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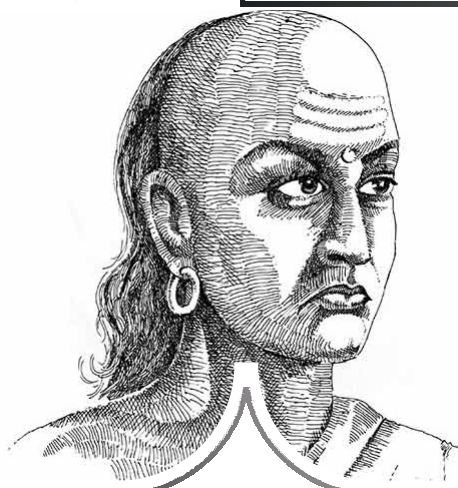
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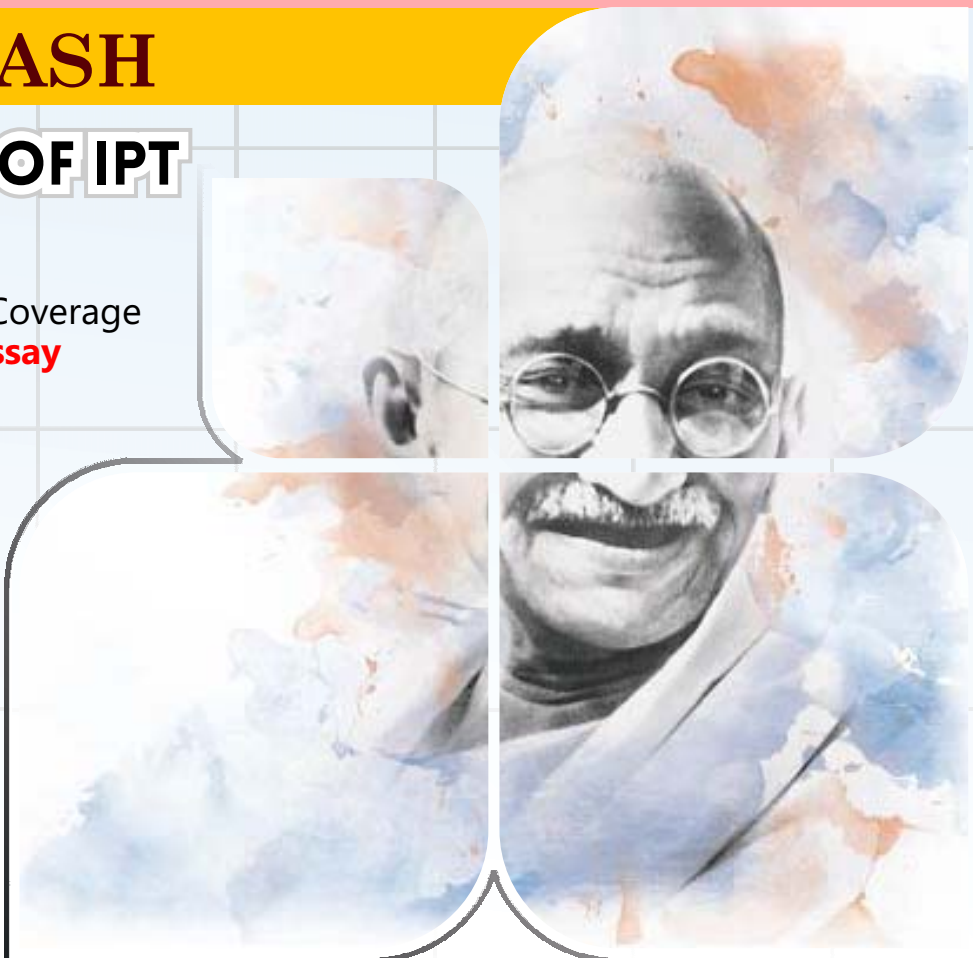
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# **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

# NEW COLD WAR: ON THE RUSSIA-NORTH KOREA SECURITY PACT, ITS LIKELY FALLOUT

## WHY READ THIS ARTICLE

*“This article explores the evolving geopolitical landscape marked by renewed alliances between Russia and North Korea, the rise of a New Cold War, and its implications for global power dynamics, particularly for India amid shifting global alignments.”*

In a recent development that echoes Cold War-era alliances, Russian President Vladimir Putin and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un have solidified a security pact pledging mutual assistance in the face of aggression. Putin’s historic visit to Pyongyang, the first in 24 years, underscores a renewed effort to bolster ties with North Korea amid Russia’s isolation due to sanctions stemming from the Ukraine conflict.

### • Reason of the pact

- ◆ This agreement is significant as both countries are grappling with severe Western sanctions for different reasons and are increasingly at odds with the Western-led global order.

### • Geopolitical significance

- ◆ **For Russia:** The pact reflects Putin’s strategy to build alliances with non-Western nations, including recent engagements with Iran, aimed at reshaping global power dynamics.
- ◆ **For North Korea:** The alliance provides strategic support from Russia amid its nuclear ambitions and diplomatic isolation.
- ◆ This agreement complicates efforts towards North Korea’s denuclearization and could strain Russia’s relations with South Korea and Japan.
- ◆ It also potentially strengthens a new partnership in East Asia involving the United States, Japan, and South Korea, marking a significant shift in geopolitical alignments.
- ◆ This development highlights a complex geopolitical landscape where traditional alliances are reformed amid shifting global dynamics, potentially setting the stage for a new Cold War-like confrontation between major powers.



### More to Explore

- The Cold War was a period of intense geopolitical tension and rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, along with their respective allies, following World War II.
- It lasted roughly from 1947 to 1991. Unlike a traditional war, it did not involve direct military conflict between the two superpowers but was characterized by political, ideological, economic, and military competition.

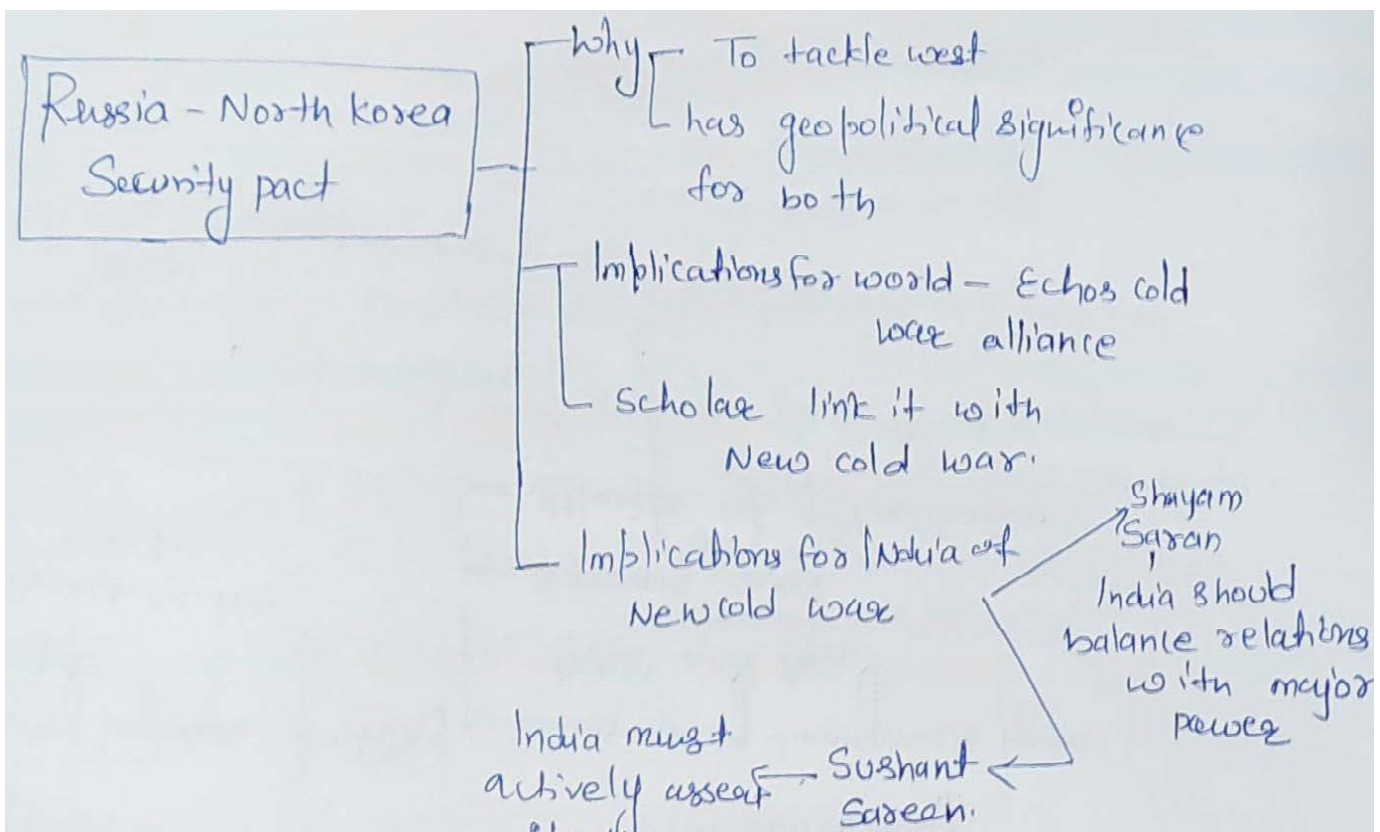
## NEW COLD WAR- SCHOLAR VIEWS

- **David Sanger**, In his new book, *New Cold Wars: China’s Rise, Russia’s Invasion, and America’s Struggle to Defend the West* (Crown, 2024) traces **three separate themes in the New Cold Wars:**



- ◆ **First** is the return of large-scale conventional war, implicating more than one great power. This is most vividly exemplified by Putin’s 2022 invasion of Ukraine.
- ◆ **Second** is the evolution of new technologies and their untested military applications.
- ◆ **Third** theme is the strategic conundrum in which the United States currently finds itself. The United States must contend with a Russia—and a China—bent on overturning any international order of U.S. vintage, and it must do so while addressing epochal changes in the very nature of technological, economic, and geopolitical power.
- **On US-Russia rivalry**
  - ◆ As per **Dr Raj Kumar Sharma**, “Great power rivalry has been a hallmark of international politics irrespective of any time period. At the global level, the assertive rise of China and Russia’s disruptive behaviour including the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war has put both these countries at odds with the US and its allies. Ideology is also back but this time; the old ‘Capitalism v/s Communism’ warcry has been rephrased as a battle between democracy (the US and its allies) and authoritarianism (China, Russia and others).”
- **New Cold War: Implications for India**
  - ◆ **Shyam Saran** points out, India would face a nightmare if the US decides to have a strategic accommodation with China (G-2) citing Russia as a bigger threat. It is clear that there are no easy choices for India in the New Cold War and it would want to avoid a scenario where China has the last laugh.
  - ◆ **Sushant Sareen**, “Given that India is sitting in the middle of the new Cold War which is unfolding all around it, New Delhi is the natural fulcrum of this new struggle for deciding the future of the world. If India plays her cards smartly, she stands to gain the most; on the other hand, if India remains ambivalent, and tries to hedge her bets, then she very well could end up being the biggest loser. In the emerging scenario, neutrality is probably the worst option for India.”

## QUICK REVISION NOTES





## TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

### Practice for Prelims

**Q1. Consider the following statements regarding the cold war.**

1. The Warsaw pact was signed within one year of the formation of NATO.
2. Truman Doctrine doctrine was published in 1948.
3. The SALT agreements were the first time during the Cold War that the United States and Soviet Union agreed to limit the number of nuclear missiles in their arsenals.

**Which of the following statements are correct?**

- (a). 1 and 2
- (b). 2 and 3
- (c). 1 and 3
- (d). 3 Only

**Answer: (d)**

### Practice For Mains

**Q1. Write a short note -New Cold War. (150 Words/10 Marker)**

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# NEO-FASCISM

## WHY READ THIS ARTICLE

*“The article highlights Neo-fascism, a post–World War II ideology now gaining influence in Europe. While UPSC might not ask directly about it, understanding Neo-fascism can enhance answers on challenges to democracy and the emerging world order. It’s relevant to how authoritarianism threatens democratic values today.”*

There is rising influence of Neo-fascism in Europe which is reflected in the rise of the far right party in the recent French election of 2024.

- **What is neo-fascism**
- Neo-fascism is a **post–World War II ideology** that includes significant elements of fascism.
- Neo-fascism usually **includes** ultra-nationalism, racial supremacy, populism, authoritarianism, nativism, xenophobia and opposition to immigration, as well as opposition to liberal democracy, parliamentarianism, Marxism, communism and socialism.
- **Allegations that a group is neo-fascist may be hotly contested**, especially if the term is used as a political epithet. Some post–World War II regimes have been described as neo-fascist due to their authoritarian nature, and sometimes due to their fascination with and sympathy towards fascist ideology and rituals.
- **Rise of right wing parties across Europe**
  - ◆ About 175 years after the Communist Manifesto was first published, a spectre is again haunting Europe. But it is the spectre of the ultra-right and neo-fascism. **Europe is at an inflection point.** The ultra-right gained ground in Europe during the European Union (EU) elections that just finished.
  - ◆ **Timothy Garton Ash** in The Guardian, *“A Europe that just celebrated on the beaches of Normandy the 80-year-old D-day beginning of its liberation from war, nationalism and fascism now again faces fascism, nationalism and war.”* And, Paris is unquestionably the epicentre of the earthquake.



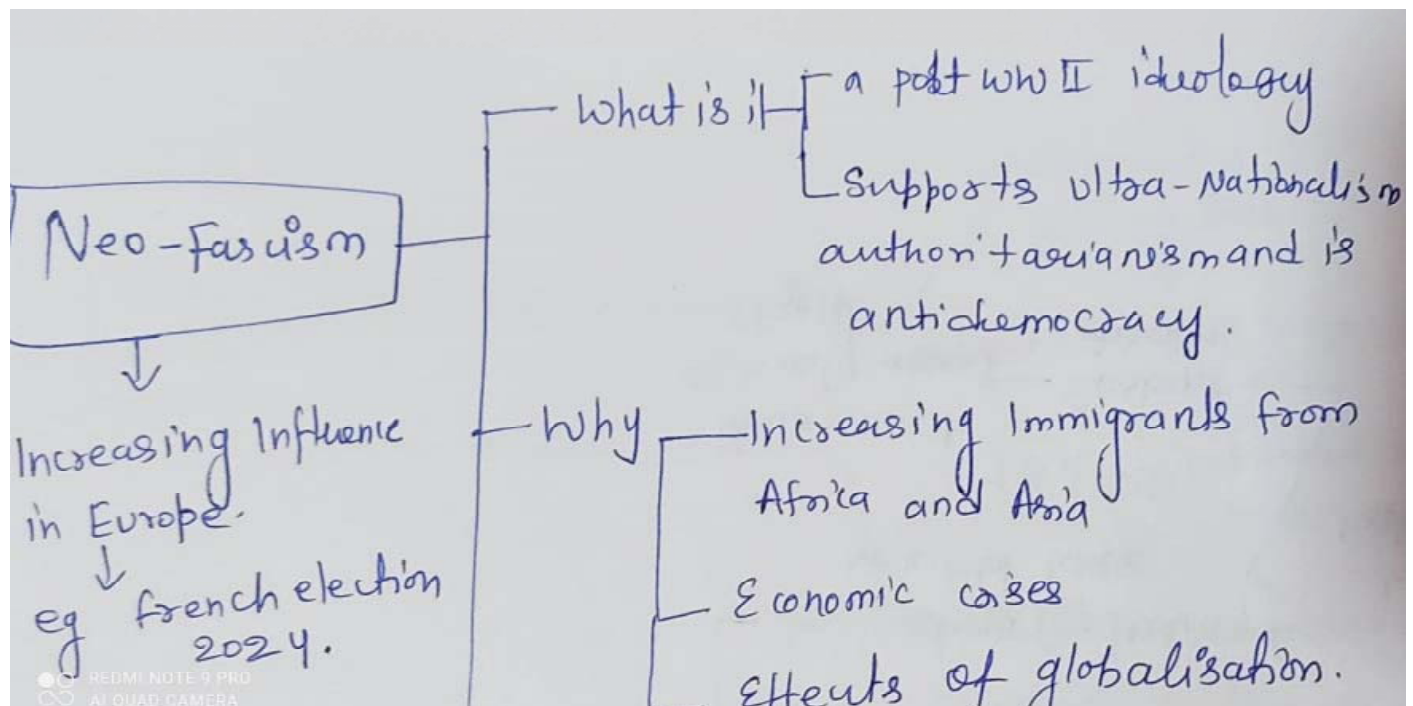
## More to Explore

- Fascism emerged as a backlash against Modernity and Enlightenment values.
- The Nazis in Germany rejected the ideas of the French Revolution with slogans like **“1789 is abolished,”** while Fascist Italy promoted **“Believe, Obey, Fight”** instead of “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.”
- Fascism was founded by Benito Mussolini in 1919, combining small worker groups to push for revolutionary changes in Italy’s political structure.
- **Fascism’s assumptions are:**
  - ◆ Individual is irrational
  - ◆ State is reason personified
  - ◆ Party under its leader is flawless
  - ◆ Society, nation, state, government and party are all interchangeable terms



- ◆ As per Slavoj, “*The axiom of post-World War II European democracy, “No collaboration with fascists,” has been quietly abandoned.*”
- **Reason behind the rise**
  - ◆ The far-right is becoming more influential in resistance to the **immigrants** from Africa and Asia who are expanding their foothold throughout Europe, which is partly a carry-over effect of their colonising legacy. Although this has been going on for decades, it has gained momentum recently.
  - ◆ **Economic crises**, austerity measures, and inequality have fueled resentment, leading some to embrace far-right ideologies that promise strong nationalist solutions.
  - ◆ The effects of **globalisation**, such as job losses in traditional industries and the erosion of local cultures, have also contributed to the appeal of neo-fascist ideas.
- **Concluding observation**
  - ◆ As per **Kaushik Jayaram**, “*Fascist parties have gained support the world over, even in European nations where they were once disavowed. A ‘New Despotism’ has emerged, which uses the trappings of democracy to cultivate a mass psychology similar to and yet different from fascism.*”
  - ◆ As per **Atanu Biswas**, “*... as history has shown us, every storm eventually calms down, and this ultra-right wave in Europe will eventually normalise. However, the effects of this particular cyclone would last for a very long time*”.

## QUICK REVISION NOTES



## TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

### Practice For Mains

**Q1. Do you agree that there is a democratic decline in developed democracies? Substantiate your view with examples.**

# PM MODI'S RUSSIA VISIT (JULY, 2024)

## WHY READ THIS ARTICLE

*"This article examines the strategic significance of Prime Minister Modi's 2024 visit to Russia, highlighting key agreements, India's pursuit of strategic autonomy, and the challenges posed by Russia-China relations on India's security."*

Prime Minister of the Republic of India Shri Narendra Modi paid an official visit to the Russian Federation on July 8-9, 2024 at the invitation of President of the Russian Federation H.E. Mr. Vladimir Putin for the 22nd India – Russia Annual Summit. Prime Minister Modi's visit to Russia, though seen by some as symbolic, has significant implications for India-Russia relations.

### Outcome

- PM Modi was conferred with the **order of Saint Andrew the Apostle**, the highest civilian honour in Russia, manifesting the importance of India in Russia's calculus.
- **Agreements and MoUs:** 15 agreements signed, including those to promote bilateral trade, climate change cooperation, low-carbon technologies, and polar research.
- **Bilateral Trade Target:** Aiming for \$100 billion by 2030.
- **Russian Far East Cooperation:** Increased focus on sectors like agriculture, energy, mining, and pharmaceuticals from 2024-2029.
- An enhanced economic partnership, particularly with potential increased traffic on the **International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC)**, a free-trade agreement with the **Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)**, and the revival of the **Chennai-Vladivostok maritime corridor**, reducing transit time significantly.
- Establishing **new consulates in Ekaterinburg and Kazan** reflects India's growing interest and presence in Russia.
- The **Indian pharmaceutical sector** has become a leading medicine supplier in Russia.
- **Payment settlement issues have been resolved**, facilitating smoother trade.
- Securing the **repatriation of Indians** serving in the Russian armed forces marks a diplomatic success for India.
- **Counter-Terrorism and Regional Security:** Emphasis on cooperation, discussing Afghanistan, radicalism, drug trafficking, and terrorism.
- **Military and Arctic Cooperation:** New logistics agreement approved for military exchanges and Arctic facility use.

### Challenges

- **Military-Technical Partnership:** No major military deals since the S-400 system, with concerns over timely weapon supply due to the Ukraine war and Russia's closer ties with China.



- **Trade with the Russian Far East:** Trade with the Russian Far East is often overestimated because of significant challenges like labour shortages and limited market capacity. Additionally, sanctions from Japan and South Korea have further restricted trade opportunities, impacting the region's economic potential.
- **International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC):** Challenges include dealing with a sanctioned Iran and logistical hurdles.
- **Trade Deficit:** A significant imbalance, with Indian exports to Russia at \$4 billion compared to Russia's \$61 billion to India. Addressing this deficit will be crucial.

### US RESPONSE TO THE VISIT

- A U.S. official told the U.S. Congress that Washington was “disappointed” about the “symbolism and timing” of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Moscow.

### INDIA'S STAND IN RESPONSE TO US reaction of PM Modi's visit

- Defending India's “freedom of choice” in foreign relations, the government reacted sharply to As per **EAM spokesperson**, “*You must understand that India has a long-standing relationship with Russia that is based on the mutuality of interests*”.
- The U.S. need not see this as an unfriendly foreign policy choice. As per **Stanly Johny**, “*Unfortunately, India's partners in the West, who are agitated over New Delhi's Russia ties and its emphasis on strategic autonomy, do not appreciate the bigger picture. This is the unipolar mentality — you are either with us or against us*”.
- The **world is already multipolar, economically**, but a similar transition has not taken place in its power dynamics. India wants to improve the system where its voice, and that of the Global South, would be heard with greater interest.
- As per **Stanly Johny**, “**India is not a disruptive, revisionist power. It supports a multilateral global order**, and that is because it wants the international system to be more representative in line with the geopolitical realities of the present”.
- **For New Delhi, strategic autonomy does not call for isolationism.** It calls for greater engagement with different power centres rooted in informed national interest. Theorists of strategic autonomy do not look at foreign policy as a zero-sum game, where one party gains something at the expense of others. For them, it is a positive-sum game, where everyone gains.
- For example, India's energy trade with Moscow made sure that Russian crude kept flowing into the market, helping steady global oil prices.
- Its close cooperation with Russia can also act as a speed breaker in Moscow's quasi-alliance with China, which the West sees as the only “revisionist” power that has the capability to rewrite the existing global order.

### On growing Russia-China relation effect on India

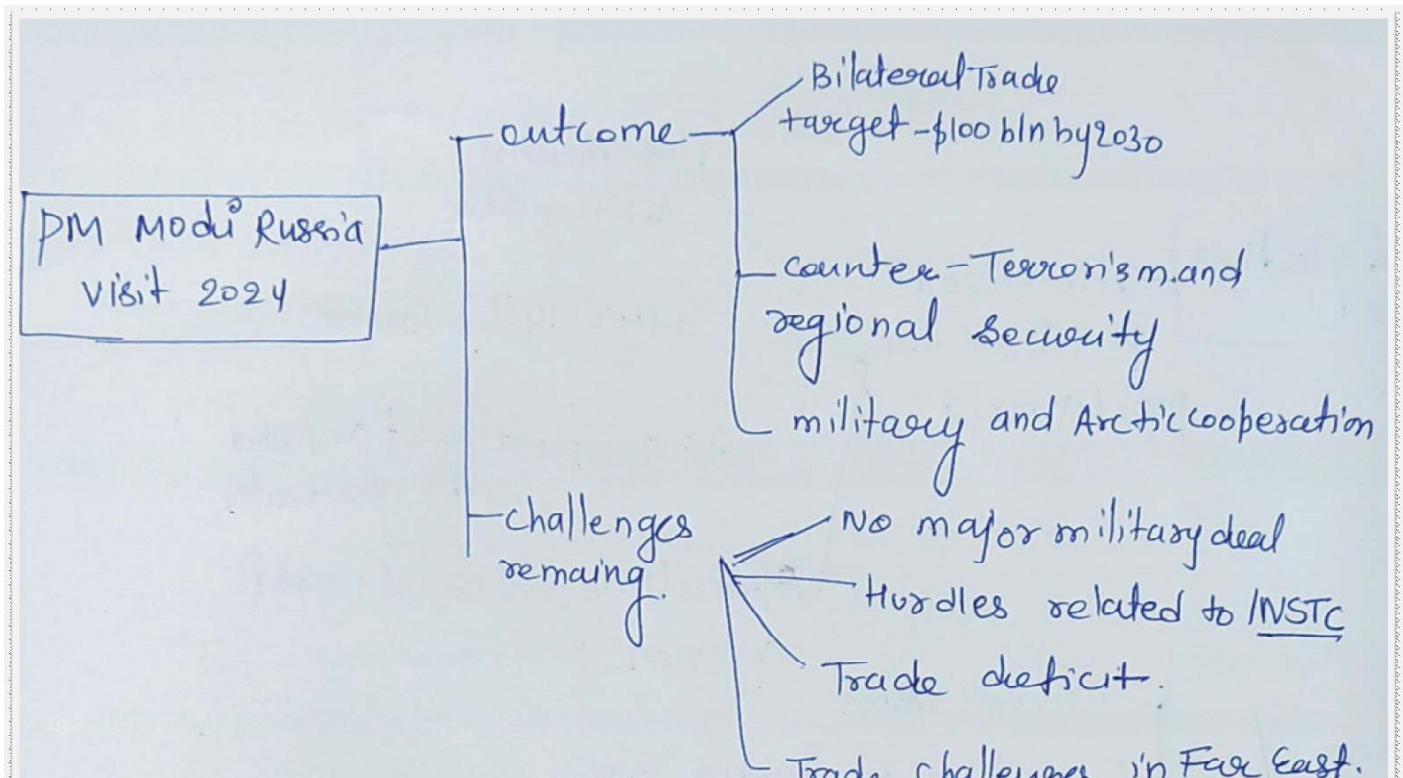
- As per **Brahma Chellaney**, “The alliance of convenience between Russia and China threatens not only to accelerate an increasingly overstretched America's relative decline, but also to erode Indian security. India now must take advantage of its relationship with Russia to mediate an end to the Ukraine war and drive a wedge between Russia and China.”

### Concluding observations

- As per **Rajoli Siddharth Jayaprakash of ORF**, “This visit reflects India's underlying multipolar vision in its outreach to the rest of the world, as the prime minister visited Russia first upon re-election. This visit further clarifies the misperceptions of a decline in India-Russia relations in light of Modi not visiting Russia in 2022 or 2023 and shows that the cooperation between the two countries is stable and is not influenced by the geopolitical configuration of the World order.”



## QUICK REVISION NOTES



## TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

### Practice for Prelims

**Q1. Consider the following statements on International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC):**

1. India, Russia and Iran are the founding members.
2. It is more than 12,000 km long.
3. It seeks to link Russia's Baltic Sea coast to India's western ports in the Arabian Sea through Azerbaijan and Iran.
4. Iran backed out from this agreement in the year 2004.

**Which of the following statements are correct?**

- (e). 1 and 3
- (f). 2 and 4
- (g). 3 and 4
- (h). 2 and 3

**Answer: (a)**

### Practice For Mains

**Q1. India and Russia managed to maintain a pragmatic and respectful partnership amidst changing global political dynamics. Analyse the statement. (15 Marks, 200 Words).**

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**INDIAN  
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# GENERAL ELECTION 2024: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE 18TH LOK SABHA

## WHY READ THIS ARTICLE

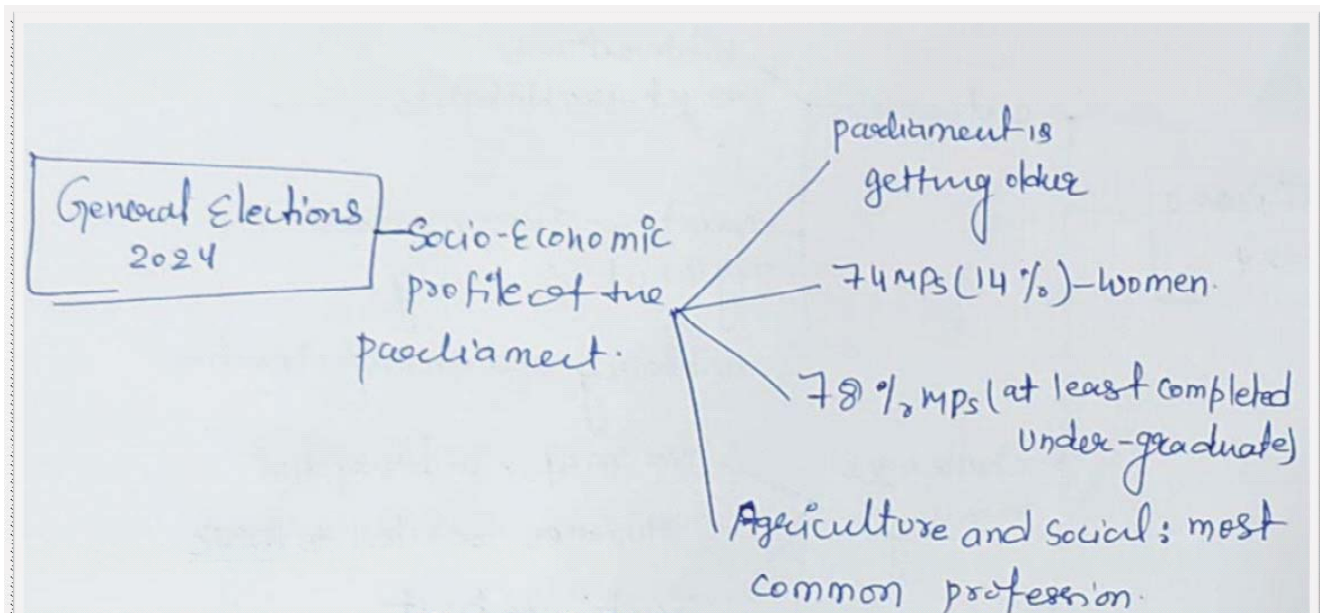
“This article offers an in-depth examination of the 2024 Indian general election and the composition of the newly elected Lok Sabha. It’s crucial for exam preparation, aligning directly with key topics outlined in the syllabus.”

Recently general elections were held in India from 19 April to 1 June 2024 in seven phases, to elect all 543 members of the Lok Sabha.

- **On elected MPs**
  - ◆ 52% of newly-elected MPs are first-timers in Lok Sabha.
  - ◆ 262 MPs elected to the 18th Lok Sabha have previously served as members of Lok Sabha. Of the others, 16 have been members of Rajya Sabha. Two MPs have served seven terms in Lok Sabha.
  - ◆ 216 sitting MPs were re-elected. Of these, eight changed their constituency. One MP was re-elected from two constituencies, including the earlier one.
- **On age**
  - ◆ Parliament is getting older.
  - ◆ The average age of MPs elected to the 18th Lok Sabha is 56 years; this was 59 years in the 17th Lok Sabha.
  - ◆ 11% of MPs are 40 years or younger, and 38% are between 41 and 55 years of age. 52% of MPs are older than 55 years. The oldest MP is 82 years old. Three MPs elected to the 18th Lok Sabha are 25 years old.
- **On women**
  - ◆ 74 MPs (14%) elected to the 18th Lok Sabha are women. This is marginally lower than in 2019, when 78 women were elected.
  - ◆ 16% of these women MPs are below the age of 40.
- **On education**
  - ◆ 78% of MPs of the 18th Lok Sabha have completed at least undergraduate education. This proportion is the same for newly-elected women MPs.
- **On profession**
  - ◆ Agriculture and social work are the most common professions among MPs elected to the 18th Lok Sabha.
  - ◆ 91% of MPs from Chhattisgarh, 72% in Madhya Pradesh, and 65% from Gujarat have indicated agriculture as one of their professions.
  - ◆ 7% of MPs elected to the 18th Lok Sabha are lawyers, and 4% are medical practitioners.



## QUICK REVISION NOTES



## TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

### Practice for Prelims

**Q1. Consider the following statements regarding the disputes arising out of the election of a Member of the Parliament or State Legislature:**

1. Aggrieved candidate can approach the Supreme Court.
2. The Representation of People Act, 1951, outlines the legal framework for addressing election disputes.
3. An election petition calling in question an election shall be filed within the time period of forty-five days from the date of declaration of results.
4. As per Article 72 of constitution of India, all doubts and disputes arising from the election of the President or Vice President can only be inquired and decided by the Supreme Court.

**Which of the following statements are correct?**

- (a). 1 and 2
- (b). 2 and 3
- (c). 3 and 4
- (d). 1 and 4

**Answer: (b)**

### Practice For Mains

**Q1. Discuss changing profile of Indian legislators. Analyse its impact on the role of the parliament as a deliberative and legislative body. (15 Marks, 200 Words).**

# GENERAL ELECTIONS 2024: WHAT INFLUENCED ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

## WHY READ THIS ARTICLE

*“This article discusses the determinants of electoral behaviour in the 2024 Indian general elections emphasizing economic concerns, the INDIA bloc’s influence, caste dynamics, and the shifting allegiances of Dalit and OBC communities. This article would enrich the answers if questions are asked related to- trends in electoral behavior( mentioned in the syllabus).”*

The 2024 Indian general election saw a major shift in voter behavior, mainly due to economic issues like inflation and unemployment, as well as the resurgence of caste politics. These factors combined to significantly influence the election results, showing how voters were reacting to the challenges they faced in their daily lives.

### • Economic issues

- ◆ According to the Lokniti-CSDS post-election survey, it was the people’s assessment of their household’s financial condition rather than their perception of the national economy that may have determined their voting choices.
- ◆ Distress over economic issues such as inflation and rising unemployment brought economic issues to the fore. For example: Official estimates show that the UP economy performed poorly from 2017 to 21.

### • Formation of INDIA bloc & issues raised by opposition

- ◆ The leaders of the INDIA bloc consistently harnessed the discontent on the ground, reiterating people’s issues. The need for a caste census which the BJP was resisting; the fear among Dalit communities that the BJP would change the Constitution depriving them of reservations; the unpopular Agniveer scheme; the repeated leaking of question papers for competitive exams, among others.
- ◆ Akhilesh Yadav has revived the Samajwadi Party by forming alliances with smaller OBC and Dalit parties and shifting the focus to social justice versus Hindutva. To change the SP’s image as a Muslim-Yadav party, he gave fewer tickets to Yadavs and prioritized non-Yadav backward communities.

### Caste factor

- The **2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections** had created the perception that the days of caste assertion or “voting your caste” were a thing of the past. But there are **no signs that it is going away anytime soon**, or even becoming less important, either socially or politically.
- On August 1, **2023**, the **Patna High Court**, giving its **go-ahead to a caste survey in Bihar**, also noted that “despite attempts to efface it from the social fabric, caste remains a reality and refuses to be swept aside, wished away, or brushed aside nor does it wither away and disperse into thin air”.



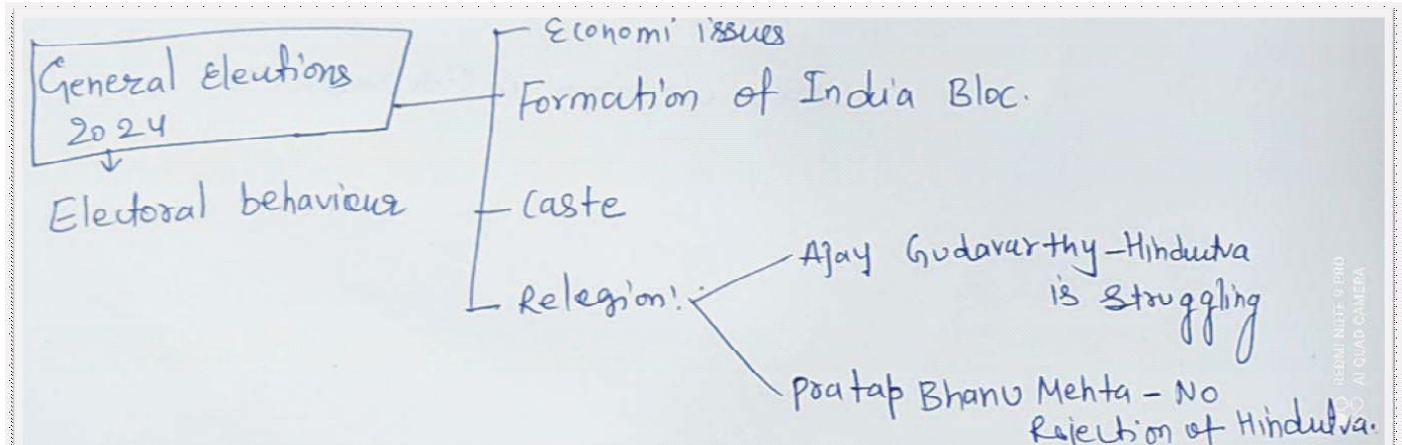
- Nothing expresses this better than the **election results of 2024**, where parties across lines reaped rich dividends from formidable caste alliances, not only in the traditional caste cauldrons of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar but also in Maharashtra and Karnataka, where social hierarchies are supposedly less rigid.
- **Ajay Gudavarthy** : *“Caste remained a significant factor all through the 10-year period of Modi’s populist mobilisation. What the BJP-RSS combine managed to do was internally subvert the democratic aspirations of the marginalised castes. They offered them representation without any accompanying social demands. This came under stress in this election.”*
- **The verdict from Ayodhya**
  - ◆ As per **Anand Mishra**, “Nothing bears out the shift from religion to caste better than the victory of Awadhesh Prasad, a Dalit leader from the Samajwadi Party (SP), from the general constituency of Faizabad, which is home to Ayodhya and the Ram temple. This was a particularly big setback for the BJP, which was banking heavily on the euphoria generated by the temple not only in Uttar Pradesh but countrywide.”
  - ◆ As per **Sanjay Kumar**, **“The verdict of 2024 has indicated that there is a limit to identity politics, whether it is about caste or religion.”**
- **Dalit dissatisfaction**
  - ◆ Dalits moved away from the BJP because they feared the party might change the Constitution and end reservations if it gained too much power.
  - ◆ In 2019, data from the **Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS)** showed that 33 percent of Dalits and 42 per cent of OBCs voted for the BJP.
  - ◆ Understanding the OBC vote is more complex.
  - ◆ Dominant Dalits and OBCs, called **“mezzanine elites”** by **Gudavarthy**, may still support the BJP for representation.
  - ◆ However, lower sections of these groups shifted to the opposition, particularly the Congress, due to promises of better resource distribution. These lower sections focused on overall benefits, not just representation.

### **DOES THE CASTE DYNAMICS CHALLENGE BJP’S HINDUTVA POLITICS AMIDST ECONOMIC STRAINS AND RISING ASPIRATIONS ?**

- **Gudavarthy** said: “We saw a conflict of interest between the dominant castes. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh, tension brewed between Rajputs and Brahmins; in Gujarat, Rajputs were unhappy with the BJP just as the Jats were in Haryana. **Hindutva politics is struggling to hold divergent castes together under its resurgent Hindu mobilisation.**”
- The rising aspirations of the subaltern classes meant that their demand was for more than just food grains and freedom from fear, which is ultimately the only thing the BJP appeared to promise, and they switched to an alternative that promised a bigger share in the resource pie.
- However as per **Pratap Bhanu Mehta**, **“The rejection of the BJP is not a rejection of Hindutva: The building of the temple was popular and communalism is growing. But the BJP made the mistake of thinking this could transform into political capital indefinitely.”**



## QUICK REVISION NOTES



## TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

### Practice For Mains

Q1. Discuss the determinants of electoral behaviour in Indian politics. (15 Marks, 200 Words)

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# GENERAL ELECTIONS 2024: WOMEN REPRESENTATION

## WHY READ THIS ARTICLE

*“This article examines the gender disparities in the 2024 Indian general election, focusing on women’s voting patterns, low female candidacy, challenges faced by women candidates, and India’s lagging global position in women’s parliamentary representation. This article is important not only for PSIR but for GS papers and essay paper as well as.”*

### • **Low Female Candidacy in Indian Elections**

- ◆ Only 9.6 per cent of all candidates in this election (and 11 per cent of candidates contesting on a party ticket) were women, according to data compiled by the Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR). This is barely up from 2019, when the share of women among candidates was nine percent.
- ◆ There is no apparent correlation between higher turnout of women and the election of women in those constituencies.
- ◆ To add insult to injury, several women who contested the polls faced misogynist remarks and jibes from their peers.

### **Women elected representatives**

- The 18th Lok Sabha will have **74 women** out of 543 MPs, making up just **13.6% of the total**, a decrease from 14.4% in 2019. This percentage highlights a stark gender imbalance in representation.
- The data reveal that the all-India voting percentage dropped from 67.40 per cent in 2019 to **65.79 in 2024**. Remarkably, this decline in voter turnout has been sharper among women than men.
  - ◆ In **2019**, the proportion of electors who voted was marginally higher for women than men.
  - ◆ In **2024**, however, it was marginally lower for women than men. According to the ECI, 31.2 crore women voted this time. The all-India voter turnout was 65.80 per cent for men and 65.78 per cent for women.

### **ON Women voting pattern**

- Of 31 States and Union Territories, the **voter turnout percentages of women exceeded that of men in 19 States**.
  - ◆ All States in the north-eastern region, barring Tripura and Sikkim, reported higher voter turnout percentages among women than men.
  - ◆ In at least 18 States or Union Territories, the turnout percentage of women was higher than the average turnout for the State. These included West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Puducherry, Kerala, Goa, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Uttarakhand, and Nagaland.



• **India Lags in Global Women’s Representation**

- ◆ Globally, most parliaments are male-dominated, but India ranks even lower than many countries.
- ◆ In 2023, 52 countries had parliamentary elections, and on average, 27.6% of the elected representatives were women. Overall, women make up 26.9% of MPs worldwide.
- ◆ Before the 18th Lok Sabha, India was 143rd out of 185 countries in terms of women’s representation, according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) , now the ranking is likely to fall further by five or six positions.

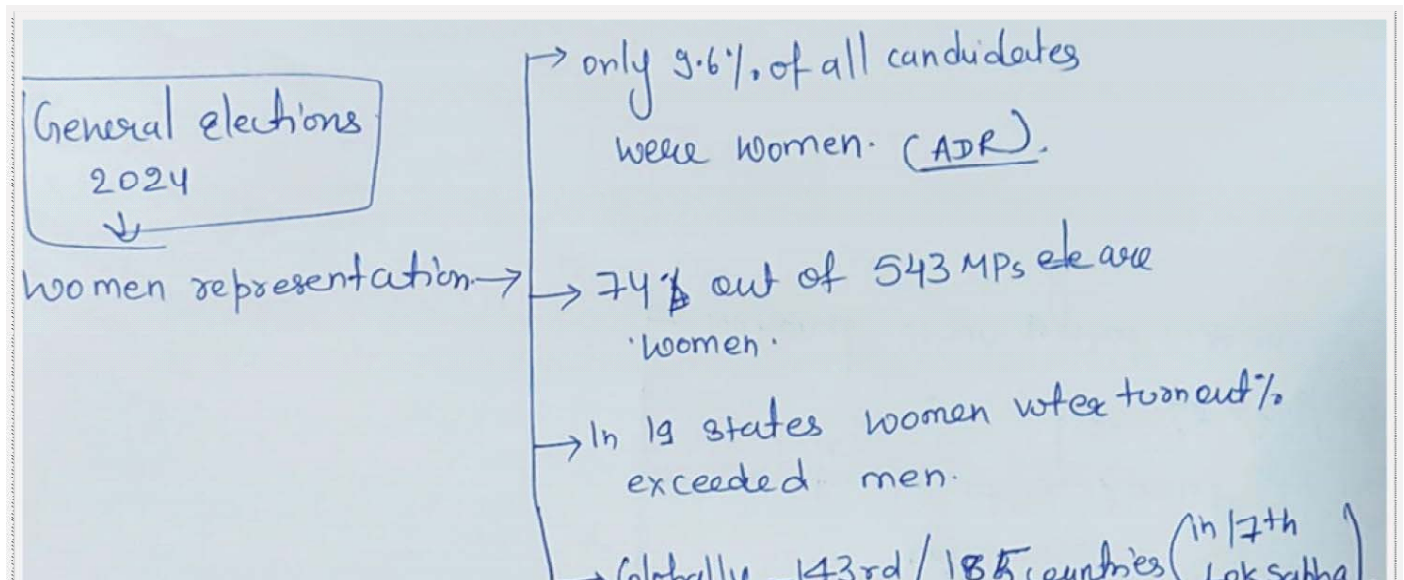
• **N. Manimekalai, director of the Centre for Women’s Development Studies:**

- ◆ The number of women registering as voters has been on the increase for the past one decade.
- ◆ This would contribute to increased voting by women and a higher voter turnout in general, though this **did not happen in 2024**.
- ◆ She added that the **turnout of women voters from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes** was higher than those from the general categories, indicating that women from economically and socially vulnerable communities do come out to vote, which is a welcome trend.
- ◆ She believes that women at the grassroots level in rural and urban areas commit to voting irrespective of region, caste, or religion and that the decline in voting percentage may often be attributed to the middle classes, migrant workers, and the elderly and disabled.

• **Need for National-Level Reforms**

- ◆ India has been a leader in increasing women’s participation in local politics, but achieving this at the national level requires top-down reform and a commitment from political parties.

**QUICK REVISION NOTES**



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## TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

### Practice for Prelims

**Q1. Consider the following statements regarding political participation of women.**

1. India as a sovereign republic provided the right to vote for all its women right from the first general elections in 1952.
2. The Indian Parliament, through the 106th constitutional amendment, provided for one-third reservation of seats for women in the Lok Sabha and but not in State legislative assemblies.
3. As per UN Women, Rwanda has 50 per cent or more women in parliament in single or lower houses.

**Which of the following statements are correct?**

- (a). 1 and 2
- (b). 2 and 3
- (c). 1 and 3
- (d). Only 1

**Answer: (c)**

### Practice For Mains

**Q1. Analyse the factors responsible for lower representation of women in Indian Politics. (200 Words/15 Marks)**

# 2024

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# URBAN TRANSFORMATION STRATEGIES FROM BUDGET 2024

## WHY READ THIS ARTICLE

*“This article explains the key urban transformation strategies from Budget 2024, covering housing, infrastructure, digital initiatives, city planning, and waste management, while emphasizing the importance of government coordination and citizen involvement for successful urban development.”*

Cities are home to about 50 crore people, accounting for about 36% of India’s population. The urban population has been growing at a steady pace of 2% to 2.5% annually. The ever-growing pace of urbanisation in India calls for sustained investments, with a vision and determination.

**The maiden Budget of the new government has recognised cities as the growth hubs and offered many options and opportunities for the planned development and the growth of cities.**

### On housing

- **Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (Urban):** Since 2015, it has provided 85 lakh housing units for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS)-Middle Income Groups (MIG), with an ₹8 lakh crore investment. The Budget proposes constructing another 1 crore units with ₹10 lakh crore investment, including ₹2.2 lakh crore central assistance over five years, with ₹30,171 crore allocated this year. Interest subsidies will facilitate affordable loans.
- **Rental Housing for Industrial Workers:** New dormitory-type accommodations will be developed via public-private partnerships (PPP) with Viability Gap Funding (VGF) support of 20% from the central government and potential state support.

### On core infrastructure

- **Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT) Scheme:** Budget allocates ₹8,000 crore for water supply, sanitation, roads, and sewerage systems. Viability Gap Funding (VGF) will support public-private partnership (PPP) projects to develop or upgrade infrastructure.
- **Capex and Loans:** ₹11.11 lakh crore for infrastructure, including highways, with opportunities for cities to share. ₹1.50 lakh crore interest-free loans for states, usable for city infrastructure.

### On National Urban Digital Mission (NUDM)

- New initiative with ₹1,150 crore for digitising property and tax records with GIS mapping to improve urban local bodies’ financial management and property owner services.

### On city planning

- The Budget emphasises planned city development, allocating ₹25,653 crore for the Finance Commission Grant to municipalities and ₹500 crore for incubating new cities.



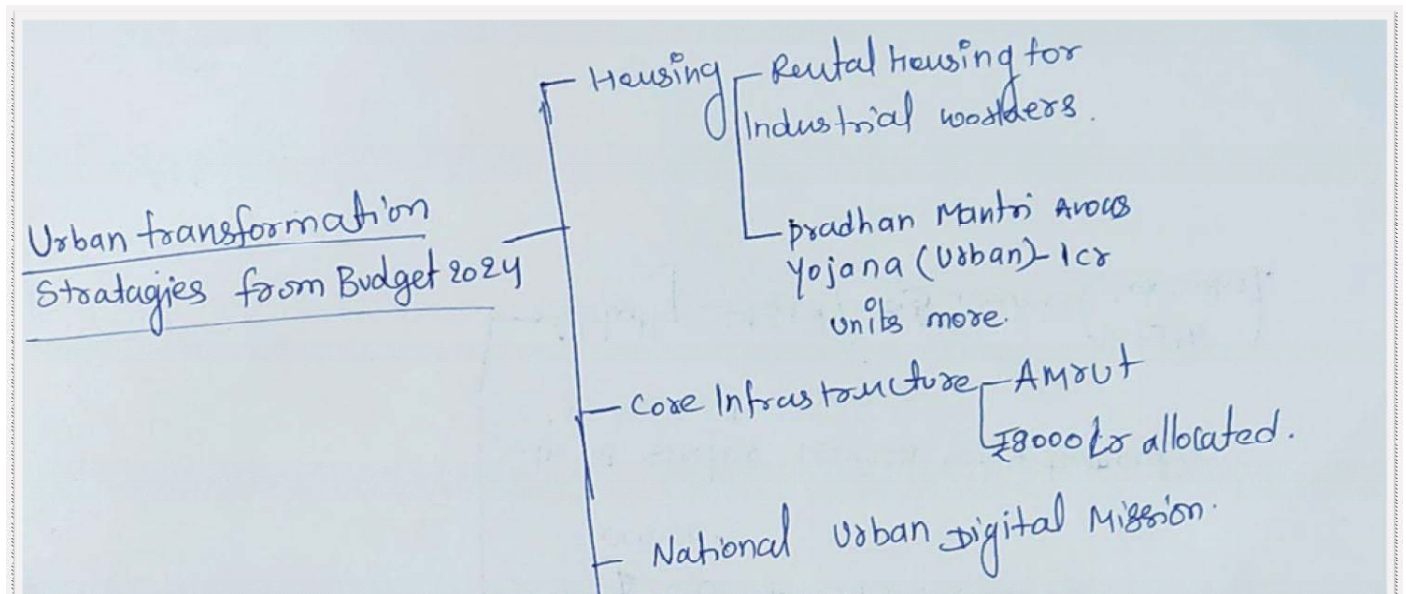
- Mass rapid transit systems will enable transit-oriented development, reducing road traffic overload by promoting denser development around transit hubs. Enhanced focus on economic and transit planning aims to connect cities with peri-urban areas and new cities through well-designed mobility plans.

### On solid waste management

- The Budget focuses on urban development challenges, particularly solid waste management (SWM), by introducing bankable projects in collaboration with State governments and financial institutions.
- States and municipalities can use the Viability Gap Funding (VGF) for SWM, with cities like Indore demonstrating its financial viability.
- The Street Vendors Act, 2014, regulates street vending to ensure safety and health. The Budget proposes developing 100 weekly street food hubs in select cities, encouraging States to expand this initiative based on local needs.

While the Budget has made a slew of provisions, financial as well as procedural, to push for planned urbanisation, cities, represented by the municipalities, and guided by the respective State governments, will have to show the vision and the determination to incorporate all the resources coming not only from the Union Budget but also augmented by their own resources. Above all, the participation of citizens would remain the bedrock for the success of any city's development strategy.

## QUICK REVISION NOTES



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## TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

### Practice for Prelims

**Q1. Consider the following statements regarding 74th Amendment of the Constitution of India:**

1. It granted the Urban Local Bodies the authority to carry out the 18 tasks stated in the Indian Constitution's 11th Schedule.
2. In case of the elected body's dissolution, an election had to be conducted within 1 year compulsorily.
3. No person shall be disqualified because he is less than 25 years of age if he has attained the age of 21 years.
4. State legislature has been empowered to make any provision for reservation in the municipality at any level in favour of the backward class.

**Which of the following statements are correct?**

- (a). 1 and 4
- (b). 3 and 4
- (c). 2 and 3
- (d). 2 and 4

**Answer: (b)**

### Practice For Mains

**Q1. What are the socio-economic implications of rapid urbanization in India, and what measures can be implemented to address these challenges? (200 Words/15 Marks)**

# DISABILITY RIGHTS AND INCLUSION IN INDIA

The Department of Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities (Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment) organised a special screening of the film 'Srikanth' in Indian Sign Language (ISL) in New Delhi. Deaf children from NGOs working with the hearing-impaired community in the Delhi-NCR region were present at this event. This effort is a significant step towards promoting accessibility and inclusivity in the field of entertainment.

- In India, PwDs face numerous challenges stemming from deep-rooted societal stigma and systemic barriers.
- According to **Shashank Pandey**, a lawyer and founder of the Politics and Disability Forum, disability rights are viewed through two main models: **the medical model and the social model**. The newer **human rights model**, an evolution of the social model, asserts that people with disabilities are equal members of society with the same rights as others.
- The Supreme Court's focus on this human rights model is crucial as it mandates that both the government and private entities ensure full and effective participation of persons with disabilities in society.

## CHALLENGES FACED BY PWDS

- **Social Stigma:** Persons with disabilities (PwDs) face social stigma, marginalisation in all sectors, and discrimination in education and employment; most importantly, they struggle for dignity. Persons with disabilities remained shut out from a whole range of activities of daily life.
  - ◆ **V. Muralidharan:** Disabled people are still considered objects of charity. Even the government's coinage of 'Divyang' looks at disability through the lens of charity.
- **Challenges in Education:** Educational institutions lack the necessary infrastructure and support mechanisms. **The National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled People** reveals that less than 1% of India's educational institutions are disabled-friendly, less than 40% of school buildings have ramps, and approximately 17% have accessible restrooms.
  - ◆ A report of the **Sarthak Educational Trust** titled '**Accessibility and Inclusion in Higher Education in India**' states that reservation is provided under the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016, in government jobs, and incentives in non-government jobs, but there is a clear lack of implementation.
- **Challenges Employment:** Workplaces lack robust diversity policies that would give proper representation to PwDs. **The 2023 report by Nifty 50 constituent companies** reveals that only five out of the 50 companies have more than 1% of PwDs on their rolls, with four of them being public sector companies.
- **Stereotyping in Visual Media:** stereotyping and discrimination of persons with disabilities (PwDs) in visual media, including films and documentaries.
- **Problems in accessing the Public buildings:** Most of the public buildings do not have ramps, grab rails, lifts, toilets, and other accessibility features for PwDs. Even they face challenges in travelling in the public transport system.



- **Legal and Policy Implementation Gap:** Experts have flagged the issues like, poor implementation, lack of awareness and accountability. There is no consistency, lack of budgetary allocation, and no monitoring and sensitisation.
  - ◆ Millions of people with disabilities face digital barriers that prevent their full participation in society. Despite the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016, legal obligations remain inadequately implemented.
  - ◆ This has a cascading effect in denying hundreds of persons with disabilities “their narratives” across the country.

## WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TILL NOW FOR PWDS?

- The law which comprehensively deals with disability rights is the **Rights of Persons with Disabilities (RPwD) Act** which came into force from April 19, 2017. It gave effect to the **United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities**. India ratified the convention in 2007.
- It mandated the central government to notify guidelines and standards for public buildings, and to review them “from time to time” based “on the latest scientific knowledge and technology”.
- **The Supreme Court of India has issued landmark guidelines** to prevent stereotyping and discrimination against persons with disabilities (PwDs) in visual media. The framework emphasises avoiding stigmatising language, providing accurate representations, and involving PwDs in content creation.
- Secretary (Department of Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities – DEPwD), **Shri Rajesh Aggarwal** said, *“Entertainment should be accessible to everyone, whether they belong to the hearing-impaired community or other persons with disabilities.”*

## WHAT ARE THE SOLUTIONS/SUGGESTIONS?

- For the effective implementation of the laws and rules, States should come forward and develop a compliance mechanism. For instance, a model from Brazil can be emulated, where companies with more than 100 employees must have PwDs comprise 2%-5% of the total workforce.
- Disability Pride Month is celebrated in July every year to embrace the identities of all persons with disabilities and reaffirm their rights and visibility, which, more often than not, get shrouded in our ableist structures.
- Collaboration with disability advocacy groups to gain invaluable insights and guidance on respectful and accurate portrayals in visual media and ensuring the content aligns with the lived experiences of persons with disabilities.
- The Indian education system needs an inclusive framework to promote PwDs. For instance, Harvard University in the U.S. has Local Disability Coordinators who are specialised in helping PwDs find accommodation in the city.

In his address on “The Narrative of Justice”, **Chief Justice of India D Y Chandrachud** emphatically stated that *“India’s narrative is the narrative of plurality and diversity which is the essence of freedom which we visualise for the future. To deny narrative is to deny identity”*.

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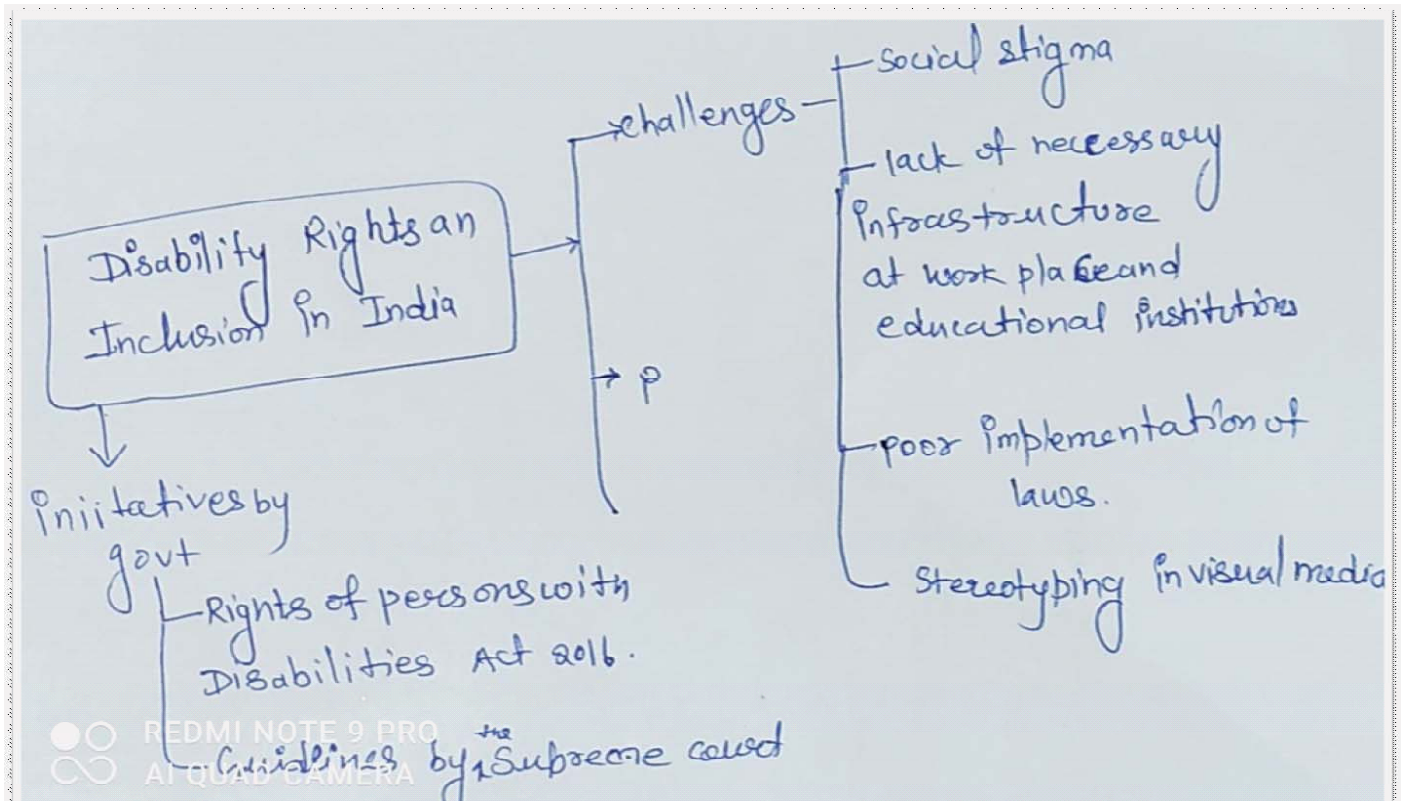
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## QUICK REVISION NOTES



## TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

### Practice For Mains

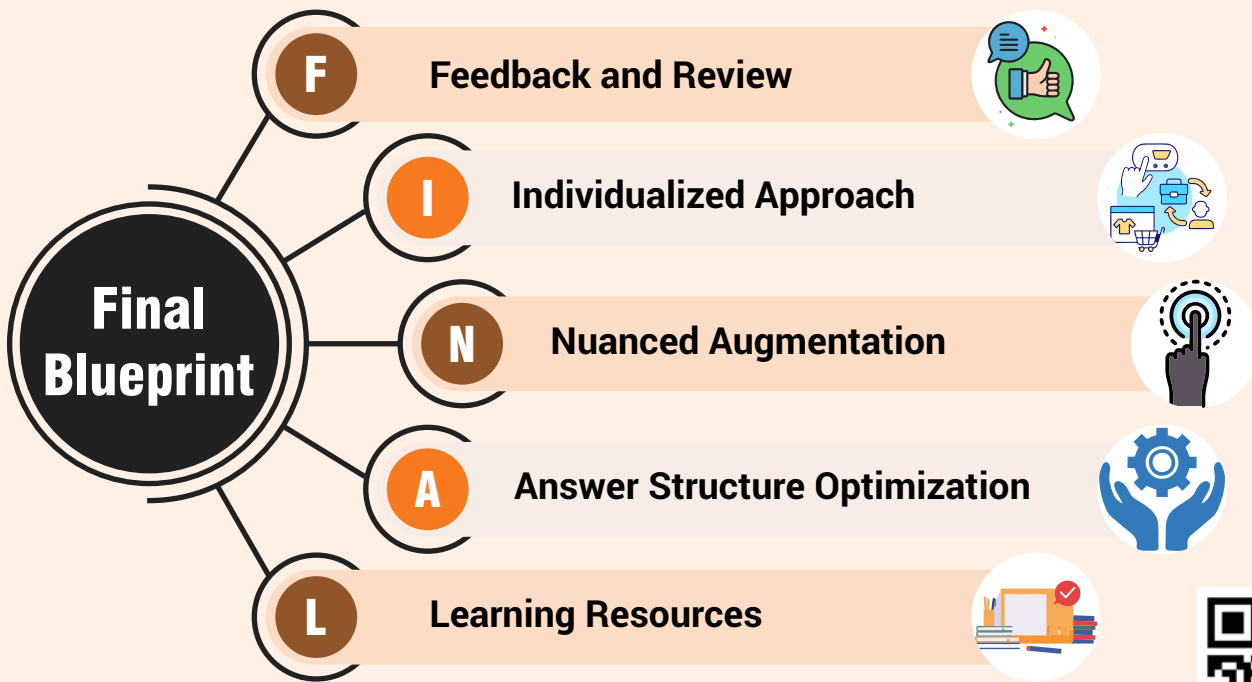
**Q1. Discuss the challenges faced by Persons with Disabilities. Suggest measures to address the same. (250 Words/15 Marks)**



**Dr. PIYUSH CHAUBEY**

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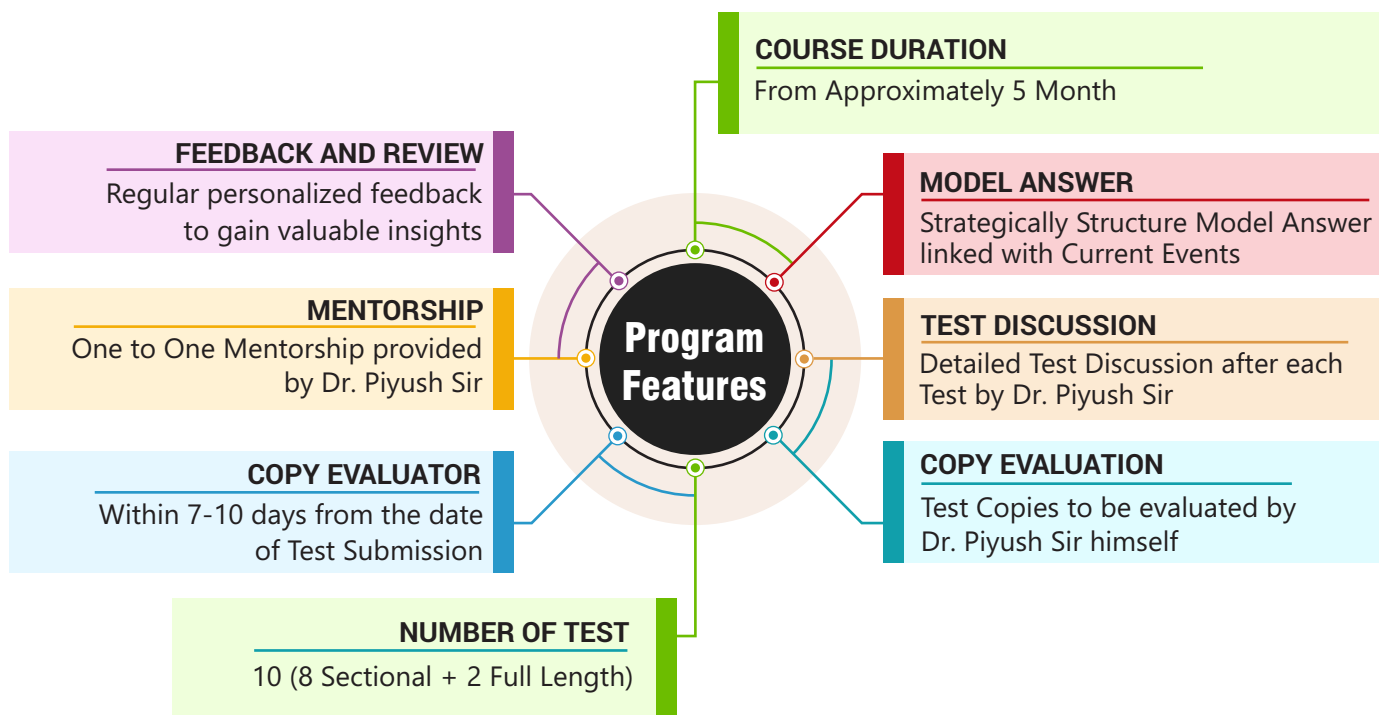


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**SECTION 1A**  
**2 Tests**

**SECTION 1B**  
**2 Tests**

**Full Length: Paper 1**  
**1 Tests**

### PAPER- 2

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**2 Tests**

**SECTION 2B**  
**2 Tests**

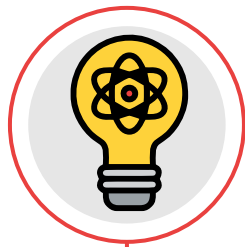
**Full Length: Paper 2**  
**1 Tests**

**TOTAL NUMBER OF TEST 10**



**F**

**Feedback & Review**  
for Continuous  
Refinement of Writing  
Skills



**A**

**Application of  
Knowledge** to  
Comprehend the Topic



**S**

**Strategic Guidance** to  
Tailor the Learning  
Process and Approach  
Answer Writing



**T**

**Time Management** to  
Write Concrete and  
Concise Answer

## TEST WRITING PATTERN

### PAPER- 1

#### SECTION 1A

**3** Tests

#### SECTION 1B

**3** Tests

#### Full Length: Paper 1

**2** Tests

### PAPER- 2

#### SECTION 2A

**3** Tests

#### SECTION 2B

**3** Tests

#### Full Length: Paper 2

**2** Tests

**AFTER PRELIMS: 4 FULL LENGTH TEST**

**TOTAL NUMBER OF TEST 20**

# PSIR IN A FLASH

*the Quick Revision Guide*

*by: Dr. Piyush Chaubey*



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# **PSIR IN A FLASH**

**Paper- 1**

# ARTHASHASTRA TRADITION: KAUTILYA

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>INTRODUCTION</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Arthashastra is an Indian treatise on politics, economics, military strategy, functions of the state and social organisation, attributed to the philosopher Kautilya.</li> <li>• Kautilya’s political philosophy is realistic.</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SALIENT FEATURES OF STATECRAFT IN KAUTILYA’S ARTHASHASTRA</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• According to Kautilya, the state originated when people got tired of the logic of the fish (‘Matsyanyaya’)</li> <li>• Arthashastra suggests that the state is a <b>“socialist monarchy”</b>.</li> <li>• Kautilya’s state has centralised economy, good governance, and a welfare state.</li> <li>• Disciplined by law and order.</li> <li>• Primacy to religion; religion can be a means to accomplish political ends.</li> <li>• Social justice as a means to strengthen the state.</li> <li>• Civil rights were granted to Shudras.</li> <li>• Kautilya also recognized mixed castes and inheritance rights for children of Pratiloma marriages, showing flexibility in social order.</li> <li>• Kautilya's state operated as a welfare state, regulating and actively participating in economic activities while also controlling private enterprises.</li> <li>• Education is the responsibility of the state.</li> <li>• The king should be the ‘kind father’ of people and a person of intellectual insights. He must use his intelligence in dealing with the problems of statecraft.</li> <li>• Kautilya prioritised righteousness, wealth, and pleasure over liberation in his value system, criticising both asceticism and hedonism.</li> <li>• Arthashastra advocated harmony between secular and spiritual knowledge.</li> <li>• Kautilya was among the first ancient Indian lawmakers to grant individuals the right to judicial protection.</li> </ul>



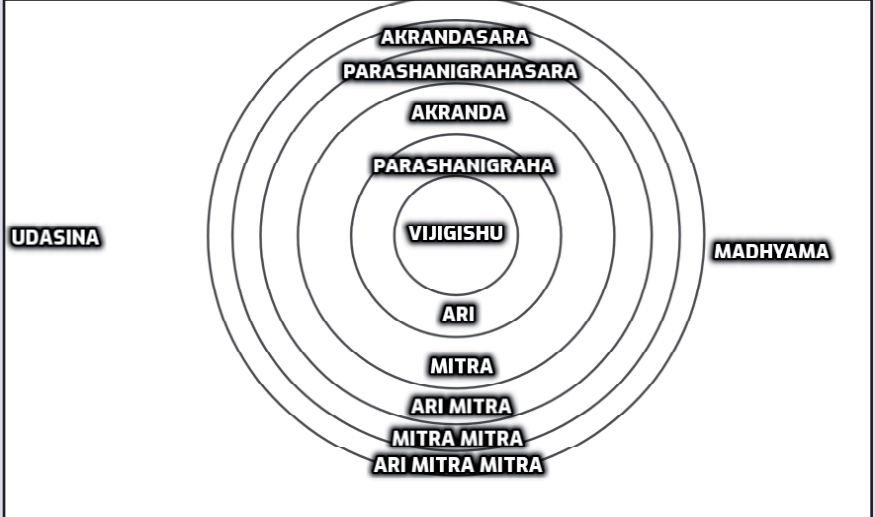
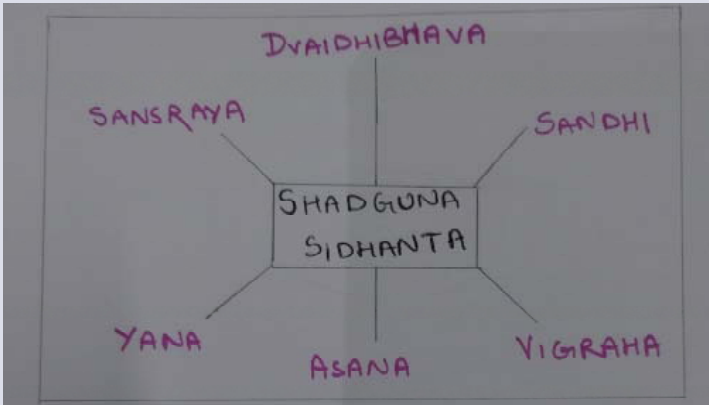
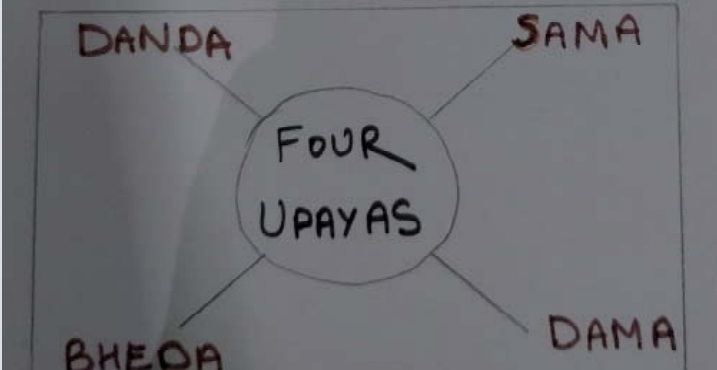
### SAPTANGA THEORY OF STATE

#### 1:-THE SAPTANGA THEORY



- **Swami (The Sovereign King):** King should have-
  - ◆ an inviting nature.
  - ◆ qualities of intellect and intuition.
  - ◆ great enthusiasm.
  - ◆ self-restraint.
  - ◆ free of passion, anger, greed, and fickleness .
  - ◆ capable of self-management.
  - ◆ observing the customs taught by elderly people.
  - ◆ capacity to make judgments like when to go to war etc.
- **Amatya (Ministers):**
  - ◆ must be from ‘Janpad’ (a native of the county that he is an official of)
  - ◆ should come from a good family,
  - ◆ be adequately trained,
  - ◆ have foresight, eloquence, dignity, enthusiasm,
  - ◆ have administrative ability,
  - ◆ knowledge of scriptures, and
  - ◆ high character.
- **Janpad (Territory and People):**
  - ◆ Ideal territory should be free from mud, rocks, salt, uneven terrain, and wild animals.
  - ◆ Land to be suitable for both humans and cattle.
  - ◆ citizens to be strong enough to defend against enemies, loyal to their rulers, and law-abiding.
- **Durg (Fort)**
  - ◆ Four types: water forts, hill forts, desert forts and forest forts.
  - ◆ To be fit for fighting and to defend the state.
- **Kosha (Treasury)**
  - ◆ Kosh should have enough gold and silver for long periods of calamity.
  - ◆ In emergency king can raise revenues.
- **Sena (Army):** six types of army:
  - ◆ hereditary forces,
  - ◆ hired troops,
  - ◆ soldiers of fighting corporations,
  - ◆ troops belonging to an ally,
  - ◆ troops belonging to the enemy and
  - ◆ soldiers of wild tribes
- **Mitra (Ally)**
  - ◆ Two kinds: Sahaj (natural) and Kritrim (acquired)



<p><b>KAUTILYA'S FOREIGN POLICY</b></p> <p><b>THEORY OF MANDALA/ RAJ-MANDALA/ CIRCLE OF THE STATES</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mandala theory is the basis of Kautilya's foreign policy.</li> <li>• It is a 'theory of world conquest'.</li> <li>• based on the geopolitical and geo-strategic assumption that all neighbouring states are the enemy, and the enemy's enemy is the natural ally.</li> </ul> 
<p><b>SHADGUNA SIDHANTA: SIX MEASURES OF FOREIGN POLICY</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This doctrine is about the six principles of foreign policy like a formula for attainment of one's national interests and goals at the level of international politics based on political reality.</li> <li>• It contains six basic principles as follows:</li> </ul> 
<p><b>FOUR UPAYAS</b></p>	
<p><b>KAUTILYA ON CORRUPTION</b></p>	<p>Corruption is there because men are naturally fickle minded" and are comparable to "horses at work [who] exhibit constant change in their temper".</p>



<p><b>WAYS TO TACKLE CORRUPTION</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Teamwork and professionalism in achieving organisational goals.</li> <li>• Thorough fraud resolution</li> <li>• Embezzlement and Accountability</li> <li>• Fines on corrupt judges</li> <li>• Spies to catch financial and judicial wrongdoing.</li> <li>• Concept of whistle-blowers(‘suchaka’)</li> <li>• Rewards and Punishments</li> <li>• Temporary Positions and Rotation of Government Servants</li> <li>• Accountability and Self-Auditing</li> </ul>
<p><b>RELEVANCE OF KAUTILYA’S POLITICAL THOUGHT</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Revolutionised political science,</li> <li>• Offer a structured approach to governing a state.</li> <li>• Mandala Theory stresses the need for a balanced power dynamic among states.</li> <li>• Pragmatic governance,</li> <li>• Valuing the king's intelligence and</li> <li>• Craftiness over moral ideals.</li> </ul>

<p><b>BROAD STREAMS OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT: COMPARATIVE STUDY</b></p>			
ISSUE	DHARMASHASTRA TRADITION	ARTHASHASTRA TRADITION	BUDDHIST TRADITION
Religious Base	Hinduism	Hinduism	Buddhism
Primary Concern	Pursuit of Dharma (Spiritual emancipation)	Pursuit of Artha (Worldly prosperity)	Ethical Principles
Origin of the State	Divine Origin	Practical Necessity	Social Contract
Status of Sovereign	Representative of God	Appointed to provide protection and secure welfare of the people	Chosen by the people for their protection and maintenance of law and order

Kautilya: “Wise king who possesses the personal qualities, though ruling over the small territories being united with the excellence of the constituent elements (Prakritis) and conversant with Arthashastra does conquer the entire earth, never loses”.

Kautilya: “War and peace are considered solely from the point of view of the profit”

Bruce Rich: “Kautilya’s foreign policy was ruthless realpolitik, intrigue and deception... Kautilya gave cold blooded realism and treachery with some remarkable enlightened policies”.

G.P. Singh argues: “Mandala theory is ancient India’s most notable contribution to political theory”. Singh analysed the mandala theory as a ‘Balance of power’.

**KEY WORDS**

- Arthashastra tradition, Kautilya, Statecraft, Saptanga Theory, Mandala theory, Vijigishu, Chakravartin, Shadguna Sidhanta, Upayas, Corruption, Realist, Pragmatic, Law and order, Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Spy, Punishment.


**PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS**

- Q1. Discuss Kautilya's views on the elements of the State. [2019/15m/200w/3b]**
- Q2. What do you understand about the notion of statecraft? Discuss the theory of statecraft as given by Kautilya. [2017/15m/200w/4c]**
- Q3. Compare and contrast the views of Kautilya and Machiavelli on statecraft. [2015/15m/200w/2c]**

**PROBABLE QUESTIONS**

- Q1. Discuss the theory of statecraft as given by Kautilya. (15 marks, 200 words)**
- Q2. Arthshastra does not directly concern with the state, yet it is an influential treatise on statecraft. Examine**

# MAHATMA GANDHI

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PROFILE</b></p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1869-1948</li> <li>• Not a political philosopher in the Western sense, but led based on principles of truth and non-violence</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN NATIONALISM</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He made the Indian National Congress a people’s congress and the National Movement a ‘Mass Movement’</li> <li>• Had a strong passion for individual liberty which was closely bound with his understanding of ‘Truth’ and ‘Self-realisation’</li> <li>• <b>Jawaharlal Nehru</b> argued, <i>“Gandhi knew India for better than we did, and a man who could command such tremendous devotion and loyalty must have something in him that corresponded to the needs and aspirations of the masses”</i></li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF GANDHIAN PRINCIPLES</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• His political ideology was a radical departure from the past in the sense that it was neither constitutional loyalist of the Moderates nor extremism of the Revolutionary terrorists</li> <li>• Attempted to transcend class conflicts by devising a method for national unification across India</li> <li>• His thought combined the political and social realms</li> <li>• Engaged with modernity's pitfalls, advocating Swaraj, Swadeshi, trusteeship and minimal state powers</li> </ul>

<b>MEANS vs ENDS</b>	
<b>Gandhi</b>	<b>Machiavelli</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opposed the use of unjust means under any circumstances</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Argued that a prince could use dubious means like false promises and fear to preserve the state</li> </ul>



<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Believed in the purity of both means and ends, asserting that the nature of the means determines the nature of the end</li> <li>• Compared means and ends to seeds and trees, and to actions (Karma) and their consequences (Phala)</li> <li>• Adopted Satyagraha (truth force) and Ahimsa (non-violence) for achieving Swaraj (independence), emphasising the sanctity of the means</li> <li>• As <b>Gandhi</b> himself observed: <i>“They say means are after all means. I would say means are after all everything”</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Believed the State is established by force and maintained by fraud</li> <li>• He separated politics from ethics, suggesting unethical means are excused if they secure political stability</li> </ul>
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<p><b>THEORY OF TRUTH &amp; NON-VIOLENCE</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Truth and God: Gandhi equated God with Truth, worshipping through service to the oppressed</li> <li>• Non-Violence: Non-violence, integral to pursuing truth, involves avoiding harm and fostering love                         <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Negative Aspect: Abstention from physical and mental violence</li> <li>◆ Positive Aspect: Love and respect for all</li> <li>◆ Extends to environmental conservation and equitable distribution of resources</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Moral Power: Non-violence is the strength of the morally strong, requiring purity of heart and mind</li> <li>• Self-Purification: Methods like Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience are rooted in non-violence</li> <li>• Social Justice: True non-violence involves active resistance to injustice</li> <li>• As <b>Gandhi</b> asserted: <i>“True Non-violence is impossible without having unadulterated fearlessness. There is hope for a violent man to someday be non-violent, but there is none for a coward. Nonviolence taught a person to be brave, and not to escape from his duty”</i></li> </ul>
<p><b>GANDHI’S CRITIQUE OF MODERN CIVILISATION</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Criticism of Industrialization: Gandhi foresaw the dehumanising effects of modern industrial civilization and warned against India's adoption of Western-style industrialism                         <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ <b>Gandhi</b>: <i>“to make India like England and America is to find some other races and places on earth for exploitation. So far it appears that the western nations have divided all the known races outside Europe for exploitation and that there is no new world to discover, what can be the fate of India trying to ape the west?”</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic Exploitation: He cautioned that India’s industrialization would lead to global exploitation similar to that caused by England’s economic imperialism</li> <li>• Village Life: Gandhi believed India’s strength lay in its villages and that modern technology and industrialization would erode this rural culture</li> <li>• Machinery: He opposed machinery that displaced labour, advocating for hand-powered tools like the Charkha <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ <b>Gandhi: “What we must dread is huge machinery run not by hand but by non-human power such as steam, electricity, etc”</b></li> </ul> </li> <li>• Urbanisation: Gandhi argued that urbanisation drained resources from villages, leading to the decline of village industries and reducing villagers to a life of idleness and despair</li> <li>• Moral and Spiritual Concerns: He viewed modern civilization as morally and spiritually bankrupt, focused on material comforts and exploitation of resources</li> <li>• Alternative Vision: Gandhi suggested viewing machinery as an evil and emphasised a lifestyle that preserves spirituality and morality over materialism</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>LIMITS OF POLITICAL OBLIGATION</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Concept: Political obligation defines when and why individuals must obey laws and political authority</li> <li>• Gandhi's View: Recognized limits through his principle of civil disobedience, advocating disobedience to unjust laws and authorities</li> <li>• Civil Disobedience: A non-violent, public act to protest unjust laws or demand political reform, exemplified by Gandhi's 1930 salt march against British colonial rule</li> <li>• Conditions: Should be non-violent, transparent, and accept penalties willingly, aiming to change the authorities' hearts</li> <li>• Appropriate Use: Only against tyrannical regimes or unjust governments, not for sectional demands against public interest</li> <li>• <b>Gandhi: “Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, must be based upon some well-understood principle, must not be capricious and above all, must have no ill-will or hatred behind it”</b></li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>GANDHIAN VIEWS ON RIGHTS AND DUTIES</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rights cannot be divorced from duties and that rights have to be exercised in the interests of all</li> <li>• Concept of duty is derived from the idea of dispassionate action which the Bhagavad Gita advocates</li> <li>• Supports individual rights, especially for marginalised groups like women and untouchables, emphasising equal rights and choice</li> <li>• Duties are primary, with moral action being paramount, irrespective of consequences</li> </ul>



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>NATURE OF SWARAJ</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Beyond Political Independence: Swaraj involves cultural, moral, and individual independence, not just freedom from foreign rule</li> <li>• Self-Reliance: Encourages confidence in one's own potential while learning from others without losing individuality</li> <li>• True Democracy: Emphasises the ability of all people to resist authority abuse, not just elect representatives.</li> <li>• Self-Purification: Continuous moral regeneration and self-purification, even after achieving independence</li> <li>• Non-Violence: Relies on Ahimsa (non-violence) for political and individual self-government</li> <li>• Dual Freedom: Includes outward (political) and inward (spiritual) freedom, aiming for self-realisation (moksha)</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>INDEPENDENCE &amp; PARLIAMENTARY SWARAJ</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Gandhi:</b> <i>“Real swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused”</i></li> <li>• National Independence: Essential but incomplete without democratic swaraj and the capacity to resist authority abuse</li> <li>• Modernization: Gandhi did not oppose modernization (e.g., railways, machinery) but wanted it restructured for public benefit</li> <li>• As to the organisational features of <b>“parliamentary swaraj”</b> Gandhi preferred it to be a village-based, decentralised set-up, in which all but the lowest level of government was to be indirectly elected by the immediately lower level.</li> </ul> <p><b>Parliamentary Swaraj</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Features: Focused on universal adult franchise, civil liberties, minority rights, and justice for the poor</li> <li>• Gandhi regarded personal and civil liberties to be the “foundation” and “breath” of Parliamentary Swaraj</li> <li>• Emphasised protection of fundamental, cultural, and religious rights of minority communities to prevent majoritarian tyranny</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>CONCEPT OF SATYAGRAHA</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gandhi coined the term <b>Satyagraha (satya=truth, agraha=force)</b> in 1906 to convey his idea of truth-force or soul-force, distinct from physical force</li> <li>• <b>Definition</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ In ‘Hind Swaraj’, Gandhi defined Satyagraha as <i>“a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul force. It involves sacrifice of self”</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Bhikhu Parekh</b> has identified the following <b>three areas</b> in which Gandhi tried to use ‘soul-force’ or ‘truth-force’ (that is Satyagraha) against various forms of brute force: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Racial discrimination in South Africa</li> <li>◆ British rule in India</li> <li>◆ Ugly social practices prevailing in Indian society (such as untouchability, communal prejudices and hatred, etc.)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Core Principles</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ <b>Self-Suffering:</b> Emphasises self-sacrifice over inflicting suffering, aiming to make the wrong-doer realise their fault</li> <li>◆ <b>Peaceful Protest:</b> Distinguished from duragraha (stubborn resistance), Satyagraha involves respectful engagement with the opponent to find truth and resolution</li> <li>◆ <b>Non-Violence:</b> Satyagrahis reject violence, embodying the principle of “<b>Live and let live</b>”; <b>Joan Bondurant</b> (‘Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict’) <i>has observed that Gandhi says ‘yes’ to fighting but an emphatic ‘no’ to violence</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Execution</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ <b>Last Resort:</b> Satyagraha is employed only after all other means, such as public appeal and education, are exhausted</li> <li>◆ <b>Global Influence:</b> Inspired movements like the American civil rights movement, with leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. adopting its methods</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SATYAGRAHA VS PASSIVE RESISTANCE</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unlike passive resistance, Satyagraha fosters love, allows for engagement with loved ones, and is based on moral strength and non-violence</li> <li>• Gandhi rejected passive resistance as it implied weakness and potential for violence, favouring Satyagraha's moral and practical superiority for achieving justice</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>GANDHI’S VIEWS ON STATE</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State represents violence in a concentrated and organised form</li> <li>• Gandhi’s critique of the modern state emanated from its coercive aspect and its anti-human thrust</li> <li>• Citizens should be free from domination by others or the state and self-govern with moral standards and responsibility</li> <li>• Gandhi criticised the modern state's impersonal, machine-like nature and its tendency to suppress individuality and dissent <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ In a write-up published in Modern Review in the year 1935, <b>Gandhi</b> has made this point forcefully; “<i>I look upon an increase in the power of the state with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress</i>”</li> </ul> </li> </ul>



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>IDEAL STATE ACCORDING TO GANDHI</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An <b>ideal state</b> is one of "<b>Enlightened Anarchy</b>" where individuals self-govern and respect others' freedom <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Gandhi also did not want to abolish the state completely as did the anarchists</li> <li>◆ He admitted that his ideal state or society would have representative institutions and government</li> </ul> </li> <li>• The state's role should be minimal, with most functions transferred to voluntary associations to ensure true self-government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ <b>Gandhi:</b> <i>"A nation that runs its affairs smoothly and effectively without much state interference is truly democratic. When such conditions are absent the form of government is democratic only in name"</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>GANDHI'S PROGRAMME ON UNTOUCHABILITY</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Gandhi's views:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Gandhi saw untouchability as inhumane, violating human dignity, and harmful to both oppressor and oppressed</li> <li>◆ It was against democracy and caused economic issues</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Campaign against untouchability</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Gandhi did not expect untouchables to assert their rights, as they saw their status as God-ordained</li> <li>◆ He urged higher caste Hindus to sacrifice and take active steps to remove untouchability</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>GANDHI ON CASTE SYSTEM</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Gandhi's view</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Gandhi distinguishes essential aspects of caste (varna) from inessential aspects like untouchability</li> <li>◆ Advocates eradicating untouchability while preserving the varna system's functional division</li> <li>◆ Opposes the multitude of castes, favouring simplification into the four varnas, but sees caste as not inherently sinful compared to untouchability</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Ambedkar's perspective</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ He observed untouchability as a by-product of the caste system, and it could be abolished only when the '<b>odious and vicious dogma</b>' of caste was altogether abolished</li> <li>◆ Criticises caste as an unnecessary hierarchy, contrasting with Gandhi's acceptance of varna and reluctance to abolish caste entirely</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarvodaya aims at upliftment of all, emphasising harmony between high and low, rich and poor</li> <li>• Inspired by <b>John Ruskin's 'Unto The Last'</b>, advocating for community-based economics and quality of life</li> </ul>



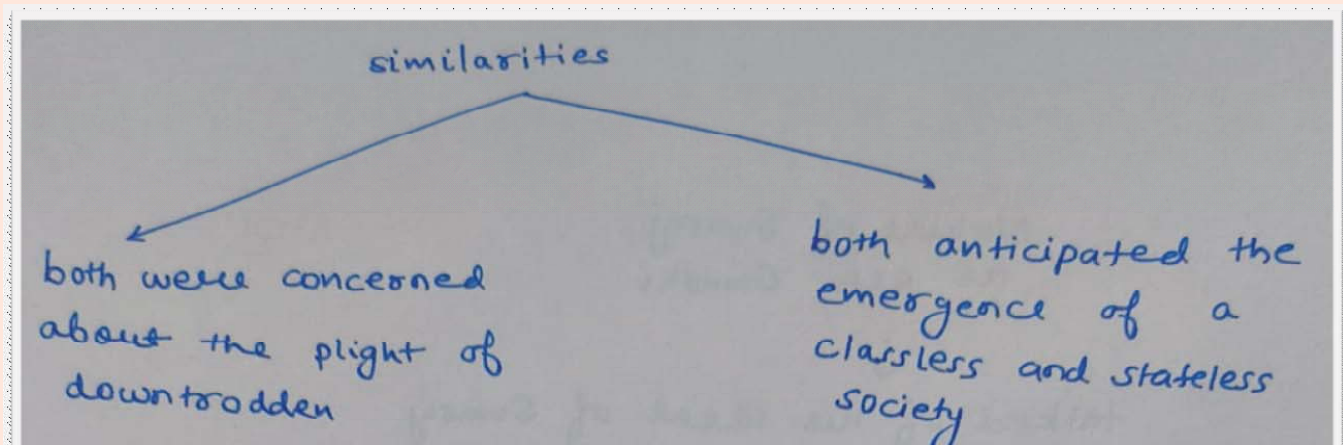
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Combines material upliftment of the poor with spiritual upliftment of the rich, distinct from ideologies focusing solely on material welfare</li> <li>• Role of <b>Vinoba Bhave</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ <b>Philosophy:</b> Emphasised universal upliftment due to moral and spiritual decline in society</li> <li>◆ <b>Approach:</b> Advocated for both material upliftment of the poor and spiritual upliftment of the rich through voluntary redistribution of wealth</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SARVODAYA VS SOCIALISM</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarvodaya is not concerned merely with material welfare, it embraces spiritual welfare as well</li> <li>• Sarvodaya focuses on moral change, not immediate socialist economic restructuring</li> <li>• Sarvodaya advocates class cooperation over class conflict</li> <li>• Sarvodaya promotes physical labour and simple technology over compulsory labour and technological advancement</li> <li>• Sarvodaya advocates minimising needs and promoting contentment, unlike socialism's focus on abundance</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>DOCTRINE OF TRUSTEESHIP</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trusteeship concept: Urged wealthy individuals to view themselves as trustees of resources for societal service</li> <li>• Class cooperation: Promoted cooperation over conflict between classes for societal benefit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ As <b>Gandhi</b> wrote in '<b>Amrita Bazar Patrika</b>': <i><b>"What is needed is not the extinction of landlords and capitalists, but a transformation of the existing relationship between them and the masses into something healthier and purer"</b></i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• Critics point out that the vision of '<b>change of heart</b>' of the rich is a fascinating idea, but it is hardly realisable in actual practice!</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>THEORY OF BREAD LABOUR AND DIGNITY OF LABOUR</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• His principle of "bread labour" stated that everyone, including mental workers, should do some physical labour to meet their minimum needs</li> </ul> <div data-bbox="619 1512 1385 1848" style="border: 1px solid gray; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> <p style="text-align: center;">aimed to achieve 3 goals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li style="text-align: center;">← simple living for all</li> <li style="text-align: center;">↓ dignity of labour</li> <li style="text-align: center;">→ a sense of equality</li> </ul> </div> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocated a classless society through equality of labour</li> <li>• Emphasised physical labour for all to uplift its status and promote equality</li> <li>• Opposed discrimination based on gender and faith</li> <li>• Non-violence central to achieving a classless society</li> </ul>



### THEORY OF OCEANIC CIRCLES

- Gandhi argued that, “*Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a republic or panchayat having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world. It will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from outside.*”
- ◆ In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will always be individual. The outermost circumference will not yield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it.
- Modern urban-industrial civilization was approached critically by Gandhi. Gandhi saw, as **Bhikhu Parekh** observes, modern civilisation '*primarily through the eyes of its victims*'

### GANDHISM VS MARXISM



### DIFFERENCES

- Marx saw classes as owners vs non-owners, Gandhi saw it as mental outlook towards certain labour
- Marx wanted classless society through violent revolution, Gandhi through dignity of labour
- Marx suggested social ownership of means of production, Gandhi prescribed trusteeship principle
- Marx wanted state to wither away after socialist transition, Gandhi wanted self-regulating society
- Marx was a materialist, Gandhi was a spiritualist
- Marx saw religion as opium, Gandhi saw it as a moralising force
- Marx preached class conflict, Gandhi preached class cooperation
- Marx rejected individuality, Gandhi emphasised self-disciplined individuals



- Marx’s vision was “from each ability to each need”, Gandhi’s was minimum needs
- Marx favoured maximum technology, Gandhi favoured simple machinery/human labour

### KEY WORDS

- People’s congress, mass movement, means, ends, satyagraha (truth force), ahimsa (non-violence), swaraj (independence), industrialisation, political obligation, civil disobedience, rights, duties, parliamentary swaraj, passive resistance, ideal state, enlightened anarchy, untouchability, caste, sarvodaya, vinoba bhava, trusteeship, change of heart, bread labour, oceanic circles, gandhism, socialism, marxism

### PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS

- Q1. “The Panchayats with gram Sabhas should be so organised as to identify the resources locally available for the development in agricultural and industrial sectors.” Examine the statement in the context of Gram Swaraj. [2022/200w/15m]**
- Q2. Explicate the ideological components of Gandhism. [2020/250w/20m]**
- Q3. Comment on: M. K. Gandhi’s concept of Swaraj. [2019/150w/10m]**
- Q4. Comment on: Gandhi’s Views on State. [2015/150w/10m]**

### PROBABLE QUESTIONS

- Q1. Identify the political -ideological elements in Gandhism . (10 marks, 150 words)**
- Q2. Discuss the Gandhi’s concept of Swaraj. (10 marks, 150 words)**
- Q3. Discuss Gandhi’s critique of modern civilisation and industrialisation? (15 marks, 200 words).**

# **KOOTNITIK AVLOKAN**



# BOOK REVIEW-1

## **The Routledge Handbook of South Asia: Region, Security and Connectivity** *by Adhuri Subramanyam Raju (Editor), R. Srinivasan (Editor)*

- South Asia, with one-sixth of the world's population, stretches from Iran-Afghanistan to India-Myanmar. Despite the clear benefits of cooperation, South Asia remains one of the least integrated regions, struggling with conflicts and challenges even as it achieves notable progress.
- The question remains: why hasn't the region embraced unity despite its potential? The book discusses this in detail. Some reasons as per these authors have been mentioned below.
  - ◆ South Asia's colonial history led to intense bloodshed, driven by religious divides, despite cultural commonalities. Ethnic diversity continues to hinder the development of unified national identities.
  - ◆ Democracy has taken root in South Asia, though imperfectly. It has been more successful in India than in Pakistan. The transition from monarchy to democracy in some states has been chaotic, with religion playing a significant role in both society and governance.
  - ◆ After decades of socialism, South Asia embraced economic liberalization in the 1990s. India and Bangladesh's sustained growth suggests that regional economic cooperation could make South Asia a major global economic power. However, regional institutions like SAARC and BIMSTEC have underperformed, and China's growing influence through the BRI presents both opportunities and challenges.
  - ◆ The region faces the challenge of balancing infrastructure development with environmental responsibility. Land and water disputes are prominent, and there is a need for cooperative climate change strategies at multiple levels.
  - ◆ U.S.-China Strategic Contestation: The U.S. must increase its engagement in South Asia due to the global strategic competition with China. Integrating its defense, diplomatic, and development policies with those of South Asian states is crucial, as the region can no longer be seen as peripheral to U.S. interests.



# BOOK REVIEW-2

## **The Return of Great Powers: Russia, China, and the Next World War** *by Jim Sciutto (2024)*

- The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 marked what Francis Fukuyama famously called “The End of History,” suggesting that liberal democracy had triumphed as the ultimate form of government.
- However, this declaration has proven premature because **according to the author Jim Sciutto, identifying a new, more uncertain global order with reporting on the frontlines of power from existing wars to looming ones across the globe.**
- As Jim Sciutto earlier remarked during the onset of the Ukraine war, we are now living in a “1939 moment,” a period reminiscent of the prelude to World War II, marked by rising tensions and aggressive power plays among nations.
- History, rather than ending, has only paused briefly, and the global order we once knew is now in flux. Powerful nations are reasserting their dominance on the world stage, leading to a new world order that affects every corner of the globe, from Helsinki to Beijing, Australia to the Arctic.
- This ongoing power struggle is not limited to traditional battlefields but extends to the Arctic, the oceans, cyberspace, and even man-made islands. The competition is multifaceted, involving technological advancements, military buildups, and geopolitical maneuvers.
- Sciutto in this book characterizes our era as a return to great power conflict, a clear departure from the relatively stable post-Cold War era into an uncertain and volatile period.
- The Author writes that this new era is marked by increasingly aligned Russian and Chinese governments and the rekindling of a global nuclear arms race. The critical question now is whether the West, along with Russia and China, can navigate these tensions without triggering a new world war.
- In essence , according to the authur the current geopolitical landscape represents a significant shift from the post-Cold War era, with powerful nations once again jockeying for global influence. The challenge lies in managing these rivalries to avoid catastrophic conflict on a global scale.

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06



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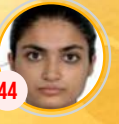
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