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April 2022

Faculty - Nikhil K Gowda

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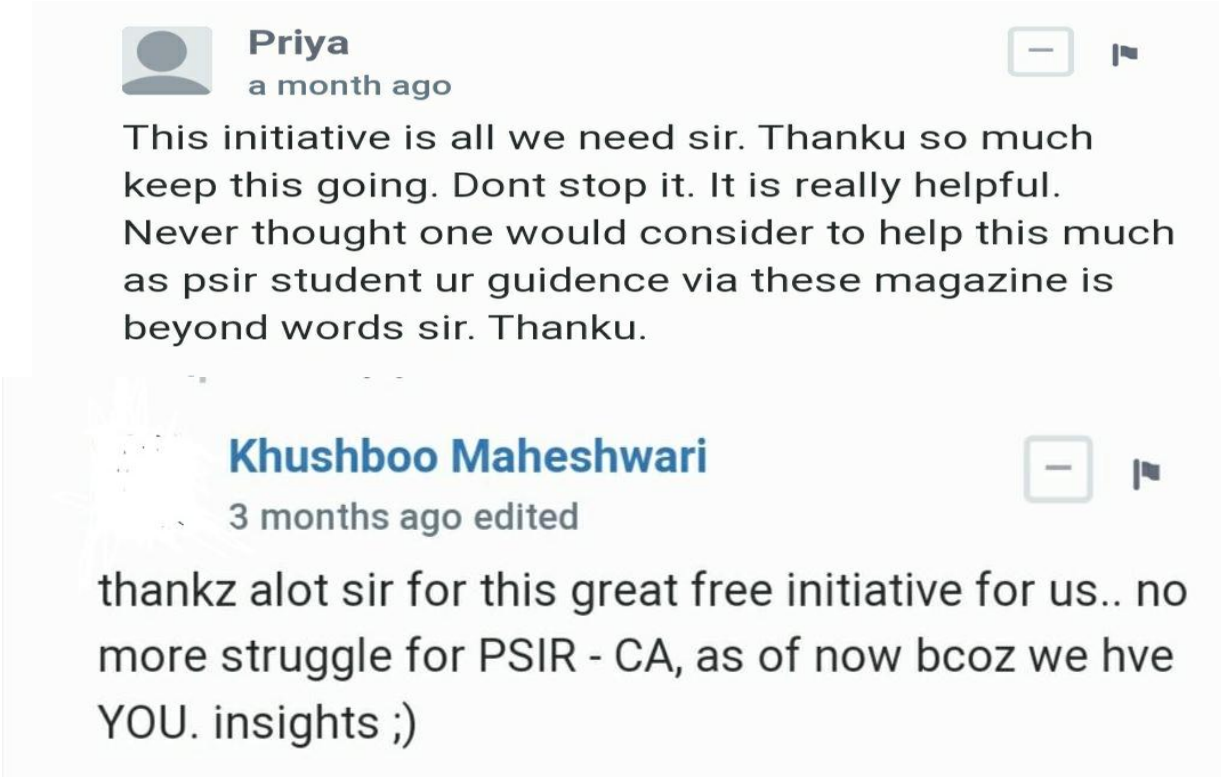
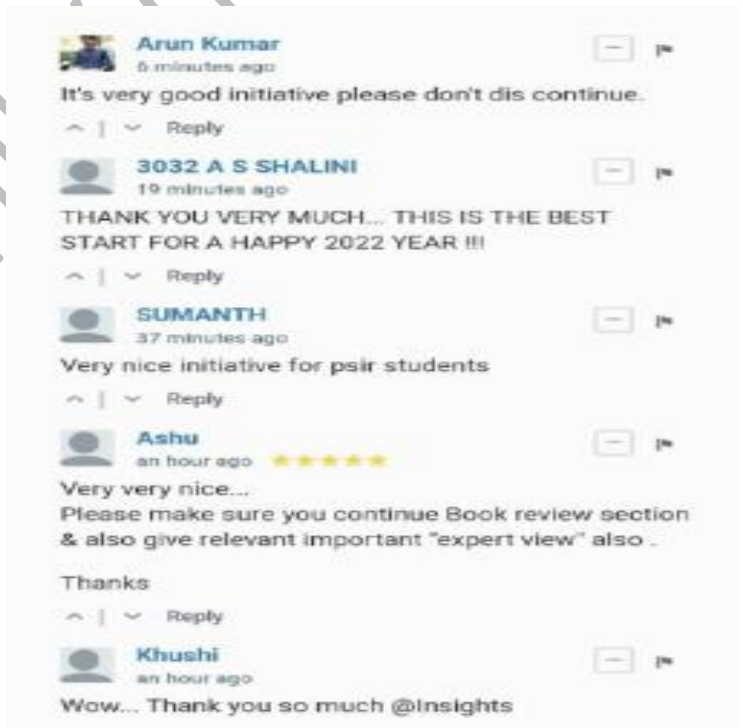
Students Review of PSIR Classes and Test series by Faculty Nikhil K Gowda





About Faculty

NIKHIL K GOWDA is doing his **Masters of Public Policy (2019-2021) from National law School India University (NLSIU) Bengaluru.**

- **Interned as a Political consultant to various parties in Karnataka**
- **Co-ordinated with Ballari District administration with respect to study of utilization of DMF in mining affected regions**
- **Interned with Sakhi Trust in Hospet on Gender workshop**
- **Has written article on India's No First use policy Published in Lokniti & Organizer**
- **Currently Researching on Impact of India's Neighborhood First policy as part of his Dissertation**
- **Has written 4 Mains, 2IFS Mains, given 2 UPSC Interviews**
- **Has been guiding students with respect UPSC preparation from past 4 years, his area of expertize are PSIR optional, Polity, IR, and Modern India.**

NIKHIL K GOWDA PSIR NOTES

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Cosmopolitan democracy

Syllabus: PSIR Paper 2B Global power Centers

- **Cosmopolitan democracy** is a political theory which explores the application of norms and values of democracy at the transnational and global sphere.
- It argues that global governance of the people, by the people, for the people is possible and needed.
- Writers advocating cosmopolitan democracy include Immanuel Kant, David Held, Daniele Archibugi, Richard Falk, and Mary Kaldor.
- In the **cosmopolitan democracy model, decisions are made by those affected, avoiding a single hierarchical form of authority.** According to the nature of the issues at stake, democratic practice should be reinvented to take into account the will of stakeholders. This can be done either through direct participation or through elected representatives

Critical Assessment of the Scheme for Cosmopolitan Democracy

- One could find more efficient ways of securing accountability within existing structures, **and the project of the global parliament as proposed by Held seems unfeasible and unnecessary.**
- It is often the case that the **people are mostly concerned with the issues that affect them directly,** and the breadth of which they can grasp easily. Also, now, **a great challenge to democracy is the lack of interest in the national politics, as the continuously low voter turnout proves (UK Political Info, 2010).**
- **Cosmopolitan identity is a myth**
    - **According to Birch**, he states that it is much **more realistic to describe the EU as an elitist institution**, rather **than democratic**, **since** it lacks majority support and **individual national identity is still much stronger than a European one.**
- **The non-democratic states** definitely represents a tremendous hurdle to overcome in the project of the global parliament. If states are not embedded in the democratic traditions, we can hardly expect them to adhere to democratic values on the global level.
    - **For instance, Asian countries call for "Asian Values" against "Western Values".**
- **Role of NGOs**
    - **Andrew Hurrel** argued that many non-state actors, i.e. NGOs, transnational social movements, "harness a growing sense of cosmopolitan moral awareness".

There have been efforts to enhance the participation and role of non-state actors within UN structures.

Conclusion

- The statement by **Will Kymlicka that "the only forum in which genuine democracy occurs is within national boundaries".**
- Democracy as a set of ideals that can be implemented by strengthening the UN system and the international law regimes.
- Thus, it is reasonable to conceive of applying ethical values to international relations. It is of paramount importance to make international law more enforceable, and broaden the scope of responsibility of the ICJ according to the principle of individual responsibility. **As Daniele Archibugi suggests, by rebuilding its constitutional structure, especially by reforming the International Court of Justice and aiding it with executive mechanisms.**
- That is not to say that one should give up the very distant vision of a borderless, cosmopolitan world order. Still, it is much more attainable to ask what could be done now to bring more accountability and justice into the global system.

Source: https://www.e-ir.info/2013/01/22/critical-assessment-of-cosmopolitan-democracy/

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Talk Point: Has the judiciary's overreach in cricket, medical education, among others, damaged its credibility?

Syllabus: PSIR- Paper 1B- Principal Organs of the Union Government:

Timely judicial intervention has often helped shape important policies. But recent judicial efforts to oversee legislative action have boomeranged. The medical education mess has even implicated two judges in bribery cases.

Article rightly summaries the various viewpoints of Scholars

1. These court interventions are piecemeal and exhibit the idiosyncrasies of some judges

Manwendra Kumar Tiwari

Assistant professor, Dr Ram Manohar Lohiya National Law University

- According to him **the perceived 'judicial overreach' is not, per se, a bad thing**. Denying it absolutely would be emboldening the **state theorising**, which wants to **keep all the legal domains of power under the clutches of the executive.**
    - This can be justified by the use of PIL in India as something which enables the courts to venture into the realm of 'desirability of something' over and above the traditionally understood judicial confines of 'permissibility of something'.
- Judicial intervention bordering on overreach, which is bereft of this underlying idea, is simply entering into an arena of desirability without the consequent impact of sobering the state power.
- The judicial intervention by the Supreme Court of India in relation to matters of cricket administration in India and regulation of medical education, including the admission policy, **is largely reflective of this judicial approach wherein the courts rather than acting as catalysts for some desirable and pressing outcomes,** are actually arrogating to itself the role of a panacea institution.

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- This is primarily the reason why such interventions cannot be explained by way of principles or even by way of policies
    - These interventions, therefore, are piecemeal and exhibit the **peculiar behaviour of the individual judges**. This damages the credibility of the courts.

To quote Prof. Upendra Baxi from a 1993 article in the Journal of the Indian Law Institute, "theirs (judges) is not the will to power; but the will to reason."

2. Overreach is negatively impacting regular judicial decision making

Harish Narasappa

Co-founder, Daksh

- According to him judicial overarch **hurt the judiciary's overall credibility**. The judiciary should not foray into policy making and its implementation. Such roles are purely within the domain of the legislature and the executive
- **He further states the Problem**
    - **Firstly**, It **upsets the balance of powers between the three organs** of the state, If the judiciary itself takes over the role, no other institution exists to review such action thereby upsetting the separation of powers, as well as denying citizens their valuable right to seek judicial redressal.
    - **Secondly, the judiciary is not equipped to make decisions**. Judges are, by training, arbiters of the law and fact based on legal reasoning and in sometimes in the interpretation of the law, there are policy choices involved
        - However that is different from actually making policy decisions on a regular basis involving complex facts with multiple stakeholders. **Judicial**

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reasoning and process are not equipped to deal with issues such as day-to-day practicalities and difficulties of policy decisions

- **Third,** the appointment of **committees to supervise statutory or private bodies** amounts to creating a new hierarchy of institutions and regulations. There is **no accountability built in with respect to the functioning of such committees** similar to the accountability of other statutory institutions..

- **Fourth,** and most importantly, such **overreach is negatively impacting regular judicial decision making**, both in terms of time and reasoning.

    - The judiciary is **increasingly guilty of straying from the path of judicial reasoning** and **discipline in regular hearings** which directly affects the promise of fairness, equality and justice that a judicial hearing seeks to deliver.

3. An active judiciary may be good, but an activist judiciary is not so good

Faizan Mustafa

Vice-Chancellor, NALSAR University of Law, Hyderabad

- According to him , **a five-judge bench of the Supreme Court led by Justice Anil Dave** in 2016 not only **recalled the controversial 2013** three-judge bench decision of the Supreme Court scraping common medical test by the MCI but also ordered a fresh hearing of the matter.

    - The surprising is that the bench made NEET mandatory for all states, universities including private unaided and minority universities, even prior to the regular hearing in the matter.

    - The court has **taken away 'right to administration' of minority and unaided private institutions** and curtailed their autonomy. **Centralised counselling is contrary to the T.M.A. Pai judgment.**

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  - The interim order **had the effect of a final judgment** and this way of converting a minority opinion into an order of the court in a subsequent case, without arguments on the merits, was indeed unprecedented

- The court ordered the **Tamil Nadu government to ensure that people do not protest against** its **order**. This certainly lowered the prestige of the court.

- The **court did not even accept the Government of India's repeated requests of permitting state governments to conduct their tests** at least in 2016. This violated the principles of separation of powers.

- **Scholar concludes** : Due to centralised counselling, a number of medical seats remain vacant which is a national loss. **These are policy decisions and are thus the government's prerogative**. **An active judiciary may be good, but an activist judiciary is not so good.**

4. In matters of public interest, the court often does not miss the chance to grandstand

Apurva Vishwanath

Special Correspondent

- **Supreme court** ordered the **Delhi Legal Services Authority** to assist rape of 28 months baby through PIL case ,regretful the situation is, this wasn't a case that required the court's intervention. But when a public interest litigation was brought before it, the court did not miss the chance to grandstand.

- In this case, given the issue, the court's use of time or resources won't be questioned. But similar attempts were made in **two cases in which the court's role and its efficacy** are now being questioned**: overhauling the Indian cricket administration and medical education in the country**.

- The **Indian cricket board and the Medical Council of India have time and again failed**, and **refused, to implement orders of the court,** but that cannot be an explanation for the debacle. In an adversarial dispute, the court delegated its **powers to its B-team and expected the parties to fall in line.**

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- She calls out that Instead of **identifying the rot, appointing panels headed by former chief justice R.M. Lodha** (in both cases) to fix it, and **failing miserably, the courts should have issued orders** to the government to **bring changes as it deemed fit.**

- The courts should **now focus on ensuring the executive does its job**, to **ensure an honourable exit in these cases.**

Sources : https://theprint.in/talk-point/has-the-judiciarys-overreach-in-medical-education-damaged-its-credibility/32573/?amp

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Indian Local Governance

Syllabus: PSIR- Paper 1B- Grassroots Democracy

CONTEXT

The **Reserve Bank of India (RBI)** in a report, " **State Finances, Study of Budgets of 2021-22** ", released in November 2021, wrote: "With the **third-tier governments in India playing a frontline role in combating the pandemic** by implementing containment strategies, healthcare,... their fi**nances have come under severe strain,** forcing them to cut down expenditures and mobilise funding from various sources."

Indian cities over view

- There are nearly **5,000 statutory towns** and an **equal number of census towns** in India.
- Nearly **35% of the population** lives in urban centres.
- nearly **two-thirds of the country's GDP** stems from cities
- almost **90% of government revenue** flows from urban centres.
- Urban development is a **state subject**, which is more linked to political and democratic movements in States.
- The **first intervention to understand 'the urban'** (though there are references in the Five Year plans) and plan with a pan-Indian vision took place in the **1980s** when the **National Commission On Urbanisation** was formed with **Charles Correa** as its chairperson.
- Another important intervention was in the first half of the 1990s with the Constitution **73rd and 74th Amendments**.
- The latter refers to urban reforms — empowering urban local bodies to perform **18 functions listed in the 12th Schedule.**

problem with urban development

- During the **pandemic, city mayors** were found missing on **disaster mitigation strategies**, the elected leadership finds no place in them.
- The old approach of treating **cities as adjuncts of State governments** continues to dominate the policy paradigm.

There should be **three F's** for local bodies: the t**ransfer of 'functions, finances and functionaries' to city governments**. Without these, **functional** autonomy would be empty rhetoric.

- The **RBI report** also highlights the **limited coverage of property tax** and its failure in shoring up municipal corporation revenues.
  - **Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)** data show that India has the **lowest property tax collection rate** in the world — i.e., property tax to GDP ratio.

- with **Goods and Services Tax**, the **ability to tax has been 'completely robbed'**; cities find themselves in a worse state than States.
  - Before value added tax and other centralised taxation systems, one of the **major earnings of cities used to be from octroi**.
  - But this source of revenue collection was **taken away by the State and the central governments**.
  - Instead, finance commissions recommended **grants to urban local bodies based on a formula of demographic profile**.
  - Previously, while almost 55% of the total revenue expenditure of urban centres was met by octroi (e.g., Shimla), now, the grant covers **only 15% of expenditure**.
- Vicious circle of **burdening people more with taxes** and further **privatisation /outsourcing of the service**s of the municipalities.

Cited example

- **People's plan model of Kerala** where **40% of the State's plan budget** was for local bodies (directly) with a **transfer of important subjects** such as planning, etc. This paved the way for a new dimension to urban governance.
- cities in the **Scandinavian countries** manage their functions well — from city planning to **mobility to waste management**. a chunk of the **income-tax from citizens is given to city governments directly**.

What needs to be done?

- Cities must be treated as i**mportant centres of governance**, where **democratic decentralisation** can bring in amazing results (as seen in Kerala). There will be transparency and adequate participation of the people.

- cities **should not be considered as entrepreneurship spaces** where the sole driving force is to make them competitive to attract investments. They must be **considered as spaces for planned development** by giving adequate attention to resources.

- Our cities are **hardly prepared for the impact of climate change**; nor do they have **adaptive strategies.** The resources required for quantitative and qualitative data must be immediately provided to the cities to ensure a **disaster risk reduction plan keeping vulnerable communities** in mind.

- a piecemeal approach such as the c**oncept of 'smart cities' must be shunned altogether.** This approach further **widens the gap between different sets of people**. Rather, the **grants from the Centre must be enhanced** and **cities asked to draw up their plans themselves** based on priority seeking from city residents.

- **leadership in the cities** must be e**lected for a term of five years**. the third F, i.e., **functionaries, must be transferred to the cities with a permanent cadre.**

- A **committee** formed under the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development to **review the 74th constitutional amendment**, recommended that 1**0% of income-tax collected from the cities was to be given back to them** as a direct revenue grant from the central government.

Source: https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/democratise-and-empower-city-governments/article38293949.ece

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Parliament and Foreign Policy Decision Making in India: Extent, Instruments and Impediments

Syllabus: PSIR Paper 2B Global power Centers

Introduction

With the r**ise of globalization and the expansion of state domain**, the f**oreign policy decision-makin**g in the modern world is deemed to be c**omprehensive and complicated**.

Though, the **Ministry of External Affairs is the pivotal** player in managing India's external relations, other important agencies such as the Cabinet, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, National Security Council, Prime Minister's Office and **Parliament also are contributing significantly** for the planning and formulation of India's Foreign Policy.

Though, the process of policy making has been **dominated by the bureaucratic agencies,** the Parliament still plays a major role in shaping India's external relations.

Actors and Institutions of Foreign Policy Decision-Making in India

Ministry of External Affairs

- Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) is the **primary institution of foreign policy decision-making** in India. It is **primarily responsible** to look after the matters related to the external affairs of the country.
- Though a variety of agencies and actors have been involved in foreign policy decision making process, it is the **MEA which takes the final call on any of the issues** and determine the course of foreign policy officially.
- the Ministry of External affairs also plays a significant role in **information gathering, processing and analysing through its foreign mission**s for effective policy making.
- The ministry **issues passports, gives consular services to Indian citizens** visiting abroad and ensures their **safety and security.**
- It is also responsible for the **issuance of visas to foreign tourists** visiting India.
- The **Policy Planning and Research Division** undertake re**search activities** and is responsible for the planning and **formulation of India's foreign and strategic policy**.
- The division **awards research projects to the academia and think-tank**s and **organise seminars and conference**s on various issues of international affairs

- The MEA prepares a **monthly summary of important developments and global events** for the Cabinet and senior officials of Government of India, on which the government prepares its futuristic policies

The Cabinet and Cabinet Committees

- the **important decisions on issues** of national and international affairs are **decided by the cabine**t.
- However due to the **increasing burden of the central cabinet**, it unable to pay special attention to the significance national politics and several **specialized cabinet committees** have been setup to assist the cabinet in policy formulations.
- The committees are responsible to **resolve the intra-departmental conflict** and ensure **greater cooperation among the ministries and departments**.
- Though **none of the cabinet committee deals with the subject of foreign affairs** directly. Nevertheless, while formulating policies, most of the cabinet committees indirectly deal with the issues related to Foreign Policy.
- During the **Chinese invention of 1962,** an important committee namely, the **'Emergency Committee'** was setup to deal with the **matter on national emergency**.
- **Chaired by the Prime Minister** himself, the committee acted like the '**inner cabinet**' and performed remarkable tasks on national and external issues and the committee was playing the prominent role during the time of Rann of Katch dispute with Pakistan in 1965, but later lost its predominant position gradually.
- Similarly, the **committee on World Trade Organisation Matters** also works to resolve issues related to India's concerns at WTO.
- **Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs and committee on investment** are responsible to improve India's economic conditions and to attract the **foreign investment** into the nation, hence indirectly related to the matter of foreign economic affairs.

The Prime Minister's Office

- The PMO, in the Parliamentary system like India, is one of the **most significant institutions of foreign policy decision-making.**
- the **decision of the Prime Minister remains the deciding factor** on any policy formulation. Since independence, the **role of the MEA largely remain secondary to PMO**.
- The Prime Minister in India often signs the **international treaties and agreements with other nations** and recommends the **names of Indian Heads of Missions** to the president.

- In this stage the PMO becomes the **centre of the diplomatic relations.**

- **After the formation of the National Security Council (NSC)** and with the **appointment of the National Security Advisor**, who used to be the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, the role of the PMO has increased into many folds.

- During the time of Nehru, the Prime Minister's Secretariat (as PMO was called earlier) became the centre of foreign policy decision-making, as Nehru was handling both the MEA and PMO simultaneously.

National Security Council (NSC)

- National Security Council (NSC) is the **apex advisory body to the Government of India** which gives **advice to the Prime Minister and the government** on the matters related to India's **national security and Foreign affairs** such as policies on economic and energy security.

- All the three agencies of the National Security Council- **Strategic Policy Group (SPG), National Security Advisory Board (NSAB) and the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC)**

- **Headed by the National Security Advisor (NSA)**. Apart from the NSA, the council consists of eminent professionals and possesses immense potential to influence the national policy decisions.

Ministry of Defence

- **Defending national territory and sovereignty** is the main priority of the country's foreign policy. Hence, Ministry of Defence (MoD) has been one of the important stakeholders of the Indian's foreign policy decision-making machinery.

- It is a **coordinating agency between the government and armed forces** and gives additional **strategic inputs to the government** in external affairs.

- The Defence Minister is also an i**mportant member of the union cabinet and Cabinet Committee** on Security as well as the integral part of the National Security Council.

- Apart from the Defence Minister, the Defence Secretary, the **three Chiefs of the Staff and Secretary of the Defence Production Division** also participate in the decision-making process as the members of **Strategic Policy Group**.

- In case of any strategic or foreign policy crisis, the **three servicing chiefs of the staff** are **asked to present their view on the issues** that significantly impact the decision outcomes.

- The Defence ministry c**ollects the intelligence data** on the matters related to security and international strategic development **through its intelligence agencie**s and **shares its**

concerns with the government, which play significant role in shaping country's foreign policy.

- the defence ministry also **engage in military diplomacy** in extending **India's defence cooperation with foreign countries**. It periodically conducts, j**oint military training and exercises with friendly states** and earns goodwill for the country. It also has a **larger say in purchasing of foreign defence equipment and India's arms sale**.

Parliament and Foreign Policy Making in India

- parliament enjoys complete authority in making laws, for both domestic and foreign affairs, of this country.
- **Article 246** of the Indian Constitution which **distributes powers between the Union Government** and the **states** authorize the **Parliament to legislate on all aspects of external affairs** of this country .
- Similarly under **Article 253,** the **parliament also possesses exclusive power to legislate** or amend laws for the s**uccessful implementation of the international treaties, agreements and conventions.**
- **Out of the allotted 97 items of the Union List**, i**tems 1 to 21** are directly or indirectly related to the **foreign affair**s on which the parliament can make laws.
- Items under these sections deal with **Military forces and management (items 1 to 4), diplomacy (item11), UN (items12), international treaties and agreements (items14) war and peace (items 15**), **foreign jurisdiction (16) citizenship and alliances (items 17)** and more particularly items 10 of the list grants exclusive power to the Parliament to legislate any matter related to the foreign affairs.
- **Item 10 of the Union List under the Seventh Scheduled** of the Constitution specifically empower the Parliament to formulate appropriate l**aws regarding foreign affairs**.
- Using its budgetary control, it can **slash down various allocations on military, defence, foreign aid** and other such peripherals as well.

Role of Parliamentary Committees as an Advisory Body

- the role of a specialised body such as the Parliamentary Committee is highly essential, that carefully **scrutinizes the matter and gives its expertise inputs** for a better foreign policy of the country.
- While playing the **mediatory role between the executives and legislators**, the Parliamentary Committees are taking **suggestions from civil societies, interest groups and other stake holders** for an affective policy.

- All the parliamentary committees can be broadly **classify into two categories, - Ad Hoc Committees and the standing committees,** of which, **departmental related standing committees** play significant role in public policy formulation.
- the ministry of external affairs have the **Standing Committee on External Affairs (SCEA)** in responsible in fine-tuning legislations that effects India's external relations.
- Set up in the **year 1993**, the prime **objective** of the committee is to **assist the policy maker in the management of foreign policy.**
- It **analyses the referred proposals and submit its report** after thorough research.
- Being a **joint committee**, it consists of the members from both the houses.
- The **overall membership** of the committee has been **fixed to 31**. While the Speaker of Lok Sabha selects **21 members, the remaining 10 members** are n**ominated** by the Chairman of Rajya Sabha.
- However, a **minister is not eligible** to become the member of the committee.
- The **Speaker nominates the chairman** of the standing committee.
- Considering its multidimensional tasks, **several sub-committees or Study Groups** have been created within the committee to deal with different specialized tasks.
- the Standing Committee on External Affairs **carryout multiple functions on the divergent issues** of foreign affairs.
- It **examines the cases referred to it** and gives its inputs regarding the proposal.
- the Standing Committee on External Affairs matters related to **restructuring of Indian Foreign Service and functioning of Indian Missions and Posts abroad**
- issuance of **Passport and related matters**
- nourishing **India's economic and energy diplomacy**
- Management of **governmental scholarships to foreign nationals**
- **Problems related to Indian Students and workers abroad** and the reformation of **India's the emigration system**.
- Furthermore, the committee **examines the budgetary demands of MEA,** study its functions and prepare its long term plan for the better management of India's external affairs.

- After the thorough scrutiny, the **committee presents its report to the house for consideration**. Based on the reports of the committee, the house takes the decision in the important issues of India's foreign affairs

- Besides scrutiny and reporting, the **committee also regularly seeks briefings on the important international development from MEA officials and the officers** are duty bound to appear before the committee and inform the committee, hence enforcing **parliamentary controls on bureaucratization** of foreign policy.

- The committee members also **directly meet the visiting foreign delegations** to facilitate meaningful interaction and understanding on global and bilateral issues.

- This meeting also helps the committee members **to gain practical knowledge on the working procedure** of other vibrant standing committees of foreign countries.

- Even, with the **prior permission of the Speaker**, it also undertakes **study trip to foreign legislatives** and foreign missions **to learn and understand the complex issues of global affairs.**

Role of the Parliament as an Agency of Influence

- **Influence refers to the capability to modify or change some one's behaviour in the desired way**. "the power or capacity of causing an effect in indirect or intangible ways"

- In **politics influence plays a major role** in deciding policy options, be it the **influence of vote, media or parliament.**

- **Parliament being the highest agency of governance** in India also plays crucial role in influencing policy behaviour of the country.

- The Parliament, by **using its various techniques, improvises contemporary foreign policy** discourses and strengthen national security periodically.

- Furthermore, as the **representative to the voice of the people, the parliament also democratise the foreign policy formulation process** and includes citizen's inputs in policy making.

- Among the Parliamentarians, there used to be a **group of expertise who kept tracking the global developments** and raise voice against the perceived odds in the form of questions, discussion and motions.

- But the **parliamentary involvement and its influence on foreign policy was limited when the Nehruvian monopoly** was dominating India's foreign policy discourses.

- **Till the 1962 Chinese war,** the view of the parliament especially from the ruling party was idealistic and far from the national public opinion and it was o**nly the Shastry era that witnessed the parliamentary involvement foreign policy decision-making.**

- The tools used in this regard were the **question hours, debates and discussions, parliamentary committees, financial control and motions and resolutions** on the matter of foreign affairs.

Role of Parliament as an Institution of Treaty Ratification

- Generally international **treaties signed between the sovereign governments** on **behalf of the respective countrie**s on matters regarding foreign relations, trade, environment, defence and strategic, war and peace, communications, ecology or finance.

- However, th**e prior approval of the international treaties** by parliament before implementation is **not a universal procedure**.

- the **Parliament's nod is not necessary to implement the signed treaties unless it involves serious consequences**.

- When the **treaty is placed before the Parliament for discussio**n, the Parliament discusses on it like that of the other resolutions **but cannot rectify the treaty according to the desire of the Parliament.** Further, with backing of the majority, the government easily pass the treaty and hardly faces legislative blockade.

Factors Eclipsing Parliamentary Role in Foreign Policy Making

- **Party Affiliation and Personality Cult in Parliament-** it is the party ideology which dominates over the cognitive behaviour of a member during the Parliament debate.

  - Similarly, **leadership at some time also minimizes the influence of the Parliament's** role in decision making. The f**oreign policy making during Nehru**, for example was a **one man show** and the Parliament had little influence over the policy behaviour.

- **Executive Supremacy-** Though the Parliament legislates and approves policies, the executives, in practice make policies for the government and get it approved by the Parliament.

There are **several reasons behind the domination of the executives'** in policy making.

  - the executives are **Permanent agencies** and therefore, have **greater experience compared to the political heads** who are elected for five years and possess less experience.

- the **executives are part of the larger organization** which include **expertise of different area**s and make all round policies while political boss lacks.

- it is the **executives who implement the policies** hence, possess the f**irst hand information** regarding the concerned issue.

- **Supremacy of the Cabinet -** In India, the **cabinet plays a significant role** in the policy making process. Most of the policies **pass over to the Cabinet before they are introduced into the Parliament** to decide.

- **Confidentiality in Foreign Affairs-** matters **related to national security, diplomacy and foreign policy** need to be kept secret in order to protect them from **reaching the hands of the enemy country**. The government may deny disclosing such details on the floor of parliament.

- **Delay in Parliamentary Decision-Making -** The **international environment is so fickle and vast** that the **time allotted for the Parliament is not sufficient** to analyse and understand the emerging issues.

  - due to the time factor, **limited questions are allowed to each member**, and they are allowed to raise issues at certain times. As a result, most of the Parliamentarians are interested in **raising the local issues** rather than the international issues.

- **Less Preference to Foreign Affairs-** The **Members with knowledge on the Foreign Affairs are comparatively less** in the Indian parliament. As more people are **acquainted with the regional and national issues**, they often prefer to raise the internal issues and hardly participate in discussion in matters of foreign affairs.

- **Narrow Scope for Legislation-** The issues related to the **foreign policy crisis needs negotiation rather legislation**. it is a flexible idea to negotiate with the rest of the world and hardly need legislations to guide it.

  - **Unlike United States or Australia**, it is **not mandatory for international conventions, treaties and agreements** to get a**pproved by the Parliament** before coming into practice.

  - In Indian context, it is **supposed to be the document of secrecy for optimum result** and its open discussion in the parliament before actualization might endanger the entire goal of the treaty.

  - Therefore, many of the treaties, such as the **India– China Agreement of 1954, the Tashkent Agreement of 1965, the India-Soviet Agreement of 1971 and the Simla Agreement of 1972** have **never been referred to the Parliament** for debate before the conclusion of the treaty.

- the international treaties and agreements which are **not mandatory are get approved by the Parliament** if it does not involve or affect the financial and other serious concerns. As a result most of the treaties are signed without the approval of the Parliament.

- **Parliament as a Machinery of Delay and Slow Process -** The Matters and issues of foreign policy **need to be addressed instantly for the maximum gain**. But in the Parliament any system of decision-making is such a **slow process** that takes months and years together to reach any conclusion.
    - The delay arises **due to the size of the Parliament and passing of the proposal by multiple stages** and the Parliamentary agencies.
- **Practice of Unprofessional-ism in Parliament -** in recent past, the **members apparently lack basic morality** and other **fight with each other** with no point.
- Without going into the detail the government proposal, the **opposition in many occasions opposes important bills with no reason.**
    - In recent past most of the **precious time of the Parliament has been washed away** due to the boycott and non-participatory approach of the oppositions in the Parliament sessions.
    - Sometimes, i**mportant bills are turned into a law without proper discussion** in the Parliament.

Conclusion

Being the highest institution and the ultimate voice of the people, the P**arliament, in a democratic state like India plays an important role in the formulation and implementation** of foreign policies in a variety of ways. **But in practice**, the Parliament despite all its powers and privileges has **never been considered as one of the core actors of foreign policy decision-makin**g in India.

Source: journal of governance and public policy, volume 9

UN failed to prevent Russia's aggression. Yet, it can't be written off

Syllabus: PSIR Paper 2B Global power Centers

Context

Recently, the **United Nation Security Council** voted on the draft resolution by the US and Albania that sought to **condemn Russian aggression** and called for the **immediate cessation of violence** and withdrawal of Russian military from Ukraine.

The international body's stature has been diminished by its inability to hold superpowers to account and stop wars. But its record in peace-keeping, delivering humanitarian relief is formidable.

How much of Ukraine does Russia control?

What was the Resolution About and the inability of UN to stop war??

- The Council's resolution **reaffirmed its commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine** within its internationally recognized borders.
- The resolution **"deplores in the strongest terms Russia's aggression against Ukraine"** and decides that **Russia "shall immediately cease its use of force** against Ukraine and shall refrain from any further unlawful threat or use of force against any UN member state".
    - The **original version was too strong, as it invoked UN Chapter VII**, which authorizes the use of force against Russian troops in Ukraine.
- It also asked **Russia to "immediately and unconditionally reverse the decision related to the status of certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions** of Ukraine".
- The resolution **did not pass since the permanent member and President of the Security Council** for the month of February **Russia**, used its veto.
- The resolution received 11 votes in favour and three abstentions. **China and India both abstained.**

Despite the inability of UN to stop Russian aggression in Ukraine **due to its non-binding resolutions and UNSC veto powers,** it can't be said as a completely failed organization. **The achievements in the last 75 years is immense** and for **sure it needs a reform to make it more effective and inclusive.**

Achievements of the UN in the last 75 years:

NIKHIL GOWDA PSIR NOTES

1. While at the time of its formation, the UN consisted of only 51 member states, independence movements and **de-colonisation** in the subsequent years led to an expansion of its membership. At present, 193 countries are members of the UN.
2. The UN boasts of several significant achievements in the last 75 years.
3. It has also **expanded its scope** to resolve over a large number of global issues such as **health, environment, women empowerment among others**.
4. Soon after its formation, it passed a resolution **to commit to the elimination of nuclear weapons in 1946.**
5. In 1948, it created the **World Health Organisation (WHO)** to deal with communicable diseases like smallpox, malaria, HIV.
6. At present the WHO is the apex organisation **dealing with the coronavirus pandemic.**
7. In 1950, the **UN created the High Commissioner for Refugees** to take care of the millions who had been displaced due to World War II.
8. It continues to be on the frontlines of crises faced by refugees from countries across the world. In 1972, the **UN environment programme was created.**
9. More recently in 2002, the UN established the UN criminal court to try those who have **committed war crimes, genocide, and other atrocities**.

Areas of UN Reform

- **Defunct UNSC:** The **United Nations Security Council (UNSC)** is the UN's main executive body with the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security.
    - However, **the veto powers** possessed by the UNSC's five permanent members are used as an **instrument to shore up their geopolitical interests, regardless of the disastrous consequences for the victims of armed conflict. As it can be seen in Syria, Iraq, etc.**
    - Further, **It does not reflect today's distribution of military and economic power, nor a geographical balance**. Thus, the structure of the 15-member Security Council ought to be **more democratic and representative**.
    - This has been long overdue on the demand, especially from the so-called Group of 4 **(G4) countries** — Brazil, Germany, India and Japan — which advocate a permanent seat for all of them.
- **General Assembly Reforms:** The UN General Assembly (UNGA) can only make non-**binding recommendations**, which is another reason for **ineffectiveness** of the UN and another important issue of UN reform.
- **Undermining of Associated UN Bodies** The Economic and Social Council has been criticized, as it has become overshadowed by institutions such as the **IMF** and the **World Bank**, which are **lacking democratic processes, transparency, and accountability.**
- **UN's Financial Crisis:** It can be said that the UN has a lot to do but it has too little money, as it is in a **permanent financial crisis** due to the unwillingness of many members to pay their contributions on time.
    - As long as the UN's budget remains tightly constrained, it cannot be effective.

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- **Toothless UN Peacekeeping Operation:** While the vast number of international law treaties affecting international trade, economics and human rights has proved very effective, laws prohibiting the use of force have been less so.
    - Thus, there is a need to include **more personnel and carry out structural reforms** for the UN Peacekeeping Operations.

India's Role in Reforming UN System and way forward

While the UNSC was dysfunctional, India developed a multilateral agenda of its own — from decolonization and disarmament to a new international economic order — and mobilised considerable political support for it. This underlines the possibilities for shaping the global discourse in the present.

- **Reforming UNSC:** As former UN secretary general noted that **"No reform of the UN would be complete without reform of the Security Council".** Therefore, equitable representation as well as expansion of the UNSC is the desired reform that India envisages.
    - However, this would be the most challenging aspect of UN reforms, as the most permanent five are generally opposed to strengthening the institution and use their power to stop any significant change.
- **Engaging With Other Multilateral Forums For UN Reforms:** Possible solutions to reform UN finances can be establishing a **'reserve fund'** or even a **'world tax'.**
    - Also, in order to make UNGA more effective, **India can propose a bicameral parliamentary assembly framework for UNGA.**
- **Balancing National Interest and Multilateralism:** The primary objective of India's present multilateralism should be to ensure its territorial integrity, especially at a time when China has adopted aggressive posture on the border.
    - Here, India can leverage multilateralism to serve India's interests. Like aligning with **Quad countries** or working with mechanisms like **FATF** to mount pressure on Pakistan to stop supporting cross-border terrorism in India.
    - Further, while reclaiming its role in the **Non-Aligned Movement** (NAM), India must engage with other multilateral institutions as new rule-making as India is not at disadvantage if rule making takes place outside the UN.

Conclusion

History teaches that the fact that **crises catalyse states to rise above inertia, myopia, and narrow self-interest.** This can be reflected in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, conferences at Bretton Woods and San Francisco in the 1940s. The present pandemic, Ukraine crisis that can lead to tectonic shift in world affairs.

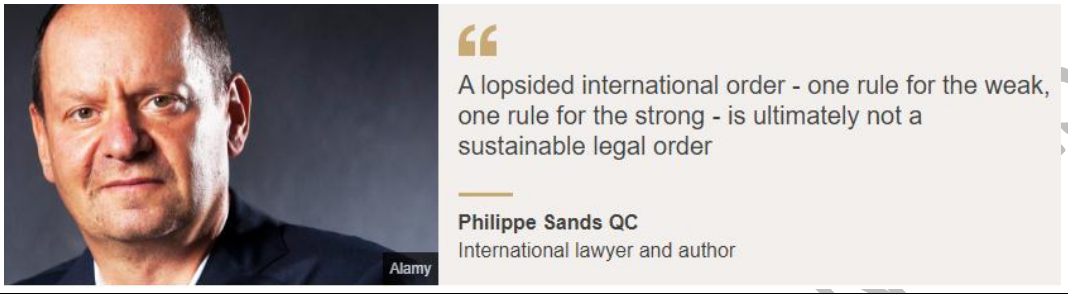
Further, given the global issues, today the world needs **multilateralism** more than ever. Thus, it is necessary to reform the UN. In this context, **India must utilize the next two years of its non-permanent member of UNSC** for bringing much needed reforms in the system.

SCHOLARS VIEWS

NIKHIL GOWDA PSIR NOTES

1. Kyiv's Permanent Representative Tells Council President, 'Your Words Have Less Value Than a Hole in a New York Pretzel'

2.

3. 

Source - https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/un-failed-to-prevent-russias-aggression-yet-it-cant-be-written-off-7875580/

Mains Question:

Q. The UN is the only universal body we all have, the one organization to which every country in the world belongs; if it is discredited, the world as a whole will lose an institution that is irreplaceable. Critically comment. (10 Marks)

NIKHIL K GOWDA

Managing the global commons

Syllabus: PSIR- Paper 1B- Planning and Economic Development

This time is defined by a pandemic, record-breaking forest fires, floods and droughts in various places, and the rapid melting of Arctic ice. The disruption of our environment is one of the main factors causing these events. To cope with these events, we need to increase our efforts in managing our interactions with the environment on a global scale.

Scholars View: Governing shared resources

- When there is a need to manage shared resources, it is done through balance both private and public interests.
- In 1968, **biologist Garrett Hardin** popularised the notion of the tragedy of the commons, which implies that communities cannot manage their shared resources and require governmental interventions to regulate resource use or privatise the resource.
- In 1990, **political scientist Elinor Ostrom** published her landmark book on governing the commons that demonstrated that communities can govern on their own their shared resources, often better than imposed, well-intended solutions from outside.
    - Ostrom was recognised in 2009 for her work by the **Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences.**
- Global commons refer to **shared resources that cannot be managed within national jurisdictions**.
    - The spread of zoonotic diseases like **COVID-19; greenhouse gas emissions, biodiversity reduction, overfishing and the accumulation of plastic waste** are some of the problems within the scope of global commons.
    - Although there is a good idea of kind of governance might be successful at the local community level, these **insights do not directly address the challenges that face on a global scale**. The consequences of human activities on a global scale are only being recognised in recent times.
- The appropriate scale of governance of global commons is a highly debated topic. Some argue that **top-down governance with binding agreements is the only effective solution** for problems of a global scale.
- **Multilateral negotiations on climate change and other global commons** over decades have had limited success. Others have emphasised a more decentralised multi-level or polycentric approach that builds on the observed successes of local solutions

Coordinated activities

- There is no panacea to solve the problem. There is a **need to have coordinated activities** at different scales.
    - For example, local irrigation communities could monitor the state of infrastructure and water use and adapt their watering scheme or cropping patterns to changes in water availability.
- Community members may have more knowledge about the local ecological and social context, but they could also lack expertise, may be ruled by powerful factions within the community, or may not perceive sufficient incentives to sustain the local commons.

NIKHIL GOWDA PSIR NOTES

- Empirical research also demonstrates that **well-intended solutions imposed on community members** are typically short-lived.
- To manage global commons, there is a need to facilitate and accommodate the self-governance of local commons, but provide safeguards at different levels to avoid exploitation and manage risks.
- If it facilitates rural and urban communities to self-govern their shared resources, there will be risks involved for which cities and nations need to accept responsibilities.
- At the local levels, initiatives and solutions could be developed that fit the local context. When expertise is not available, higher-level organisations could facilitate learning from peers in similar conditions.
- Failures will be inevitable to stimulate local-level experimentation, and higher-level authorities need to provide insurance for those cases.
- If local initiatives are successful, higher-level authorities need to provide insurance that the outcomes of those successes will not be grabbed by outsiders. Governing the global commons is the defining challenge for current and future generations.

Scholars View

Source: https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/managing-the-global-commons/article32726262.ece

NIKHIL K GOYANDA PSIR NOTES

How NIA and UAPA amendment, 2019 affects the Federal System

CONTEXT

With the recent passing up of **NIA (Amendment) Bill, 2019** and **Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Bill, 2019** once again brought the tensions between the center and the states **over the issue of federalism** especially from the non-BJP ruled states like **Chhattisgarh, Kerala etc**.

Background

1. **National Investigation Agency (NIA)**

The NIA is the central counter-terrorism law enforcement agency in the country. It was created in **2008** after the **Mumbai terror attack** **the same year.**

1. The NIA can investigate terror cases across the country **without having to get permission from the states.**
2. The agency investigates **terror offences, waging war against the country, offences on nuclear facilities, etc.**
3. It came into force after the Parliament passed the **National Investigation Agency Act 2008.**
4. The agency's aim is to **become a professional investigating agency matching global standards.**
5. It also aims at being a deterrent for existing and potential terrorists, apart from being a storehouse of information on terrorism.
6. The NIA functions under the **Ministry of Home Affairs**.
7. The agency is **headquartered in New Delhi** and has 8 regional offices across India.
8. It is headed by a **Director-General (an IPS officer).**
9. The NIA maintains the **'NIA Most Wanted List'**.

2. **Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Act**

The UAPA – an enhancement on the **TADA** (Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act), which was allowed to lapse in 1995 and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (**POTA**) was repealed in 2004 — was originally passed in **1967** under the then Congress government led by **former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi**. Eventually, amendments were brought in under the successive United Progressive Alliance (UPA) governments in 2004, 2008 and 2013.

Recent Amendment

PROPOSED CHANGES IN NIA ACT	PROPOSED CHANGES IN UAPA
➤ Draft NIA (Amendment) Bill seeks to empower agency to carry out **searches in a state without DGP's consent**	➤ Proposed amendment to UAPA will enable govt to declare top terrorists such as Lashkar chief Hafiz Saeed and Jaish head Masood Azhar, already designated as global terrorists by UN, as **'individual terrorists'**
➤ While it is not mandatory for NIA even now to intimate DGP before a search, it does so **where a law and order situation is anticipated**	➤ Listing of an individual as **'terrorist' helps impose travel ban**, restrict access to funds and other amenities
➤ NIA will be empowered to **probe terror acts on foreign soil** if Indian nationals or interests are harmed	➤ Banning of individual terrorists under UAPA will **add heft to India's request** to other nations to designate them on similar lines
➤ **Cyberterrorism, human trafficking** being added to Schedule of the NIA Act	

Challenges to Federal system and the separation of powers

CLAIMS	
Act empowers the Centre to create an agency for 'investigation', a task which is under the state police	Act not only takes away a state's power to conduct investigation through its own police but also confers arbitrary powers on the Union
Once the scheme under the NIA is brought into motion, it takes away the state's power to investigate offences categorised as scheduled offences	

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NIA Act unconstitutional, repeal it: Congress-ruled Chhattisgarh to SC

- The Act assigns **absolute power to the central government**, by way of which if the Centre deems an **activity as unlawful** then it may, by way of an Official Gazette, declare it so.
- The **opposition** voiced concerns about the amendments, saying the provisions were **against the federal structure of the country enshrined in the Constitution of India**.
- There was **no pre-legislative consultation**.
- Designating **an individual as a terrorist raises serious constitutional questions and has the potential for misuse.**
- An individual **cannot be called a 'terrorist' prior to conviction in a court of law**, It subverts the **principle of "innocent until proven guilty.** A wrongful designation will cause irreparable damage to a person's reputation, career and livelihood.
- Under schedule VII of the Constitution, the maintenance of public order and police forces are **matters of state list.**

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- However, **Criminal law forms part of the concurrent list** and **national security comes under the domains of union list.**

- The Central government gets the authority to have the NIA take over the investigation of crimes, which involve allegations of **human trafficking, offences under the Explosives Act, and certain offences under the Arms Act.**
  - However, **not every criminal offence in the above act is a threat to national security** and sovereignty and consequently, **states have the competence to deal with the same.**
- The Amendment Bill puts **Section 66F of the Information Technology Act** into the Schedule listing offences.
  - Section 66F deals with **cyber terrorism.**
  - But India **does not have a data protection act** and there is **no definition of cyber terrorism.**
- The amendment to the NIA Act also gives the agency authority to investigate crimes committed by persons which are against Indian citizens or **"affecting the interest of India".**
  - However, the **term "affecting the interest of India"** is undefined and can be **misused by governments to curb freedom of speech and expression**.

    Further, the laws, under which the NIA has the authority to investigate, themselves do not mention "affecting the interest of India" as an offence.

Way Forward

- Given that cross-border probe often became necessary in cybercrime cases, the **system of joint probe**, by investigators from India and the countries concerned, should also be adopted.
- The concept of **team investigation** should be stressed upon. It is prevalent in many countries. **For example**, crimes like **the ransomware attack on a pipeline network in the U.S., were investigated there by teams comprising police officers and experts in the respective fields.**

Conclusion

India's security perspectives would inevitably be governed by the **interplay of its domestic imperatives, regional balance of forces and the global challenges which impinge on its role and capabilities.** An overarching framework of India's national security has to take cognisance of military and non-military dimensions in terms of both external threats and internal challenges to its territorial integrity and national unity. Threats to a nation emanate as much from external aggression as from internal strife but **at times internal factors can erode national security more critically than any external danger**.
In this significance, **a strong and independent co-operation with states** can make **India strong and inclusive for the overall growth of the nation.**

SCHOLARS VIEWS

1. The petition by senior advocate **Vivek Tankha** urged the court to strike it down **NIA and UAPA** amendment act as **unconstitutional and ultra vires the Constitution on the grounds that it was**

violative of the spirit of federalism.

2.“We are willing to rob our people of liberty without anything to show for it or without any accountability.” - Justice Aftab Alam, former SC judge on UAPA.

Source - https://thewire.in/government/uapa-nia-act-centre-state

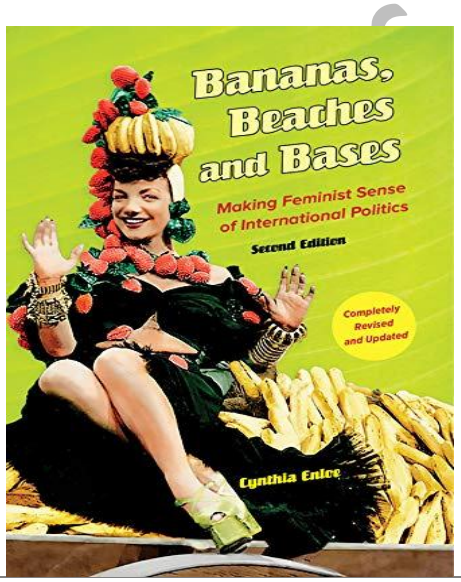
Mains Question

Q. Indian government has recently strengthed the anti-terrorism laws by amending the unlawful activities (Prevention) Act, (UAPA), 1967 and the NIA Act. Analyze the changes in the context of prevailing security environment while discussing scope and reasons for opposing the UAPA by human rights organisations. [250 words].

NIKHIL K GOWDA PSIR

Book Review:

Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics by Cynthia Enloe (2014): A Review by Varsha Gopal



Cynthia Enloe is one of the pioneering theorists in feminist international relations. Feminist IR theory emerged as a change from the traditional approaches to IR and has contributed to the ontological revisionism of mainstream

Enloe's gender-conscious approach places women as active participants and as the exploited where and when she deems necessary. ***Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics, written by Enloe*** and first published in 1989, is one of the **most influential works of feminist IR theory**.

- It **questions** the **gender-blindness of international policy making** and interactions and **aims to construct a gender-neutral platform** for international politics

Enloe takes her **deconstruction of the role of gender in international relations** forward with the question: ***"Where are the women?",*** which runs throughout Bananas as a lens to make evident the "***gender-numbness" of the field of study*** and this work forms the focus of this paper.

- Enloe begins with the argument, "**gender makes the world go round**"
- She argues that **gender is an organizing principle of the world** and **stresses the importance of considering gender as an analytical device and a lens** through which to view the practices which make up the international economy and polity.
- In the seven chapters following the introduction, Enloe **elucidates the power structures of each institution** and shows how it places women in **disadvantaged positions and how it depends on this hierarchy to function.**

- By illuminating structures and responses to inequities, Enloe advances towards her **final argument, "the international is personal",** which implies a dependence of international politics on personal relationships.

Though the text is guided by **"feminist-informed explorations**" of the tourism industry, nationalist movements, military bases, lives of diplomats and diplomatic wives, plantation workers, factory workers and domestic servants, in this essay, **the author focuses on bananas, the plantation industry, beaches, the tourism industry, and, bases, military bases**. Further she argues :

- **Tourism :** From the **prevalent notion of women tourists being uncivilized** when **not accompanied by a male escor**t, to the situations in which the military looked appealing to a woman just because it brought with it the scope to travel, there exists a necessity to ask where the women are within the industry.
  - The tourism ***industry hires women to be stewardesses, chambermaids and sexual service providers*** to bolster the gendered division of labour.
- **Militarism** : She puts forward the argument that the primary aim of militarized base camps is the efficient functioning of the military, and for achieving this, there is a dependence on the subject-specific subjugation of **women playing social roles of military wives, woman officers and base prostitutes.**
  - The "***Good Military Wife" was supposed to ensure the mental well-being of the officer***, to relinquish any self-advancement prospects and to keep quiet about the harassment faced in the household.
  - Women in uniforms have **been of a steady low percentage in the army.** They have been assaulted in various forms ranging from **being called an "intruder" to experiencing what has been euphemistically called "military sexual trauma", i.**e., to being raped by a male officer.
  - **Base prostitutes and sexual slaves** (e.g., Japanese comfort women) have been used as instruments for keeping male sexual needs in check
- **Banana industry:** She points to **Carmen Miranda and Chiquita Banana** as examples of **gender is involved in the politics of bananas.**
  - ***Miranda was a Brazilian singer-dancer*** who rose to fame in the US, who was known for her **fruit hat consisting of bananas**. She was a major part of one of the **instruments of the American foreign policy.**
  - Chiquita Banana was a **half-banana, half-woman advertising figure** for the United Fruits Company and was **aimed at the American housewife**. Not only was the publication of bananas gendered, but also its production, where women would only wash and pack the bananas

Criticism on Enloe Ideology

Feminist IR theory has been criticized for adopting a stance which **equates gender with femininity**, i.e., for example, by **equating gender issues with women's issues**. Critics claim **that feminist theorists are bound by normative commitments** to necessarily take women as the epistemological starting points.

- **Liberal feminism (subscribed to by Enloe**) in IR has faced the criticism of being a contradiction within itself
  - It criticizes the **patriarchal roots of the liberal state** while also depending on it for reform and redress.
  - A lack of empirical exploration and of theoretical rigor has been attributed to Enloe quite often

NIKHIL GOWDA PSIR NOTES

- It has been **seen that a high dependence on details and anecdotes** have managed to place **men in the stereotype of power-brokers and women**, to be the only sufferers under harsh working conditions
- It has also been said that the international politics, **to which all these interpersonal relations are said to be related**, has **not been defined clearly** and that she moves across various dimensions without relating it, in a defined manner, to the international economy.
- A significant criticism warranted by post-modern feminist scholars is that **Enloe refuses to acknowledge the issues faced by men because of gender narratives** and that she attributes a majority of women's issues to patriarchy

Enloe's expositions **hold relevance as well as relatability**, to a certain extent. Enloe provides a **comprehensive framework with which a complete reading of international relations** can take place. she links the **lives of first-world women and third world women under the commonality of economic and gendered oppression** provides for an inclusive feminist theory

NIKHIL K GOWDA PSIR NOTES

"Beta Know the Data"

- According to the National Judicial Data Grid the total sanctioned strength in the 25 High Courts is 1,080. However, the present working strength is 661 with 419 vacancies as of March 1, 2021
- According to parliamentary sources Bills Referred to Committee in 17th Lok Sabha is 11% of all bills (15th Lok Sabha - 71% of all bills)
- According to NCRB annual crime in 2019 report "Crime against Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) saw an increase of over 7% and 26% respectively in year 2019 compared to 2018"
- During FY 2019-20, 37 projects were completed in various provinces of Afghanistan under the High Impact Community Development Project (HICDP) scheme of the Government of India.

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