denied that the source of discrimination has been the religious personal laws instead of prejudice laws made by those who

are in power. The Constitution of India, 1950 in Articles from 25 to 28 provides for 'Right to Freedom of Religion' which affirms that the state should be neutral towards all religious practices and belongings.

- This was further reaffirmed by the **42nd Amendment** to the Constitution which added the word 'secular' to the Preamble of the Constitution of India. Therefore, the Constitution provides for separation of a secular domain regulated by the state and a religious domain which should not be interfered with by the state. Religion exists in the public sphere in India. Therefore, the state has to act and interfere with the religious affairs to maintain the social order.
- The inability of the state to resolve the religious affairs for achieving the objectives enshrined in the Constitution called the Higher Courts in India to answer complex questions on religion which impact the religious practices. Many times there has been conflict between the religious practices which are not to be interfered with by the state and the fundamental rights of the individual guaranteed under the Constitution. These issues are supposed to be settled by the Courts considering the civil and fundamental rights as well as the religious conceptions and practices. The Courts in India, many a times, refrained from entering in the religious domain citing the reason that it would be like bringing a bull to China shop. There has always been entanglement between law and religion which can be seen in the judgments of Indian Courts.
- Moreover, the Apex Court has an autonomy in interpreting the meaning of secularism and religion thereby demarcating the spheres of these terms. The Supreme Court has developed a test, to determine what is essential to a religion and what is not, for the constitutional validity of any religious practice. The test, popularly known as '**Essential Religious Practices Test**' (**ERP Test**), is still debatable regarding its lawfulness in a secular state. The Supreme Court in several cases applied ERP tests whenever there has been a clash between the civil liberties of individual and religious practices.
- **Shirur Math Case:** The doctrine of "essentiality" was invented by a seven-judge Bench of the Supreme Court in the 'Shirur Mutt' case in 1954. The court held that the term "religion" will cover all rituals and practices "integral" to a religion and took upon itself the responsibility of determining the essential and non-essential practices of a religion.
- This approach was later followed by the Supreme Court in the case of **Ratilal Panachand Gandhi v State of Bombay**, a case decided by the constitutional bench of the court. The court in this case expressly observed that *"No outside authority has any right to say that these are not essential parts of religion and it is not open to the secular authority of the State to restrict or prohibit them in any manner they like under the guise of administering the trust estate."*

Interface of Essential Religious Practices with Article 13

Article 13(3)-Clause 3 of Article 13 talks about "laws" and "laws in force", which have already been explained. Laws in force are those laws that are passed by a legislative body or any other competent authority, if that is true, the uncodified personal laws do not fall within this domain. Hence, the personal laws of any religion do not fall under "laws in force" as provided under clause three of article 13.

Instances of a court applying the test

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The Indian judiciary in several judgements, defined and elaborated on various aspects of essential religious practices. The following are some of the important cases of the Supreme Court of India, elucidating on this arena.

- **Sri Venkataramana Devaru v. State of Mysore-** The essential practice doctrine was made relevant. In this case, the question was regarding whether the exclusion of some people outside Hindu temples was an essential religious practice. The archaic holy scriptures were examined by the bench to examine which practices formed an essential part of religion and which did not. After examining the practices which were essential for Hinduism, the court gave the verdict that the temple was to be open for all Hindus. However, it was noted that the puranic literature evidence that some ceremonies were to be carried out only by a certain class of worshipers. The court took upon itself to chalk out these ceremonies, where the privilege of the selection of worshipers was given to the brahmins of the temple.
- **Jagdishwaranand v. Police Commissioner, Calcutta-** Religious denomination status was granted to the Ananda Margis community. However, 'tandav', which is the native dance of this community, was not recognised as an essential element. This decision of the Supreme Court of India generated a lot of debate in India. So much so that the high court of Calcutta requested the apex court to reconsider its decision.
- In **Commissioner of Police vs. Acharya J. Avadhuta**, the question of recognizing the Tandav as an essential part of religion arose again before the supreme court of India. The majority believed that since this dance form did not form the core of that religion, it cannot be accounted for as an essential religious practice. However, the minority was of the view that, if a practice is treated by the followers as of utmost importance to achieve spiritual upliftment, then it is an essential religious practice. Hence, tandav was an essential religious practice.
- **Bramchair Sidheswar Bhai vs. State of West Bengal-** The court was of the view that for the Ramakrishna Mission, the establishment of educational institutions was not vital. This according to the court was not an essential legal practice, the same was decided for the selection of the head of this educational institution. This is how the state could intervene in the functioning of these institutions. Many regard it as an attempt of the court to magnify the influence of the state in these institutions.
- **A.S. Narayana Deekshitulu v. State of Andhra Pradesh-** Supreme court decided that appointment of the head of a Hindu temple on the hereditary basis was not an essential religious practice, and the court could intervene. A similar view was adopted in **Pannalal Bansilal Patil v. The State of A.P.** Here the court ascribed administering of religious institutions not as a religious activity, but as a secular activity. **This is where the reasoning and the perspective of the Supreme court saw a marked change.**
- **Indian Young Lawyers Association v. State of Kerala (Sabrimala Temple Case)-** The Supreme Court, via its seven-judge bench, has clubbed three more cases related to the rights of religion. The court in its order attempted to strike a balance between the two fundamental rights of the right to equality and the right to freedom of religion. The brief facts of the case are that women between the age bracket of 10 to 50 years were not allowed to enter the Ayyappa temple. This was because they are menstruating women, and the deity revered at this shrine, Ayyappa, is a celibate. It was held by a five-judge bench of the Supreme Court, by a 4:1 ratio that this archaic practice was unconstitutional and illegal.

- **Entry Of Muslim Women Into Mosque-** In 2019, the doors of the supreme court were knocked by some Muslim women, who wished to get the right to enter mosques. It was contended that this practice was both derogatory to women and an abrogation of fundamental rights.
- **The Tale of Female Genital Mutilation Among Dawoodi Bohras -Sunita Tiwari vs. Union of India and Ors-** In 2018 a case was referred to a larger bench of the Supreme court. The facts of this case are that all females of Dawoodi Bohra Community were made to mandatorily go through general mutilation, which was called 'khatna' or 'khafd'. The petitioner challenged the constitutional validity of this process, via a writ petition brought under Article 32. It was urged that this mandatory mutilation was against Article 21 of the Constitution.
- **Entry of Parsi Women, not married to Parsis into Agyari-** This case arose out of a special leave petition filed before the supreme court of India against the judgment of the Gujarat High Court in the case of **Goolrukh Gupta v. Burjur Pardiwala**. The petitioner, along with her friend, was denied entry into the tower of silence, a religious institution of the Parsi community after they were married to Hindu husbands. The issue was that did marriage of a girl into a family of some other religion mean an automatic conversion of that girl into that religion. In 2017, the Supreme Court pronounced that by marrying a person of some other religion, the girl doesn't surrender her father's religion. The review petitions on the Sabarimala judgment and these other three judgements, are to be clubbed with these pending cases of utmost constitutional significance. The decision for the same is still awaited. However, this clubbing of cases has come under strict scrutiny at the behest of many intellectuals.
- In 2016, a **three-judge Bench of the Supreme Court upheld the discharge of a Muslim airman from the Indian Air Force for keeping a beard-** Justices T S Thakur, D Y Chandrachud and L Nageswara Rao distinguished the case of a Muslim airman from that of Sikhs who are allowed to keep a beard. Regulation 425 of the Armed Force Regulations, 1964, prohibits the growth of hair by Armed Forces personnel, except for "*personnel whose religion prohibits the cutting of hair or shaving of face*". The court essentially held that keeping a beard was not an essential part of Islamic practices.

How have courts ruled so far on the issue of a hijab?

Two set of rulings of the Kerala High Court, particularly on the right of Muslim women to dress according to the tenets of Islam, throw up conflicting answers.

- **Dress code for All India Pre-Medical Entrance-** In 2015, at least two petitions were filed before the Kerala High Court challenging the prescription of dress code for All India Pre-Medical Entrance which prescribed wearing "*light clothes with half sleeves not having big buttons, brooch/badge, flower, etc. with Salwar/Trouser*" and "*slippers and not shoes*". Admitting the argument of the Central Board of School Education (CBSE) that the rule was only to ensure that candidates would not use unfair methods by concealing objects within clothes, the Kerala HC directed the CBSE to put in place additional measures for checking students who "*intend to wear a dress according to their religious custom, but contrary to the dress code*". Justice Vinod Chandran ruled "*If the Invigilator requires the head scarf or the full sleeve garments to be removed and examined, then the petitioners shall also subject themselves to that, by the authorized person. It is also desirable that the C.B.S.E issue general instructions to its*

Invigilators to ensure that religious sentiments are not hurt and at the same time discipline be not compromised,”

- **Fathima Tasneem v State of Kerala (2018):** On the issue of a uniform prescribed by a school, the Kerala HC held that collective rights of an institution would be given primacy over individual rights of the petitioner.

Current Status

A case on the “scope and ambit” of religious freedom, has been pending before a Constitution Bench of nine judges for two long years. The seven questions pending an answer from the nine-judge Bench are:

1. What is the scope and ambit of right to freedom of religion under Article 25 of the Constitution?
2. What is the inter-play between the rights of persons under Article 25 of the Constitution and rights of religious denomination under Article 26?
3. Whether the rights of a religious denomination are subject to other provisions of Part III of the Constitution apart from public order, morality, and health?
4. What is the scope and extent of the word ‘morality’ under Articles 25 and 26 and whether it is meant to include constitutional morality?
5. What is the scope and extent of judicial review with regard to a religious practice as referred to in Article 25?
6. What is the meaning of expression “sections of Hindus” occurring in Article 25 (2) (b)?
7. Whether a person not belonging to a religious denomination or religious group can question a practice of that religious denomination or religious group by filing a PIL?

Steps taken by Karnataka Government

- The Karnataka government ordered that the students studying in schools managed by the minority welfare department should not wear saffron scarves, Hijab, or any religious flags.
- This was challenged and the Karnataka High Court heard challenge to the constitutionality of the state government’s ban on students wearing a hijab in educational institutions. The case was regarding the arguments on whether the state can justify the ban on the ground that it violates ‘public order’.

What is public order?

Public order is one of the three grounds on which the state can restrict freedom of religion. Public order is also one of the grounds to restrict free speech and other fundamental rights.

Article 25 of the Constitution guarantees to all persons the right to freedom and conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion subject to **public order**, morality and health.

How does it relate to the hijab ban?

- According to the government order issued under the Karnataka Education Act, 1983, “public order” is one of the reasons for not allowing students to wear a headscarf in educational institutions along with “unity” and “integrity.”

- The petitioners have asked the state to show how the mere wearing of a hijab by students could constitute a public order issue *“This is not a case where a religious practice involves a public gathering where dangerous weapons are paraded,”*.
- The second argument made is that the government cannot delegate to college committees the function of determining whether the hijab was detrimental to public order.

How has public order been interpreted by courts?

- **Ram Manohar Lohia vs State of Bihar (1965)**- Supreme Court held that in the case of ‘public order’, the community or the public at large have to be affected by a particular action. **“The contravention of law always affects order but before it can be said to affect public order, it must affect the community or the public at large.**
- To decide prominence three concentric circles need to be referred to, the largest representing ‘law and order’, the next representing ‘public order’ and the smallest representing ‘security of State.’”

Scholars Analysis

Views of Govind Bhattacharjee: Rights and Plurality

- *Identity is often a double-edged sword and questions of identity, if not addressed carefully, may undermine social cohesion, create friction and lead to a loss of trust in institutions, hurting assimilation of individual differences into the body politic, especially in a multireligious, multicultural society like India.*
- *No freedom is absolute and every freedom including the freedom of religion is subject to reasonable restrictions.*
- *In its judgment in the **S R Bommai case of 1994**, the Supreme Court had observed that “religious freedom is the hallmark of pluralism and inclusiveness. It is meant to advance social harmony and diversity”. Every judgment by every court of the country has always upheld the spirit of this pluralism and diversity and frowned upon practices that undermined these. Perhaps more than whether an attire constitutes an essential practice of a religion or not, it is this test of pluralism-whether a religious practice advances the cause of “social harmony and diversity” -that is more relevant here.*
- *Many Muslim nations like Kosovo, Azerbaijan, Tunisia, Morocco, Lebanon, Egypt and Syria have put restraints on the hijab, niqab and burqa in varying degrees for different purposes -Syria has even banned the niqab in its universities since 2010 as being a threat to the country’s secular identity and to fight against radical Islam -not to talk about the secular western nations like Russia, France, Bulgaria, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, etc., which have also put similar restraints on Islamic dress codes.*
- *It depends on determining our priority between the conflicting objectives of individual choices and liberties, institutional freedom, and plurality and secular ethos of the nation.*

Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan

Discrimination in the name of hijab is outright violation of Constitutional principles

Muzaffar Assadi

- *Muslim girls are increasingly opting for higher education. But with these developments, there may be a setback with girls withdrawing from secular modern education.*
- *I am not against the hijab, but education must take precedence for the community. After all, the first revelation of the Holy Quran says “Iqra” which means “read”. The community is forced to navigate a very tricky terrain where the community is being targeted, but the community should not get into further ghettoisation but instead give primacy to education,*

Sharada Gopal of Jagruta Mahila Okkoota

For some educated liberal women, wearing the hijab may be a matter of choice, but to others it is imposed by their traditional families who may not send them to schools and colleges if the government forces them to remove hijab.

Banu Mushtaq

Condemned the hijab row as the handiwork of “fundamentalist forces on either side that have been using Muslim girls as pawns”, however said she was confident that though the issue may hit Muslim girl education temporarily, they would bounce back and continue their education. “The social movement of the community today is largely towards education, especially among girls as they have realized it is only through education that they can become independent. They may be forced to withdraw from government run institutions banning hijab, which is sad. But I am confident that they will continue their education in minority institutions, through online courses or distance education.”

HIJAB ISSUE: RESURFACED DEBATE ON UNIFORM CIVIL CODE

The dispute that arose regarding the hijab, has again intensified the debate on the Uniform Civil Code issue.

What is Uniform Civil Code?

The Uniform Civil Code (UCC) is a vision to contribute to a uniformly structured legislature that will reserve all the aspects revolving around the personal religious and civil laws of every religion in India. The UCC will grant uniform personal laws to every religion to attain secularism and will override personal laws of different religions, races, caste, etc.

The practices it includes are the **uniformity in-laws of marriage, divorce, succession, adoption, guardianship, and partition of land and assets** to all citizens without any discrimination. The other aspect of proposing UCC is to protect the rights of women of different religions in India.

Origins of Uniform Civil Code

- The origins of UCC can be traced back to Colonial rule in India where during the year 1840, a uniform law was enacted by the British for crimes, evidence, and annexures, while personal laws of Hindus and Muslims were deliberately left unattended, resulting in much inconsistency and complexity among both religions.
- After gaining independence from the British, during the constituent assembly debates, the founding fathers of the constitution like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar recommended a uniform civil code to be included initially in Article 35 of the Constitution of India, 1949 and personal laws must be kept out of the ambit of UCC however he also acknowledged that such implementation of UCC must be voluntary. However, the Muslim representatives emphasized keeping personal religious laws that were founded on the pillars of religious customs. Consequently, only Article 44 of the Constitution of India could comprise the concept of UCC.

Advantages surrounding UCC

Due to many invasions at different points of time, India has many religions but the republic of India by the preamble of the Constitution of India grants itself a status of Secular state and therefore it respects and tends not to interfere in the personal religious practices of every religion and to attain this secularism, a UCC is an ideal approach.

The advantages of implementing UCC are:-

- Prevention of discrimination based on religion, race, caste, gender, etc..
- UCC will also cease discrimination in subject matters of succession, inheritance, marriage, divorce, adoption, and guardianship, etc.
- Prevention of complexity in implementing and understanding of various personal laws of different religion.
- Prevention of violence against women and preserving the rights of women in India, since numerous personal laws like marriage, divorce, and succession of a certain religion are violative of fundamental rights of women.

- UCC will grant women the right to equality and protection of the law in areas of marriage, divorce, adoption of child, succession, and inheritance of property, etc.
- UCC will establish a secular Indian society that will enhance the justice delivery of the judiciary.

Issues surrounding UCC

- Different religions having different religious doctrines which are based on the basic practices of the religion causing difficulty in implementing a basic platform of practices for every religion.
- Duplicating the western model of law.
- The misconception of minorities that UCC will destroy their religious practices and they will be compelled to follow the religious practice of majorities.
- The conflict of freedom of religion with equality before law and right to equality.
- The most significant issue is the unawareness of people regarding the objects of UCC, and the reason for such unawareness is the lack of education, fake news, irrational religious beliefs, etc.

Is UCC in conflict with religion?

- Article 25 and Article 26 of the Constitution of India reserves fundamental rights concerning religion, such rights are enforceable in a court of law however Article 44 concerning UCC is not enforceable in any court, therefore, there is no possibility of UCC overlapping with the right to religion.
- The objective of UCC is to bestow uniform laws concerning marriage, lawful separation, succession, etc., and not to provide a uniform method of practicing religion, hence UCC cannot conflict with the right to religion.

Judiciary on Uniform Civil Code

- **Sarla Mudgal v. Union of India (1995)**- the Supreme Court of India directed the Ministry of Law and Justice to reflect the steps taken and efforts made, by the Government of India, towards securing a “uniform civil code” for the citizens of India.
- **Mohd. Ahmed Khan v. Shah Bano Begum and Ors (1985)**- the Supreme Court of India held that Muslim women are entitled to maintenance under Section 125 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 and further ruled that **“a uniform civil code will help the cause of national integration by removing disparate loyalties to laws which have conflicting ideologies”** and directed the Government to enact a UCC.
- **Pannalal Bansilal Patil v. State of Andhra Pradesh (1996)**- the Supreme Court of India held that **“a uniform law, though is highly desirable, enactment thereof in one go perhaps may be counter-productive to unity and integrity of the nation. In a democracy governed by rule of law, gradual progressive change and order should be brought about. Making law or amendment to a law is a slow process and the legislature attempts to remedy where the need is felt most acute.”**
- **John Vallamattom and Ors. v. Union of India (2003)**- The Supreme Court of India held that there is no necessary connection between religious and personal law in a civilized society. It is no matter of doubt that marriage, succession, and the like matters of a secular character cannot be brought within the guarantee enshrined under Articles 25 and Article 26 of the Constitution. Any legislation which brings succession and the like matters of secular character within the ambit of Articles 25 and 26 is suspect.

Hindu Code Bill

- The Hindu Code Bill Committee was constituted in 1941 but it took 14 years to pass the legislation — and not as one uniform Act but as three different ones: **Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; Hindu Succession Act, 1956; and Hindu Adoption & Maintenance Act, 1956.**
- Moreover, not all reforms could be incorporated because of opposition from the Hindu right. Even Congress leaders such as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, M A Ayyangar, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Kailash Nath Katju opposed such reforms. **In the debate on the Hindu Code Bill in 1949, 23 of the 28 speakers opposed it.**
- In 1949, the Hindu right formed an All-India Anti Hindu Code Bill Committee under the leadership of Swami Karpatriji Maharaj, who justified unregulated polygamy. Geeta Press's Kalyan magazine published a number of articles that favoured polygamy, opposed the daughter's right to inheritance and questioned the Constituent Assembly's right to legislate on religious matters.
- Syama Prasad Mookerjee, later founder of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, said in Parliament that instead of the Hindu Code Bill, the government should bring a UCC. While there was substance in this argument, reforming the majority community's laws is easier than reforming those of the minorities. Several Muslim countries, including Pakistan, have been able to reform Muslim laws but not the laws of their minority communities.
- Dr B R Ambedkar had to resign as Law Minister. On September 15, 1951, President Dr Rajendra Prasad threatened to return the Bill or veto it. PM Jawaharlal Nehru yielded; the Bill was not passed. When eventually passed after several years, it did not give daughters a share in a Hindu joint family's property. This amendment came in 2005.

Reading Article 44

- Article 44 of the Constitution says the state shall endeavour to secure for citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India. The definition of 'State', as given in Article 12, includes the government and Parliament of India and the government and the legislature of each of the states and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India.
- **Uniform vs Common-** The Constitution's framers used the term "**Uniform**" in Article 44 and not "**common**", because "**common**" means "**one and the same in all circumstances**", while "**uniform**" means "**the same in similar conditions**". **Different people may have different laws, but the law within a particular group should be uniform. Such a classification is permissible even under the right to equality under Article 14.**
- "**Civil**" means matters where personal rights (not public rights) are in question —such as a contract, or sale and purchase of goods/services or properties.
- "**Code**" does not necessarily mean one single law in every circumstance. It may mean either one enactment such as Indian Penal Code, or the Hindu Code Bill that includes three different Acts.
- While Article 44 uses the phrase "*state shall endeavor*", other Articles in the 'Directive Principles' chapter use expressions such as "*in particular strive*"; "*shall take steps*"; "*shall promote with special*

care”; “shall in particular direct its policy”; “shall regard its primary duty”; “shall be obligation of the state” etc.

- All of these mean that the duty of the court is far greater in other directive principles than in Article 44. While Article 43 mentions that the “state shall endeavor by suitable legislation”, the phrase “by suitable legislation” is absent in Article 44, which indicates that the framers did not intend enactment of uniform civil code by a single legislation.

Views of Faizan Mustafa on issues with UCC

- *It is erroneous to assume that India has different personal laws because of religious diversity. As a matter of fact, the law differs from state to state. **Under the Constitution, the power to legislate in respect of personal laws rests with both Parliament and state Assemblies.***
- *Preservation of legal diversity seems to be the reason for inclusion of personal law in the Concurrent List (entry No. 5). **Had uniformity of laws been the primary concern, personal laws would have been included in the Union List with Parliament having the exclusive jurisdiction to enact laws on these subjects.***
- ***Bringing amendments to central personal laws with enactments such as the Hindu Marriage Act is possible under entry No. 5, but this power cannot be stretched to include enactment of a uniform civil code for the whole of India.** Once a legislative field is occupied by parliamentary legislation, states do not have much freedom to enact laws. Such laws would require Presidential assent under Article 254.*
- *It is also a myth that Hindus are governed by one uniform law. Marriage among close relatives is prohibited in the north but considered auspicious in the south. Lack of uniformity in personal laws is also true of Muslims and Christians. The Constitution itself protects local customs of Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram.*
- *As an example, take Goa, often cited as a state that already has a UCC. But Hindus of Goa are still governed by the Portuguese Family and Succession Laws. The reformed Hindu Law of 1955-56 is not applicable to them, and unreformed Shastric Hindu law on marriage, divorce, adoption and joint family remains valid. The Shariat Act of 1937 is yet to be extended to Goa, and the state’s Muslims are governed by Portuguese law as well as Shastric Hindu law but not by Muslim Personal Law. Even the Special Marriage Act, a sort of progressive civil code, has not yet been extended there.*
- *The goal of a UCC should ideally be reached in a piecemeal manner, like the recent amendment on the age of marriage. A just code is far more important than a uniform code.*

Views of Abhinav Mehrotra:

- *The lack of a Uniform Civil Code in India is undercutting the chances of an overall development of Indian society.*
- *The Government needs to think how to ensure the overall development of the society including women by bringing in a UCC and how to balance the aims of Article 51 A (f) and Article 51 A(e) of the Constitution that deals with the aspects of valuing and preserving the rich heritage of composite culture and renouncing practices that are derogatory to the dignity of women respectively.*

Arguments against Uniform Civil Code

Unacademy Code: DRPIYUSH11 Website: <https://piyuschaubey.com/> & <https://momentumias.com/>

Secularist perspective

- It is argued that implementing the Uniform Civil Code would destroy the secularism and diversity which is the cornerstone of India's rich heritage. Implementation of the Uniform Civil Code will distort the right to practice and profess one's religion freely.
- This also means that the authority held by various religious leaders would be taken.
- It is believed that individuals should be given the right to choose freely on how they would like to make important life decisions like marriage and inheritance.

Feminist perspective

- It is very important to have the female voice representative while forming and implementing the Uniform civil code. It has been argued that while drafting the policy and implementation of the act the female voice from every community and class have to be considered. The crux of UCC is women's rights.
- However, taking into consideration too many different standpoints may get complex. It has also been argued that a female voice will not be considered at all which causes more risk to the implementation of UCC. Hence, implementation of UCC in a country like India will not be possible.

Religious perspective

- Most Indian customs and practices are guided by their personal laws. This gives a sense of Identity. By the implementation of the UCC there will be a sense of loss to the religious and cultural sentiment of individuals. Hence, they will lose their sense of identity.
- It has been argued that individuals who wish to follow laws that are not religious in nature are free to do so but personal laws which are already implemented shouldn't be meddled with.

Economic perspective

- Many personal laws are economic in nature. As mentioned in the Section 3(1)(a) of the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 which states that *"a reasonable and fair provision and maintenance to be made and paid to her within the iddat period by her former husband"*.
- Uniform civil code will have to be implemented keeping in mind gender equality. If the woman is supposed to bring up the children the husband could pay for maintenance of the children. It is difficult to implement and draft a law that is fair to all genders.

Conclusion

- The idea to implement a uniform civil code is to empower women to live out of their religious personal laws. The UCC is also implemented to do away with many archaic laws. If the UCC is implemented then India can match up to the cultural and social standards of developing countries that empower women.
- Most importantly India needs a mindset change and an attitude change. It starts from empowering our women to live lives the way they choose to live. We have to encourage women to compete with men in their careers, encourage women to educate themselves and encourage households with shared responsibilities.

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- Uniform Civil Code should also cater to the rights of LGBT community. It should include the rights of marriage and remarriage, property, adoption rights etc. By including the LGBT community the UCC moves beyond the religious personal laws making it inclusive in nature.

INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

ANTI-DEFECTION LAW



Recently Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) chief Mayawati called for a more stringent anti-defection law amid a string of politicians switching parties ahead of the Uttar Pradesh assembly election.

The 10th Schedule of the Indian Constitution popularly referred to as the 'Anti-Defection Law' was inserted by the 52nd Amendment (1985) to the Constitution. 'Defection' has been defined as, "To abandon a position or association, often to join an opposing group".

Constitutional Provisions

The Tenth Schedule includes the following provisions with regard to the disqualification of MPs and MLAs on the grounds of defection:

- Grounds for disqualification:
 - If an elected member gives up his membership of a political party voluntarily.
 - If he votes or abstains from voting in the House, contrary to any direction issued by his political party.
 - If any member who is independently elected joins any party.
 - If any nominated member joins any political party after the end of 6 months.
- The decision on disqualification questions on the ground of defection is referred to the Speaker or the Chairman of the House, and his/her decision is final.
- **All proceedings in relation to disqualification under this Schedule are considered to be proceedings in Parliament or the Legislature of a state as is the case.**
- Exceptions under the Anti Defection Law
 - In the situation where two-thirds of the legislators of a political party decide to merge into another party, neither the members who decide to join nor the ones who stay with the original party will face disqualification.
 - Any person elected as chairman or speaker can resign from his party, and rejoin the party if he demits that post.
- Earlier, the law allowed parties to be split, but at present, this has been outlawed.

- According to various judgments and orders of the officers indicates that if the member of the party publicly opposes his original party and supports the other party then this act deems to be a resignation from the party. The shreds of evidence for this can be the News Paper, speech given in any form of the electric forms etc. which is recognizable by the government.
- **Deciding Authority**-Any question regarding disqualification arising out of defection is to be decided by the presiding officer of the House.

Is the decision of the Presiding Officer subject to judicial review?

- Originally, the Act provided that the presiding officer's decision was final and could not be questioned in any court of law. But, in the **Kihoto Hollohan case (1992)**, the Supreme Court declared this provision as unconstitutional on the ground that it seeks to take away the jurisdiction of the SC and the high courts.
- The court held that while deciding a question under the 10th Schedule, the presiding officer should function as a tribunal. Hence, his/her decision (like that of any other tribunal) was subject to judicial review on the grounds of mala fides, perversity, etc. But, the court rejected the argument that the vesting of adjudicatory powers in the presiding officer is by itself invalid on the ground of political bias.
- However, it held that there might not be any judicial intervention until the Presiding Officer gave his order. A good example to quote in this respect was from 2015 when the Hyderabad High Court declined to intervene after hearing a petition which alleged that there had been a delay by the Telangana Assembly Speaker in taking action against a member under the anti-defection law.

Historical background of the anti-defection law

- Aaya Ram Gaya Ram (Ram has come, Ram has gone) is an expression used commonly in Indian politics to refer to political horse-trading, frequently turn coating and floor crossing. The term originated in 1967, when Gaya Lal, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, from Pataudi Vidhan Sabha Constituency of Haryana. He won the election as an independent candidate and joined the Indian National Congress (INC) and thereafter changed his political allegiance thrice in a single day. Even after this incident, Gaya Lal, a frequent floor-crosser frequently came switching parties and contested elections under different parties such as the Akhil Bhartiya Arya Sabha in 1972, joined the Bharatiya Lok Dal under Chaudhary Charan Singh in 1974 and became the source of the coining of the term Aaya Ram Gaya Ram.
- The Anti Defection Law of 1985 was passed to prevent defections. It was included in the constitution under Rajiv Gandhi's rule as the tenth schedule of the Constitution of India.
- It applies to both Parliament and state legislature and specifies the process for the Speaker of the house (presiding officer of the legislature), to disqualify a member of the legislature, on the petition of any member of the house.

The main intentions of the laws were:

- Keep political corruption in check.
- Bring stability in politics to strengthen democracy.
- Ensure that members of the legislation are more responsible and loyal to their political party.

- The **Chavan committee** proposed that a member who switches party affiliation for monetary gain or other kinds of greed, such as an executive office pledge, should not only be excluded from parliament but also barred from contesting elections for a defined period.
- A change was proposed to the Tenth Schedule in 2003 to make the current legislation more effective in dealing with regular defections. **The Constitution (Ninety-first Amendment) Bill** was proposed by a committee led by Pranab Mukherjee, observing that the exemption provided by authorising a break, granted in paragraph three of the Schedule, was being blatantly violated, creating several splits in different political parties.
- The Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Fifty-Second Amendment (1985) to the Constitution explained the reasons for the addition of this Schedule in the following words, "*The evil of political defections has become a matter of national concern. If it is not combated, the very pillars of our society and the values which support it are likely to be eroded. With this object, an assurance was given in the address by the President to Parliament that the government intended to introduce in the current session of Parliament an anti-defection Bill. This Bill is meant for outlawing defection and fulfilling the above assurance.*"

Kihoto Hollohan v Zachillhu case

- Speaking of the need for an anti-defection statute, the court said the goal is to curb the evil of political defections motivated by the lure of office or other similar considerations that threaten our democracy's foundations."
- The solution suggested disqualifying from continuing as members of either the House of Parliament or the State Legislature who are considered to have defected. Section 2 of the Tenth Schedule defines the conditions for disqualification.
- It was held that the law does not violate any rights of the legislators and also, it does not hamper the basic structure of parliamentary democracy and does not violate the Right to Speech and Expression of the legislators.

What are the key issues that have subjected it to misuse?

Chaksu Roy-

- ***It only punishes MLAs for switching parties. Political parties who are at the heart of our politics have no liability under the law. They benefit from defections and are often accused of enticing MLAs of rival parties to switch loyalties. The anti-defection law punishes individual MPs/MLAs for leaving one party for another. It allows a group of MP/MLAs to join (i.e. merge with) another political party without inviting the penalty for defection. And it does not penalise political parties for encouraging or accepting defecting legislators.***
- Other enactments responsible for the cleansing of our politics face a similar problem. There are limits on electoral spending by a candidate. But these limits apply only to candidates. Political parties can spend an unlimited amount on behalf of their candidates.
- According to Roy, *a punishment-based legal approach underestimates the problems with our politics. A lasting solution to the problem can only come from the adherence by political parties to a code of*

conduct that takes into account the fundamental priorities and decencies that ought to govern the functioning of democratic institutions.

Scope of corruption due to existing constitutional flaws

Kapil Sibal

- There is a constitutional flaw in the manner in which the provisions of paragraph 4 have been enacted. Paragraph 4(1) stipulates that a member of the house will not be disqualified from his membership when his original political party merges with another political party and he claims that he and other members have become members of the other political party or a new political party is being formed by such merger.
- However, paragraph 4(2) provides that such a merger would be deemed to have taken place only if not less than two-thirds of the members of the legislative party agreed to such a merger.
- This allows for clandestine corruption where two-thirds of the members of the legislative party are bought over, by means fair or foul, to either topple governments or to strengthen a razor-thin majority of the party in power. This makes the entire provision unworkable and unconstitutional.

The controversial role of Presiding Officer and Anti-Defection law

- The courts have carved out certain exceptions to when it can go into the workings of a legislature. A five-judge constitution bench of the Supreme Court in 1992 held that the proceedings before the speaker under the Tenth Schedule are akin to a tribunal, and thus, it can be placed under judicial review.
- When the speaker has decided on the matter, it can be reviewed by the courts on four grounds.
- ✓ The first is if the order is passed without following principles of natural justice, such as not letting the other party present their case and the judge being the judge in their cause.
- ✓ The second is if the decision is unconstitutional.
- ✓ The third is if the order is mala fide – if it is passed in bad faith.
- ✓ And the fourth is if the order is perverse, which means if it is passed on “no evidence, or thoroughly unreliable evidence, and no reasonable person would act upon it”.
- However, this leaves a grey area: **What happens if a matter is pending before the speaker?** The 1992 judgment said that “**judicial review cannot be available at a stage before the making of a decision by the Speaker/Chairman**”.
- Politicians have been quick to take advantage of this legal grey area. Keeping disqualification petitions pending ensures that the legislator can continue functioning, even though he has defected. Since the speaker has the full discretion on deciding on defections, and they are mostly from the ruling party, legislators who have defected to the ruling party can continue being a member of the house if these petitions are kept pending. There have been instances of disqualification petitions being pending for a long time, sometimes years.
- In 2017, the main Opposition party in Andhra Pradesh boycotted the Assembly, angry that 20 of their MLAs, who had defected a year and a half ago, had still not had their petitions heard by the speaker.

- In the previous Telangana assembly, the speaker simply sat on 26 defections over years. In the end, the house was itself dissolved in 2018, with the state going for elections with the defectors remaining unpunished.
- The disqualification petition against the Manipur legislator Thounaojam Shyamkumar Singh, who defected from the Congress to the Bharatiya Janata Party, had been pending for three years in 2020, after which he himself resigned. This was only because the Supreme Court barred him from entering the Assembly and removed him as a minister since the Manipur Speaker did not decide on the petition even after the court directed it to do so.
- **This undermining of the anti-defection law is due to the fact that there is no strict timeline for deciding defection petitions under it. In the case of Keisham Meghachandra Singh v The Hon'ble Speaker Manipur in 2020, the Supreme Court held that the decision should be made within a reasonable time period.**
- Further, the court said: **“What is reasonable will depend on the facts of each case, but absent exceptional circumstances for which there is good reason, a period of three months from the date on which the petition is filed in the outer limit within which disqualification petitions filed before the Speaker must be decided.** “However, this three-month period is indicative in nature and is not strictly followed, even by courts.

Anti-defection law undermining Party-level dissent : Silencing of internal dissent

Mohamed Zeeshan

- *While parties can defect from a ruling coalition to the opposition (and vice-versa), individual Members are bound by the party under whose ticket they were elected. Similarly, while parties in the ruling coalition can order their Members to vote against a government bill, no individual Members from the ruling coalition can rebel on their own.*
- *The Anti-Defection Law is a very unique Indian feature. In the British parliament, for instance, MPs who defy the party whip often lose party membership, but not their seat in parliament. In America, Congressmen have often voted against their own party throughout history. Senator John McCain differed with President Trump and his fellow Republicans as much as 10 per percent of the time during votes in the Senate.*
- *There are several reasons why many democracies have not adopted an anti-defection law. **If Members are able to vote on laws independently, they would act as an effective check on the government. What's more, Members will also ensure democratic debate in the public domain before laws are passed – because they will be personally accountable to their constituents for their vote. The Anti-Defection Law, in effect, dilutes the separation of powers between the Executive and the Legislature – and centralizes power in the hands of the cabinet.***
- *In the parliamentary system, the independence of lawmakers is doubly important, given that the Executive is a part of the Legislature and the separation of powers between the two is weaker. Independence will also have other benefits: Since lawmakers can now vote independently in the House, voters will elect the candidate who would best represent their local interests, regardless of*

their party. Over time, this means that parties would have to field candidates with stronger credibility at the grassroots, rather than those merely loyal to the party leadership.

- *All of this makes a strong case for India to amend the Anti-Defection Law, in order to give elected lawmakers more independence to stand up for their constituencies. But the concern over political instability and quid-pro-quo deals is still valid.*
- *One possible solution would be to disqualify Members only if they vote against their party whip during important events such as no-confidence motions. On all other matters, Members ought to be given full independence to vote as they choose. Such an amended Anti-Defection Law can also counter the scourge of mass resignations from the House – a key cause of political instability in Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh.*
- *But ironically, increased independence for lawmakers may itself take care of this problem. If an amended Anti-Defection Law allows Members to defy the party whip, Members may register their dissent against their party on specific issues by exercising their independence in the House – without having to resign from the party or the House.*
- *To prevent Members from mass resigning to switch parties under a quid-pro-quo deal, the amended Anti-Defection Law should forbid a resigning Member from being re-elected during the by-election that follows immediately after their resignation. If a Member resigns, they should only become eligible to contest again after the term of the Assembly ends (that is, during the following general election or state election; not the by-election that results from their resignation).*
- *The Anti-Defection Law has created a democracy of parties and numbers in India, rather than a democracy of debate and discussion. Law-making is increasingly driven, not by the compulsive force of a party's argument, but by the brute force of a party's numbers in the legislature.*

Anti-defection law and the role of Judiciary

- The role of the judiciary in interfering with the working of Constitutional functionaries was originally intended to be non-existent. Lately, however, these lines have been blurring. The growing trend of dying constitutional conventions and rising judicial supremacy is inherently problematic to our Constitutional ideals. However, the judiciary tries to maintain a balanced approach.
- A five-judge constitutional bench of the Supreme Court in 1992 held that the proceedings before the speaker under the Tenth Schedule are akin to a tribunal, and thus, it can be placed under judicial review.
- In 2011, the Supreme Court had set aside the Karnataka Speaker's order disqualifying 11 BJP MLAs. These MLAs had approached the Governor, saying that they had withdrawn their support to the government led by Yeddyurappa because he was corrupt and had lost the confidence of the people. Among other things, the Supreme Court had noted that the MLAs had continued to be members of the BJP, but were merely against Yeddyurappa.
- A very important issue regarding when a court can review the Speaker's Decision-making process under the Tenth Schedule was answered by S.C. in **Rajendra Singh Rana and Ors. vs. Swami Prasad Maurya and Ors.2007**, it was held that **if the Speaker fails to act on a complaint, or accepts claims of splits or mergers without making a finding, he fails to act as per the Tenth Schedule. The Court said that**

ignoring a petition for disqualification is not merely an irregularity but a violation of constitutional duties.

- In the **Keisham Meghachandra Singh** case, the Court noted that **while the Constitution or any other statute does not prescribe a strict time period, a Speaker cannot sit on a disqualification petition indefinitely. Such a petition would need to be decided within a reasonable time. The Court, however, went one step further in this instance, and defined what it meant by reasonable time was, in the absence of any exceptional circumstances, a period of three months for the Speaker to decide on the petition.**
- Recently, in Jan 2022, the Supreme Court has set aside the one-year suspension of 12 BJP MLAs from the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly. The Supreme Court held that suspension for a year was 'unconstitutional, substantively illegal and irrational
- The High Court of Bombay at Goa in its judgment delivered on February 25, 2022 held that the former members of the Congress Legislature Party (CLP) in the Goa assembly who had defected to the BJP are exempt from disqualification under paragraph 4(2) of the Constitution's Tenth Schedule, referred to commonly as the anti-defection law. The basic premise of the judgment is that sub-paragraph (2) is distinct from the parent paragraph, and a factual merger of the original political party is not necessary. The Tenth Schedule exempts defectors from disqualification if their original political party merges with another party and two-thirds of the members of that party in the legislature agree with the merger.
- According to **P.D.T ACHARY** this goes against the letter and spirit of the Tenth Schedule. This judgment is likely to open the flood gates to defection.
- Judiciary, although checking the misuse of the law has been subjected to criticism too as explained above, but it has also tried to respect the ideal of the separation of power by restraining itself in certain cases.
- For instance, the Supreme Court in 2021 upheld putting on hold a petition that It is the prerogative of the Parliament, to frame guidelines for fixing time limits by which the Speakers of Parliament and the Assemblies should decide defection petitions against MLA. **"It is the prerogative of the House... We cannot fix time limits,"**
- In the **Mukul Roy** case too, (here the petition before the West Bengal speaker is pending for six months), the Supreme Court bench remarked: **"There have been so many cases where there are delays by the Speaker and when such cases come to this court, we are told that you cannot pass any order till the Speaker decides. This has been a common experience."**

Critical examination of the law

- Anti-defection law when it was passed aimed at bringing down the political defection but due to ever-increasing political dishonesty and corruption this law never evolved properly and now a question arose that 'whether achieving the goals of this law a reality or a myth?' Politicians found loopholes in this law and used it for their benefit.
- Parties often have to sequester MLAs in resorts to prevent them from changing their allegiance or getting poached by a rival party or an opposing faction of their party. Recent examples are Rajasthan (2020), Maharashtra (2019), Karnataka (2019 and 2018), and Tamil Nadu (2017).

- Parties have also been able to use the anti-defection law to their advantage. In 2019 in Goa, 10 of the 15 Congress MLAs merged their legislature party with the BJP. In the same year, in Rajasthan, six BSP MLAs merged their party with the Congress (the case being heard in the Supreme Court), and in Sikkim, 10 of the 15 MLAs of the Sikkim Democratic Front joined the BJP.
- **Further, the anti-defection law seeks to address two betrayals- the betrayal that a defecting MLA does to his party, and the one he does to the voters. However, what the tenth schedule does address is only the first kind of betrayal. Betrayal to the voters on seeing their political ideology being defeated remains unaddressed.**
- **While the party members of a defecting MLA may apply to the Speaker asking for disqualification, the voters have absolutely no standing to challenge their elected leader's defection. In case the party members thus decide to not file a case in furtherance of any implicit understanding they may have, the voters are left with no choice but to witness and bear the betrayal for the coming five years.**
- **Chakshu Roy-"the constitutional provisions related to the anti-defection law have been reduced to a joke".**

Way forward

P B Sawant

- *If the present open and free market horse-trading is to be stopped, and our democracy is to be saved from the ridicule of the world, the Tenth Schedule must be amended to require every defector to resign his or her seat and contest elections afresh. This will end the farce to which the elections have been reduced.*
- *The electorate is no longer sure that the party and the candidate whom it has voted to office will abide by the mandate. Toppling the governments and nullifying the verdict of the people, because of the lure of individual gains, has become normal practice. It may bring joy to those who are out to destroy democracy but is a matter of grave concern for those who want to save democracy and the Constitution.*

The Supreme Court in Keisham Meghachandra Singh opined-

- ***Parliament may seriously consider amending the Constitution to substitute the Speaker... the arbiter of disputes concerning disqualification ... with a permanent Tribunal headed by a retired Supreme Court Judge or a retired Chief Justice of a High Court, or some other outside independent mechanism...***
- ***While this may seem to be a judicial interference, such reforms are necessary. The Court itself has observed that the Parliament needs to rethink whether the question of disqualification ought to be entrusted to a Speaker, who despite being a Constitutional functionary, remains, at the end of the day, the member of a political party de jure or de facto, expected to shed his entire political affiliation overnight on taking an oath. Our Constitution was designed to be transformative, and such reform is essential to protect the trust of the voters.***

Election Commission

- ***Decisions under the Tenth Schedule should be made by the President/ Governor on the binding advice of the Election Commission.***

Constitution Review Commission (2002)

- ***Defectors should be barred from holding public office or any remunerative political post for the duration of the remaining term. The vote cast by a defector to topple a government should be treated as invalid.***

Dinesh Goswami Committee, 1990

It suggested three changes:

- ***The disqualification provision should specifically be limited to defying the party whip in motions of confidence, money bill, vote of thanks to the President.***
- ***Instead of the speaker, the authority of disqualifying the elected representative should be vested with the governor and/or the president who will act on the counsel of the Election Commission.***
- ***Nominated members should incur disqualification if they join any political party at any time.***

DECLINING NATURE OF DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT

Recently in a judgement the Supreme Court said that a nation aspiring to be a "world leader" should debate on the welfare of its citizens rather than make Parliament a stage to exchange jeers and launch personal attacks on one another. In any democracy, the main function of the Parliament is to make laws. Parliamentary debates are regarded as most important since the pros and cons of all the bills are highlighted before it gets converted to law.

- Indian Parliament was once known for its high-quality debates. In earlier days of Indian democracy, when the ruling party used to have a brutal majority, the opposition always utilized such opportunities for their voices to be heard.
- Debates were held in a cordial atmosphere and Parliamentary decorum of the highest Standards was maintained. Some of the famous Indian Parliamentarians were namely C Subramaniam, Morarji Desai, Raj Narain, Prof Hiren Mukherjee, AK Gopalan, Minoo Masani, Pilloo Mody & last but not the least Atal Bihari Bajpai.
- **Unfortunately, the early eighties saw a marked deterioration, when the members of the ruling party regularly began to drown the voice of speakers from opposition benches, by their lung's power. Frustrated opposition started resorting to Walkouts. Walkouts & shouting were also reported earlier but were exceptions, not the rules.**
- In recent times we have seen the Deteriorating picture of the Indian parliament where procedural principles of parliamentary democracy are thrown out the window by the Parliamentarians. We are not paying attention to the things which were at some point considered the biggest cornerstone of our democracy (debate, discussion, dissent, participation).
- **In the past 10 years, the Rajya Sabha has functioned for less than 25 percent of its scheduled time. According to PRS again, none of the 15 bills introduced in this Monsoon Session 2021 has been referred to a Parliamentary Committee.**
- **In this current Lok Sabha commencing 2019, only 12 percent of the bills introduced have been referred to committee.**
- **By contrast, the 16th Lok Sabha (2014-2019) had 27 per cent and the 15th Lok Sabha (2009-2014) had 71 percent of bills referred to standing committees, where they could be discussed, debated amid testimony by experts.**
- **More significantly, fewer and fewer drafts of key legislation are being debated across the political aisle before becoming law.**

The whole idea of parliamentary democracy revolves around

- ❖ Accountability.
- ❖ Responsibility.
- ❖ Transparency.
- ❖ Informed decision making.

Existing Rules

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- There is a hierarchy of rules and regulations to govern the proceedings and conduct in the House. On the top are the **Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of the House**, which is a formal document.
- Next comes the **Handbook for members**. This handbook elaborates on the rules and also provides some additional sort of guidelines. It is part of the welcome kit of the members when they join.
- There are two sections under this handbook, one section is relating to customs and conventions of the House and another section is on Parliamentary etiquette.
- As a matter of fact, Parliamentary etiquette has 42 items in it in terms of how the member should behave in the House.
- At the third level are directions from the Chairman. From time to time, for general purposes, directions are issued by the Chairman but one has not seen many directions in regard to the conduct of business in the House.
- There is also a section on dignity and decorum that is again very relevant in terms of how the members conduct themselves in the House.

Why is debate important in a parliamentary democracy?

- The constitution gives Parliament the mandate to keep the government accountable by scrutinizing the working of ministries, making laws to address opportunities in the legal system, discussing and passing the budget to keep the country on a firm financial footing and representing the hopes and aspirations of a billion people.
- **With Parliament being disrupted routinely, Members of Parliament (MPs) are not able to ask ministers tough questions during question hour to assess the work that their ministries are doing.**
- **With disruptions eating into the time available for Parliamentary business, adequate time is not available for debating legislation. As a result, Bills either get passed without effective debate or remain pending in Parliament.**
- With Parliament meeting for a fewer number of days and with its productivity falling on account of disruptions, MPs are not able to raise matters of urgent public importance and bring it to the attention of the government.
- Parliamentary democracy is a platform where the government of the day is held accountable for its actions, policies. It provides people with an opportunity where the representative of people can advocate about people's Aspirations, needs. This institution as a whole where Debates, discussions are an integral part of it, benefits the society with informed decision making and better policy alternatives.
- The idea of Democracy rests upon the principle of people's participation in Decision making. It is a form of government in which the people have the authority and the choice to choose their representatives. India being a parliamentary democracy, people choose their representatives to the parliament and these representatives are responsible for putting forward the interests of people in the parliament.

What are the factors that impact the nature of debates in Parliament?

- The total hours of work undertaken by the Parliament is witnessing a decline which is not a very good sign for a Democracy having increasing population and complexities. It is very important for a country to discussions more and more time discussing problems faced by the society and come up with new ideas and solutions. In a parliamentary democracy, this duty lies with the parliament and

if parliament is underperforming it is a big worry for a country as a whole. Re reduced number of days of sitting has become a norm in the country, many sensitive issues go unnoticed and it very belittles me for discussions on issues that require in-depth analysis.

- Fall in Ethical standards of legislators – The Concern of the legislator towards the country and responsibility for the society is declining day by day. The people just want to get inside the parliament to acquire a power position and to get some privileges.
- The dominance of the ruling party – frequent ordinances, redefining bills as money bills, not taking into consideration the suggestions of the opposition's party paralyzes the whole parliamentary proceedings.
- Criminalization of politics –Almost 50% of the members of the current Lok Sabha has criminal background. Such leaders raise some serious issues related to the moral authority of the parliament. And there is not much that can be expected out of these members in terms of contribution to society.
- Party whip acts as a hurdle for many of the members who want to take initiative to come up with something innovative and out of the box thinking.
- Unnecessary disruptions in the house hamper the overall functioning of the parliament.
- Lack of expertise among the members of the parliamentarians resulting in delegated legislation and bureaucratization which has somehow undermined the role of the parliament.

Scholar's analysis

Zoya Hasan-Lack of debate is weakening Parliament

- The basic problem starts with the government's refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Opposition and give space to it to express its position on any issue. Instead, the effort has been to paint the entire Opposition as sore losers and frustrated disruptors who aren't reconciled to the PM's popularity and the BJP's electoral victories. With the Opposition not falling in line, the government has used its majority to push through important Bills without discussion.
- The extent to which parliamentary proceedings have degenerated can be seen from the astonishing speed in passing Bills. The Lok Sabha, on average, took less than 10 minutes to pass a law, and the Rajya Sabha passed laws in less than half an hour. There were 13 Bills in this LS session in which no Member of Parliament spoke, other than the minister in charge of the Bill.
- In addition to this, the PRS Legislative Research data has shown a significant decrease in the involvement of standing committees in legislative matters. So far, only 17 of the 82 Bills since the NDA government was re-elected in 2019 have been referred to standing committees for review. No Bills had been sent to the Select Committee in the monsoon session. All this raises legitimate concerns about passing important checks and balances in the parliamentary system. What is more, Bills were passed in the midst of din and noise with no consideration to the Opposition protests.
- Take the case of the national lockdown which was never debated in Parliament as sessions were either cut short or adjourned. Unlike parliaments elsewhere, the Indian Parliament did not devise modalities to be functional during the pandemic. No proposal to allow digital meetings of standing committees was taken up at the top level even though the Opposition repeatedly demanded it.

Parliament's functioning was even more severely restricted in the second wave of the pandemic. Standing committees of the Parliament didn't meet after the second wave. Virtual meetings weren't permitted even though plenty of public meetings and election rallies were held during the second wave.

- Even when Parliament assembled, laws were passed without adequate deliberation. Both the farm laws and labour codes were passed without discussion. The labour codes were passed in the absence of Opposition MPs who had boycotted the session. The government pushed the farm Bills, ignoring the demand to send them to select committees, provoking fierce protests from the Opposition benches.
- The way the Bills have been passed in this and in some previous sessions shows utter disregard for the democratic system, disdain for the parliamentary processes and contempt for the Opposition. This has weakened the significance of Parliament to the point of inconsequence. The proposal to turn Parliament House into a museum is emblematic of this new reality.
- Finally, Parliament and parliamentary norms have been undermined by the rise of adversarial politics (perceiving the Opposition as an adversary rather than a partner in the lawmaking process) and a domineering executive that has sidelined all other institutions. Parliament was always intended to function as a body that keeps the executive in check but it seems to be working the other way round now.
- The MPs exercise accountability on behalf of the people they represent. Questions and debates are used for this purpose, but neither of these tools is functioning effectively these days, which greatly damages our democracy.
- The government has weaponized the electoral mandate to dispense with the need for consultation and debate both inside and outside Parliament. This compounds the problem of accountability and representation as the meaning of democracy shifts from a representative to a majoritarian one, giving the executive the upper hand in most matters.

Neera Chandhoke

- India's parliament is less known for civil exchanges, and better known for banality, deliberate barbs and cultivated incivility. The quality of political discourse in the country has sunk to a new low. The moment even mild criticism emanates from an investigative journalist, a political satirist, a poet, a dramatist, an author, a scholar or from opposition leaders, cabinet ministers line up to demolish the messenger of perhaps an important message.
- They forget that it is the job of the opposition to criticise government policy or the lack thereof. They subject colleagues to a barrage of vitriolic attacks. One would have thought men and women handling important portfolios would have enough on their plate. It appears that their main job is to attack even informed opposition. Dialogue is of course a process not static. We do not expect it to conclude in agreement. There are no final agreements in politics, for politics is chancy, contingent and unpredictable. Also chancy and contingent is the elusive quality we call popularity. Greatly admired leaders may have feet of clay.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta

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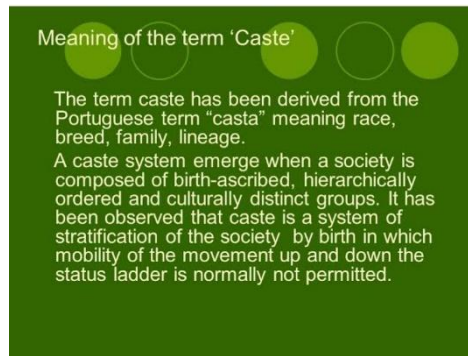
- The Indian Parliament is quickly moving from being the custodian of the dignity of legislation to being a site for the acclamation of authoritarianism. Admittedly, Parliament has had an uneven history, sometimes rising to its democratic mandate; at other times, debasing itself. But if recent events are any guide, the Indian temple of democracy will continue to be ground into the dust.

Way forward

- In every democracy there would be contentious issues and the strength of democracy would be demonstrated by the quality of debate and deliberation on such issues. For debate and deliberation to happen, Parliamentary procedure would have to evolve to enable political parties on different sides of the issue to set the agenda for debate and discuss the issue in detail on the floor of the house.
- There should be a legal codification for the conduct in the house, any sort of deviation from that code of conduct should invite some serious penalties for the offender.
- The number of days of sittings of the Parliament should be increased keeping in mind the growing complex nature of the society and to satisfy the needs of the increasing population it is important that our parliament puts in as much of its time into discussing matters those are bothering the people and come up with solutions to these problems.
- Monetary penalties should be imposed for any sort of indiscipline and disturbance created by any of the members of the house.
- More powers should be given to the ethics committee so that committee can ensure the smooth functioning of the parliament with its rules and regulations getting a broader reach
- The Speaker and the chairman should be given more powers to integrate the house more effectively so that any sort of disruption would not lead to the wasting of time in the house.
- The attendance of the elected representatives should be legally enforced so that everyone takes it as their duty to be there in the house wherever the Parliament is in session.
- The bills from the private members should also get recognition as they might touch upon things theatre missing from the agenda of the concerned minister. Every MP, who is not a Minister, is called a Private Member. Till date, Parliament has passed 14 Private Members' Bills. Six of these were passed in 1956 alone.
- The opposition should be given time to work on their agenda like in British parliament 20 days a year is given to the opposition to form their agenda and to come up with their side of the story.

(Recently, several assembly elections have been held .In this context following two articles becomes important)

ROLE OF CASTE IN POLITICS



The emergence of electoral democracy in India created very fertile ground. The caste system is a closed system but it's still evolving. The British saw caste as a prism to understand India's social reality- "White man's burden". Caste became a tool for justifying their rule in India. It led to caste conflicts among people. Caste also started churning in social consciousness. Therefore caste started evolving in Indian society.

- In India, caste is traditionally linked to occupation. This order demanded that only people from a certain group should do a certain type of work. It was thus assumed that a certain person does and should do only a certain type of work. This created social hierarchies as certain kinds of work were considered superior to others.
- In India, society is divided among higher castes, lower castes (known as Other Backward Castes or OBCs, among the socially and "educationally backwards" sections of Indian society), Scheduled Castes (known as Dalits, formerly "Untouchables"), and Scheduled Tribes (known as Adivasis).
- Caste-based social hierarchy has for long been exploited by political parties to expand their base and win elections. Social groups were empowered and disempowered based on electoral calculations. This has been one of the primary reasons for caste biases, caste-based discrimination and caste-enforced inequality continuing in the society.
- The caste system is a predominant aspect of the social and political structure in India. It is a major factor in the structures and functions of the Indian political system.
- Indian politics is caste-ridden politics. Caste determines the nature, organization, and working of political parties, interest groups, and all political structures and their functions. Indian society has been highly segmented along the lines of castes, religion, class, etc, which eventually prevents the true working of Parliamentary democracy.

Why does caste politics exist?

- The origin lies in the fact that Indian independence was a transfer of power from the British elites to the Indian elites but without any significant change in the social or economic structure. Since the freedom movement was led mainly by the upper castes, they were able to claim power easily.
- After independence, caste discrimination was abolished in principle and law, but not in practice. Caste was not just a social evil, as it was often called but was an entrenched social or economic structure. That is why it persists and struggles to live, as though it is a living being because it doesn't just exist in our mind, it is a way of life, although it has changed its appearance.

- In the Nehruvian era, the formal abolition of caste was taken literally. Anyone who would talk about caste was thought to be regressive, but this didn't mean that caste had stopped working. The evidence of these inequalities and exclusions, especially in the political sphere can be traced to the Mandal explosion of the 1990s.
- The exclusion became undeniable after a few decades. The Nehruvian silence on caste was already being breached by the Dalit Panthers which was an anti-caste movement started in 1972. There were discoveries of caste atrocities and massacres across rural India. This does not mean that caste atrocities were not happening previously.
- Only these were earlier reported as disturbances, but now acquired the name of caste atrocities. But the dominant caste-class coalition continued to cultivate the illusionary idea that the evil caste system was somewhere far away in villages.
- This was also politics because if you look at the Nehruvian era, a vast majority of chief ministers were Brahmins. It was also an empirical fact that the leadership of all political parties, from Left to Right consisted of Brahmins. So, caste was always present in politics. **In fact, the term 'dominant caste' that is used is very revealing of the mindset.**
- It was not as if the castes were not dominant before, but earlier, the common castes- Brahmins, Rajputs, etc. were supposed to be dominant and their dominance was not seen as something surprising. It is only when the people of backward castes acquired power, the need was felt to name them as dominant castes.
- In the wake of the Green Revolution in the 1960s, the process of politics began to mature because of the realization that the people rule, or at least they are supposed to decide who rules. The vast majority have always been the lower caste and upper castes are roughly 15-18 percent of the population. When we hear about 'caste politics ruining politics', this dialogue comes from the Mandal phase when the OBCs were seen as running the country for two-three decades.
- There is a systematic 'misrecognition' of the caste question in modern India, especially in the political arena.
- **Satish Despande** says the media narrative reflects and amplifies this misrecognition. Misrecognition is, in most political parties, 'caste' actually refers to the lower caste. It is as if the upper castes are somehow 'casteless' in that view- even though they don't stop enjoying the privileges of their caste status. For a long time, the upper-castes have largely been able to control their own visibility as castes, whereas the lower castes have been forced to be hyper-visible. This misrecognition or distorted view has been systematically reproduced.

Caste-based political parties:

- In India, there are so many caste-based political parties that try to promote and protect the interest of a particular caste. The regional political parties, in particular, stand predominantly influenced by the caste factor.
- DMK and AIADMK are non-Brahmin and non-Brahmin political parties from Tamil Nadu. In Punjab, Akali Dal has a community identity. It stands influenced by the issue of jats vs. non-jats. All political parties in India use caste as a means for securing votes in elections.

- BSP banks upon the support of Scheduled Castes while the BJP largely banks upon its popularity among caste Hindu and the trading community. Accounting for 52 and 15 percent of the population, respectively, the Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes, or Dalits as they prefer to be called, constitute a diverse range of middle, lower, and outcaste groups who have come to wield substantial power in most states.
- **Indeed, one of the dramas of modern Indian politics has been the Backward Classes and Dalits' jettisoning of their political subordination to upper castes and their assertion of their own interests.**
- The Backward Classes are such a substantial constituency that almost all parties vie for their support. For instance, the Congress (I) in Maharashtra has long relied on Backward Classes' backing for its political success.
- The 1990s have seen a growing number of cases where parties, relying primarily on Backward Classes' support, often in alliance with Dalits and Muslims, catapulted to power in India's states. Janata Dal governments in Bihar and Karnataka are excellent examples of this strategy.
- An especially important development is the success of the Samajwadi Party, which under the leadership of Mulayam Singh Yadav won the 1993 assembly elections in India's most populous state, Uttar Pradesh, relying almost exclusively on Backward Classes and Muslim support in a coalition with the Dalit-supported BSP.
- The growing support of the BSP also reflects the importance of caste-based politics and the assertiveness of the Dalits in particular. The BSP was founded by Kanshi Ram on April 13, 1984, on the birthday of B.R. Ambedkar. The Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh exercised the cause of pro-Telugu people and those belonging to the Kamma caste.
- In Assam, there is All India United Democratic Front (AUDF) representing solely based on Muslim cause in the state. In Bihar, almost all regional parties have their caste-based support, the Lok Jan Shakti Party (LJP) of Ram Vilas Paswan for example.
- The JD(S) of Karnataka is known to be a part of the dominant peasant community, the Vokkaligas, while the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra is identified as a party mainly for Marathas. Most of the regional parties in the Northeast part of India are seen as caste-based parties. The BJP has traditionally been supported by upper-caste Hindus and commercial communities. Ajit Singh led Rashtriya Lok Dal has been seen as a party only of Jats.

How does caste impact electoral behaviour in Indian politics?

- The caste-based mobilisation is one of the most important tools of voter mobilisation for all political parties today in India. **Evidence from surveys conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies indicates that caste remains an important consideration of the voting choices for a sizable number of voters.**
- Caste-based voting is prevalent not only amongst voters of North Indian states like UP, Bihar, and Haryana but in southern regions as well. In Andhra Pradesh, the two politically dominant communities- the Reddy and Kamma have voted over the years. Nearly 70 per cent of the Reddy community vote for the YSR Congress, while others vote for the TDP in Andhra Pradesh.

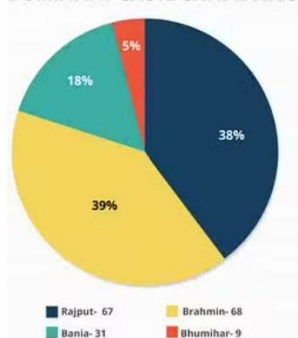
- Voters of the Dalit communities- the Malas and Madigas also tend to vote for the YSR Congress in Andhra Pradesh. Similarly, the Nairs of Kerala vote for the Left Democratic Front mainly while other upper caste voters generally vote for the United Democratic Front. In the election campaigns, votes are demanded in the names of caste.
- Caste groups are tapped for committed support **N.D. Palmer** has rightly observed that Caste considerations are given great weight in the selection of candidates and in the appeals to voters during election campaigns. In elections, caste is the most important political party.
- The Candidates asked for votes in the name of caste and they raised the caste-based slogan like **“jat ki beti jat ko, jat ki vote jat ko”**. Such slogans do affect voters and they cast their vote in favour of the candidate belonging to their caste.
- However recently there has been a shift in this pattern that is reflected in the past few elections. Mr Pradeep Bhandari stressed that there was a change in the social sphere transpiring post-2014 elections. For instance, in 2019, some sections of the voters voted on factors like delivery of tangible benefits rather than on caste. Dalit and women voters voted for BJP based on the social benefits like the construction of toilets and other governmental schemes, reaching them.
- Meanwhile, the young voters associated themselves with the theme of nationalism. Mr Bhandari substantiated his arguments by citing voting patterns from three districts of UP namely Agra, Mirsikh and Lalganj, where a majority of women voters voted for BJP. The rationale behind the massive support was due to the delivery of social tangible benefits at the grassroots level that improved the lifestyle and self-esteem of rural women.
- “One of the central ideas spanning from the debate was on the resurrected identity of women voters in India”. The change in the voting pattern could be attributed to the change in their political identity, which was no longer modelled on caste or influenced by the voting behaviour of men. The phenomenon could be observed in constituencies like Shimla, Machhlishahr and northern parts of West Bengal.

How does caste impact the selection of candidates in Indian politics?

- In the process of picking up political orientations, attitudes and beliefs, we naturally come under the influence of caste groups and casteism. “Caste values” and caste interests influence our socialisation and consequently political thinking, awareness and participation. We bank upon caste solidarity for occupying and performing a leadership role.
- Caste influences the process of leadership recruitment. This is particularly true of “caste conscious” people of some States like Haryana, Bihar, UP, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. In Haryana, the leadership comes either from the Jats, Bishnois or Brahmins. In Andhra Pradesh, the Reddys, Karmas and Valamas provide State leaders.
- No one can disagree with **ND Palmer** when he observes: **“Caste considerations are given great weight in the selection of candidates and in the appeals to voters during election campaigns.”** In elections, caste acts as the most important political party.
- **Case study of UP assembly elections 2022- Arvind Kumar- Composition of nominated candidates**
 - In BJP among all the 175 dominant caste candidates, the highest number of tickets — 68 — have been given to Brahmin candidates. Rajputs acquire the second position with 67

candidates in this seat distribution. It was said that Brahmins have been sidelined in the BJP government in the last two years, due to which Brahmin's anger against the Rajput majority in the Yogi Adityanath government has been increasing. In the outgoing government, cabinet ministers from the Rajput caste surpassed the Brahmins. However, the data indicates that this is not the case. For BJP, they might still possibly be a priority.

TICKET DISTRIBUTION AMONG DOMINANT CASTE CANDIDATES



- Social engineering in backward castes
 - The composition of backward caste candidates of the BJP and its allies reveal that the alliance favours the Kurmi caste. This time, 35 candidates have been nominated from the Kurmi and Sainthwar castes, and 25 from the Maurya, Kushwaha, Shakya and Saini castes.
 - The BJP and its allies seem to have done a lot of homework in the distribution of 87 reserved seats. The alliance has given 26 seats to the Chamars and the Jatvas, who constitute around 60 per cent of the SC/ST population.
 - The candidate composition of BJP and its allies reveal that Rajputs take the lion's share in the overall candidate nomination, followed by Brahmins. The alliance seems to have gone deep into the social engineering of backward and scheduled castes and has tried to nominate as many castes as possible so that they can communicate and mobilise voters of their communities across the state.

OBC politics

In India's social hierarchy OBCs, as they are generally known, consist of a vast number of castes that sit between the upper castes and the Dalits and Adivasis, or Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

- In 1990, after a decade of fractious politics over this question, a non-Congress government built on the work of a previous non-Congress government and implemented recommendations from the Mandal Commission, which called for affirmative action to be expanded beyond the SCs and STs.
- Suddenly quotas in educational institutions and government jobs, which had only applied to those at the bottom of the social order before, were now expanded to also cover the much larger OBC population. If this had been done proportionally, quotas would have covered nearly 80% of appointments or posts in state institutions.

- But, because of a somewhat arbitrary limit set by the Supreme Court, a 50% cap on total reservations was put in place – meaning OBCs would only get priority in applying to 27% of posts, despite accounting for more than half of the population.
- The big effect of the “Mandal” moment was the social and political emancipation of the OBCs, bringing their concerns – and leaders – to the fore.
- **As Christophe Jaffrelot wrote,**
 - “The upper castes instantly mobilised to prevent a reform that would curb their public sector job opportunities, which was valuable before the economic liberalisation of 1991. Their resistance aroused indignation among the lower castes and resulted in a consolidation of OBC groups. Many OBCs stopped voting for upper-caste notables and preferred to elect representatives from their social milieu to Parliament. In the Hindi belt, the percentage of OBC MPs nearly doubled from 11 per cent in 1984 to more than 20 per cent in the 1990s, whereas the proportion of upper-caste MPs dropped from 47 per cent in 1984 to below 40 in the 1990s...”
- This period also saw the rise of OBC politicians and regional parties gaining support across the country, most prominently in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Through the 1990s and early 2000s, much of the gains of this emancipation went to dominant OBCs like the Yadavs.
- While the initial effects of the Mandal moment was a fragmentation of Indian politics, hastening the decline of the Congress and empowering regional parties, over time the Bharatiya Janata Party – long referred to as a Brahmin-Bania party, i.e. one that only could rely on upper-caste vote banks – began to spot an opportunity within the framework of OBC politics.
- **Sanjay Kumar**
 - “Evidence from a series of surveys by Lokniti-CSDs indicates that the BJP has made massive inroads among OBC voters during the last decade. In the 2009 Lok Sabha elections, 22% OBCs voted for the BJP while 42% voted for regional parties. But within a decade, the support base of the BJP among the OBC seems to have changed dramatically. During the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, 44% OBCs voted for the BJP while only 27% voted for the regional parties.
- With no official count, there is a perception that the OBCs account for more than 52 per cent of the population (the Mandal Commission estimate from four decades ago, which took as its base the 1931 caste census, the last time it was done), and, therefore, deserve more than 27 per cent reservation.
- More importantly, the OBCs have witnessed social and economic mobility. **A recent International Monetary Fund report cited OBCs as enjoying the fastest intergenerational mobility compared to even the higher castes.** They became tenants and landowners, unlike the Dalits. They moved into the formal economy, higher education and job opportunities owing to the implementation of the Mandal Commission in 1990.
- **Ajay Gudavarthy**
 - By and large, today the OBCs are the backbone of the BJP. The strategy of the saffron party is geared towards consolidating the OBCs and their aspirations. Their social location combined with their habitation in rural hinterlands in proximity with Dalits and the Muslims make

them the ideal social force for the BJP-RSS combine to 'deploy' them as the foot soldiers to the project of building a muscular Hindu Rashtra.

- o In any case, they want to move away from agricultural-based activities owing to a sustained agrarian crisis. Even social welfare policies such as the MGNREGA create problems for the land, making it difficult to find cheap labour that was provided mostly by the Dalits. Congress party never explicitly thought of mobilising the OBCs, they instead focused on the upper-castes, Dalits and the Muslims.
- o OBCs were for the first time mobilised by the regional parties and now by the BJP. The BJP-RSS combine has managed to offer an economic, social and political alternative to the OBCs. Even further subdivision of the OBCs has only helped the BJP rather than scuttle its mobilisation of various segments as part of the same militant Hindu identity. In fact, the vulnerability of a smaller number is being compensated by the aggressiveness of a unified Hindu identity.

Why is there a demand for the obc census?

- The BJP, for the primary time, introduced the formation of a national-level OBC Morcha in 2015 to be headed by SP Singh Baghel, just lately inducted into the Union Cupboard. In October 2017, the central authorities introduced a fee to sub-categorise OBCs into totally different teams. The commission, headed by Justice G Rohini, has, since then, acquired 11 extensions to submit its last report. The mandate of the Justice Rohini commission in precept was primarily based on the rationale introduced by the Hukum Singh Committee (constituted by Rajnath Singh because the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh in 2001), to distribute the advantages of reservation equitably among the many teams comprising OBCs.
- After this, a sequence of constitutional amendments had been launched, with essential implications for the reservation structure within the nation. The 102nd Modification Act in 2018 made the Nationwide commission for Backward Lessons (NCBC) a constitutional entity.
- The 103rd Modification Act in 2019 created provisions for 10% reservation for the economically weaker sections (EWS). The 104th Modification Act prolonged the reservations for the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) for one more 10 years. And the newest hundred and fifth Modification Act on August 10 restored the facility of states to make their OBC lists.
- It's on this backdrop that the rising debate on a caste census must be understood. The political consolidation behind the concept of enumerating castes signifies that it's now inevitable. Despite running huge affirmative action programmes in India, the government does not have official data on the extent of the OBC population or the categorisation within it. The last census that officially collected and revealed this data dates back to 1931.
- In 2011, the Union Government was pushed into permitting a nationwide caste census, albeit one unconnected with the national census carried out every 10 years. That data has never been released. Karnataka also conducted a state-wide caste census in 2015. That data has been kept secret. Among the potential implications of such a census is its likely impact on the 50% limit for quotas set by the Supreme Court. That number was always arbitrary and unexplained, though firmly defended by those who were once anti-reservation based on a nebulous understanding of merit.

- If a caste census does indeed confirm that the OBC population is even larger than we assume, or that upper castes are now a smaller proportion of the population and yet maintain inordinate representation at every level of power, the 50% limit is likely to be on its way out. In a way, the BJP's own decision to give economically weak upper castes 10% reservation in 2019 may have been the first step down this path. One explanation might be the fear of pushback from upper castes, who are a key source of political and economic support for the BJP.
- “As we enter the third decade of the 21st century, the top of Indian society remains overwhelmingly upper caste while its bottom has stayed almost entirely lower caste,” **Satish Deshpande- “A caste census threatens to push this dimension into the open, making it impossible for the political class to continue to hide behind euphemism and circumvention.”** Equally important is what such a move might do to the non-dominant OBC coalition that the BJP has built.
- **Sanjay Kumar -**
 - “The reason why BJP seems reluctant about a caste census maybe for fear that the numbers that might come up about different castes, especially the OBC castes, might give a new issue to the regional parties to mount pressure on the ruling party for reshaping the OBC quota in central government jobs and educational institutions. It might result in a situation of Mandal II, giving a new lease of life to many regional parties which otherwise are struggling to find a positive agenda to challenge the BJP that has dominated Indian electoral politics for the last one decade.”

Dalit politics in India:

- Until the 1970s, Dalit political aspirations were sought to be met through the Republican Party of India (RPI), which was derived from Ambedkar's Scheduled Caste Federation, and through scheduled caste leaders co-opted in the political mainstream – principally, the Congress party. While the RPI was rendered largely ineffective by internal strife, mainstream political parties did little more for Dalits than exalt them as vote banks.

Caste influences politics or politics influences caste?

- Firstly, the rise of caste politics has contributed to institutionalizing caste in politics. The lower castes continue to be treated badly by the higher castes. Political parties use caste as an instrument for social change. **The political use of caste is called casteism which is institutionalizing and not abolishing caste in India.** Caste politics is used by the political parties to garner vote banks and use caste as an instrument of securing power.
- Secondly, Political cooptation was to include the lower castes in the political forefront and decision making. Earlier the political elite was mostly made of the upper castes who were already privileged. These upper castes formed the key institutions that shaped political power. Mobilization of the lower castes by the Indian national congress was a step towards political cooptation that challenged the political power of the higher castes.
- Soon the congress committees comprised lower and middle castes and at many places like Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra lower castes comprised the source of political leadership. The incorporation of the lower castes strengthened intra party factionalism. Therefore the Congress party garnered

support on caste lines. **Caste institutionalized itself in the Indian polity through the process of political cooptation.**

- Thirdly, political mobilization of the lower castes and the rising political consciousness among them played an important role in deconstructing the foundational ideology of caste, hierarchical social order and rejection of the upper castes. This mobilization politicized the scheduled castes and other backward castes.
- The Dalits called for the mobilization of the untouchables and launched many political campaigns aimed at improving their economic and social status. For eg, Bahujan Samaj Party which was a lower caste party formed a government in UP. The political mobilization of lower castes solidified the role of caste in shaping Indian politics.
- Fourthly, the lower castes rose to political power through the Indian system of affirmative action known as reservations. Reservations for scheduled castes and tribes provided them protection from the age-old denial of equal opportunities and discrimination. Article 15 of the constitution stated that the state shall not discriminate against citizens on the grounds of only religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. It also makes special provisions for the advancement of the socially backward classes to STs and SCs. Caste-based reservations provided quotas for Scheduled castes and tribes in the public sector, jobs, educational institutions, etc.
- The Mandal commission proposed the extension of these reservations for the Other Backward castes who were socially and economically backwards. Caste-based reservations have therefore institutionalized caste further into the Indian polity. Caste is further ingrained through the making of public policy that catered to these scheduled castes and tribes and for their benefit as they are represented in the bureaucracy due to reservations.
- Caste plays an important role in political rivalry. Many political groups mobilize the scheduled castes against the upper caste dominance. Caste has played an important role to build electoral support among parties. Political parties have appealed to certain caste and religious groups to gather support.
- **Rajni Kothari**
 - The politicization of caste in India played a very important role in developing party politics. He proved how the politicisation of caste is a double process. Caste needs politics as much as politics needs caste. When caste groupings make politics their sphere of activities. Caste groups then also get a chance to assert their identity and to strive for the position.
- **Christophe Jaffrelot**
 - class started transforming caste relations in India. Thus class and caste started coexisting in Indian society. Caste in India, thus slowly got converted into class plus status (social stigma of being pure and impure). Reservation helped certain jatis within Dalits to catch up with OBCs and other dominant castes in terms of acquiring revenues. Thus within the caste group due to reservation, people started leaving their jobs thus creating a socio-economic differentiation within their caste groups.

Politics of reservation

OBC reservation

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- Caste is at the centre of the arithmetic of politics in India. It is hypocrisy personified when political leaders while espousing the cause of a casteless India, embrace it with vigour for political mileage.
- It all started when the Morarji Desai government set up the Mandal Commission in 1979 to identify Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBCs). Their pent-up anger and clamour for justice was the result of hundreds of years of discrimination at the hands of the upper castes.
- That the SEBCs were denied their due is a historic reality. Embedded in their minds was the belief that such injustice can only be undone if they have a substantial share, based on reservations, in both employment in services and entry into educational institutions. Though the Mandal Commission Report (Mandal) was kept under wraps for years, on 7 August 1990, then Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh announced that Other Backward Classes (OBCs) will get 27% reservation in jobs in Central Services and Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs).
- The Supreme Court, through a landmark judgment, approved Mandal, which brought about a paradigm shift in the nature of electoral politics. The aftermath of Mandal witnessed protests across the country. It is believed that about 200 students self-immolated in these protests, of which more than 60 succumbed to their injuries.
- The result of such and other constitutional amendments is that both electoral politics and electoral outcomes in India are slowly but surely being determined by how each political party can reach out to the poor, the socially and educationally deprived and above all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SCs and STs).
- Policies for the upliftment of the poor through affirmative action and implementation of the entitlements constitutionally guaranteed to the SEBCs as well as the SCs and STs are central to the success of our democratic polity.
- Yet within this lie the seeds of disruption. By now we know, through a Parliamentary Panel Report on the welfare of OBCs (February 2019), that representation of OBCs in the posts and services in the Central government as of 1 March 2016 reflected poor occupancy. The 27% reservation for them was nowhere near being achieved.
- The Rohini Commission found that amongst 6,000 castes and communities within the OBCs, 40 received 50% of reservation in the civil services. Close to 20% of the OBC communities did not get any benefit in this quota regime from 2014 to 2018. The reservation policy helped those who were economically more prosperous within the OBCs rather than the most backward amongst them. It is these most backward castes that are being wooed by the BJP.

EWS reservation

- With the 103rd Constitutional Amendment, the BJP constitutionally reserved 10% of the seats for the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) over and above the reservation for the OBCs, and the SCs and STs.
- As far as the identification of beneficiaries of the new quota is concerned, the criteria are arbitrary as it would exclude almost nobody, given the high-income cut-off. It adversely affects all the categories except the EWS by shrinking the competitive pool accessible to them.
- Empirically, it does not seem justifiable as candidates from EWS are already well represented in higher educational institutions. To quote Professor Satish Deshpande of the Delhi School of

Economics, “The ‘affluent upper castes’ continue to dominate the general category but increasingly students eligible for the reserved categories are picking up the more competitive general category seats”. However, the unreserved seat share has come down due to the implementation of the EWS quota.

Maratha reservation

RAJESHWARI DESHPANDE

- The crisis of the Marathas is twofold. On one hand, it is about the changing nature of party politics in Maharashtra and a sense of loss of the community’s power since the 1990s. On the other hand, it is also about material deprivations of the community, especially in the post-liberalisation phase. When the twin deprivations clashed with a historically nurtured sense of identity of the Marathas as rulers, their desperations aggravated.
- The demand for reservations became the only way out of this twin crisis — both for the Marathas and, unfortunately, also for the ruling elites. The consensus on Maratha reservations was, on the one hand, about the indispensability of the Maratha vote in the state’s politics. On the other hand, it was also about the essentially lopsided and ad hoc policy discourse of the state, which led to multiple deprivations and anxieties not only among the Marathas but various social groups.
- To cover up these failures, successive governments in Maharashtra have left no stone unturned to grant reservations to Marathas by stealth. The Supreme Court of India pronounced its judgement on the Maratha Reservation case. The Supreme Court struck down the validity of the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes Act, 2018 demanding for 16% reservation for the Maratha Community. The Court also held that Justice N G Gaikwad Commission’s report was incapable of describing that there were extraordinary circumstances prevalent for the grant of 16% reservation. The Maratha Reservation does not fall under that particular extraordinary situation being mainstream of national life and the politically dominant caste.

Jat reservation

- Demand from the state government is for 5 percent from OBC quota by categorising it into 'Backward' and 'Most Backward' Classes.
- Jats warned both, the Congress and the BJP governments, not to touch their share of the quota. The Jats, who constitute 29 percent of the population in Haryana, are among the most dominant communities in several states of the country. Their population in total is about 82.5 million. Over the years, they have become politically active in certain states, especially in Haryana and Punjab.
- Successive governments, both of Congress and BJP, have made repeated attempts to keep the Jats happy by promising them reservations in government jobs and educational institutions. Steps have been initiated on several occasions, but the issue of reservation continues to remain entangled in litigation.
- In March 2014, the UPA brought Jats under the central list of so-called other backward classes (OBCs) in Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and the National Capital Territory of Delhi, Bharatpur and Dholpur districts of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. The decision was taken despite the National Commission for Backward Castes (NCBC) submitting a report to the

Centre in 2014 stating that the Jat Community had "not fulfilled the criteria for inclusion in the Central List of OBCs.

- "After violent protests starting in 2016 when the Army was called in to rein the protests, the BJP announced legislation giving a 10 percent reservation to Jats and five other castes – Bishnois, Rors, Tyagis, Mulla/Muslim Jats, and Jat Sikhs. The Haryana Assembly passed two Bills in March 2016, The Haryana Backward Classes (Reservation in Services and Admission in Educational Institutions) Bill, 2016 and The Haryana Backward Classes Commission Bill, 2016. In 2017, the Punjab and Haryana High Court upheld the reservation but stayed its implementation until March 31, 2018.

Patidars/Patels

- What started as an organic movement by the Patidar community later transformed into an important political tool for the Congress government ahead of the 2017 Gujarat Assembly elections to make a comeback in the state after over two years. Historically, wealthy landowners Patidars demanded reservation as a simple welfare benefit by the state.
- The Patidars argued increased competition, unemployment, lack of access to higher and professional education justified that they get a share of the quota cake.
- This notion has also contributed to the perception that as Patels suffer, OBC youth, helped along by quotas, have been steadily improving their socio-economic situation. Patels, who account for roughly 1 crore of Gujarat's 6 crore population, given their economic clout dominate politics in the state.
- Helming the nationwide protests was 23-year-old Hardik Patel under the banner of Patidar Anamat Andolan Samiti (PAAS). Hardik struck a deal with Congress in 2017 to "ensure" the Patidars get reservation if the latter comes to power in Gujarat. In 2016, a year after the Patidars began agitating for reservations in government jobs and college admissions, the Gujarat BJP government tried to woo Patidars by providing a 10 percent quota to the community through an ordinance. However, it was struck down by the Gujarat High Court, which held the move as "illegal" and "unconstitutional".

Gujjars

- Gujjars want a quota within the existing reservation for OBCs. The Vasundhara Raje-led BJP government had given in to the demands and, in 2008 granted 5 percent reservation to Gujjars as part of Special Backward Classes. Another 14 percent was allotted to Economically Backward Classes. The decision took the quota over 50 percent.
- But a stay was imposed on its implementation with the passing of the 103rd Amendment to the Constitution that allows for a 10 percent quota for the economically backward among communities that do not enjoy any form of reservation. The Ashok Gehlot-led Congress government in 2012 offered the same 5 percent reservation to the community in the hope that at least 1 percent would be within the 50 percent ceiling. But the remaining 4 percent was challenged again in court.

Evaluation of the role of e Caste politics in strengthening democracy?

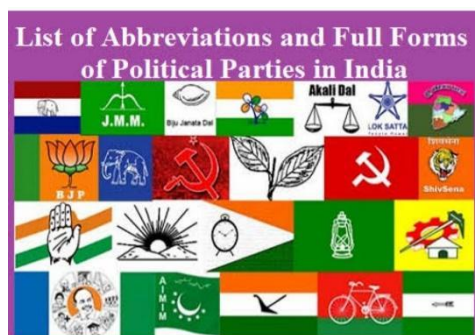
- Caste acts both as a divisive and cohesive force in Indian politics. It provides a basis for the emergence of several interest groups in the Indian system, each of which competes with every

Telegram: https://t.me/piyush_choubey

other group in the power struggles. At times it leads to an unhealthy struggle for power and acts as a divisive force. However, it is a source of unity among the members of various groups and acts as a cohesive force.

- In rural India, where the social universe of the rural power is limited to an area of 15–20 km, caste acts as a unifying force. It is the only social group they understand. However, the existence of two or three big caste groups also leads to factionalism. Caste as such is a strong factor in Indian politics and it acts as a cohesive as well as a divisive factor.

PARTY SYSTEM-NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PARTIES



Democracies that follow a federal system all over the world tend to have two kinds of political parties: parties that are present in only one of the federal units and parties that are present in several or all units of the federation. This is the case in India as well. There are some country-wide parties, which are called 'national

parties'. These parties have their units in various states. But by and large, all these units follow the same policies, programmes and strategy that is decided at the national level. Every party in the country has to register with the Election Commission.

All India Trinamool Congress (AITC)

- Launched on 1 January 1998 under the leadership of Mamata Banerjee. Recognised as a national party in 2016. The party's symbol is flowers and grass. Committed to secularism and federalism. Has been in power in West Bengal since 2011. Also has a presence in Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura. In the General Elections held in 2019, it got 4.07 per cent votes and won 22 seats, making it the fourth largest party in the Lok Sabha.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP):

- Formed in 1984 under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. Seeks to represent and secure power for the bahujan samaj which includes the dalits, adivasis, OBCs and religious minorities. Draws inspiration from the ideas and teachings of Sahu Maharaj, Mahatma Phule, Periyar Ramaswami Naicker and Babasaheb Ambedkar.
- Stands for the cause of securing the interests and welfare of the dalits and oppressed people. It has its main base in the state of Uttar Pradesh and substantial presence in neighbouring states like Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand, Delhi and Punjab..

Bharatiya Janata Party

- (BJP): Founded in 1980 by reviving the erstwhile Bharatiya Jana Sangh, formed by Syama Prasad Mukherjee in 1951. Wants to build a strong and modern India by drawing inspiration from India's ancient culture and values; and Deendayal Upadhyaya's ideas of integral humanism and Antyodaya.
- Cultural nationalism (or 'Hindutva') is an important element in its conception of Indian nationhood and politics. Wants full territorial and political integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India, a uniform civil code for all people living in the country irrespective of religion, and ban on religious conversions. Its support base increased substantially in the 1990s.

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- Earlier limited to north and west and to urban areas, the party expanded its support in the south, east, the north-east and to rural areas. Came to power in 1998 as the leader of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) including several regional parties. Emerged as the largest party with 303 members in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. Currently leads the ruling NDA government at the Centre.

Communist Party of India (CPI):

- Formed in 1925. Believes in Marxism-Leninism, secularism and democracy. Opposed to the forces of secessionism and communalism. Accepts parliamentary democracy as a means of promoting the interests of the working class, farmers and the poor. Became weak after the split in the party in 1964 that led to the formation of the CPI(M). Significant presence in the states of Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Its support base had gradually declined over the years

Communist Party of India - Marxist (CPI-M):

- Founded in 1964. Believes in Marxism Leninism. Supports socialism, secularism and democracy and opposes imperialism and communalism. Accepts democratic elections as a useful and helpful means for securing the objective of socio-economic justice in India.
- Enjoys strong support in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, especially among the poor, factory workers, farmers, agricultural labourers and the intelligentsia. Critical of the new economic policies that allow free flow of foreign capital and goods into the country. Was in power in West Bengal without a break for 34 years.

Indian National Congress(INC):

- Under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the party sought to build a modern secular democratic republic in India. Ruling party at the centre till 1977 and then from 1980 to 1989. After 1989, its support declined, but it continues to be present throughout the country, cutting across social divisions.
- A centrist party (neither rightist nor leftist) in its ideological orientation, the party espouses secularism and welfare of weaker sections and minorities. The INC supports new economic reforms but with a human face.

Nationalist Congress Party (NCP):

- Formed in 1999 following a split in the Congress party. Espouses democracy, Gandhian secularism, equity, social justice and federalism. Wants that high offices in government be confined to natural born citizens of the country.
- A major party in Maharashtra and has a significant presence in Meghalaya, Manipur and Assam. A coalition partner in the state of Maharashtra in alliance with the Congress. Since 2004, a member of the United Progressive Alliance.

State parties

- Other than these seven parties, most of the major parties of the country are classified by the Election Commission as 'State parties'. These are commonly referred to as regional parties. Yet these parties need not be regional in their ideology or outlook.
- Some of these parties are all India parties that happen to have succeeded only in some states. Parties like the Samajwadi Party and Rashtriya Janata Dal have national level political organisations with units in several states. Some of these parties like Biju Janata Dal, Sikkim Democratic Front, Mizo National Front and Telangana Rashtra Samithi are conscious about their State identity.
- Over the last three decades, the number and strength of these parties has expanded. This made the Parliament of India politically more and more diverse. No one national party was able to secure a majority in the Lok Sabha, until 2014. As a result, the national parties are compelled to form alliances with State parties. Since 1996, nearly every one of the State parties has got an opportunity to be a part of one or the other national level coalition government. This has contributed to the strengthening of federalism and democracy in our country.

Registering a political party

- According to the Election Commission, any party seeking registration has to submit an application to the Commission within a period of 30 days following the date of its formation as per guidelines prescribed by the Commission in exercise of the powers conferred by Article 324 of the Constitution of India and Section 29A of the Representation of the People Act, 1951.
- The registration of all political parties is governed by the provisions of Section 29A of the Representation of the People Act, 1951. As per existing guidelines, the applicant is asked to publish a proposed party name in two national daily newspapers and two local daily newspapers, and provide two days for submitting objections, if any, with regard to the proposed registration of the party before the Commission within 30 days from the publication.
- The notice for publication is also displayed on the website of the Election Commission.

Why is registering with the EC important?

- To be clear, it is not mandatory to register with the Election Commission but registering as a political party with the EC has its advantage in terms of intending to avail itself of the provisions of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, (relating to registration of political parties).
- The candidates set up by a political party registered with the EC will get preference in the matter of allotment of free symbols vis-à-vis purely independent candidates.
- More importantly, these registered political parties, over course of time, can get recognition as a 'state party' or a 'national party' subject to the fulfilment of the conditions prescribed by the Commission in the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968.
- As per the rules, if a party is recognised as a 'state party', it is entitled for exclusive allotment of its reserved symbol to the candidates set up by it in the state in which it is so recognised, and if a party is recognised as a 'national party' it is entitled for exclusive allotment of its reserved symbol to the candidates set up by it throughout India.

- Recognised 'state' and 'national' parties need only one proposer for filing the nomination and are also entitled for two sets of electoral rolls free of cost and broadcast/telecast facilities over state-owned Akashvani/Doordarshan during the general elections.

How does the EC recognise a political party as a state or national party?

- **State party**-(1) a party should be engaged in political activity for a continuous period of five years; and has, at the last general election in that state to the house of the people, or, as the case may be, to the Legislative Assembly of the state, returned- either (i) at least one member to the house of the people for every twenty-five members of that House or any fraction of that number from that state; or (ii) at least one member to the Legislative Assembly of that state for every thirty members of that assembly or any fraction of that number.“
- (2) the “total number of valid votes polled by all the contesting candidates set up by such party at the last general election in the state to the house of the people, or as the case may be, to the Legislative Assembly of the state, is not less than six per cent of the total number of valid votes polled by all the contesting candidates at such general election in the state.”
- **National Party**-For recognition of a 'national party' if a political party is treated as a recognised political party in four or more states, only then will it be recognised as a 'national party' throughout the whole of India, but it will only be continued to be categorised as one as long as that political party continues to fulfill the conditions for recognition in four or more states on the results of any subsequent general election either to the house of the people or to the Legislative Assembly of any state. The rules also state if a political party is treated as a recognised political party in less than four states, it will be a 'state party' in the state but only so long as that political party continues to fulfill the conditions for recognition on the results of any subsequent general election to the house of the people or, as the case may be, to the Legislative Assembly of the state.

Ideology of political parties

Congress Party and Social Liberalism

- For its social liberal outlook, the Congress Party is generally placed on the Centre-Left of the political spectrum. It adheres to the Gandhian principle of upliftment of all sections of society. Unlike many other contemporary parties, Congress supports liberal nationalism, which can also be referred to as a more tolerant nationalism with space for equality, freedom and rights.
- There is a significant dichotomy in the party's economic policies. On the one hand, it supports free market policies, and on the other hand it adopts a wait-and-watch approach when it comes to liberalising the economy.

BJP and Right Wing Politics

- Having its genesis in the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the BJP maintains ideological and organisational links to the Hindu nationalist group – Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). From Ram Janmabhoomi movement, Uniform Civil Code to Good Governance, the party has been prudently selecting and taking stand on issues of national importance to gain better visibility.

- “Integral Humanism” is the stated ideology of BJP. It was first formulated in 1965 by Deendayal Upadhyaya. The party is a strong advocate of social conservatism and believes in pursuing a foreign policy based on nationalist principles. Earlier, the party has deftly played the role of a strong opposition by raising issues like minority appeasement, pseudo-secularism and the need for a re-look at Article 370 in Kashmir.
- Recently, the BJP and its coalition partners have focused mainly on neoliberal economic policy. Many consider that right-wing thinking and pro-business stand of BJP is the need of the hour.

Communist Parties in India

- The communist parties are known for their ‘anti-business’ ideology. The Left parties are facing existential crisis after the 2014 General Elections.
- Communist Party of India (CPI) can be called the progenitor that has worked its way through a series of movements to become a political force to reckon with. From armed struggle against local monarchs in Tripura, Telangana and Kerala to agrarian struggle in Manipur, the party has always been at the forefront of social movements. Land reform and trade union movements also cover a large chunk of CPI’s political ideology.
- The Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) calls itself the “revolutionary vanguard of the working class of India.” Its political ideology is centred on socialism, communism and establishment of “the state of dictatorship of the proletariat.” The principles of Marx and Lenin guide the party’s activities. The declared objective of CPI-M is the emancipation of the masses and finding a way to end “exploitation of man by man.” The party is now more or less concentrated in states like Tripura and Kerala.
- Despite falling under the communist family, All India Forward Bloc (AIFB) is distinctly different from other left parties. Unlike CPI and CPI-M, the AIFB is a left-wing political party that doesn’t follow Marxism or Leninism. The party is an ardent advocator of socialism that has been defined and elucidated by Subhas Chandra Bose.

Separatist Political Parties

- The All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) was initially formed as an alliance of 26 political, social and religious organisations in Kashmir to achieve “the right of self-determination.”
- Apart from Jammu Kashmir Democratic Liberation Party (JKDLP), the alliance comprised other separatist political parties in Kashmir including Yaseen Malik’s Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Sheikh Yaqoob’s Jammu and Kashmir Peoples League (JKPL), and Shabbir Shah’s People’s Democratic Front (PDF).
- Although PDF had managed to grab one seat in the 2008 Assembly elections, the general clout of the separatist political parties has not become evident during elections. Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the chairman of APHC, remains the most popular separatist leader whose extremist views pertaining to the independence of J&K have received mixed reactions.

Regional Formations

- BSP and Samajwadi Party from Uttar Pradesh, Janata Dal (United) from Bihar, Biju Janata Dal from Odisha, Asom Gana Parishad from Assam and TRS from Telangana were among the regional parties

that unanimously decided to launch a Third Front “against the pro-rich economic policies” of Congress and BJP. The front was also established to counter “the growth of communal and fascist forces” and reaffirm its commitment towards farmers, dalits, other backward classes, women and minors.

While reading this paragraph, focus should be to understand ideology, the basis of alliances among parties, what the parties stand for and how they have evolved.

RNP Singh

- The nationalist movement provided, particularly after the 1920s, a broad framework of ideologies for political parties in India. Nationalism, socialism, secularism and democracy became the main plank of the Congress during the last leg of the freedom struggle which remain so till now.
- After independence, a section of political parties including Bharatiya Jan Sangh, while expressing full faith in socialism, secularism and democracy, laid emphasis on nationalism based on cultural and civilisational ethos.
- The communists’ belief in secularism, socialism and democracy however, remained based on social revolution leading to the establishment of the rule of proletariat and peasantry guided by Marxism and Leninism.
- Thus, during formative years, the ideologies of political parties were based on socialism, secularism, nationalism, Hindutva and Marxism. Of course, there were parties based on religious identity, such as Muslim League and Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) which visualized religious communities as separate political entities.
- The people within the Congress Party held different views and were categorized as rightists, centrists, and leftists. The first group within the Congress Party who opposed the overall policy of the Congress were the Socialists, who left the party in 1948, and formed the Socialist Party.
- The Socialist Party underwent several splits and reunions. In 1951 Kripalani formed Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP) but after 1952 elections, KMPP and Socialist Party merged to form Praja Socialist Party (PSP), so that an anti-Congress non-communist group could be forged.
- In 1955 Lohia left the PSP and revived the old Socialist Party. Again in 1964 Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP) was formed as a result of the merger of the Socialist Party, with the PSP. Another group in the Congress Party led by C. Rajagopalachari who proclaimed their opposition to the Congress policy of giving a big role to the state in regulating, directing and changing the national economy and raising the public sector to the commanding heights came out of the Congress and founded the Swatantra Party in 1959.
- The Swatantra Party stood for a liberal ideology. This party, however, soon went into oblivion, though it performed well in the 1967 General Elections and emerged as the second largest party in the Lok Sabha.
- There was a split in the Congress Party in 1969. The split was known between radicals led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the conservative elements led by the old guard of the party called the ‘Syndicate’. But in fact, ideology did not play any significant role in the split. The birth of the new Congress Party

under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership was attributed more to the changed style of functioning of the Congress rather than to any changes in the party ideology.

- There were differences on co-operating with Congress which were in a way responsible for the splits in the Socialist Party. The ideological opposition to the theory and practice of Communism and formal adoption of the objective of building the socialistic pattern of society by the Congress made the position of Socialists virtually indistinguishable from that of the Congress and drew them closer to the Congress Party. Narendra Dev and Lohia opposed any tie up with Congress. In 1953 talks between JP and Nehru on co-operation failed.
- The most vigorous opposition to the Congress came from the Communists. Soon after independence the Communists waged an armed struggle in some parts of the country to overthrow the Indian Government. But soon the Communists gave up the path of armed struggle and joined the democratic process of election. The ideological debates on the character of Indian states, path to revolution in India, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary path led to several splits in the Communist Party.
- However, their participation in elections and success in forming and running governments at the state level firmly placed them in the arena of parliamentary politics. The splintered groups which believed in armed struggle were further split into several groups and later merged into one group named as CPI (Maoist) which is engaged today in guerrilla warfare against the established government.
- Interestingly, after the inner debate in the party over the character of the Indian state and revolution, the undivided CPI came to the conclusion that it should support the Congress Party and form a united front with it. The other section which took a hostile attitude formed CPM in 1964.
- The split in the CPM and formation of the CPI (ML) and other revolutionary groups based on Maoism in 1967 and the splits within splits of these groups show the salient differences over strategy and tactics among the Communists. However, a closer examination of splits among the Communists reveals the interpretation of leadership rivalries, personality clashes, organizational matters and programmatic positions.
- After the split in the Janata Party in 1979, its constituent Bharatiya Jan Sangh formed the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1980. Besides adopting the main ideological base of the erstwhile Jan Sangh, the BJP adopted Gandhism, socialism and Cultural Nationalism as its ideological plank.
- The main reason for the BJP's rise in 1990s was its forceful presentation of Indian nationalism and stiff opposition to the Congress programme of Muslim appeasement. It awakened the people against the danger posed by the Congress to Indian culture and the values of Hindutva. Its ability to penetrate into the middle class, to redefine nationalism and articulate the cultural and material aspirations of the people helped the BJP to consolidate itself.
- Its ability to redefine itself, expand its social base and forge alliances with regional parties helped it significantly in its rise. In the functioning of political parties, caste, religion, language and region also have acquired ideological overtones.
- After partition the Muslim League was revived in 1948, although there were splits in it later. The AIMIM in Andhra Pradesh is the continuation of the Majlis of the Nizam period. It is mainly based in Hyderabad city, it almost exclusively appeals to the Muslims of the state.

- Similarly SAD of Punjab has its roots in religion and its membership is restricted to Sikhs only. The leaders of the SAD believe that the Sikhs constitute a separate political community (Panth). The Akal Takht is the highest seat of religious and political activity. The SAD launched a campaign for a Punjabi Suba (separate state for Sikh) that excluded the Hindi-speaking areas and included areas where Sikhs are in a majority. In the 1970s and 1980s it carried out a militant struggle for Khalistan.
- There are Christian parties too in the country, as in Kerala. Language and region also acquired the nature of ideology. As language and region grow together, regionalism takes the form of linguistic nationalism. When they are further combined with religion, culture, or ethnic identity, they become a powerful force. It is witnessed in the South, West and East, in the emergence of several regional parties and separatist groups.
- The consolidation of TDP, rise of Shiv Sena, AGP, BJD (and its earlier version Utkal Congress), National Conference and PDP in J&K, JMM, Trinamool Congress etc. shows how region has the potential to assume the form of an ideology.
- With the emerging trend of the formation of regional parties, centre-state relations are getting strained. Leaders of the regional parties demand more powers for the state in a federal framework. This trend has also given rise to the decline of National Parties in those states as it has resulted in consolidation of regional parties. Regional identity and interests remained a potential issue for political mobilization.
- Often this has taken the form of centre-state problems. However, the ambitions of the leaders of regional parties generally do not remain confined to the region only and they also tend to catch up with national aspirations and therefore, they compete with the national parties for power. The BJP, the more nationalistic of the national parties, quickly grasped this emerging trend and forged alliance with these parties. Later the Congress too followed suit but it is yet to come to terms with the reality of co-existing with the regional parties.
- In Spite of different ideological positions, to get themselves registered with the Election Commission, it is mandatory for all parties to declare themselves as secular, socialist and democratic. It is a different thing as to how they interpret these principles. Even parties who appeal to people on the basis of caste and religious identities regard themselves secular.
- For instance SAD, Muslim League, National Conference, Kerala Congress and Shiv Sena say that they too stand by secularism.
- This is the way Indian parties have evolved and the values of secularism and socialism have been internalized in the Indian psyche. Except in the initial years after independence, ideology did not become a bar to forge alliances among the parties. The Communist and Muslim League fought elections in Kerala together.
- Both Congress and CPI could forge alliances and together they could arrive at electoral understanding in that state. The coming together of socialists, former Congressmen and the Jan Sangh to form the Janata Party showed that ideology is no hindrance in party chemistry. Interestingly, the CPI and Jan Sangh, ideologically poles apart, were the constituents of Samyukta Vidhayak Dal government (SVD) in Bihar, in 1967 led by Karpoori Thakur, a Socialist.
- **Thus, we find that the relation of any party with any other is not fixed on ideological position. Parties are always ready to make compromises due to electoral compulsions and political**

requirements. The coalitional arrangements change as per the requirements of the situation. Some of the socialists joined hands with the BJP in 1998 and they are happy together since then. DMK and AIADMK switch sides between NDA and UPA.

- Theoretically any party except BJP could fit into the UPA. The Third Front which went into oblivion immediately after its birth but is struggling to take shape again, can accommodate any party except BJP and Congress, while the NDA can take any party except the Congress and Communists.
- The exclusion and inclusion is more due to party competition and electoral considerations rather than ideological positions. The loss of values of ideology could be due to changing perceptions of the people, leaders and the followers at the ground level. Ordinary people hardly bother about ideological quarrels.
- For both people and followers, pragmatic politics have become the norm. Parties are increasingly looked upon as means to serve personal interests. Now we see fewer and fewer leaders having fixed loyalties. Some political leaders change parties as per their convenience. The parties too now follow an “open door policy” in accepting leaders from other parties.
- The country has travelled a long way from the principled politics of the 1950s to personalised politics today. Whether this flexibility of ideological values is better for our democratic future is a matter of opinion and debate.

Jairam Ramesh - In India all political parties had “multiple ideologies to cater to multiple constituencies” and therefore the idea of a homogeneous ideology flies in the face of political experience.

The Political Spectrum

- It is an imaginary line on which we used to put political parties according to their thoughts, views or policy. Like: political parties who keep the opinion of the left-wing will be put on the left side of the political spectrum.
- The political parties who keep their views slightly turned towards left-wing are said to be Center-left like liberalism and those who keep views which are very much turned towards left-wing are said to be Far-left like socialism. Then, Communism came into the picture. After communism, Dictatorship came, which is considered as the extreme endpoint of left-wing ideology.
- The political parties who keep views slightly turned to right-wing are said to be Center-right like conservatism and those who keep views which are very much turned towards right-wing are said to be Far-right like libertarianism. Then, Fascism came into the picture which is considered as the extreme endpoint of right-wing ideology.
- The political parties who keep views or opinions of moderate nature (some views from left-wing and some from right-wing) will put Center or moderate points on the political spectrum. Communism is defined as an extreme left political ideology because it wants total control of the government over the economy of the country;
- Socialism is defined as Center-left because it wants slight control of the government over the economy of the country; The Center-right and extreme right want the gap between government and economy as much as possible. They want the market to be independent which is better for country development.

Classification of Political Parties in India on the basis of Left-wing and right-wing

- Socially right-wing: There are three socially right-wing parties in India on the aspects of religion. These are:- the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Shiv Sena, All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM);
- Socially left-wing: Remaining parties are socially left-wing because they are secular parties. These are:- the Indian National Congress (INC), Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), Janta Dal-United (JDU), All India Trinamool Congress (TMC), Communist Party of India- Marxist (CPI-M);
- Economically left-wing:- Almost every party in India is economically left-wing because they support subsidies and want to increase taxes. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) was closed until the 1990s in India.
- At the same time, they oppose the death penalty and support same-sex marriage which shows characteristics of left-wing ideology. But, parties do not support or oppose any issue openly in India.
- So, Left-wing or right-wing is the very worst way to classify Indian political parties. It is better if we do not use these words while discussing political issues and use individual policies in order to determine true or false.

Nature of Indian Party System

- Though political independence came to India in 1947, the development of the party system had begun much before independence came to India. The Indian National Congress established in 1885 is normally regarded as the mother of the party system in India. Even before independence there were regional parties in India.
- The adoption of the principle of Universal Adult Franchise (UAF) made the party system necessary. A political party becomes a link between the masses and the government. The socio-political diversity of India also ensured that we shall have a vibrant regional party culture.
- In the 21st century we can see that more than half of our country is ruled by regional political forces like Telugu Desam Party [TDP] in Andhra Pradesh, Akali Dal [Punjab], etc. Though today India is in a coalition era, this was not the situation in the initial years of independence.
- Those days the power structure of our country was dominated by the Congress. It was Congress era which lasted till 1977 when the first non-Congress government had come to power at the Union level. Like regional parties we also have national parties which have influence in not more than 5-6 states, For example the Nationalist Congress Party [NCP].

A] Extra-constitutional structure:

- As noted till 1985 our Constitution did not mention 'political party'. Our constitution makers deliberately omitted the mention of the party. In 1985 when the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi passed Anti-Defection law [52nd amendment] in 1985, political party got mentioned in our constitution. Without a stable party system, democratic functioning is unthinkable.

B] Recent origin:

- If we compare the history of our political party system, it becomes clear that it is of recent origin. In Western societies party systems have a long history. In India the first party INC was established in

18815. Then came the next important political party 'All India Muslim League' founded in 19015. These details show that our party system is of recent origin.

C] Multi-party system:

- Even before independence our party system was a multiparty system. Even during those days we had INC, Muslim League, Independent Labour Party, etc. This trend continued even after independence. Today we have a large number of parties, national as well as regional. In addition to these, there is a large number of unrecognized parties and independents that are quite active in our political life.

D] Competitive party system:

- As noted before, between 1947 and 1977 Indian politics was dominated by only one party, INC. However it does not mean that there were no other parties. In fact, right from the first general elections held in 1951, elections in India have been fought quite fiercely.
- The Fourth general elections held in 1967 saw Congress losing power in many states. After that, elections became more competitive. In 21st century elections in India have become highly competitive.

E] Dominance of one party :

- For historical reasons Congress enjoyed an advantage over other parties. Consequently it was in power till 19715. Till then the non-Congress forces could never come to power. This started changing after the fourth general elections held in 1967 when Congress lost power in many states. The Congress dominance started to wane after 19715. Today it leads the UPA. The Congress dominance was challenged at regional level after 19615. Many regional forces started gaining importance in our country.

F] Regional parties:

- In today's India, regionalism is a very powerful political force. Today national parties are dependent on regional parties. The first regional party to come to power was the Dravida Munetra Kazhaham [DMK] which captured power in Tamil Nadu in 19615. Today we have significant regional political forces like Telugu Desam Party [TDP] in Andhra Pradesh, Samajwadi Party [SP] in Uttar Pradesh, Akali Dal [Punjab] Asam Ganatantra Parishad [AGP] in Assam, etc.

G] Traditional and modern outlook:

- India is a traditional society where the experiment of democracy is being tried out. This is a unique experiment because democracy demands equality, an egalitarian mindset, which was never there in caste-based Indian society. This is precisely why one can find fusion between traditional values with that of modern values. This is played out in various political parties in India.

H] Diffused ideological orientation:

- In democracy the power politics is normally played on the basis of ideological differences. A party is known for the ideology it stands for. However, in India quite often politics is played for power's sake. In the last 60 years of democratic experience we have witnessed many alliances where ideological compatibility was missing. More often than not, in India personalities are more important than political ideology. These are some of the important features of the party system in India.

Evolution of Party system in India

- This entire process has to be divided into-
 - [1] Pre-independence and
 - [2] Post-independence has
- In pre-independence phase after INC [est.; 1885] comes All India Muslim League [1906], The Hindu Maha Sabha, HMS [1916], The Communist Party of India [CPI, 1925] The Independent Labour Party, ILP [1936].
- Post-independence phase: Many political thinkers mention that before independence Congress was not a political party. It was more of a movement than a party. After independence INC decided to become a proper political party.
- In 1948 at the Jaipur session, it declared that all factions, groups within the party must either give up their separate identities or leave the party. Then started the process of new parties coming into existence. We can quote names of parties like Socialist Party [1950], Bharatiya Jan Sangh, BJS [1951], Swatantra Party [1957], Shivsena [1966], Bahujan Samaj party [1984], etc.
- The process of new parties coming into existence and old parties either die or they become irrelevant. In a developing society like India this is a continuous process. As a result, we have seven national parties, over three dozen regional parties and quite a few independents. This phase has following important features:

A] One Party Dominance System: I [OPDS, 1947-1967] :

- As mentioned before, Congress enjoyed the reputation of the party which gave the country its independence. After independence it was led by Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, the stalwarts of the freedom struggle. Hence it naturally became the ruling party. In the first general election held in 1951, the Congress dominance was total. The party no. 2 was the CPI which had won just 12 MPs. This was repeated in the second general elections [1957], and the third general elections [1962]. This position was challenged in the fourth general elections held in 1967 when Congress lost power in the entire North India, South India [Tamil Nadu] and East India [West Bengal]. Though it managed to retain power at the centre, its lead drastically came down.

B] One Party Dominance System: II [OPDS, 1967-1977]:

- It is clear that the first phase was dominated by Pandit Nehru. The second phase was dominated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi who became the Prime Minister in 1965. During the fourth general elections the non-Congress forces came together and floated anti-Congress fronts.
- Between third general elections [1962] and fourth general elections [1967] some momentous events took place in India. First and foremost was the India-China war of 1962 in which India had to suffer a humiliating defeat. In 1964 Pandit Nehru died and in 1966 second Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri died. On the other hand, ordinary Indians were facing severe drought, price rise, etc.
- These factors produced anti-Congress feelings in India. This is why Congress lost power in many states. After this defeat came one more shock to Congress. There was a vertical split in Congress.
- This made the ministry of Mrs Indira Gandhi a minority government which was supported by the CPI, DMK, Akali Dal, etc. Mrs Gandhi moved swiftly and announced some pro-poor measures. In July 1969 she nationalised 14 major banks. Same year she abolished privy purses. Then she decided to go for midterm polls which were held in March 1971.

- She won these elections quite handsomely. Congress under her leadership won 332 seats! This was the beginning of OPDS-II which lasted till 1971. In the sixth general elections held in March 1977 Congress lost to the Janata Party. With that ended OPDS-II.

C] Janata Party [1977-79]:

- The Janata Party came to power against the backdrop of the internal emergency declared during June 1975-March 1977. The excesses committed during this dark period turned the public opinion against the Congress.
- No wonder Congress not only lost power, Mrs Indira Gandhi herself was defeated. The Janata Party came into existence after the merger of Congress [O], Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Swatantra Party, Socialist parties, Lok Dal and Congress for Democracy [CDF].
- But the rule of Janata Party was very bad as the constituent parties continued to fight with each other. This resulted into the collapse of Janata Party rule in August 1975. In the general elections held in January 1980, Congress came back to power with an impressive majority.

D] Return of One Party Dominance System: III :[1980-89]

- In the General elections held in 1980 Congress [I] had won 353 seats. This also saw the return of the OPDS which lasted till 1985. Mrs Indira Gandhi once again the Prime Minister of the country.
- However her inning was cut short by the assassins who killed her on 30 October 1984. After her, Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister. He decided to hold general elections in 1984. Riding on the sympathy wave, Rajiv Gandhi won power with a solid majority, [a total of 405 seats]. However, very soon charges of corruption were levelled against him in the famous Bofors Gun scandal.
- As a result, in the general elections held in 1989, his party's tally came down to 199 MPs. Though Congress was still the single largest party, Rajiv Gandhi declined to form the government.
- This is why V P Singh, leader of Jan Morcha was invited to form the ministry. His government was supported from outside by the Left Front as well as the Bharatiya Janata Party. This was the second time when a non-Congress government came to power at the Centre. This also signalled the end of OPDS.

E] Era of multi-party system [1989 and onwards]:

- The ninth Loksabha, 1989 is regarded as an important year as it heralded the end of OPDS and beginning of multi-party system. The V P Singh government collapsed within 11 months and elections to 10th Loksabha was held in 1991.
- As the campaigning was in full swing, the LTTE assassinated Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991. This changed the contours of Indian politics permanently. Congress managed to come back to power with support of like minded parties. Dr P V Narasimha Rao was the Prime Minister.
- He managed to complete the term of five years. However in the elections held in 1996, no single party got a clear majority. Finally the United Front, an alliance of many non-Congress, non-BJP forces came to power and Deve Gowda became the Prime Minister. Within one year he was forced out of the office and though the rule of UF continued, I K Gujral became the Prime Minister who lasted just for a year.
- Once again Loksabha elections were held in 1998. In these elections too, no single party got a clear majority. Finally the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance [NDA] government took over. It again came to power after the Loksabha elections held in 1998.

- The NDA government called for Lok Sabha elections in 2004. This Lok Sabha election saw the defeat of the NDA and Congress-led United Progressive Alliance [UPA] came to power.
- The success of the NDA as well as the UPA proves that now the Indian political system has matured enough to manage alliances/coalitions.
- Indian democracy has a multi-party system. The system becomes more complicated with the emergence and popularity of regional political parties like Telugu Desam Party [TDP] in Andhra Pradesh. We also have the Independents who get elected without any party affiliations.
- Even The Lok Sabha in 2015 has over 50 MPs who were independents. In the Indian party system we see national parties like Congress, BJP; regional parties like TDP and then we also have Independents. One must understand the ideology, the organisation patterns of some of the important parties.

Issues in Indian Party system

All over the world, people are dissatisfied with the performance of the political parties. This is the case in our country too. Popular dissatisfaction and criticism have focussed on four problem areas in the working of political parties. Political parties need to face and overcome these challenges.

Lack of internal democracy

- In most of the political parties, the power is concentrated in the hands of one or a few leaders at the top. Ordinary members of the party do not get sufficient information about the happenings inside the party. The leaders assume greater power to make decisions in the name of the party.

Dynastic succession

- The top positions in many political parties are generally controlled by members of one family. Leaders on the top have an unfair chance of favouring their families and friends. This is also for democracy, since people who do not have adequate experience or popular support, come to occupy positions of power.

Money and muscle power

- This is a prominent challenge to political parties during elections. Since parties are focussed only on winning elections, they tend to use shortcuts to win elections. Such shortcuts include the following:
- They tend to nominate those candidates who have or can raise lots of money. Rich people and companies who give funds to the parties tend to influence the policies and decisions of the party.
- In some cases, parties support criminals who can win elections.

Lack of meaningful choice to voters

- It states that very often parties do not seem to offer a meaningful choice to the voters. To offer meaningful choices, parties must be significantly different. For example, in our country too, the differences among all the major parties on economic policies have reduced. Those who want different policies have no option available

Composition

- The composition of the party elite in the political parties is also a major concern in India. Multiple research findings have suggested that centralised and ambiguous working of the parties led to distribution of party tickets to certain sections of the population and excluding the rest of the society. Reports suggest that party members with adequate social and financial resources are given primacy while distributing tickets for contesting elections.

Rise of Regional parties

- India is a nation known for its multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, and related diverse societies and groups. In the post-independent era till 1967, the Indian National Congress party, popularly known as the Congress party, maintained a monopoly of power in Indian politics.
- Due to the excessive domination of single-party leadership, regional parties came into existence. The origin of regional parties in national politics can be traced to South India. The protests against the imposition of Hindi as an official language instilled the feeling of regional and linguistic aspirations.
- The neglect of some regions led to dissent among the people concentrated in such areas. Thus, the population started shifting towards supporting regional parties that advocated their interests. This process of shifting of power and influence from a national party to parties operating at the state or regional level is referred to as 'regionalism'.
- It is also important to note that local regional parties have exploited the phenomena of regionalism to turn voters to vote in their favor. For instance, people belonging to backward classes and castes have often supported regional parties. These regional parties have also profoundly influenced national parties and politics.
- The fear of losing their cultural, political, and socioeconomic identity was the main factor behind the growing support base for regional parties in the 1960s thus these regional parties in India, have made Indian politics diverse. While these regional parties aim to fulfill the regional aspirations of people, it also cooperatively works with national-level parties. Thus, such a system of coordination has strengthened national unity.
- People from different regions are gaining knowledge about the importance of their distinct cultural identity. With a view to embracing and promoting their ethnic interests, regional parties are gaining importance. These parties highlight the regional imbalances and the neglect of their regions by the central government.
- The principle of self-governance and the desire to exploit the features of federalism has also led to the promotion of regionalism. These subcultural divisions have also ensured greater autonomy for the regions.
- In order to restrict the central government from taking actions that would disregard other communities and cultures, regional parties act as protectors of the interests of their respective regions.
- It is also important to note that the feeling of regionalism has persisted also because individuals have failed to recognize the interconnection of their own interests with national interests.

- The economic growth of India at the macro level has not been consistent. There are states that face bottlenecks at regional level growth. This inconsistency has intensified regional imbalances and inequalities.
- Political activities in various states have experienced corruption and scams. Due to this reason, government policies and programmes were not effectively implemented.
- The expenditure of the central government on the investment in human capital formation is not evenly spread across different states.

Role of Regional Parties in India

- India has a multi-party system. It is estimated that over 2100 registered political parties have appeared in India since Independence. Now, only six national political parties and 30 regional political parties are active in both Central and state politics.
- Earlier the regional parties were unable to play a major role at the Centre due to the dominance of the Congress Party. But of late, the emergence of regional parties have posed the most powerful challenge to India's 'One Party Dominant System'.
- Since 1967, the regional parties are emerged with greater political appeal to control most of the state politics. They emerged as a powerful force and played a vital role in the formulation of governments at the Centre.
- One of the oldest regional parties, the Shiromani Akali Dal was established in 1920 by the religious organisation Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) to be the principal representative of Sikhs in the undivided Punjab during British rule.
- At present, regional parties are ruling, either on their own or in alliance with a national party or with other parties, in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland, Odisha, Punjab, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

Features of regional parties

- A major trait of all these parties is that they are controlled and driven by one leader whose writ runs large in party affairs and whose command cannot be challenged. Immediate family members and relatives invariably wield considerable clout in these parties.
- Another dimension of the regional outfits is that family members, close relatives and friends run the affairs of the party and one of them inherits the legacy of that leader either in his or her times or after he or she passes away. following are some regional parties-

Biju Janata Dal (BJD)

- In Orissa, the Biju Janata Dal (BJD), which was founded in 1997, came to power three years later and hence has been in power.

All India Trinamool

- In West Bengal, the All India Trinamool Congress of Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee is no different from other regional parties. It is also a single personality driven party. Her command is the last word, allowing almost no discussion or dissent in the party affairs.

Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)

- In Tamil Nadu, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), founded in 1949 by the first non-Congress Chief Minister C M Annadurai as a breakaway faction of the Dravidar Kazhagam led by Periyar E. V Ramasami, won the State assembly elections in 1967. Since then, the DMK has undergone many changes, including a split in 1972 when its treasurer and a popular film actor M G Ramachandran formed a new party called All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK).

Samajwadi Party (SP) and a Bahujan Samaj Party

- The SP ruled the biggest state of the Indian Union many times. It had also shared power at the Centre. The party was founded by the three times Uttar Pradesh chief minister and former Defence Minister in the government of India, Mulayam Singh Yadav, after he broke away from the Janata Dal. Mulayam's political clout phenomenally grew after the acceptance and implementation of the Mandal Commission report in the early nineties of the last century which overtly strengthened the role of identity politics in north India.
- Bahujan Samaj Party was in power in UP four times with every time its unchallenged, rather irreplaceable, leader, Mayawati being the chief minister. The party, founded in 1984, was formed by late Kanshiram with the purpose of giving better representation to 'Bahujans', meaning persons from the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Communities (OBCs) as well as minorities.

Aam Aadmi Party

- In 2012 the AAP was born and its birth could certainly be pointed as a milestone in Indian politics. The AAP fought its first election in 2013 through crowdfunding and managed to even form a government with outside support. What the AAP did was capture the wave of frustration, disappointment and a strong protest largely from the middle class and the lower middle class to act against the lack of accountability from the political establishment.
- The primary features of the AAP's narrative have been accountability, transparency and anti-corruption and in the last five years, the AAP managed to achieve a fundamental change in social welfare and education. The welfare policies of the AAP might be ascertained as populism although the central character of the party remains to be 'flexibility' which the leftist political parties in India largely did not bother.
- In that context, the AAP is redefining the Indian political spectrum with a prime focus on the large middle-class population without being rigid and urging people to vote beyond any ideology.

National Lok Dal (INLD)

- In neighbouring State of Haryana, the Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) was founded in October 1996 as Haryana Lok Dal (HLD) by former Deputy Prime Minister and two times chief minister Chaudhary Devi Lal.

Scholarly analysis

Neera Chandhoke

- Today, we, the people of India, are trapped between a rock and a hard place. On one side is the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which continues to bulldoze legislation, controversial at best and ill-intentioned at worst, through Parliament.
- On the other is the Opposition, unable to mount a concerted and effective critique of government policies. The sluggishness of the non-NDA parties is cause for some puzzlement. After all, 55% of the electorate has voted for them. Unfortunately, this vote is hardly reflected in Parliament.
- Political scientists have been, for long, concerned with the often astounding gap between vote shares and the number of seats a party obtains in Parliament. This leaves a majority of the voters unrepresented.
- The BJP is hardly likely to initiate an electoral project that might derail its relentless search for power by any means. Representatives must be men and women of judgement and probity. Otherwise, they will spend their time fighting tiresome battles only for their own disturbingly egoistical selves.
- If this is so, should not the constituents have a say in who will represent them and for what reason? Candidates must prove their competence before they ask for votes.

Suhas Palshikar

- Politics centred on a leader has blinded us for far too long. It is time India moves back to “politics as usual” — power politics, intra-party factionalism, competition over leadership, the cocktail of ideas, machinations and routine bargains. Not revolutions but ordinary politics can keep the spirit of democracy alive — that no party, no leader, no idea, no dream is final or invincible. America may not have substantively set aside Trumpism, but a non-dramatic Biden victory set aside the aura of Trump. That is the virtue of normal politics.
- Such normal politics, of course, is only a small step in keeping democracy alive. An ideological engagement at the intellectual level is unavoidable. That engagement is not about the classical ideas of left and right, not about nation nor even about religion. All these battles are important, but the critical engagement urgently necessary will be about what we mean by democracy and what we do with it.

Ruchi Gupta

- There’s a breakdown between politics and policy in India. Decision-making on virtually all governance issues is disconnected from politics and the mobilisation of public opinion. The repeal of the farm laws is thus a notable instance of politics and policy coming together, although in conflict.

- What is striking, however, is that the politics came from farmers' groups, not political parties. The manner in which the government rammed through the three bills, tried to bully and delegitimize the protests and then repealed the laws shows that not only did the government not attempt to build consensus in favour of the bills, but that the channels of feedback from the ground were themselves not functioning properly.
- The Opposition was supportive of the protests but, with some notable local exceptions, had little role to play in the actual mobilisation of public opinion on the ground. The Opposition speaking in one voice in the Parliament helped, but the heavy lifting of organising in the villages and sustaining the protests was done by the farmers' groups.
- This disconnect between politics and policy is not a recent development, though it manifests differently across political divides. There are many reasons for this wholesale breakdown of our political process. Indian politics and the state are weakly institutionalised to begin with, which leads to an all-around fuzziness in the relationship between politics and policy.
- Another contributing factor is that traditional sites of consensus-building such as media, civil society, and political parties have developed pathologies which have rendered sustained consensus-building almost impossible.
- Consequently, even on issues at the centre of public imagination, we are unable to coalesce around a way forward for constructive action.
- One reason is of particular interest because it raises the bar to use democratic representation to mainstream new ideas to an impossible height: The excessive centralisation of power in party platforms and the head of the government (state and national).
- This renders the individual elected representative extraneous to governance even in their own constituency, where their *raison d'être* is to provide representation and oversight. We have the largest youth population in the world, yet in many ways, the political process in our country is especially ill-equipped to respond to the challenge of giving our young a positive sense of purpose or engagement.
- It is important to rescue public interest from partisanship and cut through at least some of the bad-faith crosstalk across partisan divides. There are many issues which lend themselves to cross-cutting collaboration outside of ideological affiliations.
- Institutional reforms are required to create such a space but public-spirited individuals across political divides can lay the foundation for such collaboration through issue-based discipline, moderation and intellectual independence.

Milan Vaishnav and Jamie Hintson

- Since 2014, India has indeed embarked on a new chapter in its political evolution. Gone are the days of Congress dominance, but India's grand old party has clearly been replaced by a new, formative political force in the BJP. With the 2019 general election, it is now clear—judging by a multiplicity of criteria—that India is in the midst of a new, dominant-party system.
- While India's previous three systems each had a degree of staying power, the fate of the fourth party system will eventually hinge on the precise dynamics of India's party politics and the vagaries

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or voter behaviour. In addition, the transition from one system to the next can usually only be discerned ex post and with the benefit of retrospective evaluation and hindsight.

GOVERNANCE

E-governance-success And limitations with focus on Case Study of linking Aadhar and MGNREGA

News: The Union Government hastily passed the Election Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2021. One of the key provisions of the Bill is linking Aadhaar with the electoral rolls. Bill to link voter IDs with Aadhaar cards. Such approaches without sufficient deliberation have been criticized by many especially because lately it is becoming the norm.

What has the bill amended ?

Representation of the People Act, 1950 and the Representation of the People Act, 1951	The Election Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2021
The 1950 Act provides that a person may apply to the electoral registration officer for inclusion of their name in the electoral roll of a constituency. After verification, if the officer is satisfied that the applicant is entitled to registration, he will direct the applicant's name to be included in the electoral roll.	The Bill adds that the electoral registration officer may require a person to furnish their Aadhaar number for establishing their identity.
Under the 1950 Act, the qualifying date for enrolment in the electoral roll is January 1 of the year in which such roll is being prepared or revised. This implies that a person who turns 18 (i.e., eligible to vote) after January 1 can enrol in the electoral roll only when the roll is prepared/ revised the next year	The Bill amends this to provide four qualifying dates in a calendar year, which will be January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1.
The 1951 Act permits the state government to requisition premises needed or likely to be needed for being used as polling stations, or for storing ballot boxes after a poll has been conducted.	The Bill expands the purposes for which such premises can be requisitioned. These include using the premises for counting, storage of voting machines and poll-related material, and accommodation of security forces and polling personnel.

<p>The 1950 Act permits certain persons who are ordinarily resident in a constituency to register in electoral rolls. Such persons include those holding a service qualification, such as members of the armed forces or central government employees posted outside India. The wives of such persons are also deemed to be ordinarily residing in the same constituency if they reside with them. The 1951 Act enables the wife of a person holding a service qualification to vote either in person or by postal ballot.</p>	<p>The Bill replaces the term 'wife' with 'spouse' in both the Acts. Making it gender-neutral</p>
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What is the rationale given by the Government?

The ECI, the UIDAI and the government have been quite vociferous and aggressive in defending, and promoting, the proposed linkage. **They have given four broad reasons in support of the linkage:**

1. Improving the accuracy of the electoral rolls, by weeding out duplication and misrepresentation in electoral rolls.
2. Assistance in the ECI's plans to implement advanced mechanisms such as electronic and internet-based voting.
3. Giving 'remote' voting rights to domestic migrants.
4. To facilitate proxy voting which may require Aadhaar backing for voter verification.

What is NERPAP and how is it related to this linkage?

NERPAP is National Electoral Roll Purification and Authentication Programme by Election Commission of India launched in 2015. **Objective of it was to link Aadhaar and voter IDs in order to delete duplicate names.** This process was made compulsory by Election Commission of India, However Supreme Court back then held that **"the Aadhaar card scheme is purely voluntary, and it cannot be made mandatory till the matter is finally decided by this Court one way or the other"**. Later, the Election Commission made the process voluntary. ECI in 2021 again wrote to the Law Ministry for **"expeditious consideration"** of pending electoral reforms, including the linkage of Aadhaar and voter ID cards.

What is claimed by the Government when any card is linked to Aadhaar?

The Union government justified that move will prevent frauds and remove duplicate IDs. Government cited the example of linking Aadhaar and MGNREGA where as it claims that such move results in saving of 33475 CR till march 2021. The government claims that **"Savings are in terms of increasing the efficiency and reducing the delay in payments etc."**

CASE STUDY OF LINKING AADHAAR WITH MGNREGA

Cash transfer in many programmes such as MGNREGA wages, are done using the Aadhar Payment Bridge system. For this, it is mandatory to link Aadhaar with MGNREGA Jobs. The government claims that it results in savings of 33475 CR till march 2021.

Claims	Myth buster
<p>Cash transfers in many welfare programmes, such as payment of MGNREGA wages, are done using the Aadhaar Payment Bridge System (APBS) resulted in seamless payment</p> <p>In the Direct benefit transfer mission 10% of the wages in the year could be saved.</p>	<p>Wage payment delays are persistent. An analysis of more than 18 lakh wage invoices for the first half of 2021-22 by LibTech India demonstrated that 71% of the payments were delayed.</p> <p>No clear methodology is used in fact government itself replied in one of the RTI that it is based on assumptions</p>
<p>Increased Efficiency and Accountability</p>	<p>Between 2015 and 2019, there was intense pressure on field-level bureaucrats to increase Aadhaar linking. A recently completed study of nearly 3,000 MGNREGA workers by Anjor Bhaskar and Preeti Singh shows that 57% of job cards of genuine workers were deleted in a quest to show 100% linking of Aadhaar with job cards. Doing such plastic surgery on numbers to show efficiency gains is unethical and sets a harmful precedent.</p>
<p>Aadhaar seeding will reduces payment frauds, failure and misdirections</p>	<p>The most common reason for payment failures in account-based payments is when the account number of the worker in the system is incorrect there are several cases of misdirected payments in APBS when the Aadhaar number of one person gets linked to somebody else's bank account so her money gets credited to somebody else's account. These are very hard to detect as these will appear as successful transactions on the dashboard.</p>

This case study clearly shows the lack in the governance system and especially in e-governance.

What is E-governance?

- According to UNESCO, “e-Governance may be understood as the performance of governance via the electronic medium in order to facilitate an efficient, speedy and transparent process of disseminating information to the public, and other agencies, and for performing government administration activities.”
- As per World Bank, “E-Governance refers to the use by government agencies of information technologies (such as Wide Area Networks, the Internet, and mobile computing) that have the ability to transform relations with citizens, businesses, and other arms of government. These technologies can serve a variety of different ends:
 - better delivery of government services to citizens
 - improved interactions with business and industry
 - citizen empowerment through access to information
 - more efficient government management

The resulting benefits can be less corruption, increased transparency, greater convenience, revenue growth, and/or cost reductions.”

Types of interactions in e-Governance

E-Governance can take place in four major types of interactions, apart from the processes and interactions in the back-office, within the government framework:

- **Government to Government (G2G)** -Information is exchanged within the government i.e., either, between the central government, state government and local governments or between different branches of the same government.
- **Government to Citizen (G2C)** -The citizens have a platform through which they can interact with the government and get access to the variety of public services offered by the Government.
- **Government to Businesses (G2B)**-The businesses are able to interact with the government seamlessly with respect to the services of the government offered to businesses
- **Government to Employees (G2E)**- The interaction between the government and its employees occurs in an efficient and speedy manner.

E-Governance in the Indian context

- E-Governance in India is a recently developed concept. The launch of National Satellite-Based Computer Network (NICENET) in 1987 and subsequent launch of the District Information System of the National Informatics Center (DISNIC) programme to computerize all district offices in the country for which free hardware and software was offered to the State Governments provided the requisite impetus for e-governance.
- E-Governance thereafter developed with the growth of technology. Today, there are a large number of e-Governance initiatives, both at the Union and State levels. In 2006, the National e-Governance Plan (NeGP) was formulated by the Department of Electronics and Information Technology and Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances that aims at making all government

services accessible to the common man, ensure efficiency, transparency and reliability of such services at affordable costs to realize the basic needs of the common man.

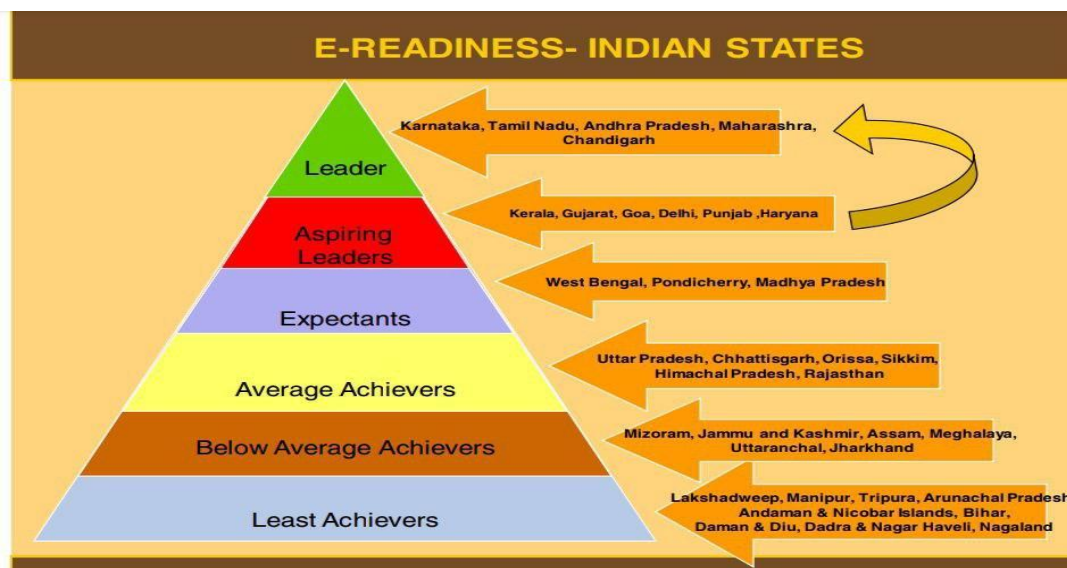
The NeGP has enabled many e-governance initiatives like:

- **Digital India** was launched in 2015 to empower the country digitally. Its main components are:
Developing a secure and stable digital infrastructure
Delivering government services digitally
Achieving universal digital literacy
- **Aadhaar** is a unique identification number issued by UIDAI that serves as proof of identity and address on the basis of biometric data. It is being used to provide many benefits to the members of the society. One can e-sign documents using Aadhar.
- **MyGov.in** is a national citizen engagement platform where people can share ideas and be involved with matters of policy and governance.
- **UMANG** is a Unified Mobile Application which provides access to central and state government services including Aadhar, Digital Locker, PAN, Employee Provident Fund services, etc.
- **Digital Locker** helps citizens digitally store important documents like mark sheets, PAN, Aadhar, and degree certificates. This reduces the need for physical documents and facilitates easy sharing of documents.
- **PayGov** facilitates online payments to all public and private banks.
- **Mobile Seva** aims at providing government services through mobile phones and tablets. The m-App store has over 200 live applications which can be used to access various government services.
- **Computerisation of Land Records** ensures that landowners get digital and updated copies of documents relating to their property.

State level e-governance initiatives include:

- **E-Seva (Andhra Pradesh)** facilitates payment of utility bills, issuance of certificates, licenses and permits.
- **Khajane Project (Karnataka)** digitalized the treasury system of the state.
- **FRIENDS (Kerala)** is a single-window facility to pay taxes and other financial dues to the State government.
- **Lokvani Project (Uttar Pradesh)** is a single-window solution relating to the handling of grievances, land record maintenance and providing a mixture of essential services.

- E-readiness of Indian States-



(Source: NCAER E-Readiness Report 2004)

Prospects of E-governance:

1. One of the most promising aspects of e-government is its ability to bring citizens closer to their governments. Enabling conversation between citizens and government is not the only way to bring citizens and government closer together. Making government more easily accessible is another component of this endeavor. There are few features that make this possible, such as,
 - The ability to search a particular web site.
 - To offer live broadcasts of important speeches through the web.
 - By enabling citizens to cater available information to their particular interest.
0. Addressing key issues that have been of concern of the health industry for many decades such as:
 - Simplification of administrative processes
 - Strengthening population-based public health systems

E-Gov : Successful models and challenges

E-gov if implemented properly will provide benefits far outweighing the initial cost of investment. This has been proven without doubts.

Kalyan Dombivli Municipal Corporation - success story

- **Kalyan Dombivli Municipal Corporation** in Mumbai (KDMC) has set-up Citizen Facilitation Centers (CFCs) as a part of an e-Governance project to create citizen-centric administration bringing accountability and transparency in operations. As per **Network Magazine, 2005** the project has resulted in benefits such as better tax revenue and empowered citizens. The uniqueness of the project secured it the **Intelligent Enterprise Award in the government vertical category**. At KDMC, a unique Citizen ID is created for every citizen, which helps both organizations and citizens conduct

transactions. Every service application or complaint received is handled through the system in a time-bound manner.

- The time taken for processes and the manpower used has reduced significantly. Assessment of property now takes just 21 days, with just 24 people working on it as compared to 62 previously. Further benefits include objections on bills that have reduced considerably from 25 to 2 percent of new assessments. After the CFC launch, collections happen at CFCs spread over 12 months. Therefore, revenue collection has also increased from Rs 38.63 crore in 2003 to Rs 54 crore in 2005.
- The total investment in the project is about Rs 6.79 crore with a revenue increase of approximately Rs 25 crore for over three years. KDMC expects more than Rs 2 crore from the government of Maharashtra towards replication of urban local bodies (ULB). It provides enhanced productivity and thus better utilization of the existing manpower and helps in creating an effective Management Information System(**Network Magazine, 2005**).

Judiciary

- Even in judiciary which is one of the strong pillars of Indian democracy e-gov has strikingly helped in many innovative areas.. In the Mumbai High Court, video conferencing is regularly used by the Chief Justice and other judges. It is mainly used to interact with judges of the High Court Bench at Aurangabad and Nagpur. This is done by providing point-to-point ISDN lines from Mumbai to the two cities. Video conferencing is also used regularly between the Mazgaon Court and Arthur Road jail in Mumbai. The City Civil Court and Esplanade Court also use video conferencing for trials. Even district courts such as the Thane District and Sessions Court, and taluka courts, now use video conferencing.

According to George Paul, Executive Vice-president, Marketing, HCL Info systems,

- Growth curve of the e-governance segment has followed the pattern where the initial period sees slow growth, and this is followed by a period where there is a leap. **“Thankfully, today it has reached a level where almost every state has an IT policy in place, and the target has moved from an IT-aware to an IT-enabled government,”**
- The typical nature of an unsuccessful e-governance initiative is that in the beginning the staff will start to work on the new system with a lot of interest. However, with time, its usage will come down and a parallel manual system will emerge which somewhat resembles the legacy system. Another sign that the e-governance initiative is not working is that the staff keeps talking about **‘the good old days’ of non-IT.”**
- The most important success factor for an e-governance project is that the focus should not be on the technology but on the pain areas and the strategies that are needed to use IT to resolve the pain aspects. E Governance does not mean proliferation of computers and accessories; it is a political decision which calls for discipline, attitudinal change in officers and employees, and massive government process reengineering

Conclusion

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As of now, e-governance projects are being run only in certain departments. This approach will gradually be extended to all departments eventually, leveraging the power of IT to streamline administrative functions and increase transparency. The government benefits from reduced duplication of work. In addition, the processes of data collection, analysis and audit are simplified, and become less tedious. E-governance holds advantages for the business community too, playing the role of a catalyst and a channel for e-business, a fact evidenced by developments in the US and Singapore.

But perhaps the single-largest benefit of e-governance is its potential to give India a well-behaved way to becoming an information and knowledge society and contrary to popular perception, its impact will be far-reaching, down to the villages and could bridge traditional divides. **E-Governance is the next step - it promises to provide karmic relief from corrupt officials and politicians and gives birth to an entire web-based economy.**

Demographic dividend

News: Demographic dividend will become demographic curse if not harnessed properly.

According to **United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)**, demographic dividend means, "the economic growth potential that can result from shifts in a population's age structure, mainly when the share of the working-age population (15 to 64) is larger than the non-working-age share of the population (14 and younger, and 65 and older)".

What is Statistics saying?

- According to the Economic Survey 2018-19, India's Demographic Dividend will peak around 2041, when the share of working-age, i.e. 20-59 years, population is expected to hit 59%.
- India's income per effective consumer could increase by 24.9% from 2005 to 2035, of which 9.1% is from the first demographic dividend, and 15.8% is from the second demographic dividend. The second dividend will be stable up to 2070.
- The hinterland of India will see its peak in 2055. It means the window of reaping the benefits is very wide.
- India has one of the youngest populations in an aging world. By 2020, the median age in India will be just 28, compared to 37 in China and the US, 45 in Western Europe, and 49 in Japan.

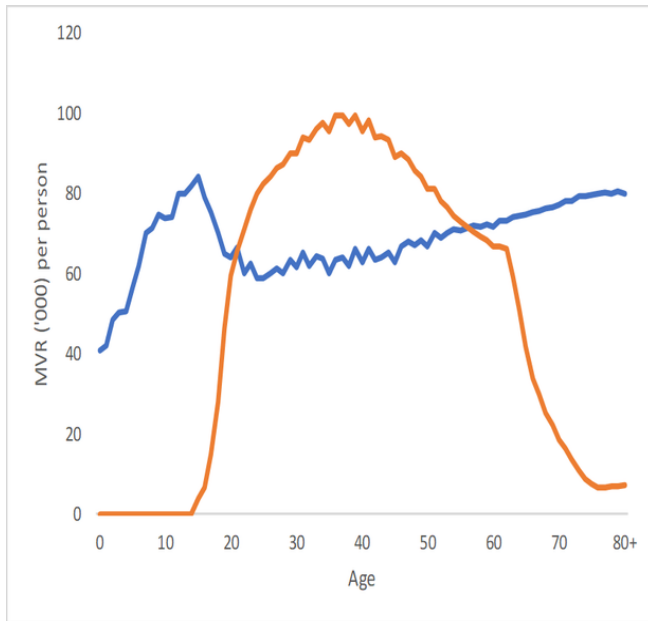
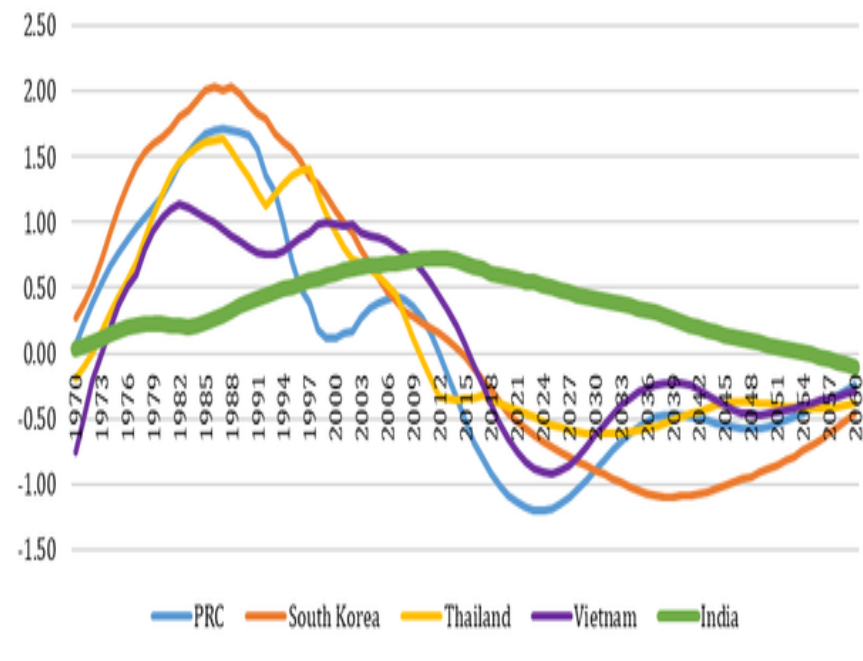


Figure 2: Demographic Dividend: India vs. Others



What is the opportunity for India?

- In the last 5 decades what has happened is "population explosion" but now we have demographic dividend which is expected to increase economic growth due to lower dependency ratio
- India has a unique opportunity to develop and grow richer before aging sets in. A nation's growth requires the productive contribution of all segments of society, particularly the children and the youth, who need to be provided opportunities for self-expression.
- Household and national investments in children and youth yield long-term returns in terms of high productivity of the economically active population till they enter the elderly cohort.

- As fertility declines, the share of the young population falls and that of the older, dependent population rises. If the fertility decline is rapid, the increase in the population of working ages is substantial yielding the '**demographic dividend**'.
- The smaller share of children in the population enables higher investment per child. Therefore, the future entrants in the labor force can have better productivity and thus boost income.
- With the passage of time, the share of the older population rises and that of the working age population begins to fall and hence the dividend is available for a period of time, '**the window of demographic opportunity**'.

Case Study of Japan

Japan, which had a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) below 1.5 in 2020, not unlike most first-world nations in the final stages of their demographic transition. High fertility rates in Japan in the 1930s led to an expansion of the labor force in the 1960s resulting in increased wealth. Japan reaped the benefits of its demographic dividend in the 1980's, when it became a major tech and financial center with the largest per-capita GNP and was the second largest economy in the world.

What is the Mechanism for growth in the demographic dividend?

During the course of the demographic dividend there are four mechanisms through which the benefits are delivered.

1. **Labor Supply:** Increased labor supply but the magnitude of this benefit appears to be dependent on the ability of the economy to absorb and productively employ the extra workers rather than be a pure demographic gift.
2. **Increase in savings:** As the number of dependents decreases individuals can save more. This increase in national savings rates increases the stock of capital in developing countries already facing shortages of capital and leads to higher productivity as the accumulated capital is invested.
3. **Human Capital:** Decrease in fertility rates results in healthier women and fewer economic pressures at home. This also allows parents to invest more resources per child, leading to better health and educational outcomes.
4. **Increase in Demand:** Increasing domestic demand brought about by the increasing GDP per capita and the decreasing dependency ratio.

What are the challenges associated in reaping the Demographic Dividend?

- **Shift from Farm to non-farm-**India's challenge is to create conditions for faster growth of productive jobs outside of agriculture, especially in the organized manufacturing and in services, even while improving productivity in agriculture. Whether we can reap this demographic dividend to the nation's advantage or let it become a curse depends on two factors-
 1. Drastic quality improvement in this new workforce by much better education, health and skill development- According to **ASSOCHAM**, only 20-30 % of engineers find a job suited to their skills. According to the document on the framework of implementation of the National

Mission for Skill Development (2015), "India currently faces a severe shortage of well trained, skilled workers. Large sections of the educated workforce have little or no job skills, making them largely unemployable. Therefore, India must focus on scaling up skill training efforts to meet the demands of employers and drive economic growth."

2. Creating better livelihood opportunities- India is experiencing a Jobless Growth As per the NSSO Periodic Labor Force Survey 2017-18, India's labor force participation rate for the age-group 15-59 years is around 53%, that is, around half of the working age population is jobless.

- **Health status-** Poor health which although obvious, plays a major role in the poor performance of the working population. India ranks 131 out of 189 countries in UNDP's Human Development Index, which is alarming.
- **Social structure of Indian society-**The status of institutions in India regarding caste discrimination, gender inequalities, widening income gap between the rich and the poor, religious differences, inefficient and slow legal system- all contribute to the poor standard of living of the masses.
- **Informal nature of the economy** in India is another hurdle in reaping the benefits of demographic transition in India. Despite impressive economic growth over the past 20 years, the vast majority of Indian workers continue to toil in informal employment. Roughly 85 per cent of the workforce is engaged in the informal sector. Even after excluding the agricultural sector, the share of the workforce in the informal sector remains at 70 per cent. The prevalence of informal employment – workers in either the informal or formal sector who lack employment or social security benefits—is even higher. While precise estimates of the extent of informal work arrangements are hard to come by, a detailed study by **the National Statistical Commission reveals that as of 2004-5, 95 per cent of jobs are informal and these are not limited to the informal sector. Even in the public sector, a third of all jobs in India are informal (Kolli and Sinharay, 2011).** Among wage employees outside of agriculture, more than three-quarters have no written contract, 70 per cent are not eligible for any paid leave, and 74 per cent are not covered by social security benefits. Along all of these measures of informality, India saw an uptick over time
- **Twin challenges of rising young population and old age dependents-** by 2050, every fifth Indian will be an elderly person.

Current Status:

The Total Fertility Rate now stands at 2.0. What does it mean for India?

- India's Total Fertility rate (TFR) has reached a replacement level of 2.0, which is below the replacement level of 2.1. The NFHS-5 (2019-21) has also reported that the TFR in urban areas is 1.6 and 2.1 in the rural areas.
- India's efforts to improve health, education and development indicators over the years have started yielding results. The decline in TFR, along with improvements in other indicators, will ensure that the population has better access to health services.

Once a country reaches TFR, how much time does it take for the population to start declining?

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- When a country reaches replacement level fertility, there are other conditions to be met to attain zero population growth.
- Replacement level fertility will lead to zero population growth only if mortality rates remain constant and migration has no effect. The momentum of past and current demographic trends determines the decline in population.
- A change to replacement level fertility therefore leads to zero population growth only in the long run. A study by Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME), University of Washington, Seattle, published in The Lancet indicates that India is expected to reach its peak population of 1.6 billion by 2048.
- India is also projected to have a continued steep decline in total fertility rate which will reach to 1.3 along with a total population of 1.1 billion in 2100.

What next needs to be done?

It has been proved that Demographic Dividend provides a window of opportunity towards faster economic growth. India has already begun to get the dividend. In India, the benefit to the GDP from demographic transition has been lower than its peers in Asia and is already tapering. Hence, there is an urgency to take appropriate policy measures.

- **Accurate accounting method-** Need to undertake an updated National Transfer Accounts (NTA) assessment. Using NTA methodologies we find that India's per capita consumption pattern is way lower than that of other Asian countries. A child in India consumes around 60% of the consumption by an adult aged between 20 and 64, while a child in China consumes about 85% of a prime-age adult's consumption. The NTA data for India needs to be updated to capture the progress made on such investments since 2011-12. State-specific NTAs need to be calculated every year and States need to be ranked for investing in the youth.
- **More investment needed in nutrition and learning at childhood-** India ranks poorly in Asia in terms of private and public human capital spending. It needs to invest more in children and adolescents, particularly in nutrition and learning during early childhood. Given that India's workforce starts at a younger age, a greater focus needs to be on transitioning from secondary education to universal skilling and entrepreneurship, as done in South Korea.
- **Increase in public spending on health-** Health spending has not kept pace with India's economic growth. The public spending on health has remained flat at around 1% of GDP. Evidence suggests that better health facilitates improved economic production. Hence, it is important to draft policies to promote health during the demographic dividend. There is a need for more finance for health as well as better health facilities from the available funding.
- **Rights-based approach-** Need to make reproductive healthcare services accessible on a rights-based approach to provide universal access to high-quality primary education and basic healthcare. The unmet need for family planning in India at 9.4% as per the latest National Family Health Survey-5 (2019-21) is high as compared to 3.3% in China and 6.6% in South Korea, which needs to be bridged.

Family Planning and Girls' Education

Attempts to quantify the impact of demographic dividend-related policy interventions are often challenged by the dynamic relationship between various policy and behavioral drivers of age structure change and economic growth. The relationship between family planning, girls' education, and fertility decline is a key example. Girls' education has a known bidirectional association with contraceptive uptake and reduced fertility. Secondary education, in particular, has transformative health and economic benefits for girls, including delaying age at first marriage and age at first birth. Therefore, educational outcomes and reproductive health/age structure outcomes are not mutually exclusive and separating the impact of these interventions in the literature is challenging.

Education also acts as a potential driver of increased workforce size and productivity, as women with secondary or tertiary education are more likely to participate in the formal labor market and can expect to earn more compared to women with primary or no education. There is broad global commitment to closing gender gaps in education, and data reflect substantial progress. In most regions of the world, the gender enrollment ratio in secondary education is equitable or favors girls; in the Middle East and North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, girls continue to face moderate inequity in secondary enrollment, at ratios of 0.94 and 0.88 respectively relative to boys

- **Address gender gap especially in Labor force participation-** As of 2019, 20.3% of women were working or looking for work, down from 34.1% in 2003-04. New skills and opportunities for women and girls befitting their participation in a \$3 trillion economy is urgently needed. Finding work will likely delay her age of marriage and make her participate in the economy more productively, as also exercise her rights and choices. It is predicted that if all women engaged in domestic duties in India who are willing to work had a job, female labor force participation would increase by about 20%.

Case study of South Korea in increasing Female workforce participation:

South Korea's female workforce participation rate of 50% has been built on

- i) legally compulsory gender budgeting to analyze gender disaggregated data and its impact on policies,
- ii) increasing childcare benefits
- iii) boosting tax incentives for part-time work.

- **Bridging disparity among states with respect to opportunities-** India needs to address the diversity between States. While India is a young country, the status and pace of population aging vary among States. Southern States, which are advanced in demographic transition, already have a higher percentage of older people. A new federal approach to governance reforms for demographic dividend need to be put in place for policy coordination between States on various emerging population issues such as migration, aging, skilling, female workforce participation and

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urbanization. Inter-ministerial coordination for strategic planning, investment, monitoring and course correction should be an important feature of this governance arrangement.

Our population is set to overtake China by the end of the current decade and the implications of overpopulation and accruing dividends to the emerging productive populace are complicated. There is a need for an appropriate population policy tailor-made to suit each state. Uttar Pradesh's new population control policy has drawn criticism, because history has shown that enforced one or two-child norms have ended in failure (According to UNFPA). However, India's population is set to stabilize in a few decades and the end of this century might even witness a population decline in the country (according to The Lancet). This is why the demographic dividend needs to be actively realized because the window of opportunity is limited.

Keeping in mind these factors and the losses in human capital formation due to Covid-19, we must brace for the possibility that the economy will only reach a middle-income status and the full benefit of a demographic dividend will not arrive in the future.

Corporate Governance

Context: NSE co-location scam and issue of “Faceless himalayan yogi.”

Chitra Ramkrishna, who was the MD and CEO of the National Stock Exchange (NSE), was guided by a faceless conman “Siddha Purusha/Yogi” largely dwelling in the Himalayan ranges, for 20 years, says an order issued by market regulator Sebi. This faceless “yogi” was also responsible for several key decisions taken by MD.

On interrogation Chitra Ramkrishna, said “*The unknown person according to Ramkrishna was a spiritual force that could manifest itself anywhere it wanted and did not have any physical or locational coordinates and largely dwelt in the Himalayan ranges.*”

All this surfaced the underlying issue in Corporate Governance and working of regulatory institutions.

What is corporate governance?

Corporate governance is a set of principles or guidelines on which a company is governed. It ensures that the corporation works in a way it is supposed to work to achieve the desired goals. It makes the corporations accountable to each stakeholder including, directors, shareholders, employees, customers etc. The term governance itself explains the meaning that it is an act of managing a corporate entity. The entity of a corporation is separate from its officials which makes corporate governance an important subject to study. Corporate governance plays an important role to protect the rights of thousands of shareholders, who have ownership in the company but do not play an active role in governing day to day business activities.

Corporate governance has been a part of the Indian corporate sector since the beginning but corporate governance failure and fraud of Satyam Computer Services Limited increased the concerns about corporate governance in India.

The need for Corporate Governance in India

In the last decade, corporate fraud and governance failure is occurring frequently which is why there is a need for good corporate governance in the country.

Reasons for need of corporate governance:

- A corporate has a lot of shareholders with different attitudes towards corporate affairs, corporate governance protects the shareholder democracy by implementing it through its code of conduct.
- Large corporate investors are becoming a challenge to the management of the company because they are influencing the decision of the company. Corporate governance sets the code to deal with such situations.
- Corporate governance is necessary to build public confidence in the corporation which was shaken due to numerous corporate frauds in recent years. It is important for reviving the confidence of investors.
- Society has greater expectations from corporate, they expect that corporates take care of the environment, pollution, quality of goods and services, sustainable development etc. code to conduct corporate is important to fulfill all these expectations. Takeovers of the corporate entity created lots of problems in the past. It affects the rights of various stakeholders in the company. This factor also pushes the need for corporate governance in the country.

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- Globalization made the communication and transport between countries easy and frequent, so many Indian companies are listed with international stock exchange which also triggers the need for corporate governance in India.
- The huge flow of international capital in Indian companies is also affecting the management of Indian Corporates which require a code of corporate conduct.

Principles of Corporate Governance

Corporate governance has evolved around certain key principles, which form the base of rules and guidelines set for the corporate.

- **Transparency**
Disclosure of the relevant information about the corporation in a timely and accurate manner is necessary. It helps stakeholders to know their rights and day to day activity of the corporate.
- **Accountability**
It ensures the liability of the person who takes decisions for the interest of others. Hence persons like managers, chairmen, directors and other officers should be accountable to other stakeholders of the corporate.
- **Independence**
Independence of top managers is important for smooth functioning of the corporate. The Board of Directors must work without the interference of any interested party in the corporate.

Corporate Governance Framework in India

The Indian framework on Corporate Governance has been vastly in sync with the international standards. Broadly, it can be described in the following:

- **The Companies Acts 2013** has provisions concerning Independent Directors, Board Constitution, General meetings, Board meetings, Board processes, Related Party Transactions, Audit Committees, etc.
- **SEBI (Securities and Exchange Board of India)** Guidelines ensure the protection of investors and have mandated the companies to adhere to the best practices mentioned in the guidelines.
- **Accounting Standards issued by the ICAI** (Institute of Chartered Accountants of India) wherein the ICAI is an autonomous body and issues accounting standards. The disclosure of financial statements is also made mandatory by the ICAI backed by the Companies Act 2013, Sec. 129.

Issues in Corporate Governance in India

- **Board performance**
The requirement of at least one woman director is necessary, and also the balance of executive and non-executive directors are not maintained. Evaluation is not performed from time to time and transparency is lost somewhere. The performance is not result oriented. These requirements are not always met with.
- **Independent Directors**
Independent directors are appointed for a reason which does not seem to be fulfilled in the current scenario. Even after SEBI guidelines being issued to the corporates, for the appointment of an audit committee or giving of a comprehensive definition of the independent directors, the actual situation appears to be worse.
- **Accountability to Stakeholders**

The accountability is not restricted to that of the shareholders or the company, it is for the society at large and also the environment. The directors are not to keep in mind their own interests but also the interests of the community.

- **Risk Management**

The risk management techniques are to mandatorily be undertaken by the directors as per the Company Laws and they have to mention in their report to shareholders as well. This is not being done in the most sincere manners required for the job.

- **Privacy and Data Protection**

This is an important governance issue. Cybersecurity has evolved to be the most important aspect of modern governance. Good governance can only be achieved once the directors and other leaders in the company are well known about the hazards in this field.

- **Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)**

Being among the few countries to legislate on CSR, it is mandatory for companies to invest a minimum 2% of the profits in the last 3 years for CSR activities. Otherwise proper reasons should be mentioned in the reports in case of failure. The companies seem to be reluctant towards making such investments.

Views of T.T. Ram Mohan: L'affaire NSE: is corporate governance an illusion?

- Clearly, there was managerial misconduct at NSE. That is no surprise; managerial misconduct is a global phenomenon. That is why we need checks on management such as an effective board of directors. The bigger problem is that the board of NSE has been found wanting.
- In the corporate world, much is forgiven on grounds of performance. When a performing CEO chooses to unduly favor a particular individual or individuals, boards see that as a forgivable infirmity. Considerations of equity or fairness do not trouble boards unduly — it is a mercy if breaches of regulation do.
- The problem is structural. It has to do partly with the way board members are selected and partly with the absence of penalties where directors do not live up to their mandate. Board members are selected by top management (or, in India, by the promoter who is also top management). In leading companies and institutions, board memberships are lucrative, prestigious and carry attractive perks. Board members have every incentive to nod their heads to whatever the management wants done.
- To challenge management is to ensure that one's term is not renewed. It also means antagonizing one's colleagues on the board, not just the top management. The dissenting board member becomes an outcaste on the board — he will find it difficult to make conversation over lunch. In the closed club from which board members are drawn, word spreads that the dissenter is a 'troublemaker'. Other boards will be reluctant to touch him.
- As long as the top management selects all board members or can influence their selection, there is little hope of any active challenge to management.

Suggestions:

- The top management must be allowed to choose not more than 50% of the independent directors. The rest must be chosen by various other stakeholders — financial institutions, banks, small shareholders, employees, etc. Then, we will have independent directors who are not beholden to the top management for their jobs. They will be accountable, not to the top management, but to stakeholders who have appointed them.
- Once that happens, the dynamics of the boardroom can be expected to change. Of course, we cannot be certain it will. At the NSE, there were five PIDs who were required to keep SEBI informed about any untoward happenings. They failed to do so. All we can say is that where independent directors are chosen by diverse stakeholders, there is at least the theoretical possibility of directors challenging the top management.

- A second thing that needs to happen is holding board members accountable for lapses. Regulators act against directors where there is financial malfeasance. They seldom act where there are breaches of regulation as in the present instance. This must change. Regulators must penalize errant directors through a whole range of instruments — strictures, financial penalties, removal from boards and a permanent ban from board membership.
- Regulators themselves must be held to account. In the NSE affair, questions have been asked of SEBI.
- We need periodic independent audits of all regulators by a panel of eminent persons. The audits must evaluate the regulators' performance in relation to their objectives. The internal processes and governance mechanisms of regulators must be subjected to the glare of public scrutiny. It is vital to guard the guardians. Convulsions of outrage after particular episodes will not take us very far. We need significant institutional reform if corporate governance is not to remain an illusion.

Conclusion

The more the level of corporate governance, the stronger is the company in the eyes of the shareholders of the company. The independent and the active directors are the ones who infuse and contribute towards displaying the corporate as that of having a positive outlook. When it comes to investment, the investors also seek to find the companies with stronger corporate governance in them. The corporate governance requirements in India deliberate the companies to audit their working culture and give the shareholders community a more positive outlook as their actions have moral and legal implications. The new norms after the Companies Act 2013 came into the picture, are very balanced and innovative. They have helped reformed the growth of Indian companies as per international standards. Shareholders are involved in the decision making of the companies and various safeguards have been put in order so that the interests of the shareholders and the society as a whole is not sidelined. Corporate Governance imbibes the much-required transparency in the corporations. Therefore, it pushes India ahead in the race of emerging economies of the world.

Special Brief PSIR 1A

Theory of Surplus Value

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the production of goods started shifting towards mechanized-made rather than handmade. It was during this period when the European nations started shaping the world order in their favour by using this creative disruption through mercantilism. Terms of trade, establishing trade companies through the consent of monarchic institutions became a common phenomenon as there was a need to search a new route to Asia which was disbanded for a while with the downfall of Constantinople Empire and rise of Ottoman Turks. With due course of time, it started giving its nurtured results by delivering exponential growth to some of those countries who decided to go ahead with adoption of new technologies and installing large-scale industrial plants.

Once the Industrial Revolution started getting consolidated, profit became a crucial distinction. And, when profit started acquiring the space of economies it led to building of policies by some of the key industries where there are certain flaws present with day-to-day operations. One of the key pillars of every economic production, labour, was the driving force for these industrialists that would have helped them to garner more money in their pocket. Among the four factors of production, land, labour, capital, and materials, labour was the variant. With this variant, the value and volume of input would change, thus, giving impetus to an expanded output. For example, if one unit of silk in a factory is bought at a certain cost, it may give one unit of cloth. But how is this cloth coming out? Who is responsible for it? Answer is labour. And, if in an hour, one unit of cloth can be made, considering that if it is an 8-hour working day, it would generate 8 units of cloth. Hence, for 30 constant days of working, a factory will release 240 units of cloth.

Now, let's change the working hour of a labour and increase it to 10 hours. This value will increase to 300 units. Even if the entrepreneur increases it by some miniscule value, it is this individual that is going to increase their baggage of profits. Did this entrepreneur put anything? Apart from the capital or a kind of investment, they have not done anything. So, somewhere the profit pertains to the labour who has put more hours in the factory to provide the additional 60 units of cloth. Here comes Karl Marx, a crucial proponent of Scientific Socialism and Communism, who provided his Theory of Surplus Value. According to him, the bulwark of the factors of production, a labour produces two values : (1) necessary value and (2) surplus value. Necessary value is equal to the wage which the labourer gets in exchange of his labour. In a nutshell, one can call it the monthly wage or salary.

Surplus value, on the other hand, is appropriated by the capitalist. This surplus value is the profit of the capitalist. The rate of surplus value, according to Marx, indicates the degree of exploitation of capital. And, this surplus value will change with the profit increment, which in turn, will be increased by grilling the labour for a longer period and exploiting them further. Marx goes further by tapping the essential tenets of free market economics and capitalism and shows that with the rise in competition, there will be rapid growth in this cut-throat tussle. To grab the attention of the consumers to increase the profit buoyancy,

these capitalists or bourgeoisie will somewhere try to reduce the wage, or necessary value, that a labour is entitled to. Such a decrease in the necessary value will allow them to bring down their operational cost. But, by selling those finished goods in the market, bourgeoisie will attain the same profit of what they seek.

This decrement in the necessary value will go upto an extent, subsistence wage, which is the minimum possible value that the labour would get and needed for their survival. If it deteriorated even from this level, the proletariat would not be ready to face the extreme distress. Thus, anything going down the subsistence wage would trigger the class struggle. Class struggle once aggravated would ignite the revolution where the proletariat would try every single thing in their acumen to capture the means of production and stabilise the unscrupulous order maintained in the capitalist society. Revolution is the last step to build a new social and economic order that would also absorb any instances or probability of counter revolution (a phase where the bourgeoisie will try one last time to reverse the current dungeon in which they have been thrown by the proletariat).

Marx's Theory of Surplus Value holistically determines all those facets of stratification and its exploitation existing in the hierarchy. In addition to this, it also reads the impact that it would lead to, if no right set of measures were taken in the favour of the proletariat

Special Brief PSIR 2A

Two Front War

In essence, the two-front threat justified a larger military with a more modern equipment profile and thus needed greater resource allocation from the government, even though the eventuality of a two-front war might never materialize.

The discussions on a two-front military threat for India started around 2006 and were formally articulated in the defence minister's operational directive in 2009. The Indian response was to prepare for a primary and a secondary front, and to prevent any loss of territory through deterrence and dissuasion. The response, however, was never resourced for a two-front collaborative threat. This way of dealing with a two-front war is thus based on a best-case scenario where everything goes to plan, so that New Delhi avoids a major loss of territory to China as it is able to sustain Pakistani pressure.

Definition

In simple terms, the two-front challenge refers to a simultaneous armed conflict between India and both China and Pakistan. Scholars like **Sushant Singh** in his article, "**The Challenge of A Two-Front War: India's China Pakistan Dilemma**", stated, "**China and Pakistan could follow either a collaborative or a collusive approach: the former involves one country openly aiding the other militarily, whereas the latter involves covert cooperation between the two.**" Covert cooperation means that if India is engaged in an armed conflict with Pakistan, China would provide moral, material, and logistics support to Pakistan. In case of a collaborative threat, either of the countries could activate a second front militarily in a coordinated manner. The two are not exclusive options, as the transition from the collusive threat to the collaborative threat could occur seamlessly.

Evolution of Two Front War

- India was cognizant of a two-front military threat during the 1965 and 1971 India-Pakistan wars.
- The recent discussion on such a military challenge started around 2006, when the China Study Group recommended construction of border infrastructure in response to massive infrastructure improvement on the Chinese side.
- The Manmohan Singh-led UPA government reversed a long-standing policy of keeping border infrastructure underdeveloped so as to prevent advancing Chinese troops from using it.
- Headed by then-Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran, a task force made three field trips to the Line of Actual Control (LAC), and proposed a plan to build 73 India-China border roads with a length of 4643 km, mostly connecting to the areas where the border was contested by two countries.

- At the end of December 2009, then-Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor confirmed the directive when he stated during a seminar of the Army Training Command that the army must prepare for a two-front war.
- The prevalent institutional belief among the military leadership, captured by Kapoor's argument, was that placing a **“two-and-a-half-front war strategy”** as a top priority **“will henceforth provide an unambiguous political and military focus on strategic and operational initiatives to ensure readiness.”**
- Kapoor's successor, General V. K. Singh, referred to Pakistan and China as “two irritants” in October 2010, and indicated that the armed forces were planning and preparing for a contingency in which they might have to confront China and Pakistan simultaneously.
- After the border crisis in eastern Ladakh in the summer of 2020, the possibility of a two-front challenge became tangibly real, but India's military appeared unequal to the task as it committed all its reserves and reoriented units meant for the Pakistan front in Ladakh. A one-time vexed theoretical proposition had transformed itself into a tough living challenge for the Indian military.

How India Plans To Tackle Such Issues Militarily? (MM Naravane & Others)

Even though the government directive mandates the armed forces to be prepared for a war which would expend ammunition and stores for 40 days of intense warfighting, the Indian military is banking on a shorter war with both adversaries. This is based on two factors. The first is the geopolitics of conflict between two nuclear-armed states like India and Pakistan. New Delhi envisages an international intervention in a short period of time in a military conflict with Pakistan, and hopes for early gains to hold good on the negotiating table before nuclear weapons come into play. The second is the practicality of its stocking ammunition and spares, which it hopes to build for 10 days of war against Pakistan and 30 days against China. The defence ministry believes that any stocking beyond 15 days is neither economically viable nor logistically feasible.

India has a series of plans as stated by the current Army Chief, General M M Naravane, that can be broken down on three ways:

- No territorial loss is politically acceptable on either front
- There will be a primary front and secondary front for the military
- There will be a major deployment on the primary front while the secondary front will only have a deterrent posture.

However, former Army Chief Gen. Deepak Kapoor had a separate view, **“the best we can do even with increased force levels is to defend resolutely against the Chinese and avoid any loss of territory while dealing with the Pakistani aggression.”**, which somewhere aligns with Gen NC Vij who has focussed more upon the idea of adopting a posture of deterrence against Pakistan and dissuasion against China. It means that India would have to coercively preclude an attack from Pakistan by threatening an effective military reprisal causing unacceptable losses. Against China, a posture of dissuasion means that New Delhi would be urging Beijing not to become a real military rival or fight a war. Dissuasion would not be achieved solely

by threats of war and destruction from India but through the logic of geostrategic realities in a wider context.

Other Options

1. To overcome its power deficit when confronted with a two-front challenge, New Delhi can look to forge partnerships with global powers. The only global power that can be of help in such a case is the United States, but India has valued its strategic sovereignty over becoming a treaty ally of the superpower.
2. But a similar last-minute SOS call to the U.S. is no substitute for a long-standing military and strategic relationship where cooperation, support, and technology transfer are routine activities. If India were to fully align with the U.S. in order to amplify its readiness, it might risk increasing the likelihood of conflict with China owing to Chinese threat perceptions. It still remains to be seen if New Delhi is willing to fully walk on the path of being an active security partner.
3. The only viable diplomatic solution then is for India to seek peace with either Pakistan or China. There has been no progress on Indian offers of boundary settlement with China, and Beijing remains a long-term strategic adversary, a fact acknowledged globally. Arguing that “the India-China relationship is today truly at a crossroads,” Indian External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar has noted that “far from mitigating differences, the events of 2020 have actually put our relationship under exceptional stress.”
4. The alternative for New Delhi is to seek peace with Islamabad. Pressure from the two-front military challenge, along with the changing geopolitical landscape with the Biden administration in place in the U.S., has led to some moves toward seeking peace with Pakistan. These have resulted in the reiteration of cease-fire on the LoC, but progress has been slow. The official Indian response, compared to Pakistani enthusiasm, has been tepid, and skeptical voices about the engagement are now being raised in Pakistan, too. In India, there are apprehensions that this may be a move made for tactical reasons to give respite from a Pakistan-supported and -backed armed militancy in Kashmir, besides creating time and space to address the complications of dealing with a belligerent China and the Biden administration’s strong response to Beijing.
5. Former National Security Advisor **Shiv Shankar Menon** says that the only way to prevent a two-front war is by being “**prepared to fight and win it.**” But the kind of military resources eventually required to prevail in the high-intensity two-front war that India is likely to face are simply not available. The peacetime costs that accrue to India in having to plan and prepare for a two-front war, which will push defence spending beyond 3 percent of GDP, are unaffordable.
6. Apart from this Happymon Jacob and Deependra Singh Hooda believes that the focussing on following parameters can allow India to consolidate their position:
 - a. The government’s current engagement of the key powers in West Asia, including Iran, should be further strengthened in order to ensure energy security, increase maritime cooperation and enhance goodwill in the extended neighbourhood.

- b. New Delhi must also ensure that its relationship with Moscow is not sacrificed in favour of India-United States relations given that Russia could play a key role in defusing the severity of a regional gang up against India.

Is It Feasible for Pakistan?

Scholars like Sushant Sareen have laid down several factors that compel Pakistan to participate in a military conflict with India:

- It is a virtual no-brainer that if a shooting match starts between India and China, the Chinese will direct the Pakistanis to jump into the fray.
- For their part, the Pakistanis who are already seething over the constitutional changes made in the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir, this will be seen as a golden opportunity to even the scores with India.
- The Pakistanis know that on their own there is no way they can launch a successful military operation to snatch Kashmir.
- Diplomatically and politically, their raving and ranting has got little traction.
- Their best hope is to catch India in a pincer – China on one side, they on the other – make some territorial gains in Kashmir.

Yet, Deependra Singh Hooda and Happymon Jacob believe, **“It is unlikely that Pakistan would initiate a large-scale conflict to capture significant chunks of territory as that would lead to a full-blown war between three nuclear armed states. In such a contingency, the damage to Pakistan’s economy and military far outweighs the advantages of capturing some pieces of ground. Pakistan would prefer the low-risk option of pursuing a hybrid conflict that remains below the threshold of war.”**

Why Can India Not Fight a Two-Front War?

Ravi Rikhiye in his book, **“Analysis of India’s Ability to Fight a 2-Front War”**, stated that it is not even feasible for India to go on for such ventures. It is because of the China-Pakistan alliance, we cannot fight even a one-front war: engaging in a war with either adversary runs the risk of weakening the other front, leaving it open to exploitation. The solution, fortunately, is straightforward: build a 2-front war capability. The next problem is equally straightforward: the government of India is determined not to spend money on defense. Today spending is down to 1.56% of GDP, lower even than in 1962.

Conclusion

The distinct nature of threats posed by two dissimilar adversaries, China and Pakistan, means that India does not have any effective solutions to the possibility of a full-fledged war on two fronts simultaneously. Although all three defense services have been planning for such a contingency, their constrained budgets and sluggish acquisition programs have so far forced them to operate as if a future subcontinental conflict will likely involve major combat against only one adversary, with the other serving principally as a

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threatening distraction intended to tie down Indian combat forces from being committed exclusively to the primary front.

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