

2025 Edition

Political Science & Int. Relations [PSIR] Notes

for

UPSC-CSE Mains & State PSCs

Paper 1 Section A Political Theory

Part 1

Topics: 1,3,4,5,6,7,8



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1] POLITICAL THEORY: MEANING AND APPROACHES

1] KEY TERMS

- A] POLITICAL THEORY
- B] POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY
- C] POLITICAL SCIENCE
- D] POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

2] INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

3] APPROACHES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

- A] TRADITIONAL APPROACHES
- B] MODERN APPROACHES
- C] CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES

4] DEBATE ON NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

1] Key Terms

A] Political Theory

A 'theory' in general is proposed to explain certain phenomena or to provide some solution. Different theories may be proposed to explain why things happen the way they do. And a theory may be a single idea or collection of ideas.

However, political theory should not be treated as a mere extension of this general term. In our discipline, political theory suggests a particular approach to the subject. Political theory emphasizes the analytical study of ideas central to political thought. It tries to analyse the meaning of fundamental terms such as liberty, justice, state etc. and to understand the questions like – why should one obey the state? how rewards should be distributed? etc. Thus, political theory naturally focuses on the study of ideas proposed by various classical scholars on these questions.

B] Political Philosophy

This term is closest to political theory. However, along with critical evaluation of the political beliefs, political philosophy is more concerned about clarifying and refining the concepts employed in political science. Thus, as Andre Heywood explains, 'despite the best efforts of political philosophers to remain impartial and objective, they are inevitably concerned with justifying certain political viewpoints at the expense of others and with upholding a particular understanding of a concept rather than alternative ones'.

C] Political Science

Science refers to the systematic study of a subject at hand. Simply put, political science is a broad term used to denote the study of political ideas, theories, philosophies, ideologies etc. The discipline which deals with political life and associated ideas.

However, a narrow interpretation of 'political science' is also possible. Science denotes hypotheses, experimentation, verification, evidence etc. By these, it claims to produce knowledge that is objective, universal and reliable. 'Political science' thus refers to the 20th-century movement which sought to convert political science into a 'pure science'. Led by David Easton, the experiment ultimately failed, and over a period of time, the term political science came to describe the entire discipline of the subject as discussed in the above para.

D] Political Ideology

Ideology is quite distinct from all the above terms. It denotes a set of ideas, a world view or a holistic system of thought. A grand theory whose purpose is often the mobilization of voters. An ideology is always associated with its proponents. As Karl Mannheim suggests, every ideology represents the interest of a particular class, e.g. liberalism, Marxism etc.

2] Introduction to Political Science

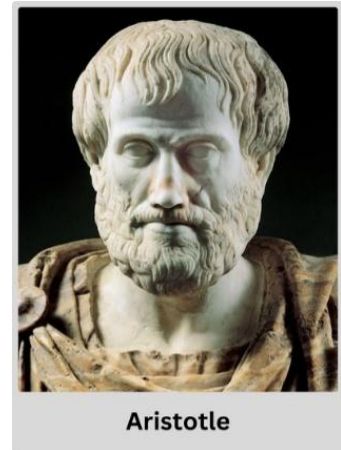
Political science is one of the oldest discipline. It has its roots in ancient Greece and it started as a branch of philosophy. **Aristotle is considered as father of political science.** He called political science as a master science. It denotes the inter-disciplinary nature of political science and it is a science to be learned by the masters.

Masters are those who have to deal with the decision making in the state. Thus the study of state, constitution became the core concern of political science. **According to Garner, political science begins and ends with the state.**

If we look at the **evolution of the discipline**, it was dominated by philosophy in ancient times. It was overshadowed by religion /scriptures in medieval times. And it was Machiavelli who established the autonomy of politics from ethics and religion, and the autonomous status of the discipline was recognized.

Till 2nd WW, Political science primarily developed in Europe. After 2nd WW, it shifted to USA. In Europe, there has been greater emphasis on philosophy. In USA, there has been more emphasis on science/scientific research. Till 2nd WW, we call the state of discipline as traditional political science. It focused on the study of states and constitutions. The field was dominated by philosophical methods, historical and empirical methods. In the field of comparative politics, study of constitutions was prominent hence Semer's legal institutional method played role.

After 2nd WW, political science developed in USA under guidance of APSA (American Political Science Association). This has led to the development of behavioural method. Behaviouralist focus on 1) The



study of human behaviour rather than institutions. 2) Scientific methods rather than philosophical, legal or historical methods.

Behavioural methods were later on modified into post-behavioural approach. In American universities, post behavioural approach is the primary approach for research in political science. There is also a revival of philosophy in Europe, which has given rise to new approaches like post modernism, feminism, critical theory.

Political science is a vibrant discipline with expanding frontiers. New areas of research are emerging ranging from family to environment. At times discipline became too expanded that there was a fear of discipline losing its identity. Hence scholars like Theda Skocpol calls for '*bringing the state back in*'. A call to make 'state' a core area of research.

Political science as a discipline has greatest utility amongst social sciences. And it needs to be actively promoted in universities by funding agencies.

3] Approaches in Political Science

A] Traditional Approaches

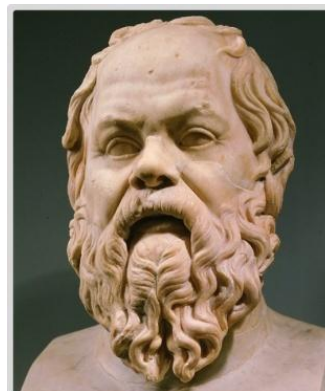
1] Philosophical Approach

Socrates is known as father of philosophy. He has given the 'theory of knowledge'. According to him, the real knowledge is the knowledge of ideas. And the mode of learning this knowledge is logic. Socrates prescribed dialectics. Why this knowledge is superior? Physical world is a world of change. Hence, there cannot be a permanent knowledge. Whereas the world of idea is a world of permanence. Hence this knowledge is of permanent nature, subject to the condition, it is a product of logical reasoning.

Plato

Plato is called as father of political philosophy. He has suggested that it is not enough to understand the features of existing states, it is more important to understand the 'idea of state'. The purpose of existence of the state.

When we understand the idea, we can mould the existing states which are bound to be imperfect towards perfection. Thus besides the advantage of getting the foundational or permanent knowledge, philosophy can help in making our lives better. Plato emphasised that the knowledge of philosopher is not just for his betterment but for the betterment of the society. Thus philosophy has a huge utility for making our lives better.



Socrates



Plato

Philosophical approach is the oldest approach present in political science. Political science started as a sub discipline of philosophy. Classical scholars dealt with philosophical issues or normative issues like justice, equality, rights, liberties.

Philosophical approach remained dominant approach till second world war. Major development happened in western Europe. Philosophical approach came under criticism by behaviouralists. Behaviouralists wanted to make political science 'pure science'. Hence, they rejected the study of normative issues. They advocated the study of facts. **Lord Bryce held that “we need facts, facts and facts.”**

Philosophical theories were criticised as 'armchair theories'. They do not constitute verifiable and thus are not reliable source of knowledge. They also are inherently biased and divorced from the reality. However scholars like John Rawls, Leo Strauss, Isaiah Berlin, Dante Germino believe that the philosophical approach is most suitable for the discipline of political science.

2] Historical Approach

It is also among the oldest approaches. It is considered as the simplest and the common-sense based approach for understanding politics and building theories. History is closely connected with politics. The relationship between the two disciplines is explained by the scholars as – ***if history is a root, politics is a shoot. History is past politics; politics is present history.*** It is to be noted that traditional international politics has been studied as 'diplomatic history'. It was Machiavelli who strongly advocated the study of history to understand politics. According to him, history – rather than philosophy – is a better guide for the prince.

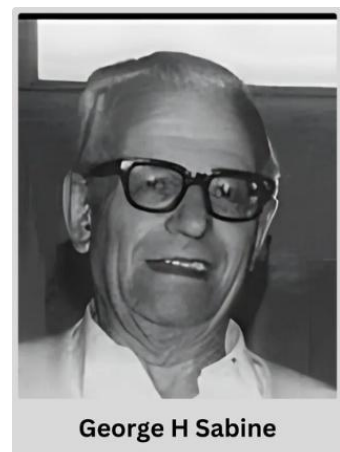
In modern times, scholars like Laski and Sabine have preferred historical approach. According to Laski, *“Every thinker is a child of his times”*. He also writes that *“no political idea is ever intelligible, save in the context of time.”*

According to Sabine, “political ideas are themselves the products of the crisis phases of history.”

Historical approach is the most common sense based approach. It serves the requirement of a sound approach. : 3 requirements – Factual, Causal, Evaluative.

Though historical approach has found huge favour, yet it suffers from following challenges:

1. History is too vast; it is challenging task to find out relevant data.
2. All that is in history may not be relevant and there are many concepts in political science like philosopher king, communism, which were never present in history yet important for the student of political science.

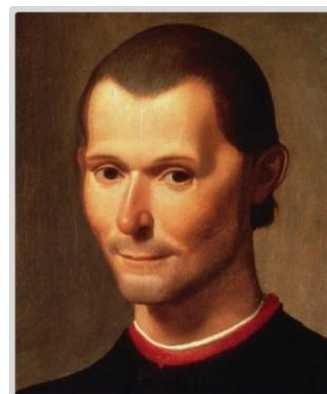


3. History in itself is a highly politicised discipline. Edward Said's *ORIENTALISM* show that the history writing has been a political project.
4. Political scholars may not use history in a scientific manner. Machiavelli himself has done the selective use of history. He used only those examples which served his political purpose.
5. There are examples of political scholars making politics out of history. Karl Popper criticized Hegel and Karl Marx for committing the guilt of historicism. Which means ideological use of history. e.g. When Marx explains history as a product of class struggle, his purpose is political.
6. John Plamanetz has criticized, making political ideas dependent on history. He suggests that political ideas should be understood on the basis of logic.

3] Empirical Approach

Empirical approach is based on observation. We can observe the physical facts and human behaviour. We cannot observe ideas. **Machiavelli** proposed empirical approach along with historical approach. He warns prince against living in the world of ideas whereas he suggests prince to look at the things as they are.

If Plato recommends philosophy, Machiavelli recommends observation, Aristotle is the connecting link. Aristotle's theory of forms emphasizes on the interdependence between idea and matter, the world of being and becoming. In order to understand empirical approach, we need to compare it with philosophical approach.

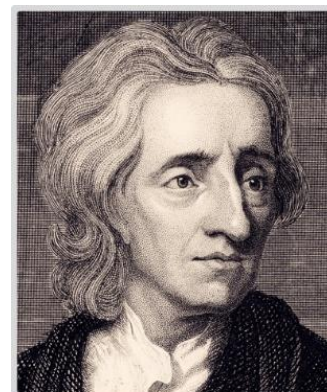


Machiavelli

Empirical Approach	Normative / Philosophical Approach
Study of facts	Study of Ideas
Observation	Method - logic
Descriptive (It describes what reality is)	Prescriptive or Normative (It tells what 'Should be')
Criteria is true and false	The criteria is right and wrong
Status quoist	Change oriented

Empirical approach can also be differentiated from scientific approach. Empirical approach is just observation. It does not become scientific on its own. Scientific approach is rigorous. It includes observation, verification, measurement, free from biasness.

John Locke is a supporter of empiricism over Socrates theory of knowledge. Locke rejects the view that the knowledge is imprinted on the human soul. According to Locke, experience is the source of knowledge. According to him, mind is *tabula rasa* (clean slate). It means human mind is clean slate. Observation and experience imprint knowledge.



John Locke

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Conclusion: Politics is too complex, choice of approach will depend on the objective of research. Single approach is never sufficient. Different approaches need to be used in combination.

4] Legal Institutional approach

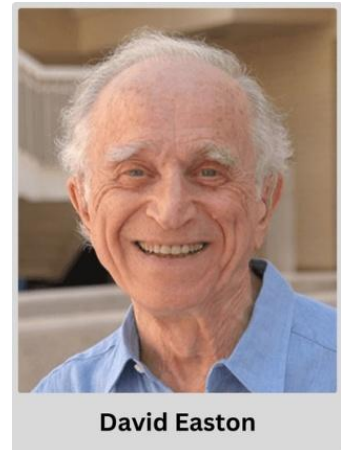
This approach is covered in detail in Paper 2, comparative politics.

B] Modern Approaches

1] Behaviouralism

It means scientific approaches. In political science we can even use the term behavioural approaches. What is behavioural approach? Behavioural approach in political science started after 1st WW but it became prominent after 2nd WW. It was strongly promoted by American political science association. The core idea was, to make political science pure science.

It denotes a complete change. i.e. Change in the entire epistemology and even the ontology of discipline. When we change the method, it obviously changes the scope and the nature. Thus behaviouralism is often called as 'revolution'. Though some scholars prefer to call it movement. Charles Merriam is called as father of behaviouralism.



How behaviouralism emerged?

We've to look into the historical circumstances besides intellectual proposals. After 2nd WW, academic conferences used to take place under United Nations. The scholars of different discipline used to be invited to give ideas on reconstruction and development. In these conferences, political scholars were not invited. It was believed that they have nothing relevant to offer. Political science had become almost a dead discipline.

1. Political scholars were not dealing with the contemporary issues, they were dealing with the study of centuries old ideas. Historicist like Sabine, Dunning were busy in writing the history of western philosophy from Plato to Marx.
2. Whereas other social science disciplines like sociology have long back incorporated scientific methods / positivism. Political science remained far from adopting scientific methods for research. Thus political theories were 'armchair theories' with little practical relevance.
3. Intellectual Factors: Scholars of Chicago school of political science like Charles Merriam, Catlin were advocating for the behavioural, systematic and value free analysis. Understanding processes rather than institutions. Considering the state of discipline, attempt was made to revive, to regain the credibility for the discipline by incorporating scientific methods.

Features of Behavioural approach

David Easton has given eight features of behavioural approach in his address to American Political Science Association. His purpose was to make political science, 'science'. It means to develop the laws in political science just like the laws existing in natural sciences. By observing the phenomenon.

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Phenomenon should have regularity. And thus developing the explanation, verification, experimentation. Scientific laws are free from biasness.

Eight features given by David Easton

1. **Regularities:** Observe regularities in human behaviour. Traditionalists argument – Traditionalist believe that regularities are not possible in human behaviour. Why? There is no guarantee that the same person will behave in a similar manner under similar conditions twice.
2. **Systematization:** Scientific research is systematic. Hence political research should also be systematic. There should be relation between the objective of the research and collection of data.
Traditionalists view – According to traditionalists, social sciences are analytical in nature, hence we cannot be very particular with respect to systematization.
3. **Techniques:** Behaviouralists suggest the adoption of mathematical, statistical techniques.
Traditionalists view – There are very limited areas of research where we can adopt quantitative techniques. For the sake of technique, there is no point compromising with the subject matter.
4. **Measurement:** Just like scientific results are expressed in quantitative terms for the purpose of precision, political research should also be represented in the form of quantitative data for precision. Traditionalists believe that such approach will limit the scope of the subject as there are very few areas where measurement is possible like electoral behaviour.
5. **Verification:** Like scientific theories, pol science theories should also be verifiable, so that a reliable knowledge is developed. Traditionalists continue to believe that verifiability is not possible in all cases. e.g. We have to understand the idea of communism which can be understood, explained only by logical analysis.
6. **Integration:** Integration means inter-disciplinary approach. Political science has always been inter-disciplinary. The only difference is that traditionalists looked for data in disciplines like philosophy, history and law. On the other hand, behaviouralists suggest to borrow from sociology, psychology and natural science disciplines. They even warn against bringing the discipline near to philosophy, history and law.
7. **Value Neutrality:** Like scientific research is value neutral, political scholars should also not prescribe value preferences. Traditionalists like Leo Strauss is very critical of rejecting the values. According to him, *“when we ignore values, it is like not making any difference in pure water and dirty water.”*
8. **Pure Science:** When we will adopt above parameters, political science will become pure science.

Achievements of Behaviouralists

Political science was in the state of decline, behaviouralists could arrest the decline. Behavioralists made significant contribution in the field of the analysis of electoral behaviour. The analysis of electoral behaviour has been helpful for political parties in formulation of their strategies and programs.

Behavioural research helped us in understanding the difference between theory and practice. e.g. The elitist and pluralists investigated the reality of the democracy in western countries, reality of socialism in communist countries.

One of the major area where behaviour research proved most useful was the study of the political systems in developing areas. There is a difference in the constitution and actual practice. There is a difference in the text and context. Hence traditional approach like legal institutional proved inadequate and politics of these countries require field studies. Thus comparative politics became the major area for behavioural research.

2] Post Behaviouralism

Post behavioralism emerged out of dis-satisfaction from some aspects of behavioralism. In the history of the evolution of the discipline of political science, we see the two stages of decline.

1st Decline: Before 2nd WW. In this case the responsibility was on traditionalists primarily historicists. This decline was addressed by behaviouralists.

2nd Decline: The second decline happened because of behaviouralists. What were the indications of decline? 1950s and 60s are the phases of lot of activism in USA. There have been various types of protests like civil rights movements, women movements, environmental and peace movements... How to address these crises was a big challenge. When policymakers had to look towards political scholars, it was again found that they had nothing to offer. Behavioralists were busy in making political science, pure science. It resulted in compromise with a) Scope of the subject. b) Relevance of the subject.

They over-emphasized on the scientific techniques. In political science there are very limited areas where scientific technique can be used. David Easton, who gave the principles of behavioralism himself acknowledged that *“Political scholars sitting in ivory towers, perfecting their techniques have ignored the purpose for which the technique is used.”*

It is true that behaviouralists had produced rich literature on election studies but such studies are not sufficient. Political scholars cannot ignore the normative issues like justice, rights, liberties etc. Thus scholars like Alfred Cobban blamed positivists and empiricists. Dante Germino blamed ‘ideological reductionists’ responsible for the decline of the discipline.

Features of post behavioralism

David Easton gave one more lecture to American political science association. This lecture is titled as ‘Credo of Relevance’. David Eastern called for ‘Creative theory’. The two parameters of the creative theory are 1) Action & 2) Relevance. It means whatever research person is choosing, it should be relevant, action oriented for the benefit of society. Thus he acknowledged the decline of the discipline because of behaviouralists. Easton clarified that technique is important but the purpose for which the technique is to be used is more important.

Easton clarified that it is not rejection of behaviouralism rather it is taking behaviouralism forward. We can say that traditionalism is thesis, behaviouralism is antithesis while post behaviouralism is synthesis. The assumptions, methodologies, approaches remain same like that of behaviouralists. Visit <https://politicsforindia.com> for latest PSIR current affairs

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Paper 1 Section A

Political Theory



Part 2
Topics: 9,10

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9.1] DHARMASHASTRA

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8] SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS

- A] PROF. V R MEHTA
- B] BHIKHU PAREKH

1] Introduction

Ancient Indian political thought evolved within a spiritual ethos of Hinduism, intertwining governance with moral and religious principles. Many scholars have characterized Indian political culture as deeply informed by *Dharma*, suggesting that early Indian thinkers subordinated politics to spirituality.

For instance, the Indologist Max Müller argued that the Indian mind was almost wholly absorbed in religion and philosophy, leaving little room for independent political thought. This goes to suggest that the concern for the state or material progress was secondary in Indian Political thought. According to this view, ancient India lacked a secular political sphere.

However, unlike in medieval Europe, there was no protracted conflict between church and state in India. This integral political culture led to a duty-centric worldview, where obligations to uphold Dharma overshadowed any notion of individual rights.

Further, Indian scholars have challenged the notion that Indian thought was devoid of practical politics. Historians like B.R. Bhandarkar called it “absurd” to say India never developed political science, noting that texts like Kautilya’s Arthashastra demonstrate rigorous analysis of statecraft. The doctrine of *Rajamandala* (circle of states) in the Arthashastra anticipated a balance-of-power theory, predating almost all western literature on the subject.

In this topic, we try to examine Indian Political ideas through the major sources of ancient Indian political ideas – **Vedic literature, the Epics (Ramayana and Mahabharata), the Dharmashastra law-books, and Niti texts** – analysing how each addressed fundamental political questions.

2] Varnashrama

A] Modes of Nature (*Gunas*)

The Samkhya and Bhagavad Gita traditions suggest that the Nature is composed of three fundamental qualities or Gunas, known as the modes of nature. These modes are characteristics of individuals including animals, as well as of time, places, things, activities etc.

1. **Sattva-guan (mode of goodness)** – The characteristics of sattvaguna are mind and sense control, tolerance, discrimination, truthfulness, mercy etc.
2. **Rajo-guna (mode of passion)** – Material desire, great endeavour, false pride, rash eagerness to fight etc. are qualities of rajoguna.
3. **Tamo-guna (mode of ignorance)** - Anger, hatred, hypocrisy, quarrel, lamentation, delusion, false expectations, fear and laziness constitute the major qualities of the mode of ignorance.

Based on above characteristics, persons, places, activities etc. can be classified to be belonging to different modes. For example, it is remarked that a residence in the forest is in the mode of goodness, residence in a town is in the mode of passion, residence in a gambling house displays the quality of ignorance. Similarly, foods in the mode of goodness increase the duration of life, and gives strength, health, happiness. Such nourishing foods are sweet, juicy, fattening and palatable. Foods that are too bitter, too sour, salty, pungent, dry and hot, are liked by people in the modes of passion. Such foods cause pain, distress, and disease. Food cooked more than three hours before being eaten, which is tasteless, stale, decomposed and unclean, is liked by people in the mode of ignorance. (BG 17.8-10)

B] Four Varnas (Chaturvarnya)

It is further suggested that every individual is made up of some combination of above varnas where one of mode of nature (guna) dominates. This dominance of a guna can be deciphered from the activities and the consciousness of a person e.g. the person with dominance of *sattvaguna* will behave differently than from a person with dominance of *rajoguna* or *tamoguna*.

Thus, based on one’s *gunas* (modes) and *karma* (activities) i.e. based on *guna-karma*, the society is classified into four Varnas.

1. **Brahmins** – Teachers, priests, doctors etc. Associated with dominance of *sattvaguna*.
2. **Kshatriyas** – Warriors and rulers. Showing the qualities of *rajoguna*.
3. **Vaishyas** – Traders and agriculturists, connected with commerce and production. Showing mixed qualities of *rajoguna* and *tamoguna*.
4. **Shudras** – Service providers to other three varnas. Dominated by *tamoguna*.

The term **dvija-bandhu** was also in practice, which meant those who are born in higher-class society—brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya—but they are not qualified because of their modes (gunas).

Thus, the concept of varna is based on disposition and conduct (*gunakarma*).

The concept of gunas serves as an excellent psychological framework, explaining diversity in human nature. It also offers a guide for self-cultivation by striving toward sattva and ultimately transcending all three for liberation (*moksha*).

C] Ashrama

The term *ashrama* refers to the four stages of life, outlining an individual's ideal progression through personal and social responsibilities. These stages are:

1. **Brahmacharya (0-25 yrs)** – the student stage, focused on learning and self-discipline.
2. **Grihastha (26-50 yrs)** – the householder stage, involving marriage, family life, and economic duties.
3. **Vanaprastha (51-75 yrs)** – the hermit stage, marking gradual withdrawal from material life.
4. **Sannyasa (76-100 yrs)** – the renunciate stage, dedicated to spiritual liberation (*moksha*).

The *Ashrama* system provides a social roadmap for fulfilling duties at each phase of life. It emphasizes balance between worldly engagement and spiritual evolution.

D] Four Purusharthas (Goals of Human Life)

The term **Purushartha (purusha+artha)** means “purpose of a person” and refers to the four fundamental aims of human life in ancient Indian thought. These goals provide a balanced framework for personal, social, and spiritual fulfilment:

1. **Dharma** – Righteousness and duty. Every individual should follow the duties prescribed for one's *varna* and *ashrama*. Following one's *dharma* sincerely leads to attainment of next goal i.e. *artha*.
2. **Artha** – Material prosperity and security. It includes wealth, career, power etc. It should be pursued within the bounds of dharma (scriptural codes).
3. **Kama** – Pleasure, desire, and fulfilment. It involves enjoyment of life through love, art, music, relationships etc. Again, it should be regulated by dharma.
4. **Moksha** – It is suggested that after obtaining first three goals, a person will still pursue a higher goal. One should seek for liberation from the cycle of birth and death. It is the ultimate spiritual goal, achieved through detachment and realization of the self.

The Purusharthas are meant to be pursued in harmony, not in isolation. Together, they reflect a holistic vision of life, where worldly success and spiritual freedom are integrated rather than opposed.

3] Key Concepts

A] Dharma

Across these sources, certain **key concepts** underpinned Indian political thinking. Foremost is **Dharma**.

Often the word dharma is translated to mean religion, but this interpretation is not correct. In general usage, the word religion refers to a particular type of faith, the word dharma does not. At one level, Dharma indicates the characteristics, law of being of individuals. Just like liquidity is an intrinsic quality of water, and this quality cannot be changed. Similarly, there is dharma for the individual soul, that cannot be altered.

Further, **Dharma also represents duty**. This is more popular meaning of this word. According to Rig-Veda, Prithvim dharmam dhritam. Which means dharma is that which holds life on this earth. Each *varna* and *ashrama* had its own prescribed duties, which is called 'dharma' of that particular class. It is most important duty of the king is to ensure all varnas follow their dharma. It is for this reason; king has the rod of danda.

When we will not follow dharma, when different classes will not do their prescribed duties, it will lead to arajakata (anarchy), it will lead to pralaya (catastrophe). This theme is vividly illustrated in Mahabharata, a struggle between the forces of dharma and adharma.

Ancient Indians saw dharma as an eternal truth and the foundation of legitimate governance.

B] Rta

The word **Rta** denotes cosmic order.

The Vedas hold that behind the various forms in this world, there exists a law that governs them. In the solar activity, lunar activity, and the seasonal changes, there are well-defined principles. Similarly, there exists governing principles behind living beings. Every element has its own nature and assigned duty. Thus, the order present and observed in the universe is called as rta.

The concept is closely linked to the ideas of satya (truth), dharma (duty) and law of Karma.

C] Karma

Another anchoring in Vedic literature is that of **Karma**. The law of moral causation. The theory of Karma suggests that every action, good or bad, have consequences (in this life or future lives).

The law of karma and belief in rebirth are the foundation of morality in Vedic philosophy. It teaches rulers and commoners alike that just conduct would bring about social harmony and personal merit, whereas selfish or cruel actions would eventually lead to ruin. **This cosmic law blurs the line between religion and politics** – maintaining justice was not just pragmatically useful but also necessity for individual happiness. Injustice may give a temporary benefit, but will bring misery in long term.

As a result, ancient Indian political theory did not draw a sharp secular/religious divide;

4] State and Kingship

The **Vedas**, especially the *Rigveda*, provide the earliest glimpses of Indian political ideas. Vedic society composed of *janās* (clans) led by a chieftain or king (*rājan*). The *Rigveda* portrays the king primarily as a war-leader and protector of his people, often lauded in hymns for securing victory and cattle wealth.

However, the Vedic **king's powers were far from absolute** – he governed in concert with assemblies known as the *Sabha* and *Samiti*, which included clan elders or nobles. These early assemblies suggest a germ of participatory governance: important decisions regarding war, peace, or ritual might be made collectively, and the king could be admonished or even replaced if he failed in his duties.

Notably, Aitareya Brahmana recounts how the gods themselves, **elected Indra as their king** for his qualities. This indicates that kingship was seen as a trust bestowed for ability and virtue, not sheer force.

The Vedic vision of the **state's purpose** is thus to maintain **Rta/Dharma** – the order of truth and justice, as well as to protect the community. King has been declared as “the protector of men”. Vedic texts uphold that “*moral upliftment of the people is the basis of the political institution*”.

In Vedic polity, the **best form of governance** was a kind of limited monarchy. The king (*rajan*) was expected to be “*janasya gopā*” (protector of the people) and “*dharma kṛt*” (upholder of dharma).

He was **not a law-maker** in the modern sense; rather, he enforced customary law and sacred norms.

There was **no notion of secularism** – ritual and governance were inseparable. Indeed, “*the king and priest had good relations and worked in mutual cooperation*”, and conflicts between secular and religious powers (common in medieval Europe) had “*no counterpart in ancient India*”.

5] Ramayana

In the Ramayana's political thought, *Dharma* is paramount: Rama is repeatedly upheld as “*maryāda puruṣottama*”, the supreme upholder of social and moral order. The epic emphasizes that the **king's first duty is to Dharma**, even above personal interests or family ties as illustrated in Rama willingly accepting exile for 14 years to fulfil his father King Dasharatha's promise, or making a painful decision to banish his own wife, Sita.

Both actions are portrayed as necessary to “maintain the moral order” or the legitimacy of the King. Rama sacrifices personal happiness to preserve the people's trust in their ruler's righteousness.

The Ramayana extols qualities of an ideal king: truthfulness, compassion, valour, restraint, and commitment to the welfare of the people. Rama listens to the petitions of even the poorest citizen; an anecdote tells how he disguised himself at night to learn the honest opinions of his subjects, reflecting an early notion of **accountability to public opinion**.

The **state exists to** curb the law of the jungle and guarantee righteousness. This aligns with the broader Indian theory that without a king, society falls into chaos (a theme also in Mahabharata and Manu).

Regarding the **form of government**, monarchy is taken as given, but it is tempered by the Brahminical guidance. Rama is a Kshatriya (warrior class) king, yet he humbles himself before sages and seeks their blessing. There is no advocacy of republics or alternative systems in Ramyana.

6] Mahabharata

The **Mahabharata**, written by Sri Vyasadeva, is an even grander epic that contains extensive discourse on politics, ethics, and social duty.

In the *Shanti Parva* of Mahabharat, after the war, King Yudhishtira visits Bhishma seeking guidance. Bhishma is lying on battlefield, on bed of arrows and instructs Yudhishtir on the subject of statecraft.

The famous Bhagavad Gita, a philosophical dialogue between Prince Arjuna and Lord Krishna is also part of Mahabharat.

The Gita emphasizes *Svadharma* (one's own duty) and the imperative to act righteously without attachment to results. A ruler or warrior must **fulfil his duty to uphold justice**, even if it means personal sacrifice. Krishna advises the hesitant Arjuna that as a Kshatriya, "*no greater good exists for you than a righteous war*" when dharma is at stake.

A] Origin of State

A central contribution of the Mahabharata to political thought is its **theorization of the origin of kingship and the state**. In the *Shanti Parva*, the dying patriarch Bhishma instructs Yudhishtira (the new king) on how the institution of kingship was established. Bhishma describes initial **Golden Age** with no king and no crime. However, with decline in virtue, it led to state of nature characterized by *mātsya-nyāya* – "the law of the fishes," i.e. the strong devouring the weak.

Horrified by anarchy, people appealed to lord Brahma for rescue. Brahma thereupon **created the science of punishment (Dandaniti)** to restore order. He then appointed Manu as the first king. Bhishma declares, "*a state of anarchy is the worst*" and thus the **first duty of society is to install a king** to prevent lawlessness.

The purpose of the state, per Bhishma's teaching, is "*the protection of righteousness (dharma) and avoidance of anarchy*".

B] Duties of King

The Shanti Parva systematically discusses the **duties of a king (rajadharma)** and the apparatus of government.

- Yudhishtira is instructed on how a king must be learned in the Vedas (for ethical guidance)
- King also must be skilled in *Dandaniti* (policy and penal law).
- A king must **discipline himself** before disciplining others – conquering his own senses, greed, and anger – idea that personal integrity is crucial for good leadership.
- A salient feature is the emphasis on "**Rule of Law**" – the king himself is subject to *dharma*.
- King shall protect his subjects and establish them in the observance of their respective duties
- king should follow dandaniti (science of punishment) to run smoothly affairs of state.

C] Forms of Governance

On the question of **best form of governance**, the Mahabharata also acknowledges different political systems like council-based governance of Panchalas. While monarchy is the dominant model presented (the epic's heroes are all kings or princes), it suggests that as long as *dharma* is upheld and the people's welfare ensured, the form can vary.

D] Law and Punishment

In Mahabharata *Danda* (the rod of punishment) is conceived as a divine force. "*Chastisement governs all beings; it is the power that ensures all creatures do their duty,*" says Bhishma. Without enforcement of law, society reverts to *matsyanyaya* (big fish devouring little fish). Hence the king must be ever vigilant in **penalizing wrongdoers and protecting the vulnerable**.

King should follow dandaniti, the science of coercion. As the reins check the steed or as an iron hook controls an elephant, so dandaniti keeps the world under restraints. Bhishma says, that if dandaniti is destroyed, the three Vedas will disappear and the duties of four varnas will mix-up. All people will suffer from many evils. It is the prime duty of the king to be fully versed in dandaniti. Danda protects the people and it awakes those who sleep; hence Dand is called Dharma.

On account of the fear of danda(punishment) the sinners do not indulge in sin, people do not kill others. If danda is not observed, everything will be enveloped by darkness. Bhishma explains the fundamental importance of the king's office for justice and dandaniti. According to him people can live happily only if they live under the law. The Shanti parva accepts the importance of coercion, including judicial punishment. Capital punishment has also been justified for grievous offenders.

E] Diplomacy

The Mahabharata has rich material on **diplomacy and foreign policy**, often echoed later by Kautilya. Before the war, various strategies are discussed: negotiation (*sama*), incentives (*dama*), sowing dissension (*bheda*), and finally force (*danda*). Lord Krishna's peace embassy to the Kauravas court exemplifies high-stakes diplomacy – he first exhausts all peaceful options, in line with the idea that war should be last resort in a dharmic framework.

F] Ethics and Politics

Once war is inevitable, the epic delves into **just war conduct**: rules such as not attacking an unarmed or disabled enemy, single combat between warriors of equal rank, no use of celestial weapons without due cause, etc.

Interestingly, the war shows ethical compromises from side of righteous Pandavas. It shows the **ambiguous morality of politics** – an acknowledgment that statecraft can force even virtuous individuals into morally grey areas (as when Yudhishtira lies about an elephant's death to trick Drona, or Arjuna strikes Karna when he is weapon less, both at Krishna's urging).

The epic thus does not shy away from critiquing the gap between **ideal Dharma and political necessity**. It introduces the notion of **Apad-dharma** – emergency ethics, where normal rules may be

suspended to save the greater good. This concept later informs Kautilya's Arthashastra (realpolitik under the cover of dharma).

7] Manusmriti

The **Dharmashastras** (treatises on sacred law), of which *Manusmriti* is the most renowned, represent the explicitly codified laws for human society. Manusmriti envisions society as an organic hierarchy of varnas and ashramas.

A] Origin of State

Like **Mahabharata**, **Manusmriti** also attributes origin of state to the gods. Manu declares that in the beginning, people were plagued by fear in the absence of a ruler (*arājake hi loke'smin sarvato vidruto bhayāt | rakṣārthamasya sarvasya rājānamasrjat prabhuḥ |*)

Thus kingship is of **divine origin** in Manu's account. The King (*raja*) is portrayed as God's representative on earth, instituted to save people from the anarchy (*matsya-nyaya*). In practice, however, the king is advised to rule with the counsel of Brahmins and ministers, which will help him in upholding dharma.

B] Law and Punishment

Manusmriti states that **Punishment (*daṇḍa*) is a manifestation of Dharma** – “*the Lord at first created Punishment, an incarnation of divine glory, to protect all beings*”. This suggests that the righteous application of force to punish wrongdoers is a sacred duty of the king.

C] Equality Before Law?

However, the concept of equality before law was absent. Manusmriti prescribes punishment based on one's varna. Brahmins (priestly class) were given lenient punishments compared to Shudras for the same offense. Brahmins were generally off-limits to capital punishment.

Brahmins were not expected to wield physical power or accumulate wealth. Instead, they were seen as spiritually elevated and intellectually refined, shaped by the sattva guna. Because of this, it was believed that a Brahmin would rarely commit a crime knowingly. And even if he did, social shame and loss of honour would be a greater punishment than physical penalty. Further, Brahmins were the guiding class of society. The logic was, if the teacher is disgraced or destroyed, the whole system collapses. Hence, the state had an interest in protecting their position and dignity, even if they erred.

Additionally, the dandaniti wasn't based only on retribution. It also factored in the inner conscience of the offender. The assumption was that a Brahmin, being more aware of Dharma, would suffer greater internal remorse and social disgrace.

Therefore, the “lighter” legal penalty was offset by “heavier” moral burden.

In contrast, Shudras and lower castes were believed to be more influenced by *tamas* (ignorance/inertia), and so needed stronger external control, including physical punishment, to be deterred.

Criticism

This rationale of differing punishment has faced strong moral and legal criticism, especially in modern times. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar condemned such caste-based legal inequality, arguing it violated natural justice and human dignity. Modern law emphasizes equality before law, regardless of birth or social role.

D] Justice

Justice, in Manu's view, was about each person observing their dharma. The king's role was to **be an impartial judge and enforcer**.

E] Duties of King

Manu lays out the **duties of the king in detail**.

The king must be of Kshatriya lineage, physically robust.

King must be learned in the Vedas.

King must be trained in martial and administrative arts.

He should appoint wise ministers (ideally Brahmins or experienced counsellors) and heed their advice.

He should protect his subjects from external enemies and internal lawlessness.

King should maintain the social order and ensure that each person performs their assigned duties.

The Manusmriti explicitly advises the king to **provide for the welfare of all four varnas**.

It's a **paternalistic model** of governance – the king as the patriarch of a social family.

Taxation is justified as the king's share for performing this protective function (typically one-sixth of produce).

The king should not rule whimsically (*"not according to his personal desire or gain"*), but according to the established law and counsel.

F] Rights and Duties

Rights or freedoms are rarely mentioned in Manusmriti. Instead, righteousness and obligation are emphasized. For instance, rather than a concept of freedom of religion, Manu prescribes what rituals each varna / ashrama should perform. Instead of rights of citizens, he lists the duties of subjects: paying taxes honestly, following one's occupation, and reporting crimes.

The underlying belief is that if everyone does their duty, the society will be in harmony and each person will receive their due protection and sustenance – a collective ideal of justice.

Also, absence of explicit mention of rights do not give a free hand to state. The duties of king, as mentioned above have been elaborately prescribed.

8] Scholarly Analysis

“The neglect of Indian political thought will result into the impoverishment of the west.” - Morris Jones

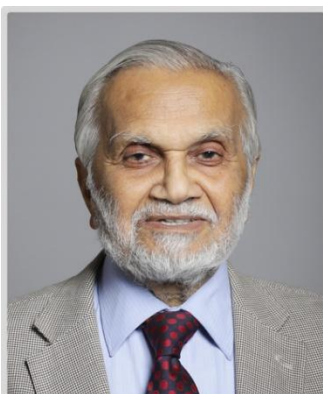
“Nowhere in the world, human mind has dealt with the various questions of life in such a depth as in case of India.” – Max Muller

It is not correct to say that Indians lack political thinking. When west describes India empty of political wisdom, it reflects their ethnocentric attitude. Similarly when west ignores Indian political thinking, it can be seen as the western attempt to maintain its cultural ideological hegemony.

A] Prof. V R Mehta

According to professor V R Mehta, the failure of west to recognize Indian thought can be because of the lack of understanding of Indian way of life by the people in the west. There is a big difference in the outlook of the west and east. West thinks in dichotomous lines. West has made difference between man and society, nature and culture, politics and ethics. On the other hand, Indians have always looked things in continuity. We have never separated man and society, nature and culture, dharma and danda (ethics and politics). Hence in order to understand Indian perspective on politics and statecraft, it is necessary to understand Indian way of life or the unique way of Indian thinking.

B] Bhikhu Parekh



Bhikhu Parekh

According to Bhikhu Parekh, ancient Indian tradition can be categorized into two broad streams. Hindu tradition and Buddhist tradition. Indian tradition reflects continuity rather than change. Hence Hindu tradition and Buddhist tradition does not differ in any qualitative sense of the term. We can call Buddhism as ‘rebel child of Hinduism’. Hence there is lot of similarities between the two traditions. Buddhism also believes in the concept of Karma and rebirth like Hinduism. The basic difference between Buddhism and Hinduism is that Hinduism represents the hegemony of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Buddhism represents the hegemony/alliance of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas.

Buddhism challenged the caste system thus more egalitarian in nature. However whether it is Buddhist text or Jain texts, Kings are supposed to be Kshatriyas.

Similarly two Hindu traditions, Dharmashashtras and Dandashashtras do not differ in a qualitative terms. It is a difference of degree rather than kind. Whether it is Dharmashashtra or Dandashashtras, both texts revolve around the two basic concepts. a) dharma and b) danda.

It is believed that Dharma cannot stand without Danda. In Dharmashashtras, the central discussion is on dharma and the discussion on danda is peripheral. Whereas in Dandashashtras, texts discuss danda as the main issue and discussion of dharma as peripheral.

9.2] ARTHASHASTRA

1] LIFE OF KAUTILYA

2] INTRODUCTION

3] FOREIGN POLICY

A] KAUTILYA'S IDEAS ON WARFARE

B] MANDALA SIDDHANT

C] WHAT POLICIES VIJIGISHU CAN ADOPT?

4] SAPTANGA THEORY

A] KING

B] AMATYAS

C] FORTS / DURG

D] JANPATHS

E] KOSH / TREASURY

F] BALA (FORCE)

F] MITRA (ALLIES)

5] INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

A] ADMINISTRATION

B] ESPIONAGE

6] COMPARING ARTHASHASTRA

A] KAUTILYA AND MACHIAVELLI

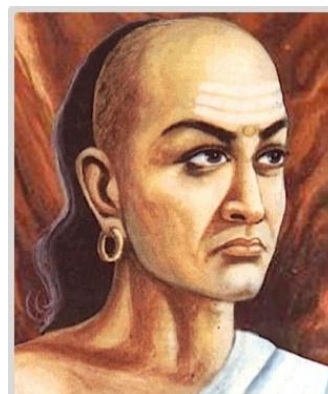
B] DHARMASHASTRA AND ARTHASHASTRA

1] Life of Kautilya

Kautilya, also known as Chanakya or Vishnugupta, was an ancient Indian philosopher, economist, strategist, and statesman who lived around the 4th century BCE. Kautilya was born into a Brahmin family as the son of Acharya Chanak, in Pataliputra (near present-day Patna in Bihar).

Kautilya played a crucial role in the downfall of the Nanda dynasty and the rise of Chandragupta Maurya. He envisioned a strong and centralized Indian empire and used his strategic acumen to help Chandragupta seize the throne of Magadha. He then served as prime minister and shaped the administration of the Mauryan Empire.

His most influential contribution is the Arthashastra, a comprehensive text that covers a wide range of subjects — from political ethics, espionage, diplomacy, taxation, and law, to agriculture, mining, trade, and military organization. The Arthashastra presents a highly pragmatic and even ruthless view of governance, often compared to Machiavelli's *The Prince*, though it predates it by nearly 1800 years.



Kautilya

Kautilya believed that the state is of paramount importance and the king must act in the interest of dharma (duty), artha (economy), and danda (authority). He emphasized a realist approach to politics — advocating for a strong, intelligent ruler supported by an efficient bureaucracy, a well-maintained army, and a network of spies.

He passed away sometime after the establishment of the Mauryan Empire, but his legacy lived on. Kautilya remains a towering figure in Indian political thought, often credited as the father of Indian political science and economics.

Kautilya's work Arthashastra belongs to the tradition of Dandashastra. The prime issue in Arthashastra is statecraft. However it also discusses dharma and we see the continuity between Manu and Kautilya.

2] Introduction

Kautilya defines statecraft as Arthashastra. Artha denotes material well-being. According to Kautilya, the most important objective of the king is to secure the material well-being of its people. In the words of Kautilya, "Material wellbeing is supreme, attainment of all other goals dharma, kama, moksha depends on material wellbeing." In ancient times, land was the main source of securing the material wellbeing. Hence the main idea in Arthashastra is how to acquire the land. It is natural for a state to go for acquiring land. The first land to be acquired is the land of neighbour. Hence neighbours are natural enemies. Hence the relations between the two states are the relations of war. Thus Arthashastra deals with 'art of war' like Sun Tzu the Chinese strategist. Hence the main idea in Arthashastra is war, strategic planning, balance of power, geopolitics.

Arthashastra can be considered as the first textbook in geopolitics. (Geopolitics is a science of capturing land/resources.) According to the concept of geopolitics, state is an organism. Like any organism, state has to grow. If state will not grow/expand, state will perish or decay. Thus Kautilya's Arthashastra challenges western view that Indians lacked strategic culture. George Tanham categorically rejected that Indians have any strategic culture or wisdom but Kautilya proves him wrong. It is unfortunate that policymakers in India have overlooked the wisdom found in Arthashastra. However since the beginning of 21st century, with Hindu rightist party coming to power, there is a change in the approach of the south block. We are rediscovering the ancient Indian wisdom.

Main ideas in Arthashastra.

- 1) State of relations between the two countries.
- 2) Mandal Siddhant.
- 3) Saptanga theory. (Saptaprakar theory)
- 4) Sadgunya Niti. (Sixfold policy)
- 5) 4 Upaya. (Fourfold policy)
- 6) Types of wars.

2025 Edition

Political Science & Int. Relations [PSIR] Notes

for

UPSC-CSE Mains & State PSCs

Paper 1 Section B

Indian Govt. & Politics



Part 1

Topics: 1,2,3,4,5

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1A] POLITICAL STRATEGIES OF INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE

1] INTRODUCTION

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A] PHASES OF PEASANT MOVEMENT

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9] ROLE OF WOMEN IN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

A] NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY AND WOMEN ISSUES

1] Introduction

Indian National Movement was a prolonged battle and involved various phases. The Revolt of 1857 marks the first organized efforts against the British Rule. This was followed by the period, where institutionalized efforts began against the British rule. For some time, the British were seen as positive agents of change. Social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy sided with the British to bring social change, and others saw them as a 'blessing in disguise'.

The disillusionment, however, started after the 1860s. As the economic exploitation by foreign hands became more visible, the resistance against it started growing. This struggle evolved in various stages, and different methods were adopted at various stages to oust the British. The earliest methods, called constitutionalism (prayers & petitions), dominated till 1905. The extremist leaders took over after that till the arrival of Gandhi in 1914. Gandhi marked the beginning of mass movements which ultimately led India to its liberation.

Various Stages of Indian Nationalism

1. Early Nationalism – Revolt of 1857
2. Moderate Nationalism (1880s to 1905)
3. Extremist Nationalism (1905-1914)
4. Gandhian Phase of Indian Freedom Struggle (1914-1947)

2] The Revolt of 1857

The suppressed feelings of Indians against the British East India Company were given a sudden vent in 1857. The disputes soon spiralled into a full-blown revolt of Indian soldiers against the East India Company. Although unsuccessful in throwing out the British, the revolt remains an important chapter in Indian history.

A] Views of V D Savarkar

VD Savarkar wrote a book in 1908 titled 'Indian War of Independence'. He was the first to call the 1857 revolt the war for independence. He presents the following argument in his book

1. The annexation of Oudh and the case of greased cartridges were merely but small excuses to what was already in the process
2. The rupture of local traditions, mockery of Indian customs and religion, not recognizing the adopted rulers (a tradition allowed by Hindu Dharmashastra) the promotion of Christianity –were the main factors for rebellion.
3. The unifying feature of the war was the desire for swadharma and swaraj.
4. The presence of secret organizations illustrates that the revolt had a plan and a purpose. – these secret cells spread the message, awakening a sense of purpose, pride and nationalistic consciousness. It involved a coded communication language, infiltration of garrisons and villages by activists dressed as fakirs, sanyasis, sadhus, maulvis etc. The start of the war was signalled by a symbolic distribution of chapatis and red lotuses.
5. Further, the restoration of Bahadur Shah was not a retrograde action but the consequence of nationalist re-awakening. A declaration that the long-standing war between Hindus and Mohammadens has ended (for the greater purpose of defeating the British).



Savarkar believed that though the attempt was defeated, the spirit of nationalism had survived and it will lead to another war for independence in future.

For the War of 1857 shall not cease till the revolutionary arrives, striking slavery into dust, elevating liberty to the throne.... The war began on the 10th of May 1857 is not over on the 10th of May 1908, nor shall it cease till a 10th of May-to come sees the destiny accomplished, sees the beautiful India crowned. - Savarkar in 'Oh Martyrs' speech 1908

B] British Historian's Perspective

Another discourse, calling the uprising to be a mere sepoy mutiny, was led by British Historians. According to them, triggered by a few disgruntled soldiers, the revolution was just an act of indiscipline within the army. A normal occurrence in the course of time for such a large organization. It was sporadic, unplanned and occupied only parts of India, and beyond the overthrow of the East India Company, the soldiers had no greater vision behind the revolt.

British historians have argued that there was no unity of purpose; while sepoys wanted to restore Mughal rule, the inhabitants of Oudh wanted their Nawab back, and so did the people of Zansi. Peasants, on the other hand, just wanted a reduction in their tax rates. There was no central leadership to the revolt. The feudal leaders, the queen of Zansi, Tantia Tope, and Kunwar Singh – all fought only to restore their former privileges.

3] Moderate Nationalism

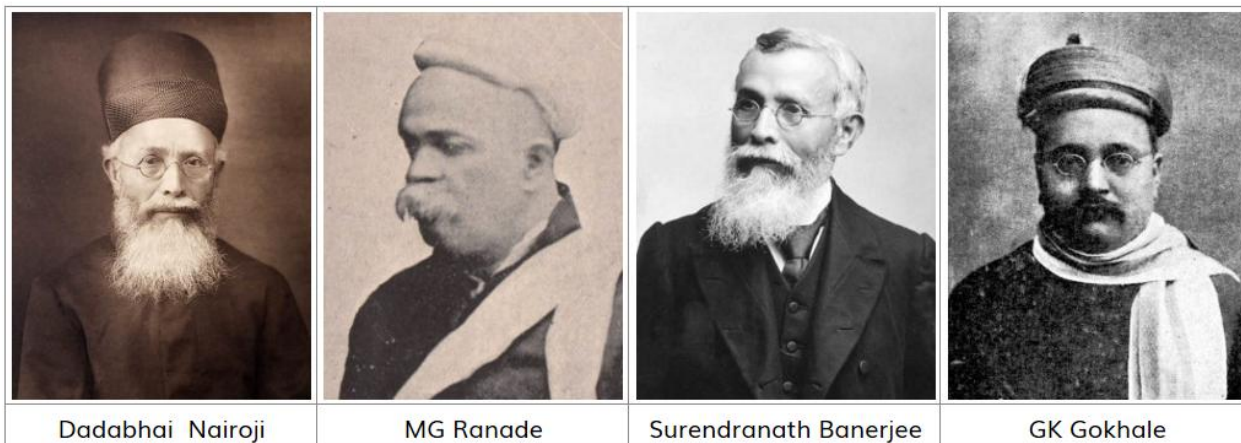
There are different types of political strategies adopted by the politicians or groups to achieve the political aim. Constitutionalism is a political strategy based on the philosophy of liberalism. An assumption that man is rational and hence political ends can be achieved by rational dialogue. There is no need of the use of violence in achieving political aims.

Constitutional methods can be called as institutional methods and includes prayers, petitions, popular demands etc. States can provide different institutions like parliament, gram-sabha, for representation of people's demands and their involvement in administration. Free and fair judicial system is another assumption of this method.

The early national leaders who led Indian freedom struggle are known as moderates, and their methods are called as constitutionalism. It dominated the scene till the extremist leader took the centre stage in Indian politics.

A] Aim of Moderates

Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 to institutionalize the process of nationalism. The objectives of INC included – to create and spread a national feeling among Indians, to politically educate and organize them, to create a political platform for political activities and to unify the Indian leadership.



Most of the Congress leaders were educated in western education and were impressed with values of liberalism. The aim of the Congress was piecemeal reform. Their complaint was only against un-British rule, and not foreign rule per se. They felt that the Indians at this stage cannot be left to themselves and the British rule is a source of modernization. They had great faith in British sense of justice. M G Ranade thanked British for introducing rule of law, expressed that British rule in India is a divine intervention to eradicate the evils of misrule of the past.

Surendranath Banerjee appealed to the British to introduce the institutions which are truly British in character so that Indians can rejoice in permanent union with British.

Dadabhai Naoroji held that British are justice loving people. Indians have to communicate their demand to the British in 'reasonable manner'. Ranade held that British rule is a source of inspiration, hope and confidence. He held that Indians are fortunate that they are ruled by the British.

Thus, they wanted greater autonomy within British empire like Canada and Australia. A greater participation, Indianization of civil services demands to share political power, control over purse of govt, over military expenditure. As a whole it focused on national issues than regional concerns and also failed to grasp the real nature of British rule.

For another reason, as suggested by Gokhale, constitutional methods were adopted according to the circumstances. Direct action required immense preparation and Indians were not ready for such action. According to C. Y. Chintamani, before introducing direct actions, we have to address internal divisions and disunity.

The means for the process speeches and articles, the use of press, intellectual debates and agitations against government economic policies, bringing resolutions in assembly, sending memorials to govt, prayers, petitions etc.

B] Achievements of Moderates

These leaders contributed to develop an economic critique of colonialism. It exposed the exploitative nature and the poverty created in India by British Raj. It demonstrated how the British rule was responsible for the loss of livelihood for many artisans and put forth the Drain of wealth theory. It became a major theme for future nationalistic movement.

C] Assessment of Moderate Nationalism

The idea of constitutionalism is itself an imported idea. Constitutionalism originated in Britain, and was introduced in India by the colonial masters along with modern institutions like rule of law, modern judicial system, civil services and assemblies.

Britishers ruled India not only by the use of coercive methods, but they also tried to build hegemony by doing certain good actions. To gain the legitimacy of British rule, they incorporated Indians in assemblies as well as in civil services, gave concession at times and

Early nationalists employed constitutional methods like bringing resolutions in the assembly, sending memorials, prayers, petitions, appeals to justice and protests.

Thus, constitutional methods differ from direct actions like passive resistance, satyagraha, non-cooperation, dharana, haratal, boycott, civil disobedience, rebellions, mutiny, terrorism, criminal actions, aiding foreign invasions, subversion.

1] Bipin Chandra

Bipin Chandra suggests that the early nationalist leaders were both learners and teachers. No readymade understanding of colonialism was available to them. There were many questions about nature of colonialism, contradiction of Indian bureaucrats within British government, the ability and the methods to fight British? Before it could be a struggle against colonialism, it was a struggle about colonialism.

He quotes Dadabhai Naoroji who wrote in 1905 The very discontent and impatience it (the Congress) has evoked against itself as slow and non-progressive among the rising generation are among its best results or fruit.

2] GK Gokhale

G K Gokhale remarked in 1907 'Let us not forget that we are at a stage of the country's progress when our achievements are bound to be small, and our disappointments frequent and trying.... We, of the present generation must be content to serve her mainly by our failures. For hard, though it be, out of those failures the strength will come which in the end will accomplish great tasks.'



Prof. Bipin Chandra



Gopal Krishna Gokhale

3] Other Leaders

'Constitutional methods in front of alien bureaucracy is a political suicide' - Tilak

Constitutional methods reflect 'intellectual bankruptcy of the leaders'. Aurobindo Ghosh believed that Indians will have to strike at the roots of colonialism. That is - boycotting the foreign goods and adopting Swadeshi. - Aurobindo Ghosh

Constitutional methods will not work because India does not have constitutional government. - Pandit Nehru

M G Ranade held that 'The memorials are not addressed to the British, they are addressed to the Indians.'

4] Extremist Nationalism

The second generation of the leaders represented by Lal Bal Pal (Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal) are called as extremists. They were dis-satisfied with the achievements of early nationalists. The use of the term extremists and militants is relative. These leaders appear extremist in their demands and methods in comparison to earlier leaders which now appeared 'moderates'.

There is not much basic difference between the two in terms of goals. The goal of both remained Swaraj. With the exception of Aurobindo Ghosh, Swaraj even for all extremist leaders was 'dominion statues' and self-rule.



The only difference was that they were getting impatient. Whatever reforms Britishers have introduced in the name of Indian council acts appeared too little and too late. It failed to meet the aspirations. No effective representation of Indians in law making, Indians only got gradual rights to ask questions on budget and to bring resolutions.

The main difference was in the strategy. Extremists favoured direct actions like passive resistance, boycott, Swadeshi,

national education, national courts etc. Tilak rejected the method of petition and asserted that Swaraj is the birthright of Indians. Tilak justified *prajadroh* i.e. the right of the people to resist the government which exploits.

A] Evaluation of Extremists

Extremists phase was the next logical step. Swadeshi movement can be considered as successful movement led by INC. Extremists could preserve the credibility of INC and created the base for the launch of Gandhi's mass movement.

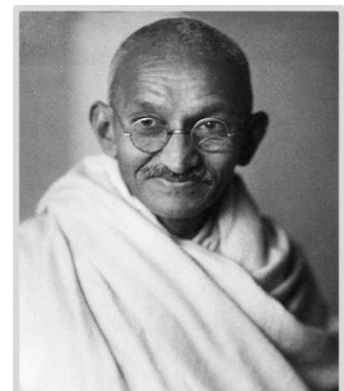
Extremists have given the stronger theory of nationalism based on cultural symbols. Unfortunately, it provided opportunity to the British to give communal colour to the movement, presenting INC as party of Hindus. To defeat the nationalist consciousness which emerged because of Swadeshi, Britishers had introduced Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, gave separate electorate to Muslims. Thus led the statutory foundation of the two-nation theory.

5] Gandhian Strategy

Gandhi led one of the biggest mass movements in the world, successfully.

Mass movements can be categorized into two basic types. 1) Uncontrolled mass movements - French revolution was spontaneous, uncontrolled mass movement. 2) Controlled mass movements - Russian revolution, Chinese revolution, Gandhian movements are examples of planned, directed and controlled mass movements.

We can also categorize mass movements in terms of strategy into two basic types.



MK Gandhi

1. Marxist - Leninist movement - The characteristic is they are sudden, comprehensive and achieve the immediate overthrow of the system. (Overnight movements.)

2. Gramscian and Gandhian movements - Gramsci and Gandhi were contemporaries and show unique convergence in context of the strategy. They suggested two-stage revolution in case of 'opaque states'. (Where it is difficult to understand the exploitative nature of state). Hence the movement has to be 'protracted movement'. There has to be a war of position, an ideological war before arriving at a point of direct action or war of manoeuvre/frontal attack.

According to Bipin Chandra, Gandhian mass movement was a long, protracted movement with its active and passive phases. Active phases included mass agitation; passive phases included constructive programs. Bipin Chandra calls Gandhi's strategy as a strategy of S-T-S (Struggle-Truce-Struggle). Gandhian strategy was based on the understanding of mass psychology. Masses have limited capacity to participate. Besides being a psychologist, Gandhi was a master strategist. Gandhi knew when to start the movement, when to call off the movement.

Gandhi's approach as 'proactive' rather than reactive. Gandhian movements are proactive in the sense Gandhi never left ball in the courts of enemy. He forced enemy to respond. It was always initiative of Gandhi. The time and place, issue was all choice of Gandhi. Gandhi was offensive rather than defensive.

A] Non-Cooperation Movement

It was first truly Gandhian movement at pan India level. Gandhi started the movement at that time because the political environment was conducive to start the movement. People were looking for action in background of:

1. Rowlett Act and suppression of civil liberties
2. Extreme pain because of Jallianwala bag tragedy
3. Extreme disappointment and frustration because of the report of Hunter commission, and the massive support by British public for General Dyer
4. Economic distress because of 1st WW
5. Khilafat movement as an opportunity to bring Muslims together

In Nagpur session of 1920, congress adopted the program of extra-constitutional mass struggle led by Gandhi. Right to refuse cooperation with the ruler who misrules. Gandhi's promised that such method can deliver Swaraj within a year.

1] Strategy of Non-Cooperation

1. Surrender of titles and honours
2. Boycott of government schools, colleges and foreign clothes
3. No tax campaign in case provincial congress committee approves
4. Opening of national schools, colleges, panchayat courts, promotion of Khadi, maintaining Hindu-Muslim unity, giving up untouchability
5. Strict adherence to non-violence
6. Congress to reach to mohalla levels

Congress described the movement as a peaceful, legitimate protest for attainment of Swaraj, by direct action rather than constitutional means.

However, Gandhi called off the movement abruptly after the Chaurichaura incident in February 1922.

2] Reaction Against Gandhi's Decision

Gandhi came under harsh criticism not only by non-congress leaders but even from congressmen. Even Pandit Nehru questioned the rationale of calling off the movement. Major criticism came from communists. They believed that Gandhi was fearful of masses acquiring power.

3] Analysis by Bipin Chandra

The real reason was that Gandhi wanted 'graceful exit'. By this time, masses were getting exhausted. There were violent incidents in some regions like Moppila revolt in Malabar. Moppila revolt would have taken communal colour. Gandhi realized that because of Chaurichaura incident, government will get excuse to use massive force. If government uses force, people will get scared and it will be difficult to rebuild the movement.

4] Assessment of Non-Cooperation Movement

Movement was failure in terms of stated objectives and the promises made by Gandhi and Congress. However, movement was successful in the sense Gandhi got all that he wanted.

Gandhi's wanted to test the capacity of masses for struggle. He wanted to establish Congress as the party of masses and not representing 'microscopic minority'. Gandhi wanted national movement to become mass movement. It means multi-class movement rather than just limited to the middle classes.

There were also some visible successes e.g.

1. boycott of the visit of prince of Wales,
2. Boycott of foreign goods.

B] Civil Disobedience Movement [CDM] (1930-31)

It is a finest example of Gandhian strategy. Non-Cooperation can be considered as mild in comparison to Civil Disobedience, which was more provocative. Civil Disobedience was direct challenge to the authority whereas NCM was just targeting the economic base of colonialism.

NCM was not cooperating with the state, but civil disobedience was 'wilful disobedience' of the authority. It is like questioning the legitimacy of the state.

CDM was more offensive than NCM. Gandhi wanted Britishers to use force. It would have challenged the myth of 'benevolent despotism'. In case British state does not use force, it meant 'collapse of the state', if it uses force, it meant the collapse of its hegemony.

Since the strategy of CDM has put colonial state in dilemma, expressed by Viceroy as 'dammed if you do and dammed if you don't.' It took them time to decide the arrest of Gandhi. This permitted Gandhi to complete his march. Once Gandhi completed his march, similar marches were organized. It

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Political Science & Int. Relations [PSIR] Notes

for

UPSC-CSE Mains & State PSCs

Paper 1 Section B

Indian Govt. & Politics



Part 2

Topics: 6,7,8,9,10,11

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6.1] ELECTION COMMISSION OF INDIA

1] ELECTION EXPENDITURE

2] ANONYMITY IN FUNDING

3] ELECTORAL BONDS

4] DONATIONS BY CORPORATES

5] CRIMINALIZATION OF POLITICS

MEASURES

6] PAID NEWS / FAKE NEWS.

7] OPINION POLL | EXIT POLL

8] EVM AND VVPAT

9] LEGALIZATION OF MCC

10] DUAL CONSTITUENCY



The Election Commission of India (ECI) is an autonomous constitutional authority responsible for administering election processes in India at both the national and state levels. Established in 1950, the commission is tasked to ensure free and fair elections to the Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, and State Legislative Assemblies.

The ECI is composed of a Chief Election Commissioner and two Election Commissioners. An election commissioner is appointed by the President of India on the recommendation of a three-member selection committee headed by the Prime Minister of India and consisting of the leader of the opposition and a Union Cabinet Minister. The term of a CEC can be a maximum of six years or till he/she attains sixty-five years of age. The Chief Election Commissioner is usually a member of the Indian Civil Service.

Its key functions include preparing and updating electoral rolls, overseeing the nomination of candidates, monitoring campaign activities, and supervising the counting of votes and declaration of results. The ECI plays a crucial role in maintaining the integrity and transparency of the electoral process in India.

The various issues associated with the election commission of India, can be discussed as follows:

1] Election Expenditure

According to recent revision of election expenditure, the election commission has prescribed the expenditure of ₹95 lakh for Lok Sabha constituency ₹40 lakh for Assembly constituency. Considering the additional expenditure by political parties and the undisclosed expenditures, the cost of election expenditure goes in thousands of crores. Making it the most expensive election in the world.

The hugely expensive nature of Indian elections negatively affects the dynamism of Indian democracy raising the entry level barrier for new political entrants to contest and win elections.

The risk of elite capture/corporate capture of the electoral process and the policies of the ruling governments becomes much more likely if there are no limits on corporate funding of political parties.

2] Anonymity in Funding

Another major issue is the anonymity in the funding of political parties. Over the past decade more than 70% of the funds raised by political parties have been from anonymous sources as pointed out by the ADR (Association of Democratic Reforms). Anonymity negatively affects the functioning of democracy as the electorate's right to information about the funding of political parties and their candidates gets compromised.

The removal of restrictions on foreign funding of Indian political parties could pose a serious threat to the economic sovereignty of state policy which is likely to come under increasing influence of foreign companies/sources in the future.

3] Electoral Bonds

The electoral bonds were the anonymous bearer bonds which could be used by a donor to make contributions to a political party and yet retain the confidentiality of the transaction without revealing the identity of the donor. Given, that such bonds can be issued only by selected banks, it will reduce the role of cash in funding of political parties.

The electoral bonds were conceived to:

1. Decrease the influence of anonymous cash donations and thereby limit the influence of black money in the electoral process.
2. To protect donors from potential harassment from political parties if they are found favouring or supporting one party over the other.
3. To improve transparency of the electoral process.

There were concerns about the bond system being completely outside the purview of the RTI act & IT act. Finally in February 2024, on eve of 2024 elections, the Supreme Court struck down electoral bonds as an unconstitutional scheme. The court also asked the State Bank of India (issuer of these bonds) to hand over the identities and other details of donors and recipients to the Election Commission of India, which was in turn asked to publish it on its website.

4] Donations by Corporates

Earlier the Companies Act 2013 had a provision that restricted corporate donations to a cap of 7.5% of the donor companies' average net profits in the three preceding financial years. Through the Finance Act, 2017, government deleted this provision, allowing corporate companies to donate any amount of their choice, exceeding 7.5% of their profits.

Recently, the Supreme Court's February 15 2024, verdict on electoral bonds (EBs) declared unlimited corporate contributions to political parties as "violative of Article 14 of the Indian constitution", and restored the earlier cap of 7.5%.

5] Criminalization of Politics

The role of money and muscle power in Indian elections is well known. According to latest election results, 46% of newly elected MPs (2024) have pending criminal cases against them. Thus, law breakers are becoming law makers. This weakens the political will to fight corruption and leads to politicization of crime. This also lowers the morale of bureaucracy & hamper day-to-day governance.

Measures

1. Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR) filed a PIL in 1999 that led to the 2003 Supreme Court judgement. The court mandated declaring criminal background, educational background, asset/liability of candidates and of family members, and sources of income of candidates.
2. Under Section 8(3) under RPI act, any individual if convicted for a crime with punishment of 2 years or more, he would be disqualified for 6 years.
3. Apart from above changes, there needs to be a provision of fast-track courts for cases against legislatures. Currently, around 250 of the total elected MPs criminal cases against them.
4. In 2017, a PIL was filed to make fast track courts which will handle all serious cases against sitting MLA's and MPs. Such initiatives must be put in place so that judicial delays do not hamper the aim of tackling criminalization of politics.

6] Paid News / Fake News.

Press council of India has defined that any news coverage by media organizations (print media) during the electoral period which has been paid for in cash or kind by vested groups is termed as paid news.

Paid news is not an electoral malpractice under RPI act. However, EC and Law Commission have declared that it must be declared as electoral offence. Any such candidate trying to publish paid news must be punished for a term of two years.

Paid news represents a malpractice which tries to unduly manipulate voter behaviour and thus negatively affects the integrity of the electoral process. Both Press Council of India (PCI) and Election Commission of India (ECI) have highlighted the need to curb this menace. Moreover, more than two hundred instances of paid news have been flagged in the past decade by election commission.

Currently the ECI in collaboration with PCI appoints District Media Observers (DMO) to flag instances of paid news. Moreover, news media organizations during the election period are expected to carry a clear declaration that none of the content has been paid for.

Both the ECI and Law Commission reports have argued for the need to declare it as an electoral malpractice under section 8 of RPI Act 1951 with a jail term of 2 years and the need to strictly enforce this law.

Fake news often widely circulated through social media often involves a deliberate misreporting of facts and there is a need to urgently tackle this issue as well. The ECI is appointing Social Media Observers (SMO) in collaboration with social media companies for keeping a watch and launch prompt actions to prevent such news items from having a wide reach.

7] Opinion Poll | Exit Poll

Opinion polls are pre-election surveys and exit polls are post-election surveys which aim to elicit the views of the electorate during or after the election period. In 1997 and eventually in 2004 the ECI after consultation with all political parties imposed a ban on post-election surveys as many of these were accused of being biased and done with the intention of favouring or dis-favouring certain political groups.

However, in 2004 as the ECI sought to expand the coverage of the ban to include opinion polls as well, a PIL (Public Interest Litigation) was filed in Supreme Court (SC) by media organizations including The Hindu who argued that such a blanket ban violates the freedom of press protected under Art 19.

Currently the election commission of India, in collaboration with the press council has issued advisory that all media houses while publishing results of opinion polls must also publish a note on methodology which gives details about the number of respondents, the questionnaire administered, the demographic composition and the representativeness of the sample surveyed. This would allow the reader to make an informed opinion about the relevance and trustworthiness of such surveys.

Many European countries (16) impose restrictions on publication of opinion polls in the immediate pre-election period ranging from a period of 2 days to a month before elections. In case such restrictions are to be imposed in India, a consensus with all stakeholders including the press must be arrived at first.

8] EVM and VVPAT

The introduction of Electronic Voting Machines and VVPAT have been gamechanger in Indian elections. It has reduced the frauds like booth capture, rigging, ballot stuffing etc.

The EVMs are quick, there is absence of any communication device i.e. these machines cannot be connected to cannot be connected to any network like Bluetooth, RFs, WIFI, Internet etc. And the chips used in these are one time programmable. In these machines, the names of candidates are arranged in alphabetical manner and not on party basis.

Thus, the proposal to return to ballot paper would be regressive. While the constructive criticism is welcome, an uninformed criticism, will reduce faith of people in electoral process. Measure should be in place to maintain the sanctity of Indian elections.

9] Legalization of MCC

Model Code of Conduct (MCC) was introduced in 1967 after consensus among all political parties to provide level playing field to all political parties. Absence of this gives advantage to ruling party.

1. MCC kicks in as soon as dates for elections are announced.
2. No new schemes can be announced during this period
3. No transfers / new appointments can be done.
4. Any transfer required will be done by ECI if it feels that it will hamper election.
5. No hate speech during MCC period.

6. No personal attacks on other leaders.

MCC does not have legal sanction. MCC must be given legal backing.

There is another view that violation of MCC and its execution by ECI will influence voter behaviour. And it will act as deterrent for political parties. Since ECI enjoys confidence among masses. i.e. Its sanction is moral. Making it legal will results in litigation which will end in delays.

There is also argument to give contempt powers to ECI. But even judiciary use it sparingly and giving it to another organ is will be like turning the clock backward.

10] Dual Constituency

Sometimes the candidates contest election from two constituencies. Such a practice negates voice of electorate. They are not sure if leader will continue. This also leads to un-necessary extra expenditure for ECI.

SAMPLE

6.2] CAG: COMPTROLLER & AUDITOR GENERAL

1] APPOINTMENT PROCEDURE

WAY FORWARD

2] SCOPE OF CAG AUDITS

3] QUALITY OF AUDITS

4] THE DELAY IN TABLING OF REPORTS



The Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India is a crucial constitutional authority responsible for auditing government finances. Established under Article 148 of the Indian Constitution, the CAG ensures transparency and accountability in the use of public funds. The office audits the accounts of the central and state governments, including autonomous bodies and institutions funded by the government.

Article 149 of the Indian Constitution specifies the duties and powers of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India. As mentioned under the article:

1. The CAG is responsible for auditing all receipts and expenditure of the Government of India and the Government of each State.
2. The CAG also audits the accounts of any other authority or body as prescribed by law.
3. Parliament can determine the duties and powers of the CAG through legislation.

The CAG's reports are vital for legislative control over public expenditure, ensuring that government spending is lawful, efficient, and effective. The appointment and independence of the CAG are safeguarded by the Constitution, ensuring impartiality in its operations.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on the floor of constituent assembly argued that the CAG's office is the most important constitutional office as it is a guardian of public purse. In his own words,

“I am of opinion that this dignitary or officer is probably the most important officer in the Constitution of India. He is the one man who is going to see that the expenses voted by Parliament are not exceeded, or varied from what has been laid down by Parliament in what is called the Appropriation Act. If this functionary is to carry out the duties-and his duties, I submit, are far more important than the duties even of the Judiciary- he should have been certainly as independent as the Judiciary. But, comparing the articles about the Supreme Court and the articles relating to the Auditor-General, I cannot help saying that we have not giving him the same independence which we have given to the Judiciary, although I personally, feel that he ought to have far greater independence than the Judiciary itself.” - Dr. B R Ambedkar

1] Appointment Procedure

Under Art 148 -151 the CAG is appointed by the president on the advice of Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers. The CAG's appointment is in the hands of the executive without any role for

legislature in the process. Given that the CAG's findings may often be critical of government policies, government may appoint a more pliable individual or an individual with a conflict of interest. e.g. Shashikant Sharma's appointment as the CAG in 2013 was questioned on the ground of his past tenure in the defence ministry where he supervised defence procurements. This could have easily led to the CAG going soft on the audit of defence procurements under his watch.

Way Forward

The 2nd ARC report has argued about the need to establish a bipartisan multimembered body for appointing CAG with a role for the opposition. e.g. A committee composed of the prime minister and leader of opposition and the law minister, acting as the head in the selection process.

Amitabh Mukhopadhyaya, in his article 'Foregrounding Financial Accountability in Governance' argues that Public Account Committee (PAC) must also be consulted while appointing the CAG.

2] Scope of CAG Audits

Currently the CAG performs compliance audits, financial audits and performance audits.

1. Compliance audits conducted by the CAG aim to ensure that government departments and agencies follow the relevant laws, regulations, and policies. These audits scrutinize whether the financial and administrative actions adhere to the established rules and procedures.
2. Financial audits by the CAG focus on examining the accounts and financial records of government entities to assess their accuracy and fairness. The goal is to provide an opinion on whether the financial statements present a true and fair view of the financial position.
3. Performance audits evaluate the **economy, efficiency, and effectiveness of government programs** and operations. The CAG conducts these audits to determine if government resources are being used optimally and if the desired outcomes are being achieved.

Historically the Supreme Auditing Institutions (SAI) across developing world have focused more on 'low key' functions of compliance and financial audits. Whereas in developed countries, which are mature democracies, SAI have devoted more than two third of their time and resources on performance audits.

The current challenge before the CAG is to handle the criticism of its performance audits, especially when findings are critical of government policies. e.g. During the UPA-2's regime, the CAGs report on 2G spectrum allocation and Coal Block allocation were critical of government policy having caused a huge revenue loss to the state and unduly benefiting the private players.

The other challenge before the CAG is over its potential scope to audit the private companies which provide services under a PPP model on behalf of the state or are in a revenue sharing agreement with the government. The supreme court in the Association of Unified Telecom Services vs Union of India case, 2014 clarified the CAG's jurisdiction over private companies in such cases is only when directed by the government e.g. The AAP government in 2014 requested the CAG to audit the accounts of private DISCOMs responsible for electricity distribution in Delhi on the charge of a potential

discrepancy in reporting profits and operational losses. The 2016 draft report of CAG has pointed out a potential under reporting of profits by these private companies of up to 8,000 crores.

3] Quality of Audits

The quality of CAG reports had often been questioned specially when they criticize government policy. The CAG submitted itself to a peer-to-peer assessment conducted by INTOSAI (Int. organization of Supreme Auditing Institutions) in 2012. The peer review focused on the Audit Quality Management Framework (AQMF) and performance audit function of CAG, examining 35 performance audits from FY 2010-2011.

The recommendations of this peer review included:

1. **Communication AQMF to staff** for better understanding and compliance.
2. Review and update audit standards and guidelines to **match current practices and global standards**.
3. **Strengthen training programs** to develop staff skills in performance auditing.
4. Develop **clear audit objectives**, criteria, and test programs that are achievable.
5. Implement a formal policy to manage conflicts of interest more effectively.
6. Seek and publish **responses from audited entities** for transparency.
7. **Include third parties in audits** to ensure fairness and thoroughness.
8. Strengthen techniques and documentation for better evidence validation.
9. Enhance audit reports' quality and clarity.
10. Introduce annual reviews and share lessons learned for continuous improvement.

Despite these shortcomings the INTOSAI have found these CAG reports to be an invaluable and authoritative reliable source of information to discharge their duties. The Public Accounts Committee has recommended more regular peer-to-peer assessments (once in 3 years) to monitor whether quality of CAG reports have improved over time or not.

4] The Delay in Tabling of Reports

The Delay in Tabling of CAG reports and Public Accounts Committee (PAC's) findings on government policies and their impact has often been intentionally done by ruling governments as this could be a major embarrassment for them. However, it deprives the legislature and the public of a quality source of evidence to hold the executive accountable.

2nd ARC and the PAC have repeatedly argued about the need for a time bound procedure for tabling CAG reports and PAC findings preferably within a year before the parliament.

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UPSC-CSE Mains & State PSCs

Paper 2 Section A Comp. Politics and IR



Part 1

Topics: 1,2,3,4,5,6

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1] Comparative Politics

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- A] CORE PRINCIPLES
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1] Introduction

Comparative politics is one of the core elements of political science. Comparative politics means comparing the political systems of different states. Comparative politics is as old as political theory. Aristotle is regarded as the father of comparative politics. He studied 158 constitutions and gave the classification of constitutions. Comparative politics can be divided into two phases. Up till 2nd WW, traditional comparative politics. After the 2nd WW, modern comparative politics.

A] Why is Comparative Politics important?

Comparison is at the heart of the analysis of any phenomenon. In comparison, meaning is searched. Whenever scientific and objectivity are required- comparison is a method. Natural sciences have the luxury of a laboratory, but in Political Science, a comparison is a substitute for laboratory conditions. Not only dis-similarities but similarities are also compared.

B] Advantages of comparative politics.

1. Gaining knowledge - By comparison at a micro-level, one learns about the politics of different countries. It helps in understanding our own country and politics in a better way.
2. Evaluating good practices and avoiding mistakes – Every system innovates/develops as a response to situations. There is no paradigm shift in Social Sciences after a few years like Natural Science. Thus we can benefit from research already done by someone else. For example, in modern context, democracy developed in western countries but was later imported to the 3rd world. The Indian institution of Lokpal is also inspired by practice in European countries.
3. Enhances Objectivity – to make studies are more objective. Earlier, whatever studies were made, it was criticized for being ethnocentric. It was criticized as cultural imperialism. Comparative politics helps avoid this criticism.
4. Comparative method to make an enterprise more scientific. It helps in better analysis and understanding.
5. It allows verification/rejection of behavioural trends and patterns of people under certain circumstances.
6. Different institutions functioning in different atmospheres can be understood by comparative politics.

C] Limitations of comparative politics.

1. **Range of variables** – There are multiple factors which affect politics, i.e. society, history, climate, geography, economy, resources etc. And not all factors can be quantified and observed. They also operate at various degrees in various states.
2. **Lack of sufficient information** – Public information often may not be complete and can be filtered by state agencies, e.g. China has strong control over what comes out. And some totalitarian countries may not release any information at all (N. Korea). The comparison then really becomes difficult. Further, even when data exists, its format, frequency, and quality may differ across countries, making valid comparisons harder.

3. **The problem of objectivity / Cultural bias** – Certain social practices may be too incomprehensible to a foreign mind. Objectivity then gets obscured. Scholars often interpret political systems through the lens of their own cultural background, leading to biased analysis. What appears rational or democratic in one context may be inappropriate or misunderstood in another
4. **Difficulty in Establishing Causality** – In comparative politics, isolating one variable as the cause of a political outcome is difficult due to the complex interaction of multiple factors. Correlation is easier to observe, but causation remains hard to prove.
5. **Conceptual Stretching** – When scholars try to apply the same concepts (e.g. democracy, state, legitimacy) across different political systems, these terms may lose clarity or meaning due to different historical and institutional contexts.
6. **Language and Translation Barriers** – Accessing primary data, laws, speeches, or cultural texts often requires language proficiency. Misinterpretation due to poor translation or lack of local insight can distort analysis. Additionally, the meaning of terms like “authoritarianism,” “development,” or “rights” evolve over time, which complicates historical comparisons and trend analysis.
7. **Selection Bias** – Researchers may choose countries or cases that fit their hypothesis, leading to non-representative findings. This affects the generalisability of conclusions.
8. **Dynamic nature of discipline** – Politics is shaped by multiple factors. It is never static. The comparison we may do today may not be relevant tomorrow. This also creates a problem.

While these limitations do not invalidate comparative politics but is also necessitates that comparisons be made carefully as well as contextually. This also goes to suggest that comparison may not give a complete answer to the problems at hand.

D] Methods of Comparative Politics

Even today, there is no unanimity among scholars in regard to the method to be used in comparative politics. Various methods can be used depending on the purpose of comparison.

Prior to 1914, 2 forms of comparison existed

Until mid-18th century, the approach was **normative and philosophical**. It studied the existing situation and proposed a blueprint for the future, e.g. what type of future can be built.

With the expansion of democracies in the west, from middle of the 18th century, the **legalistic-constitutional approach emerged**. It included a study of the constitution and laws of states. It dominated till the 1st World War.

After 2nd World War, we see the emergence of modern comparative methods. Along with comparing constitutions, these approaches also focus on the study of society, politics, culture etc.

How to compare? One can comparing similar as well as different things. This is also a matter of debate. Both have their purpose and rationale.

Why should the comparison be of similar situations? Like sciences, it is keeping experimental conditions the same. It helps in identifying factors which make a difference. Factors responsible for that phenomenon. **Why compare of dis-similar situation?** It strengthens the hypothesis of theory,

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i.e. the assumption is true only in given circumstances and changing certain factors changes the outcome.

E] Traditional Comparative Politics

Traditional comparative politics was very narrow in its scope. It included just the study of the constitutions of the western world. Since the rest of the countries were colonies and had no independent political systems.

Because all western countries have been at a similar level of development, their societies, culture, and way of life do not differ from each other. Hence there were few bases for comparisons. The maximum comparison could be made only that of the constitutions or the forms of governments. Hence traditional comparative politics was the study of government. It is better to call it 'comparative government' rather than comparative politics.

Since constitutions or the forms of governments were the focus of the study, **the method that was used was legal and institutional**, i.e. study of laws and institutions.

The approach did not observe the norms like value neutrality, quantification etc. And since it focused on the study of institutions, it was largely static and suffered from a number of limitations.

Limitations of traditional comparative politics.

1. Narrow in scope – excluded political systems of non-western countries.
2. Static – focused on the study of constitutions rather than politics.
3. Essentially non-comparative – The only point of comparison was constitutions.

Hence the traditional approach is criticized as ethnocentric (just focused on the west), parochial, and limited.

Comparative Government vs Comparative Politics

Government represent the set of institutions. Comparative government Focuses on the study of constitutions and statutes.

Politics denote processes. When we study social, economic, cultural and psychological, formal and informal practices beyond constitutions, we understand politics.

Thus, along with constitution and laws, comparative politics includes the study of civil society, cultural factors, and domestic as well as international politics

F] Modern Comparative Politics

1] Reason for Emergence

After the 2nd World War, the world witnessed decolonization and the emergence of 'third world' countries. Third-world countries are too diverse, and there is a difference in theory and practice, text and context. Hence it was realized that it is not sufficient if we just go for the study of constitutions and statutes (laws). We will have to understand the socio-cultural factors in these societies.

The need for the study of developing areas coincided with behavioural movement. Behavioural techniques made the study of modern comparative politics possible, and the need to study new areas itself motivated scholars to make new innovations in approaches. Many new methods to study comparative politics were developed in the following period.

Modern methods in comparative politics can be listed as follows.

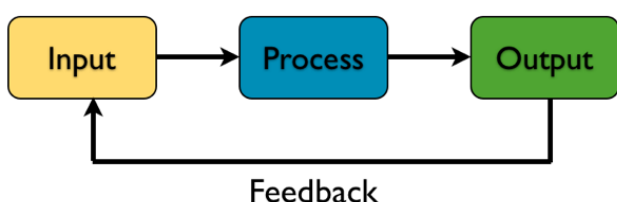
1. Systems approach
2. Structural, functional approach.
3. Political Development
4. Political Modernization
5. Political Culture
6. Political Sociology
7. Political Economy

1] Systems Approach

A] Introduction

David Easton gave the model of Systems Approach in comparative politics. The purpose of the system approach was to develop a scientific model. To develop a grand theory/model which can be utilized to study the political systems of different countries. To create a model which is value-free. Talcott Parsons was a source of influence for David Easton. Parsons has developed social system analysis in sociology.

The systems approach is a way of understanding politics by thinking of it like a **machine**. Just like a machine has input, processing, output and feedback.

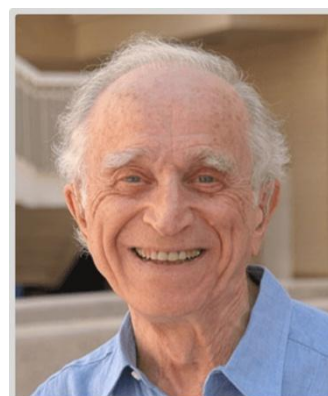


Easton tries to treat political system in a similar fashion. People give **inputs** to the political system—like demands, support, or complaints. The government then processes these and gives **outputs**—like laws, policies, or decisions. After

that, people react to those outputs, and that reaction becomes **feedback**, which helps the system adjust. So, it's like a loop:

people (input) → government (processing) → policies (output) → people's reaction (feedback / input) → back to government (processing) → policies (output) →

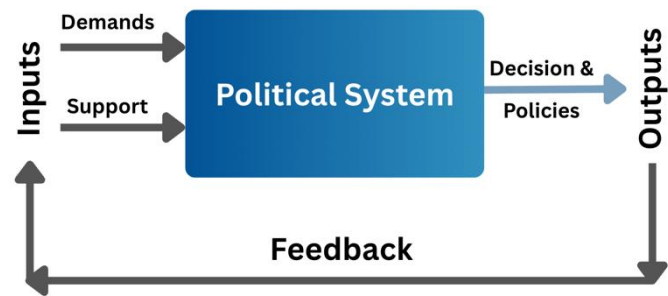
This method helps us see how a political system works and changes over time by connecting it to what's happening in society.



David Easton

B] Basic Concepts in Systems Approach

1] The concept of a system: A system is a set of elements in the state of interaction. Interaction is patterned and not haphazard. Behavioralists aimed to make political science 'science'. Hence they imported the concepts of natural sciences like systems from biology.



2] Concept of a political system: Just like there are different systems in a body, there are different systems in a society. The important criteria for differentiating different systems is on the basis of function they perform.

According to David Easton, the function of the political system is an 'authoritative' allocation of values. Allocation of values denotes deciding the distribution of goods, resources, honours, titles or deciding who will get what. Authoritative denotes the power to make binding decisions. Means punishment in case people do not follow the rules or laws.

Traditionalists use the term state. The term state denotes 'institutions'. Thus the state is a term used in the institutionalist approach, whereas the term 'political system' is a behaviouralist approach. The system not only denotes the structures it also denotes processes or functions. A system denotes a set of elements/environment in which a particular institution is based. (Refer to diagram.) All such things or subsystems which impact the main system is called as 'an environment of that system'.

3] Concept of Boundary: Every system has its boundary. Boundary denotes the limit of the environment. Systems kept out of boundary do not impact the main system.

4] Operation of Political system: According to David Easton, we can conceive a political system as a machine. Every machine functions on the principle of input and output. A conversion machine which converts input into output. The political system gets input from the environment.

5] Inputs are of two types:

i) Demands- Demands are what people want from the system. There are four types of demands: 1. Demand for regulation, 2. Demand for participation, 3. Demand for distribution, 4. Demand for communication.

ii) Support - Support shows people's support for the system, which is necessary for the functioning of the system. Support is also of four types. 1. Material support (e.g. tax) 2. Obedience to law 3. Participation in government programs 4. Paying attention to government communication.

6] Output functions: If a single decision comes, it will be treated as a decision. If multiple decisions come, it reflects policy.

7] Concept of Feedback: Feedback plays a very important role in the maintenance of the system. Outputs interact with the environment; they re-enter the system through the feedback loop. If a feedback loop does not exist, the system will collapse.

C] Critical evaluation

1] Traditionalists

It brings unnecessary complications and jargons. It does not have much analytical importance. It is just a very preliminary conceptual framework. It can be utilized only at the initial level of research. Its only importance can be a conceptual framework for the collection of data.

2] Marxist

Marxists are critical of behaviouralists. Behaviouralism emerged at the time of cold-war. It was the initiative of American political scientists. Most of the behavioural research was directed towards understanding and explaining the social realities in 'socialist' countries. e.g. Elitist theory of democracy is an example of behavioural–empirical research. Elitist theory of democracy has shown that 'oligarchy' is the iron law. It means whether a country is socialist or liberal, power will always be in the hands of elites. The situation is better in western countries because the elite structure is fractured. Thus Marxists looked at behaviouralism as a conspiracy against socialist countries.

According to the Marxists, the Systems approach is status-quoist. The systems approach is not universalist. The systems approach is modelled on the political systems of western countries.

Systems approach gives too much focus on system maintenance. They do not explain the crisis in the system. They have not pointed toward the protests, revolutions, or disruptions. They project as if the system is capable of absorbing all types of challenges.

The scientific model has to be universalist and unbiased, but this model is not universalist. It takes the western model as an ideal. Hence political systems which are not based on the western model will appear defective or problematic.

Marxists suggest that the system is not even a correct explanation for even western countries. It shows as if there are no problems in the western countries. The political system operates smoothly; there are no disruptions or protests. It projects the American system as the ideal type. It means they show as if there is no system which can be considered better than this system. For Marxists, even western countries should move toward the communist model.

3] Feminist

Feminists argue that systems approach ignores gendered power relations and the role of patriarchy in shaping political systems. It only focuses on formal institutions and assuming neutral functionality. The systems approach overlooks how these very structures often exclude or disadvantage women. It also does not account for care work, informal power structures, or gendered access to resources and representation. Feminists view the approach as blind to the lived realities experienced by women.

2] Structural-Functional Approach

Scholars: Almond and Powell

A] Need for Structural Functional Approach

Structural functional approach was developed to address some of the deficiencies in the Systems approach. The Systems approach was too general. It does not tell in detail about the structures and processes within the political system. And systems approach was criticized for being too static. It was modelled on western countries and hence was not found to be very relevant for the study of 'developing societies'. Thus limited importance in comparative politics.

Structural-functional approach is also based on Easton's model. Therefore Systems approach remains the basic conceptual framework even in this approach. However, Almond and Powell take a 'micro-view' rather than the macro-view. It is aimed at formulating a more 'universalist' model so that it is useful for developing countries.



Gabriel Almond



G B Powell

B] Methodology

Almond and Powell looked into the developments in other disciplines. They found the approach of anthropologists like Malinowski and Brown useful. Anthropologists, have shown that all societies perform some essential functions which are necessary. However, societies may vary with respect to the structures performing such functions.

On similar lines Almond and Powell suggest that every political system may have to perform the function of security, but the structure of the institutions performing these functions may vary.

The structural-functional approach takes the dynamic view of the political system i.e. according to them, different political systems are at different stages of development.

C] Structural Functional Approach

Political System, according to the Structural-Functional approach, consists of four Inputs functions and three output functions. Each function is performed by different structures in society /system.

4 Inputs functions

Input Functions	Associated Structures
1. Political socialization and recruitment	Family, School, Peer group, Society
2. Political communication	Mass media
3. Interest articulation	Interest groups, Pressure groups
4. Interest Aggregation	Political Parties

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UPSC-CSE Mains & State PSCs

Paper 2 Section A Comp. Politics and IR



Part 2

Topics: 7,8,9,10,11

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1] The Cold War

A] Origins and Causes

The Cold War was a protracted geopolitical and ideological rivalry between the United States (and its allies) and the Soviet Union (and its satellites) following World War II. However, even before WWII ended, mutual suspicions ran deep.

The U.S., emerging as a global power, was determined to prevent any rival from dominating Eurasia, while the USSR's was bent upon security-driven expansion in Eastern Europe. Ideologically, the United States championed liberal capitalism, and the Soviet Union promoted communism – each viewing the other's system as a threat to its way of life. Winston Churchill famously warned in 1946 of an “iron curtain” descending across Europe, dividing the free West from the communist East.

Thus, we can say that several early events cemented the Cold War divide:

1] Soviet Actions in Eastern Europe

As Nazi Germany fell, Stalin's forces occupied Eastern Europe and installed pro-Soviet regimes. This suggested an expanding communist sphere.

In response, the U.S. adopted **containment** as its grand strategy. The 1946 **Long Telegram** by U.S. diplomat George Kennan (alias “Mr. X”) advised that the USSR viewed itself in perpetual conflict with capitalism and could only be met with “patient, vigilant containment”.

In 1947, with the **Truman Doctrine**, President Harry S. Truman established that the United States would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces.

Further, the **Marshall Plan (1948)** proposed that the United States provide economic assistance to restore the economic infrastructure of postwar Europe. Under the initiative, billions of dollars were injected to rebuild (West) European economies – both to create a bulwark against communism and to expand U.S. influence. This linked Europe to the U.S. through trade and also made the **dollar** a global currency.

Although offered participation, the Soviet Union refused Plan benefits and also blocked benefits to Eastern Bloc countries. It came up with its own economic bloc (COMECON).

In addition to above developments, **NATO was formed in April 1949** and the U.S. monopoly on atomic bombs ended **when the USSR tested its first atomic weapon in August 1949**, intensifying security fears. The U.S. proposal for international control of atomic energy (the Baruch Plan, 1946) failed as the Soviets countered that the U.S. must disarm first. **A nuclear arms race was underway (discussed later), which paradoxically would enforce caution: as theorist Kenneth Waltz observed, these superweapons “made Cold War cold” by deterring direct superpower war.**

2] Who Was Responsible?

The blame for the Cold War still remains debated. **Traditionalists** argue Soviet aggression and expansionism caused the breakdown of relations. **Revisionists** fault the U.S., noting that Washington's drive for global markets and its aggressive policies (Truman Doctrine, NATO formation, etc.) provoked Soviet insecurity. **Post-revisionists** conclude that both sides contributed – an inevitable clash of two security-conscious superpowers whose interests and ideologies were incompatible.

Realists even suggest the conflict was *structural*: a power vacuum after WWII left two dominant states whose geopolitical imperatives doomed cooperation. In contrast, **social constructivists** contend the Cold War was not preordained – it resulted from mutual misperceptions and distrust that, with better diplomacy, might have been overcome.

B] Phases of the Cold War

Although “Cold” (no large-scale direct combat between the superpowers), the rivalry had distinct phases of intensity:

1] Early Confrontation (late 1940s–1950s)

As the Iron Curtain solidified in Europe, the U.S. led the formation of NATO in 1949. The Soviets responded in 1955 by organizing the Warsaw Pact with their Eastern European satellites, formalizing a bipolar military standoff. In this, Germany became a focal point. The Berlin Wall was constructed in 1961 and stood as the Cold War's stark symbol until its fall in 1989.

During this period, the U.S. and USSR also competed for influence in the decolonizing **Third World**. For example, the Korean War (1950–53). In 1954, U.S. President Eisenhower articulated the **Domino Theory**, fearing if one country fell to communism, neighbours would follow. This rationale dragged the U.S. into Vietnam, where it waged a costly war (1955–1975) to prevent a communist takeover.

2] Height of Tensions (early 1960s)

The early '60s brought the world perilously close to nuclear war. After the failed U.S.-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba (1961) and amidst American attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro, the Soviet Union in 1962 secretly deployed nuclear missiles to Cuba.

The resulting **Cuban Missile Crisis** (October 1962) was the Cold War's most dangerous showdown – a 13-day confrontation that brought humanity to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. Ultimately, a deal was struck: the USSR withdrew the missiles, and the U.S. pledged not to invade Cuba (and secretly agreed to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey).



3] Détente (late 1960s–1970s)

The mid-1960s through the 1970s saw a relative thaw. **Détente**, a French term for easing tensions, described the improved U.S.-Soviet relationship after two decades of high conflict. Several factors drove détente: the Cuban crisis shock, the exhausting quagmire of Vietnam (which eroded U.S. hegemony and gold reserves), and the Soviet desire to stabilize its sphere and economy.

In this phase, the key developments included: the **Partial Test Ban Treaty** (1963) banning nuclear tests in atmosphere, outer space and water. ; the Nuclear **Non-Proliferation Treaty** (NPT, opened 1968) to prevent new nuclear states; and the first **Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I, 1972)** freezing strategic missile launchers.

Notably, the U.S. also opened relations with communist China (Nixon's 1972 visit) – a strategic “triangular diplomacy” to exploit the Sino-Soviet split. However, despite rhetoric **the phase did not end the rivalry**: proxy conflicts continued, and both sides still modernized arsenals. Détente was more a pause than a permanent peace, as events would show.

4] Renewed Confrontation (1979–1985)

Détente collapsed at the end of the 1970s. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 was dubbed the “Brezhnev Doctrine” in action (Moscow's insistence on controlling its perimeter). The U.S., under President Ronald Reagan, responded with hardline policies. The early 1980s thus saw a “Second Cold War” – high tensions and rhetoric. During this phase, the superpowers engaged in intense **proxy wars**. The U.S. armed Islamic mujahideen fighters against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. The toll of the Afghan war, combined with an arms race at a time of economic stagnation, strained the Soviet system severely.

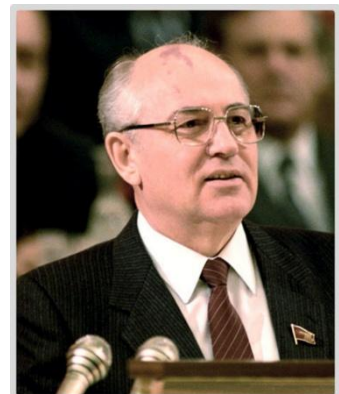
5] Endgame (1985–1991)

A dramatic turnaround came with Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power in 1985. Gorbachev sought to reform the Soviet system (through **glasnost** openness and **perestroika** restructuring) and realized that easing Cold War tensions was necessary for internal revival.

He engaged in unprecedented summits with U.S. President Reagan, signing the **INF Treaty (1987)** to eliminate an entire class of medium-range nuclear missiles. Gorbachev also announced the “**Sinatra Doctrine**,” letting Warsaw Pact states “do it their way”.

The result was swift: in 1989, communist regimes collapsed across Eastern Europe (the Berlin Wall fell in November 1989, symbolizing the Cold War's demise). Gorbachev refused to send in Soviet tanks to stop these revolutions.

The **Cold War formally ended** with the Malta Summit in December 1989, where Gorbachev and U.S. President George H.W. Bush declared an end to hostilities. By December 1991, the Soviet Union was dissolved into 15 independent states, marking **the end of the bipolar era**.



Mikhail Gorbachev

6] Global Developments During the Cold War

Despite the superpower standoff, the period saw transformative global changes during Cold War. The colonial empires in Asia and Africa collapsed – dozens of new **nation-states emerged** as the European powers withdrew. These newly independent countries often became pawns or players in the Cold War. Many joined the India led **Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)** to avoid choosing sides. The Cold War's pressures also accelerated **European integration** in the West (culminating in the European Economic Community, the precursor to today's EU) as Western Europe sought unity and strength under U.S. protection. Technological competition surged – the superpowers' **space race** put Sputnik and then Apollo astronauts into space, dramatically advancing science and technology. Culturally, the rivalry shaped everything from Olympic sports to art and propaganda.

C] Consequences of the Cold War

The 45-year conflict left a profound imprint on international order:

Nuclear Arms Race and Arms Control: The superpowers amassed tens of thousands of nuclear warheads, leading to a precarious balance of terror (**MAD** – Mutually Assured Destruction). This arms race spurred the creation of global arms control regimes (NPT, SALT, etc.) to prevent catastrophe.

Military Blocs and Militarization: The world divided into rival blocs (NATO vs Warsaw Pact), and even formally neutral states often tilted toward one side or the other. Massive military expenditures were incurred; at one point the USSR devoted an estimated 15–20% of its GDP to defence. This prolonged militarization had negative economic effects – indeed, the Soviet Union's eventual collapse was partly due to the unsustainable burden of the arms race.

Proxy Wars and Instability in the Developing World: The Third World became a chessboard for proxy conflicts – from Korea and Vietnam to Angola, Afghanistan, and Central America. Many of these wars were devastating for the local populations and left legacies of instability.

Paralysis of the United Nations: The UN Security Council, with both the U.S. and USSR holding vetoes, was often deadlocked and ineffective in major crises. Superpower rivalry stymied collective security except when interests aligned.

Economic and Technological Competition: The Cold War split the world economy. The West experienced unprecedented growth under U.S.-led institutions (IMF, World Bank, GATT), while the Eastern bloc had a closed, centrally planned economy. Technologically, competition (especially the space race and defence research) led to breakthroughs (satellites, computing, etc.), but also huge expenditures on unproductive capacities like warheads.

Stability (the “Long Peace”): Paradoxically, some scholars argue the Cold War imposed a grim *stability* on great-power relations. With two superpowers checking each other, large-scale wars (like the World Wars) did not recur. Nuclear deterrence forced caution – direct U.S.-Soviet clashes were avoided for fear of Armageddon. As John Lewis Gaddis dubbed it, the post-1945 era was a “*Long Peace*” among major powers, albeit shadowed by the constant risk of annihilation.

Other consequences: When the Cold War ended, the global landscape changed swiftly. The immediate aftermath was a unipolar world with the United States as the lone superpower. There was optimism about a liberal “New World Order” under U.S. leadership and a reinvigorated UN.

However, some observers note that the end of the East-West ideological clash gave way to Samuel Huntington’s predicted “**clash of civilizations**” – with cultural and religious conflicts coming to the fore. The 1990s also saw the rise of **non-state actors** – from terrorist groups like al-Qaeda to multinational corporations – gaining influence in a more interconnected, unipolar world. Meanwhile, the **Non-Aligned Movement** struggled to redefine itself in a world no longer split between two blocs.

The Cold War shaped the second half of the 20th century profoundly. It set the stage for many of today’s institutions and alliances, left a mixed legacy of technological progress and traumatic conflicts. Understanding its trajectory – and how it ended – is crucial to grasping current debates about whether we are entering a “*new Cold War*.”

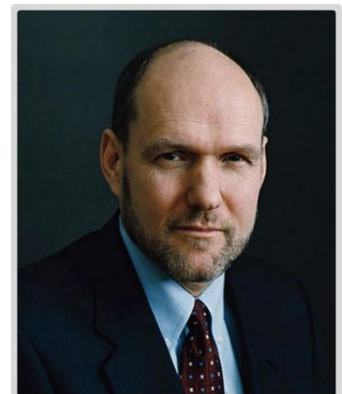
2] Cold War 2.0?

With rising tensions in recent years – marked by a confrontational Russia, an assertive China, and a more protective U.S. stance – it is often argued if a “**Cold War 2.0**” is emerging. There is no consensus on this term’s applicability. Some argue that today’s rivalries, while serious, differ fundamentally from the original Cold War; others see strong parallels in the hostility between major powers.

A] Views of Stephan Walt

Prominent scholars like Stephen Walt caution that calling current U.S.–Russia tensions a “new Cold War” is **misleading**. Walt notes that the original Cold War featured two roughly equal superpowers locked in a global ideological and military competition. Today’s context is quite different:

The international system is no longer bipolar but “**lopsided multipolar**.” The U.S. remains the preeminent power, while Russia is a distant second-tier player and China is an emerging peer competitor. Russia’s economy (about \$2 trillion GDP) is dwarfed by America’s (around \$27 trillion). If the Cold War was Godzilla vs. King Kong, remarks Walt, the current U.S.-Russia matchup is more Godzilla vs. Bambi.



Stephan Walt

There is **no global ideological binary** driving the divide. In the Cold War, liberal democracy and communism were rival ideologies. Today’s Russia does not offer a compelling transnational ideology akin to Soviet communism. The competition is more about geopolitical interests than winning minds.

The confrontation is **geographically narrower**. U.S.-Russia friction today centers on specific regions – Eastern Europe (e.g. Ukraine), the Middle East (Syria), and cyberspace – not a worldwide contest in every theatre. During the Cold War, conflicts and proxy wars spanned from Asia to Africa to Latin America.

Further, Walt warns that equating today's situation with the Cold War might risk focusing on the "wrong enemy" – diverting attention from China's rise. Arguably, larger long-term challenge for Washington is **China**, not Russia. In effect, the U.S. faces a potential two-front strategic rivalry (with Beijing and Moscow), which is very different from the singular focus it had on Moscow during the Cold War.

He emphasizes that, unlike the ideological and military standoff of the original Cold War, today's U.S.-China rivalry is characterized by deep economic interdependence, technological competition, and differing visions of global order. Walt contends that both nations have conflicting interests—while the U.S. seeks to uphold a liberal, rules-based international system, China advocates for a Westphalian model emphasizing state sovereignty. He warns that mischaracterizing this competition could lead to policy missteps and unnecessary escalation.

B] Current Global Order

We can characterize the present world as **post-post-Cold War**: unipolarity has waned, and a more contested multipolarity is emerging. U.S. power is still predominant militarily and in alliances, but it is being challenged regionally by Russia and globally by China. International institutions are still largely Western-designed (UN, Bretton Woods system), yet their efficacy and authority is undermined by rise of parallel institutions.

Still, unlike the rigid blocs of the Cold War, many countries today are **non-aligned or multi-aligned**. For example, India (discussed later) is courting both the U.S. (for security against China) and Russia (for defence equipment and energy). Turkey is a NATO member yet buys Russian missiles. This underscores that while the great-power competition is real, it is more complex and less all-encompassing than the U.S.-Soviet duel.

Thus, the term "Cold War 2.0" is contested. **Stephen Walt** and others urge caution, arguing the metaphor may oversimplify and misdirect policy. **Alexei Arbatov** and similar voices respond that the hostility and distrust in U.S.–Russia relations today *do* mirror a Cold War climate, albeit in a changed environment.

The risk, of course, is that learning the wrong lessons (either underestimating the dangers or overreacting and creating self-fulfilling prophecies) could make the world more dangerous. As one analyst put it, history may not repeat, but it often rhymes – so careful statecraft is needed to avoid a slide into a more severe confrontation.

3] U.S. Hegemony and Changing Global Order

A] The Rise of U.S. Hegemony

The United States emerged from World War II as the strongest nation on earth – militarily victorious, economically thriving, and possessing a nuclear monopoly. Several long-term factors explain how the U.S. built a position of **unprecedented hegemony**:

1] Geopolitical Advantages

The U.S. benefited immensely from its geography. Flanked by two oceans and peaceful neighbours, the American homeland was shielded from the devastation that ravaged Europe and Asia in two world wars. This security allowed the U.S. to develop a stable democracy and prosperous economy.

It also meant that when others were exhausted by conflict, the U.S. could intervene decisively. Indeed, the U.S. entered both the world wars late – once other powers were drained – ensuring victory at a lower cost. By 1945, the U.S. stood astride the world as the only major industrial economy not wrecked by bombing or occupation. It produced roughly half of global economic output and had the dominant navy controlling key sea-lanes.

2] Economic and Financial Power

As WWII ended, the U.S. leveraged its economic might to establish a new international financial order (the **Bretton Woods system**). American loans and aid helped rebuild war-torn regions. The U.S. dollar – backed by vast gold reserves – became the world's principal reserve currency. The dollar's central role gave Washington enormous leverage – a point still holds.

3] Military Supremacy and Alliances

The U.S. used its wartime military strength to create a permanent global military presence. After 1945, it established bases across Europe and Asia. USA also built **treaty alliances**: NATO in 1949 (securing Western Europe), and with Japan, Australia and New-Zealand in Asia.

Through these pacts, the U.S. effectively became the **guarantor of security** for many regions, stationing troops and committing to defence. This entrenched U.S. leadership over allies (who, as noted, “outsourced” much of their defence to Washington).

4] Ideological Appeal and Leadership

American ideals of freedom, democracy, and open enterprise had wide appeal, especially in contrast to totalitarian fascism or Stalinism. The U.S. presented itself as the champion of a “free world” – a self-image rooted in its concept of “**Manifest Destiny**” and reinforced by WWII's outcome.

Culturally, American products, Hollywood films, and later pop music became globally influential, bolstering U.S. soft power. Overall, many societies found aspects of the U.S. model attractive or at least aspirational.

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Paper 2 Section B

India & the World



Part 1
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1.1] DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

1] INTRODUCTION TO FOREIGN POLICY

2] DOMESTIC FACTORS SHAPING INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

A] HISTORY

B] NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURE

C] POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF NATION

D] POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

E] SIZE AND NATURE OF ECONOMY

F] DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION

3] EXTERNAL / SYSTEMIC FACTORS SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY

A] INTERNATIONAL POWER STRUCTURE/CONFIGURATION

B] MILITARY STRENGTH

C] ALLIANCES AND COALITIONS

D] GEOPOLITICAL LOCATION/REGIONAL SITUATION

E] GLOBAL PUBLIC OPINION

1] Introduction to Foreign Policy

Foreign Policy denotes the strategy or approach adopted by the national government to achieve its goals in its relations with external entities. The idea is, that every country or state should have a foreign policy. While foreign policy may or may not be coherent or in an organized form, it always exists.

From the early days of recorded history, Indian thinkers have written on the significance and importance of foreign policy in governance. We see a codified approach towards political and diplomatic strategy in the Arthashastra of Kautilya, who strongly believed that nations act in their political, economic and military self-interest. Similarly, the contemporaneous Thirukkural has an entire chapter outlining the essential attributes of an envoy in the conduct of foreign policy and diplomacy.

The purpose of foreign policy is to safeguard and promote its national interests, in the conduct of its relations with other countries, bilaterally and multilaterally. Thus, national interest, which can be explained with the help of the country's political, economic, social and military objectives, forms the basis of foreign policy.

Multiple internal and external factors influence the foreign policy of a nation. Some thinkers give primacy to certain factors over others. For example, the English geographer Mackinder emphasizes the importance of land-based power. On the other hand, Alfred Mahan, an American historian emphasises the importance of naval power in international relations. There are always multiple factors at play, and the relative importance varies from geography to geography (spatially), and from time to time (temporally).

Internal/domestic factors that shape foreign policy

- History
- National identity and culture
- Political structure of the nation
- Political leadership
- Size and nature of the economy
- Domestic public opinion

External/systemic factors shaping foreign policy

1. International power structure/configuration
2. Military strength
3. Alliances and coalitions
4. Geopolitical location/regional situation
5. Global public opinion

We'll discuss both the internal and external factors. First from a neutral standpoint, followed by its relevance in the Indian context.

2] Domestic Factors Shaping Indian Foreign Policy**A] History**

The history of a nation plays an important role in shaping foreign policy. Nations often draw important lessons from history. History also shapes the national perception and the national identity. And while one cannot make foreign policy solely based on historical knowledge, it is not wise to ignore history.

In the Indian case, history explains a lot about its foreign policy. The colonial experience, which created a lasting suspicion against Western hegemony, was largely responsible for the Indian foreign policy post-independence. This was reflected in India leading the NAM and then siding with Russia at the time of crisis in 1971. This history also explains India's relations with Pakistan, and the disputed border issue with China, a legacy of British rule.

It is also not necessary that the present will continue along the lines of past. e.g. France & Germany were historical rivals in WW I and WW II. However, the EU formation was led primarily by these two nations. Thus, if other factors are in favour of countries – then historical antagonism may not stand in between.

B] National Identity and Culture

National identity denotes the self-perception of a nation in the global order of things. While a superpower like the USA or China will have a different approach, a middle power like India or Brazil will go for different means.

The role of culture in shaping foreign policy is often explained by the use of the term 'soft power'. In the era of globalization assisted by the ICT revolution, there are many carriers of this culture. The

movies, books, art forms etc. are all agents to project the culture and help in the generation of soft power. In the case of India, the ancient practice of yoga, the medicinal practice of ayurveda and rich philosophical and religious literature and practices, all contribute to its soft power, and in turn, also affect its foreign policy.

Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and satyagraha also remains an integral part of Indian foreign policy. It should also be noted that Gandhian philosophy was itself rooted in India's moral and philosophical traditions such as the Vedas, and epics like Ramayana, Mahabharata. Gandhiji understood that India's freedom was linked to that of other Asian and African colonies. Therefore, it is not surprising that the defining characteristics of India's foreign policy in the first few decades after Independence were non-alignment, anti-colonialism, anti-racialism, non-violence, and disarmament.

C] Political Structure of Nation

Based on historical preferences, there are a variety of government structures across the world. The decision-making process is quite different in democracies than in authoritarian regimes. Even in a democracy, there are factors like whether govt. agency handling the foreign policy is democratically elected or not, does it consist of specialists or generalists, whether the power relations are centralized or free and open, the nature of the executive-legislature relationship etc. These factors vary and shape the foreign policy accordingly.

As **democratic peace theory** explains, the incidences of war between two democracies are much lesser than between democracy and non-democracy. In democracy, the leadership is responsible for justifying its action, which becomes difficult when the adversary is also a democratic nation. This delays the decision-making and thus gives time for other stakeholders.

D] Political Leadership

Among other factors, leadership plays an important role in the foreign policy of a nation. In one of the oldest examples of foreign policy analysis, Thucydides highlights how fundamentally important the nature of individual leaders and their styles were and how it contributed to the outcome of the Peloponnesian War. He contrasts the noble Pericles (who cautiously designed a winning military strategy against Sparta) and his successor, the reckless Alcibiades (who abandoned Pericles's plan and favoured military adventurism, eventually leading Athens to ruin).

Similarly, the writings of Machiavelli also illustrate how the 'individual leaders' are so important in international relations. His entire treaty, *The Prince*, is designed as a guidebook to young rulers, giving them, in essence, a template to guide their individual actions to help ensure their success. Closer at home, we also have the Saptanga theory by Kautilya, in which he treats the king as a Nabhi (navel) of the entire state apparatus.

In the case of India, soon after independence, India's Pakistan policy had a lot to do with Gandhi's idealism, who although didn't assume office, was the leader (father) of the nation.

Under Nehru's leadership, we witness his personal traits in Indian foreign policy. The early decades carried on the idealism in Indian foreign policy and was evident in India's NAM and advocacy for decolonization in Africa and elsewhere. While NAM is certainly a legacy to be proud of, and it is

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difficult to tell which other course would have been better, the overall pacifist policy did not serve India well in solving the Kashmir issue and Indo-China border dispute.

The period of Nehru was followed by Indira Gandhi, who, many have claimed, was a strong leader. The highlights of Indira Gandhi's foreign policy are India's approach to the Bangladesh War of Liberation, the treaty of 'Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, 1971' between India and Russia, and the progress in India's nuclear program.

With Rajiv Gandhi at the helm of affairs from 1984-89, for whom politics was not the first choice, the leadership was marked by the failure of Indian foreign policy in Sri Lanka and his unfortunate assassination. However, the unorthodox approach of Rajiv Gandhi did help in easing India's relations with China, when the nations decided to separate the border issue from other bilateral issues. (1988)

Fast forward to the contemporary period, we see a remarkable difference in Indian foreign policy since the NDA government. Keeping politics aside, scholars across the gamut have agreed that there has been a change in India's global image since PM Modi assumed office. There is a change in the narrative, as **Harsh V Pant suggests, "the story has moved from a balancing power to a leading power."** India has shown a willingness to exercise military power with Pakistan, it has been able to manoeuvre its relations with antagonistic partners like Russia and the USA, or Israel and Arab countries, and even the soft power has been leveraged to enhance India's global position. The recent success of Indian foreign policy includes India achieving consensus in the G20 declaration despite differing positions of members over the Ukraine War.

We can sum up with Kautilya, who suggests that if the leader is smart, he can convert all other elements into favourable ones. If the king is weak and lacks courage, other elements will not be able to play an important role.

E] Size and Nature of Economy

The role of economy in foreign policy has increased with globalization. As suggested by proponents of **complex interdependency theory** (Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane), globalisation has led to economic interconnectedness, which has created complex interdependence among nations. As a result, there are numerous stakeholders in nation-to-nation relations and this has made the conflicts less likely among states.

A strong economy is a prerequisite for a strong military, which in turn is the most important factor that shapes foreign policy. We can say that India's limited economic capability at independence also contributed to its orientation with NAM, a non-military approach.

The economy also determines the ability of a country to offer aid or to extend soft loans to other nations, influencing foreign policy choices.

The economic model also matters, as post-independence India was closer to Russia with its socialistic model of economy and stayed away from the Western bloc and capitalism. Post 1991, with LPG reforms, there was greater integration of the Indian economy with the USA, leading to closer relations between the nations.

F] Domestic Public Opinion

Public opinion can be said to be the collective preference of the nation's population, gauged through traditional and social media, polling data or other such measures. There is a debate on the role of public opinion in shaping foreign policy. The realist tradition treats the public as unaware of the nuances of foreign policy decision-making and suggests it to be the domain of elites. Further, they also fear the compromise on 'rationality' in foreign policy, if public opinion is considered. Liberal tradition, on the other hand, suggests that public opinion plays an important role in foreign policy, just like it influences the domestic policies of government.

We can see the disapproval of India's China policy by people post-1962 war, which set the public sentiment against the Chinese. The relations improved only with Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the nation in 1988, where it was decided to pursue the border issue separately.

We also see the influence of strong public opinion in support of the Sri Lankan Tamil issue in Tamil Nadu. The public sentiment forced India to side with the Tamils in Sri Lanka and led to the 1987 India-Sri Lanka accord.

Further, it also becomes difficult to make any concessions in foreign policy due to vote bank politics. For example, China has offered to settle the border issue since 1961, by giving up its claim on the NEFA region, if India is willing to secede Aksai China to it. The issue has not yet been settled since it will affect the domestic politics.

3] External / Systemic Factors Shaping Foreign Policy

A] International Power Structure/Configuration

The international power structure can vary with time. The Cold War period was characterised by a bipolar world order, and countries were forced to choose from either of the blocs. India innovated the option of NAM since it didn't want to compromise its sovereignty. By pursuing NAM India performed a leadership role, especially for the global south or newly independent countries (NICs).

Post-Cold War was characterised by American hegemony and the unipolar world order. India rapidly had to adjust to this shift. From Vajpayee to, Manmohan to PM Modi, India's US relationships have improved to a large extent. Or they have '**overcome the hesitations of history**' as PM Modi remarks. The major achievements include Indo-US Nuclear Deal 2008, and the agreements in defence cooperation (GSOMIA, LEMOA, COMCASA, and BECA). While the USA is important for India to counter China, India also matters to the United States for the same purpose.

The current period, as **Prof Sreeram Chaulia** remarks is an '**emergent multipolar world order**', and thus we see India exercising the option of multiple alliances or '**issue-based alliances**' in the words of S Jaishankar.

B] Military Strength

The powers across the globe can be classified in three categories i.e., great powers (like USA and China), middle powers (India, Brazil, Indonesia etc.) and small powers (Qatar, Malaysia etc.).

Great powers are aware of their position in global hierarchy. The main aim of foreign policy for these powers is to maintain the status quo and prevent the rise of other nations. The whole world is backyard for such powers, and their foreign policy is truly global. These nations often go for unilateralism and there is moral deficit in their actions. Such countries engage in competition and conflict with other great powers, what Mearsheimer describes as ‘**the tragedy of great power politics.**’

The middle powers are neither in the strong or weak zone, but there is strong aspiration to become a great power one day. Such states seek policy of making themselves stronger and behaving toughly even if it is seen as provocative by the world because it is “better to err on the side of being too powerful than not being powerful enough.” The sphere of influence for such powers is typically the geographical region, not the whole world. They seek smaller but steadily extending sphere of influence and such powers are not unilateral since they’re not economically or militarily strong enough.

Weak states or **small powers** have to strike a “balance between security and independence.” Survival is the biggest concern for such nations and band-wagoning to a great power or playing off one great power against another, is their strategy. Such powers are less ambitious. For the authoritarian states, there is also an additional concern of regime security (North Korea). They have to be creative and innovative and often go for unorthodox means and unconventional pursuits.

C] Alliances and coalitions

The present era is marked by globalization and regionalization. Consequently, there are numerous regional, global, military and trade alliances that countries participate in. These institutions have a significant influence on foreign policy.

Being a part of the grouping, the choices of member states are often limited. As in the case of NATO, EU, ASEAN, or OPEC, the member countries try to achieve consensus, to project themselves as a cohesive union. This involves aligning foreign policy in a manner that such consensus is possible. While the powerful members do try to influence the agenda of such grouping, they can only do it to a certain degree. For smaller members, the choices are often constrained in such forums.

India is a member of multiple such organizations. It has sought membership in SCO in the recent past, to keep close with China. It has stayed away from the coalitions that don’t serve its interests and would constrain its foreign policy choices. e.g. NPT, APEC.

Further, being a member of certain alliances also influences the foreign policy of other nations towards it. The security umbrella of NATO has served as a deterrent against Russia for decades, serving all the member countries. And Russia is fighting hard to ensure that Ukraine is not engulfed by NATO, which will limit the foreign policy options of Russia.

D] Geopolitical location/regional situation

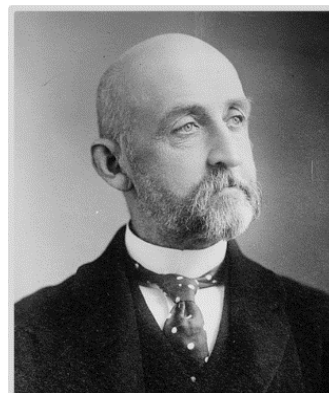
India’s geopolitical location has been a major factor shaping its foreign relations for millennia. With a tall Himalayan barrier to the north and east and a vast coastline to the south, a large part of India remained immune to foreign invasions for centuries.

Further, geopolitical location also determines the neighbouring countries, which in turn influences foreign policy choices. It is said that while we can choose our friends, we cannot choose our neighbours. Being surrounded by neighbours like Pakistan and China, it doesn't leave many options for India. India's closeness with the United States should be particularly seen from this perspective.

We can also see the case of Israel, which had to go for a nuclear program since it is surrounded by a harsh militant region. India's relations with Latin America owe a lot to the inter-alia, the geographical distance between the regions.

Further, being a landlocked country also leads to dependence on neighbouring sea-bordering countries and a compromise on sovereignty. This can be seen in cases of Nepal, Bhutan etc.

Mackinder and Mahan are two prominent scholars who talk about geography and foreign policy. Alfred Mahan, the American historian emphasizes the importance of being a sea-based power. He gives an example of Britain, which in the 18th and 19th centuries, was a global power due to its supremacy in naval power. The spirit is reflected in contemporary politics with nations acquiring bases across the globe through military arrangements. (Chinese string of pearls strategy, The US-UK naval base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, France, USA, China having naval bases in Djibouti, India having a naval base at Duqm (Oman) and Indian efforts to develop the naval base at Sabang in Indonesia etc.)



Alfred Mahan



Halford Mackinder

Mackinder, the English geographer, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of land-based power. He gives example of Russia, which enjoys a stronghold in Eastern Europe. He suggests that East Europe is centre of the world. It is a 'heartland'. One who controls the heartland will control Rimland (the Rest of Europe) and will control the whole world. Attack on Eastern Europe is possible only via land thus it's important to be a land-based power.

Geography also determines the resources at disposal of the nation, and the dependence on others. India's relations with the middle east are largely based on its need of crude oil from the region. On the other hand, we see the indifference of USA to the region post discovery of shale gas, and reduction in import of crude oil from middle east.

E] Global Public Opinion

With global communication becoming quicker, public opinion across the globe has become important factors influencing foreign policy. We see either solidarity across the globe or sometimes even dissonance on certain issues. Since global public opinion matters for the soft power, states do care about global public opinion. Countries like China tightly control the flow of information to the outside world, and often create narratives to woo the global audience. However, since sovereign nations are not answerable to the global citizens, we see that the role of global public opinion in foreign policy is limited.

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1.2] INSTITUTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

1] INTRODUCTION

2] FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

- A] MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (MEA)
- B] NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (NSC)
- C] PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE (PMO)
- D] CABINET / CABINET COMMITTEES
- E] PARLIAMENT
- F] STATES (PARA DIPLOMACY)

3] INFORMAL SECTORS

- A] MEDIA
- B] PRESSURE GROUPS AND NGOS
- C] DIASPORA
- D] THINK TANKS
- E] PRIVATE SECTOR

1] Introduction

No single institution or personality can be attributed with having exclusive rights or influence in the arena of foreign policy. There are several contributing actors, who collectively build up India's foreign policy consensus and at different times, one or the other actors play a dominant role. The sectors/institutions influencing Indian foreign policy can be broadly categorized into two sectors i.e., formal and informal sector.

Formal Sector

1. Ministry of External Affairs (MEA)
2. National Security Council (NSC)
3. Prime Minister's Office (PMO)
4. Cabinet
5. Parliament
6. States (para-diplomacy)

Informal Sector

1. Media
2. Pressure groups
3. Diaspora
4. Think tanks
5. Private Sector

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for

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Paper 2 Section B India & the World



Part 2
Topics: 4,5,6,7,8

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4.1] INDIA AFRICA RELATIONS

1] INTRODUCTION

2] EVOLUTION OF INDIA'S AFRICA POLICY

A] ELEMENTS OF INDIA'S POLICY POST 2002.

B] TEN PRINCIPLES OF KAMPALA 2018

3] AREAS OF INVOLVEMENT WITH AFRICA

A] ECONOMICS AND TRADE

B] ENERGY SECURITY

C] FOOD SECURITY

D] MARITIME SECURITY

E] DIASPORA

F] ITEC

4] RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

A] CHINESE PRESENCE

B] ASIA AFRICA GROWTH

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C] UN PEACEKEEPING

D] VACCINE INITIATIVE

5] PERSPECTIVES OF SCHOLARS

A] C RAJA MOHAN

B] S JAISHANKAR

C] OTHER SCHOLARS

D] CONCERNS OF INDIAN BUSINESSMEN IN AFRICA

1] Introduction

Also known as 'mother continent', Africa is the second largest and second most populous continent of earth, covering about one-fifth of total land area of earth. The continent cut almost equally by the equator, and most of the continent lies in the tropical region. The wealth of Africa lies in mineral resources, including some of the world's largest reserves of fossil fuels, metallic ores, gems and precious metals. It is matched by a great biological diversity that includes the equatorial rainforests of Central Africa and the wildlife of the eastern and southern regions of continent.

There are 54 countries in African continent. There are additional 4 dependencies of which the status of Western Sahara remains disputed.

Africa's population is the youngest amongst all the continents. The median of Africa in 2023 is 18.78, when the worldwide median age is 30.5. Despite rich resources and young demography, most of the African nations are still poor and are categorized as either developing or underdeveloped countries. Scholars attribute this poverty to multiple reason, prime amongst them being climate, tribalism, colonialism, Cold War, neocolonialism, lack of democracy, corruption etc.

While the North Atlantic is history, Asia is present, Africa is suggested to be the future. This is the reason economies like India, China and Japan are more interested in this continent. While this creates areas for cooperation, it also becomes a source of conflict in foreign policies of these nations.

2] Evolution of India's Africa Policy

Since **ancient times**, monsoon winds provided the connectivity between Africa and Indian subcontinent. There was a large amount of trade and cultural interaction between India and Africa. Essentially, the genesis of India Africa policy is through people to people contacts that were happening even before the governments stepped in.

And then of course, there was **Mahatma Gandhi**, who exemplified the people to people cultural connect between India and Africa. Apart from his anti-British struggle in South Africa, his role in India's national movement bolstered Africa's own aspirations for equality, and independence from colonial rule.

In **immediate post-colonial era**, India moved towards Africa through Non-Alignment



Movement. India actively supported the cause of decolonization and movements against apartheid in African countries. Thus, people to people contacts started giving way to G to G connect. In **1958**, India set up the Imperial Military Academy in Harar, Ethiopia. A first such capacity building institution by India in continent. In 1960, a similar Academy was established in Nigeria.

In **1964**, the ITEC program (Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation) was started by govt. of India. The program aimed bilateral assistance to developing countries. Africa was included in ITEC and slowly became its largest user. This also pushed the flow of private students from Africa to India. Although there were scholarships, it played a small role, and a lot of private students started coming to India to study, again emphasizing the private and people to people connection.

Although African countries had secured independence, the civil problems continued. India responded to the needs of Africa by participating in the **UN peacekeeping operations (PKO)** in a big way. Indian delegation was the part of the first PKO in the Congo and continues participation till today. India has

been one of the pioneers and one of the major troops contributing countries to bring peace and stability to Africa.

In 2002, African Union (AU) was born in Durban. The superpowers were not so interested in the region, Africa was completely free from colonialism and suddenly the continent was open for new partners. From 2002, the intensity of India's evolution of policy towards Africa also acquired many more dimensions. India, responded to African aspirations in a deep and fulsome manner.

A] Elements of India's policy post 2002.

The ITEC program became more intense and open to a larger number of countries and regional economic communities as well as the African Union Commission. The scholarship programs got expanded. There were many bilateral programs and India supported the Commonwealth initiative under the SCAAP (Special Commonwealth. Assistance for Africa Program) program.

In 2002, the **Ministry of Commerce announced its Focus Africa program**, and there was so much enthusiasm that all African countries wanted to be considered for it, rather than the limited number initially targeted.

The IDEAS scheme, under which the lines of credit were announced, became a much deeper and larger scheme in 2003-04 from a budget announcement. The Team 9 which was the first time India dealt with a collective of countries in Central and West Africa was also announced in 2000.

The Pan Africa e-network project was announced in 2005 by President Kalam, and this acknowledged the role of the African Union and became the largest project that the African Union undertook at that stage with any partner. It remains the largest grant project that India has done in Africa till date.

In 2008 First India–Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) was held in New Delhi. It was the first such meeting between the heads of state and government of India and was attended by 14 countries of Africa chosen by the African Union.

The second summit was held at the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa, with India and 15 African Countries participating. The leaders discussed significant aspects of the India-Africa partnership with the objective of enhancing and widening its ambit for mutual benefit.

The third summit in a rotation basis was held in New Delhi, India in 2015. It was the largest gathering of African countries on Indian soil. This meeting brought together representatives from all 54 African countries, including 40 Heads of States. The summit also presented the occasion for the African countries to reiterate the special nature of the relationship with India. In words of **Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari**, **“Africa has a number of partnership arrangements with other countries of the world, but this promises to be different as it is not only a partnership between friends, but between countries and peoples who have had similar historical experiences of colonial rule.”**

The fourth IAFS have been postponed due to pandemic.

These summits brought a large amount of low-cost finance to Africa, without discrimination. Whereas other partners would lend to investment grade countries alone, India specialized in lending to the highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) and to the LDCs. This has expanded private sector

relationships, brought governments closer together, and has contributed to African development in a fulsome manner.

B] Ten Principles of Kampala 2018

In 2018, while addressing the Parliament of Uganda, Prime Minister Modi identified 10 ideas, which form the basis of India's Africa policy



1. **Africa will be at the top of our priorities.** We will continue to intensify and deepen our engagement with Africa. As we have shown, it will be sustained and regular.
2. Our **development partnership will be guided by your priorities.** It will be on terms that will be comfortable for you, that will liberate your potential and not constrain your future. We will rely on African talent and skills. We will build as much local capacity and create as many local opportunities as possible.
3. **We will keep our markets open** and make it easier and more attractive to trade with India. We will support our industry to invest in Africa.
4. **We will harness India's experience with digital revolution to support Africa's development;** improve delivery of public services; extend education and health; spread digital literacy; expand financial inclusion; and mainstream the marginalized. This will not just be our partnership to advance the UN Sustainable Development Goals, but also to equip the youth of Africa for their place in the digital age.
5. Africa has 60 per cent of the world's arable land, but produces just 10 per cent of the global output. **We will work with you to improve Africa's agriculture.**
6. **Our partnership will address the challenges of climate change.** We will work with Africa to ensure a just international climate order; to preserve our biodiversity; and, adopt clean and efficient energy sources.
7. **We will strengthen our cooperation and mutual capabilities in combating terrorism and extremism;** keeping our cyberspace safe and secure; and, supporting the UN in advancing and keeping peace;
8. **We will work with African nations to keep the oceans open and free** for the benefit of all nations. The world needs cooperation and not competition in the eastern shores of Africa and the eastern Indian Ocean. That is why India's vision of Indian Ocean Security is cooperative and inclusive, rooted in security and growth for all in the region.
9. This is especially important to me: as global engagement in Africa increases, we must all work together **to ensure that Africa does not once again turn into a theatre of rival ambitions,** but becomes a nursery for the aspirations of Africa's youth.
10. Just as India and Africa fought colonial rule together, **we will work together for a just, representative and democratic global order** that has a voice and a role for one-third of humanity that lives in Africa and India. India's own quest for reforms in the global institutions is incomplete without an equal place for Africa. That will be a key purpose of our foreign policy

3] Areas of Involvement with Africa

A] Economics and Trade

As per the latest data from Ministry of Commerce, India's trade with Africa was US \$98 billion in 2022-23 and \$89.6 billion 2021-22, a significant increase from \$7 billion in 2001. However, the Chinese trade with the continent recently crossed \$250 billion mark. And the European Union, largest trading partners of Africa has around \$ 400bn trade with the continent. Thus, given geographical proximity, there is ample scope for India to increase its trade with Africa.

The Indian companies have shown a keen interest in investment in Africa. The sectors include agriculture, minerals and mining sector, drugs and pharmaceuticals, manufacturing and energy. The opportunities in Africa are primarily driven by the continent's emerging middle class, rising consumer demand, and improving business environment.

Agriculture and Allied Sectors: Africa has potential to become granaries of the world. Prospects for collaboration in this segment remain promising as both regions continue to invest in agricultural development, technology transfer, and market linkages.

Minerals and Mining Sector: While African countries have relied on India's expertise in mining technology and investment, India has been a significant importer of minerals from Africa. The total trade in the mining and mineral sector between India and Africa since 2001 stands at US\$ 43.13 billion, with an export-import proportion of 22.7% and 77.3%, making India a net importer in this sector.

Drugs & Pharmaceuticals: There is a consistent growth in trade in this sector. In the year 2020-21, the trade volume soared to an all-time high of US\$ 3.8 billion.

Manufacturing: India is a net importer in this segment, reflecting the demand for African manufactured goods. This creates avenues for African countries to tap into India's growing market.

Sustainability & Green Energy: Green energy and renewable energy have become central themes in the India-Africa bilateral trade. India, with its robust renewable energy sector, has the capacity to support Africa's transition to green and sustainable energy sources. India's leadership of ISA (International Solar Alliance) and the central role of Africa in it are indicative of this partnership.

The African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA), which came into effect in January 2021, holds immense potential for both India and Africa. India can play a guiding role in the strengthening of AfCFTA. Further, the agreement also presents an opportunity for Indian companies to expand their market reach and diversify their investment portfolios.

B] Energy Security

From 0% in 2000, currently Africa supplies 26% of India's crude oil imports. Further the state-owned Indian companies have invested around \$ 8 billion in the African oil. There is huge crude oil potential of the region which remains untapped.

In renewable energy sector, International Solar Alliance (ISA), a multilateral body with Indian leadership can help the green energy transition of the continent. Currently, 33 African countries are members of the ISA, making up most of the alliance. India holds a first mover advantage to tap Africa's solar resources through the ISA. The African states have the required resources but no technology. This allows India to create a collaborative platform through the provision of technology, capacity building and employment generation.

In 2020, National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) of India procured the Project Management Consultancy Contract to develop a 500 MW solar park in Mali and Togo, supporting the ISA through private investment. This marked the first step for India towards procuring a seat in the solar setup of Africa. NTPC is further eyeing similar opportunities in other African ISA member countries like Sudan, Mozambique, Gambia, Malawi and many others. Given that only 24% of the Sub-Saharan Africans have access to electricity and the generation capacity of Africa excluding the South is only 28 GW, it becomes crucial for India to step in and seize its place in the sector. With ISA as a major asset, the country will get an edge to ensure the right utilization of African solar energy.

C] Food security

While Africa has 60% of world's arable land. However, it is responsible only for the 10% of global agricultural output. Thus, with active investment from India in African agriculture there is huge potential of production. This can solve the twin problems of food security and economic development for many African countries.

Currently African countries like Mozambique, Malawi, and Sudan, are grow pulses for export to India. India is the largest producer, consumer and importer of pulses. Foreseeing gaps in India's own ability to supply enough tur and urad, the current Government has signed MOUs with Mozambique and Malawi in 2021 for the import of pulses.

Thus, the cooperation in the agriculture and food sector has a potential to prove win-win for the regions and also contributes largely to the present relations.

D] Maritime Security

A secure maritime environment in Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is crucial for both India and Africa. This includes safeguarding their interests in their exclusive economic zones (EEZs) as well as protection of trade and shipping routes (sea lines of communication – SLOC).

38 of the 54 African countries are either coastal or island nations. Unfortunately, most African countries lack the capacity to ensure the security of their declared maritime zones. Thus, there is vast illegal capture and exploitation of the continent's marine resources. There are also high incidences of piracy off the East African coast in Gulf of Aden and in the Niger Delta Region and Gulf of Guinea in West Africa.

India's approach to maritime cooperation with Africa, revolves its security concerns in African waters. We can highlight four principal avenues where the cooperation is most visible.

1. Training of African naval personnel, defence officers, and civilian personnel engaged in maritime administration in Indian institutes
2. Conducting Hydrographic Surveys and helping African littoral nations develop basic capabilities in hydrography
3. Conducting anti-piracy patrols
4. African port visits by Indian navy and development of monitoring stations

Through bilateral as well as multilateral engagements such as IORA and SAGAR, India seeks to achieve these objectives.



Djibouti is strategically located at the entrance of the Red Sea. India has cultivated close relations with Djibouti, and its port are used by Indian naval ships transiting to and from the Mediterranean Sea. The country was also crucial in ‘Operation Raahat’ in April 2015, during which Indian warships rescued over 3,000 stranded citizens from war-torn Yemen.

Mauritius – As early as since 2003, the India has contributed to the maritime security of Mauritius. Indian navy regularly patrols the Mauritian EEZ and also deputs a naval officer to manage the National Coast Guard of Mauritius. Apart from these, India gifted Offshore Patrol Vehicles in 2015, and has helped Mauritius in installing an Automated Identification System and a Coastal Surveillance Radar System, besides carrying out joint hydrographic surveys and patrols with the Mauritian coast guard. India has also signed a deal with Mauritius to develop facilities in Agaléga Island. India has also extended several grants and line of credits to the island nation for developmental and maritime infrastructure projects.

Seychelles – Owing to its strategic location close to the global lanes of shipping and communication, Seychelles is of immense importance to India. In June 2018, during the visit of Seychelles’ President Danny Faure to India, India handed over a Dornier Do-228 aircraft and \$100mn line of credit to augment the island nation’s defence capability. Both PM Modi and President Faure agreed to work on the stalled **Assumption Island project**, although it still needs to be ratified by the Seychelles parliament.

Apart from these, India is actively involved in bilateral engagement with Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and Madagascar to ensure maritime security and to secure the interests of India as well as African nations.

E] Diaspora

During colonial era, Indian labour was brought to Africa to work in colonial infrastructure projects and commercial ventures. While it led to a greater cultural inter-penetration, it also created a modern Indian Diaspora in Africa. At the same time, shared experiences of oppression generated a common desire for freedom and independence.

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The most recent estimates put the no. of India diaspora in Africa around 3 million, spread over 46 countries. Prominent amongst them, South Africa has around 1.3 million people of Indian origin, while 0.8 million in Mauritius (70% of its total population) is Indian diaspora.

Indian diaspora has an understanding of both societies and a creditable record of navigating challenges. The Indian diaspora plays an important role in the relations of the regions by promoting investment, trade, innovation, access to technology and financial inclusion. Further, the Indian diaspora particularly becomes important in India's Africa diplomacy since the Chinese diaspora is totally absent in the continent, giving India a competitive advantage.

F] ITEC

There is a separate article on ITEC. You can accordingly write the similar points for Africa.

4] Recent Developments

A] Chinese Presence

The structured Chinese engagement in Africa started with the formation of FOCAC (Forum for China Africa Cooperation). The Chinese focus in Africa is on infrastructure development, extending huge and often unsustainable loans, and in process extract maximum benefit from the natural resources of Africa. With China-Africa trade crossing \$250 billion mark, it is second only to Europe in bilateral trade with Africa. With Africa forming a part of Chinese OBOR initiative, it has made several infrastructure developments in the region. It has loan commitments worth \$160 with Africa, and has multiple strategic investments in the continent, including a naval base in Djibouti.

B] Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC)

While India is expert at skill building, Japanese are expert in quality infrastructure. The Asia Africa Growth Corridor, joint initiative of India and Japan in Africa, aims at creating sustainable quality infrastructure which will be demand driven. This also involves development of port infrastructure. Currently there is concern regarding funding for AAGC, and the AfDB (African development Bank) can prove highly useful in this.

The four pillars of AAGC are:

1. Skill and Capacity building.
2. Quality infrastructure and institutional capacity.
3. Development and cooperation projects.
4. People to people relations and partnerships.

C] UN Peacekeeping

Overall, India has undertaken 12 peacekeeping missions in the continent. Currently, approximately 5000 Indian personnel serve in five peacekeeping Missions in Democratic Republic of Congo, Morocco, Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia.

D] Vaccine Initiative

India provided 150 tons of medical assistance to 32 African countries during the pandemic. Many of the African countries utilized 'Made in India' vaccines. Independent of that, India continues to providing medicines, medical equipment, ambulances and cancer treatment machines to African hospitals. Further, at international forums, India Africa joined forces to urge equitable and affordable access to vaccines, including through a TRIPS waiver.

5] Perspectives of Scholars

A] C Raja Mohan

Article: The Great Game in Africa,

"PM Modi has been successful in bringing Africa on the mental map at least. However, to meet the scale of China, we need to be very proactive. Also, China is not the only competitor."

"Up till now South East Asia has been central and Africa has been neglected... India to focus on the island nations, especially Mozambique Channel i.e. Mozambique, Madagascar, Comoros."



C Raja Mohan

B] S Jaishankar



S. Jaishankar

Indian Foreign Minister S Jaishankar sees Africa from a long term, strategic perspective. In his words, "for India, the rise of Africa is key to global rebalancing."

"Today we want to see Africa grow. We want to see African economies grow. And our approach to Africa today is to trade more with Africa, invest in Africa, work with Africa, to create capacities in Africa, so that the rise of Africa also takes place as countries like India are rising in Asia."

"We are not here as an extractive economy. We are not here in the manner in which a lot of other countries are there for very narrow economic objectives. For us, this is a broader, deeper partnership,"

"India and Africa can come together in the building of reliable and resilient supply chains. They are important hubs in the decentralized globalization that is so needed by the international community. When it comes to technology, an emphasis on trust and transparency makes us natural partners. India's own vision of cooperation with Africa will increasingly centre around health, digital and green growth. And this is so because we believe that these are Africa's priorities as well. We envisage our African partners as critical to two important international initiatives spearheaded by India: The International Solar Alliance and the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure."

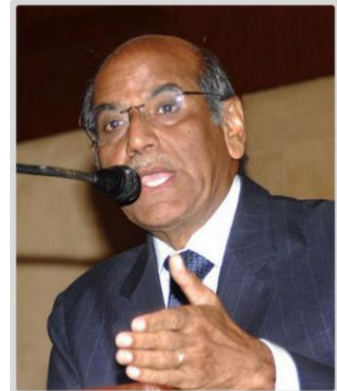
"When it comes to political issues, we share the frustration of international organizations being unrepresentative of contemporary reality. That this has made them increasingly ineffective is of little consolation. India believes that Africa must have an adequate presence and voice in global decision-

making, including in the reformed UN Security Council. And in turn, we count on Africa to stand up for a partner with whom it has a past, a present and a future. When it comes to the critical issues of our times – climate justice, SDGs achievement or combating terrorism– our multilateral partnership will continue unabated. India believes that Africa’s growth and progress is intrinsic to global rebalancing. Its enormous demographic dividend must be realized. **Indeed, it is only when this continent attains its true potential that the world will really become multipolar.”**

C] Other Scholars

Shyam Saran former Indian ambassador suggests, it is important that India does not play a game of catch-up with China. Rather it is more important to leverage India’s unique strengths, such as contribution to capacity building, promotion of entrepreneurship, SMEs and digital connectivity. India has a high reputation in Africa while China is being seen increasingly as a selfish and extractive power. Let us not traverse the Chinese path in Africa.

As suggested by Shashi Tharoor, African countries admire China but they want to be like India.



Shyam Saran



Rajiv Bhatia

Rajiv Bhatia, Ex Diplomat, suggests that people to people links should be increased with Africa. Although there is huge diaspora in the region, its potential has not been utilized fully. India has promised multiple projects, but their implementation remains important.

According to Prof. Sreeram Chaulia, India cannot be clubbed in the same category as China. i.e. as a mineral-grabber that is out to plunder Africa and denude it of its vast natural wealth. The message sent out by the PM’s 10 principles of Kampala is clear, “we are not

here to exploit” and “we want to be partners in development.”

Although China is trumpeting its South-South cooperation model as a resounding success in Africa. But the absence of a human resource



Prof. Shreeram Chaulia

component, a transparency element, and a social sector or democracy angle in that model means that India has an indispensable place on the continent. Chinese model doesn’t create much employment since it brings Chinese companies and Chinese labour. Done at heavy expensive loans and thus unsustainable in long run.



Rani D Mullen

Rani D Mullen in her article Refocusing on Africa, suggests that behind Media blitz and official rhetoric, India’s Africa policy is reflecting constraints in its effective implementation. It is not so easy to divert African countries from China’s orbit. Our strategy is becoming clearer but efficacy of the tools for implementation remains questionable. India has

yet to convince that it not only commits but also delivers. The disbursement of developmental aid is extremely slow.

Veda Vaidyanathan remarks that “India’s Africa policy oscillated between passive and reluctantly reactive.”

Mahesh Sachdev, in his article **Fortifying Africa Outreach** suggests that, “India is also a developing country with resource constraints. India should not be a cash cow. India should put conditionalities on developmental assistance. India needs more connect between developmental aid and economic engagement.”



Mahesh Sachdev

D] Concerns of Indian Businessmen in Africa

Apart from the views of scholars, following are the concerns raised by Indian Businessmen in Africa in a recent conference organized by Indian High Commission and embassies of 11 African countries.

1. Improving Line of Credit System.
2. Setting up of banks.
3. Liberalize VISA system to increase trade and investment.
4. Direct flights between India and Africa.
5. Exploring possibility of rupee trade to overcome shortage of dollars.
6. Creation of common database of buyer-suppliers.
7. Developing robust trade dispute settlement mechanism.
8. Establishing country chapters of FICCI or CII in Africa.

4.2] INDIA LATIN AMERICA RELATIONS

1] INTRODUCTION TO LATIN AMERICA

- A] BRIEF HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA
- B] LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMY
- C] POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF LATIN AMERICA

2] EVOLUTION OF INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

3] INDIA LATIN AMERICA TRADE

- A] EXPORTS
- B] IMPORTS

4] IMPEDIMENTS TO GREATER COOPERATION

- A] LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL UNFAMILIARITY
- B] ABSENCE OF DIASPORA
- C] GEOGRAPHICAL DISTANCE
- D] DIVERSE GEOGRAPHY AND LACK OF REGIONAL COHESION
- E] POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT
- F] VARIABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH

5] PRESENT AND POSSIBLE AREAS OF COOPERATION

- A] AGRICULTURE
- B] INVESTMENT
- C] ENERGY
- D] METAL & MINERALS
- E] PHARMACEUTICALS
- F] INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY SECTOR

6] PERSPECTIVES OF SCHOLARS

- A] S JAISHANKAR
- B] DEEPAK BHOJWANI
- C] AMB (RETD) R. VISWANATHAN

1] Introduction to Latin America

Latin America denotes the region south of the United States i.e., Mexico, the Caribbean Islands and South America. The name is given since the dominant languages spoken in the region are derived from Latin. Around 60% of the population speaks Spanish, and 30% speaks Portuguese.

The region occupies almost 13% of the earth's land surface. The region has a rich and diverse geography and climate. This has given rise to independent units with varying social and cultural characteristics. The region is home to the world's largest river Amazon, and the largest equatorial forest, often called as the lungs of Earth.