

GS SCORE

An Institute for Civil Services

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ARNAV SHIVENDU

RANK-283 (CSE 2018)

GS MAINS 2018: POLITICAL SCIENCE



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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hrs.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

Name ARNAV SHIVENDU

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Arnav

1. Invigilator Signature _____

2. Invigilator Signature _____

REMARKS**GS SCORE**

SECTION A

1. Answer the following questions: (150 Words Each) (10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Features of political parties of third world countries.
- (b) What are the factors which still enable US hegemony in World Order?
- (c) Cosmopolitan Democracy.
- (d) Assess the reasons for Diplomatic failures in connecting with Latin American region.
- (e) Significance of Wuhan Summit for India-China Relations.

① Political parties are the bedrock of democracy. It allows people to participate in the politics of a nation. However, all political parties are not same. They differ in developing countries and has the following features -

- ① Charismatic leadership as seen during Nehru, Gandhi's era in India.
- ② Character of opposition is more like a movement, government views it as an obstruction to its policy and functioning.
- ③ There is presence of modernity and traditionality as ~~suggested~~ suggested Briggs Prismatic model.
- ④ Lack of functional specialisation. Even a religious leader acts as a

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political leader (Briggs' Prismatic model)

- ⑤ Presence of rural-urban divide in voting pattern with more participation from urban areas.
- ⑥ Identity based politics such as caste, religion, language etc.
- ⑦ Increased power of bureaucracy and army as stated by Hanifa Alavi in its theory of Overdeveloped state.

Thus, Kyle Mark points out that politics of 3rd world is frozen democracy with power concentration in elites.

- ⑧ Hegemony as a concept has been given by Gramsci which was later adopted by Robert Cox in international politics to explain US hegemony.

Factors supporting US hegemony -

- ① Military
- ② US defence budget is \$ 590 bn compared to \$ 120 bn and \$ 69.2 bn of

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China and Russia.

- ④ Majority of the budget is dedicated towards research and development.
- ⑤ Naval bases of US range from Diego Garcia in Indian Ocean to Pearl Harbour in West Pacific.

② Economic

- ⑥ US's GDP is \$19.3 tn with China a distant 2nd at \$12 tn.
- ⑦ US constitutes 12% of the global trade and 25% of the global economy.
- ⑧ It has established the world order based on IMF, WTO, World Bank.
- ⑨ Diplomatically, US has presence in all major regions of the world.
- ⑩ US is conducting research in next gen technology such as Artificial intelligence in an age where data is said to be the new oil.

Though, China is seen to be questioning US's hegemony economically. It still lags behind. As Madeline Albright

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has said, "US is an indispensable state and the world needs it as a hegemon."

② Cosmopolitan democracy as a concept originated in the post cold war era. Its proponents include David Held, Jürgen Habermas who thought to establish a global order based on democracy.

They define cosmopolitan democracy as a model of political organisation in which individuals participate irrespective of their national identity, geography.

Cosmopolitan democracy advocates decentralised institutions with multiple decision makers with state as an autonomous actor.

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Agencies involved have diffused authority.

For instance, anti globalisation movement, disarmament movement are examples of cosmopolitan democracy.

However, this concept is criticised by Marxists, communitarians, feminists.

Strongest criticism is by Dahl who contests that democracy cannot exist in such a large area. However, critics point out that democracy has been successful in large nations like US, so why not globally.

(d) Latin America is described as India's foreign policy's last frontier. It has failed in Latin America because

- ① no dedicated foreign policy framework.
- ② political instability in these nations.

Many of them are communists with a closed economy like Cuba.

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- ③ Economic instability and sanctions against nations like Venezuela by IMF
- ④ Presence of US and its Monroe doctrine makes it challenging for diplomatic maneuvering.
- ⑤ Geographical disconnect between India and South Latin America.
- ⑥ Limited high level exchange. Manish Pant calls Latin America as Backwater of diplomacy.

Thus, India should promote student exchange, high level visits, and increased involvement in space, renewable energy to improve diplomatic ties with Latin America. As Manish Pant says, "It's time to Tango and make things happen."

- ⑦ Recently, India - China conducted the Wuhan summit to resolve bilateral issues and identify spheres of cooperation.

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significance of the summit -

- ① Both leaders decided to issue strategic guidelines to their armies to resolve border region conflicts peacefully. It used the term border region which includes Doklam unlike earlier that included only border conflicts.
- ② India - China have a trade deficit of \$52 bn in favour of China. It agreed to reduce this by allowing market access to India's agricultural and pharmaceutical industry.
- ③ Common economic development project in Afghanistan will help them develop trust. First time that both nations will undertake a joint project.
- ④ Terrorism in all forms was condemned. This is crucial as China has been blocking India's bid to

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declare Masood Azhar as an international terrorist.

⑤ Both decided to support each other on international fora such as climate change, WTO.

This, Wuhan summit is an important summit post Doklam issue which seeks to enhance cooperation between the 2 nations in the changing geopolitical order.

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2. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Examine the salient aspects of Theory of Nuclear Deterrence.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Analyse the Indian contribution in UN peacekeeping operations and also assess to what extent it has helped in promoting Indian cause at UNSC.
(200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Discuss intricacies of Globalisation and Human Rights? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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3. Attempt all questions:

- (a) What role is played by the issue of human rights in the debate between Asian values system and modernization project? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Global environmental cooperation has hit a big hurdle with USA's exit from Paris deal. Analyse the issue along with explaining how this can impact India? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) Terrorism is a type of political violence and it serves political ends, elucidate with suitable examples? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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4. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Indian Foreign Services face a dire need of reforms both in terms of calibre and numbers. Describe. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) What are the major impediments to the solution of Teesta River Water sharing issue and what are the remedial measures required? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) International Disarmament and Non-nuclear proliferation regimes are reflection of 'global division of power', analyse the statement. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) Indian Foreign Services is the most prestigious service in the country.
However, recently, there have been demands of reforms which are-

- ① Diplomacy is an a professional service demanding specialisation but civil services exam selects candidates based on general studies.
- ② Parliamentary standing committee points out that earlier top rankers used to opt for IFS but now even lower ranks join it, thus, dwindling the quality.
- ③ It also points out that India only has 770 Class I diplomatic force compared 4500 of China and 900 of Singapore. This is in sharp contrast to India's

Remarks

emerging global footprint -

Thus, the following reforms measures have been suggested -

- ① Introduce a separate compulsory paper in the existing exam for those opting for IPS (Parliamentary Standing Committee).
- ② Introduce lateral entry by involving civil servants from other services.
- ③ Introduce revolving door policy involving academicians like US.
- ④ Make degree in strategic studies OR International relations compulsory for applying IFS.
- ⑤ Conduct a separate exam like Indian Economic Service.

With the expanding global footprint and increasing global status, India needs to look into the issues of IFS and resolve it as soon as possible.

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(b) Teesta River issue has been described by PM Modi as receiving the greatest attention in India - Bangladesh relations. Impediments in resolution are -

- ① In 2011, New Delhi brokered a deal but it was rejected by West Bengal saying it would affect the agricultural interests of the state.
- ② Sikkim has 6 hydel projects on Teesta which would be affected in case of low quantity of water. Diversion of water can also result in flooding and landslides.
- ③ Experts argue that India already has an unfavourable deal with Pakistan, thus, it should assure its national interest.

In this context, some suggested remedial measures are -

- ① undertake river basin management study to understand the seasonal, monsoonal impact on river Teesta.
- ② All political parties should be brought on to a consensus along with other stakeholders.

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- ③ Agro experts and hydrological experts should be consulted.
- ④ Committee appointed by West Bengal government submitted its report which has not been made public. It should be opened to public.

Thus, the political parties should not politicise the issue and arrive at a consensus on the sharing of water for benefits of both the nations.

- ⑤ Nuclear proliferation has been regarded by Realists as a means to secure its national interest.

In this context, there was huge amassing of nuclear weapons during the Cold war.

However, during this time, multiple disarmament agreements such as SALT, START, Moscow Partial Ban Treaty were signed by nuclear powers to pursue

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disarmament.

Amongst them, the most important agreement was NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) signed in 1968. It asks all non-nuclear weapon states to not pursue nuclear development and any technology required will be transferred to them by nuclear weapon states.

This has caused a disagreement amongst few nations including India which have cited the following arguments against NPT—

- (1) NPT creates a difference between have and have nots as it allows countries having conducted tests prior to January 1, 1967 to possess its weapons.
- (2) Thus, it legitimises the power gap between the developed and developing nations as all nuclear weapon states are P5 members—US, UK, Russia, China and France.

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- ③ NPT is not based on validation by an organisation.
- ④ Despite the clause under Article 6 of NPT that states that all nuclear weapon states will pursue ^{complete} disarmament, none of them have.
- ⑤ Despite violation by France and China of Moscow Test Ban Treaty, there have been no punitive actions.
- Thus, citing these limitations India, Pakistan, North Korea, ~~and~~ Israel and South Sudan have not signed NPT.
- India and other nations claim that the existing non-nuclear proliferation regimes to be reflection of 'global division of power'.

In this context, ICAN launched the Treaty of Prohibition of nuclear weapons which has been signed by

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120 nations but not signed any of
the nuclear power.

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SECTION B

5. Answer the following questions: (150 Words each) (10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Manifestations and Significance of India's Soft Power.
- (b) India - UAE relations in present context.
- (c) What is the importance of France for India?
- (d) Discuss the significance of Singapore Summit recently held between USA and DPRK.
- (e) Deepening Indo-German Relationship.

① Soft power is a concept proposed by Joseph Nye that aims to attract and co-opt nations instead of using force.

Manifestations of India's soft power-

- ① Incredible India Campaign to build Brand India across the world.
- ② Know India Program to attract the Indian origin youth towards India's culture.
- ③ Pravasi Bhartiya Divas to recognise the successes of Indian diaspora.
- ④ International Yoga day on 21st June recognised by UN.
- ⑤ Promotion of Indian traditional medicine system.
- ⑥ Public diplomacy division in MEA.

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Significance of India's soft power -

- ① Allows India to attract investors and students to India.
- ② Promotes India's ^{public} image making it an attractive destination for tourism etc.

However, soft power alone is not sufficient. It requires economic and military might. Thus, even when India possesses cultural relations with Africa, Africa has deeper relation with China.

In this context, standing committee has recommended to improve India's cultural policy with a dedicated pool of resources.

- ⑥ India and UAE share a cultural and a transactional relation.

Recently PM Modi visited UAE as chief guest of world government summit. Also, Crown Prince of Dubai had visited as the chief guest of in India's Republic day.

India and UAE have elevated their relations to strategic partnership.

Economically, UAE has guaranteed a \$75 bn investment to India along with NIF's agreement with UAE based firm of \$3 bn.

India's 5th largest source of energy imports is UAE. India also has 10% stake in Zukma oil field.

India has 2 million strong Indian community remitting more \$10 million.

India sees UAE as a regional stabiliser considering the present geopolitical turmoil.

Both share a security concern of Arabian sea and Persian gulf due to increased piracy.

However, both needs to face challenges such as delayed project implementation by India, stringent commercial regulation for Indian companies along with rights of Indian community in UAE to broaden their strategic convergence.

② C Rajanohar calls ~~Indo~~ France as India's New Russia. Their relation is based on 3 pillars -

(1) Nuclear

France supported India post '98 nuclear tests and has actively supported India's bid in MTCR, NSG, Australia arrangement.

(2) Space

France had helped India set up Sikarikote space centre.

They are also involved in projects like Trishna, Ocean Sat - III.

(3) Defence

Both conduct military exercises -

Gardha, Shakti, Varun

Apart from these, India has a bilateral trade of \$10 bn in its favour.

France is India's largest investment partner.

Both have chaired ISA - 1st treaty based international organisation in India

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Bolt declared a Joint Vision of Indo-Pacific and signed reciprocal logistics agreement to secure maritime interests.

They have even extended mutual recognition of each other educational degrees.

However, certain challenges persist such as France's support of BHU, delayed project implementation of Jaitapur power plant and India-EU FTA.

But despite the differences, as French President Macron stated France intends to be India's gateway to Europe and C Raja Mohan opines them to converge in the growing instability in the global order with China's rise and US's protectionist policies.

① Trump and Kim Jong Un met at the Singapore Summit and came up with comprehensive document which states -

- ① US will provide security guarantee to DPRK.
- ② US will cancel its joint military exercise with South Korea.
- ③ DPRK promised to denuclearise and stand by the spirit of Panmunjom declaration of peace.
- ④ Release of US bodies of POWs.

However, there have been certain challenges -

- ① The press conference was short and vague which did not provide a timebound denuclearisation of DPRK.
- ② There was no mention of CVID - comprehensive and verifiable disarmament.

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Geopolitical impact -

- ① With the cancellation of joint war exercise and possible retrenchment by US, South Korea and Japan may go for nuclear development resulting in an arms race.
 - ② It will also allow China to increase its presence and emerge as an unchallenged power.
 - ③ It will give India access to DPRK's market and a possibility to defuse Pakistan - DPRK nuclear axis.
- ④ Indo - German relationship have been of strategic status since 2001.

They have a intergovernmental consultation mechanism.

Economically, Germany is India's largest trading partner in Europe and 7th largest investor.

They possess a defence cooperation framework to bolster defence ties.

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Germany has also committed itself to clearing of gasa under Garga Action Plan.

They cooperate on G20 for climate change and counter terrorism.

They also form a part of G4 and seek UNSC permanent membership.

Further, Germany's manufacturing sector and India's service sector are complimentary to each other.

Likewise, they can cooperate on Renewable energy development to meet their obligations under Paris Climate deal.

Both can assist each other in managing the refugee crisis as Germany faces Syrian migrants and India, Rohingya influx.

With the changing world order, US's protectionist policy, India-Germany should strive for greater convergence.

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6. Attempt all questions:

- (a) Discuss the major features of the New US Security strategy and what significance does it accord to India? (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (b) Improvements in US-Russia relations are vital for Indian geo-political interests as well. Discuss with examples. (200 Words) (15 Marks)
- (c) What are the major arguments which can be given against the demand for revision of Indian Nuclear Doctrine. (250 Words) (20 Marks)

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7. Attempt all questions:

- (a) The election of Indian Judge on Western Europe Seat at ICJ is a mark of the success of India Multi-dimensional realpolitik. Critically Examine the statement.

(200 Words) (15 Marks)

- (b) In what way does Diaspora contribute to Indian Foreign Policy Goals? Discuss instances where Diaspora has emerged to be a liability. (200 Words) (15 Marks)

- (c) Indo-Pacific is emerging as the new Geo-Political Construct. What do you understand by this statement? What is the relevance of Indo Pacific Strategy for the nations in the region? (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) Recent election of justice Dalveer Bhandari to the ICJ is being regarded by experts as a victory of India geopolitically.

It reflects the changing geopolitical order which has remained stagnant in terms of UN institutions.

This is for the first time in 71 years that the ICJ will not have a judge from all P5-nations.

It also marks the emergence of India as a leading global player. Dalveer Bhandari received 156 votes compared to UK's Lockwood 73 in the 6th round.

This reflects the backing enjoyed by India in UN General Assembly (UNGA).

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This also reflects on the UK persona at international post Brexit.

PM Modi, External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj rallied for India's candidate with their counterparts. Indian diplomats also were involved at the BRICS and G20 summit rallying for the Indian candidate.

Thus, it has been widely regarded that the election of Dalveer Bhandari is a victory for diplomatic outreach of India.

However, it is to be noted that India has won in the West Europe and others category but failed to secure the Aeia candidature which was secured by Lebanon.

This is because India only started campaigning 6 months prior to elections.

Also, India failed to secure any vote of a Ps member including Russia and France. Even EU partners, Japan, did not vote in

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in favour of India along with Italy, Ukraine etc.

Also, experts have argued that India's victory at ICJ will strengthen India's bid for UNSC permanent seat. This is far from truth as P5 members possess the veto for any UN charter amendment.

Likewise, it will allow India to fight Kulbhushan Yadav case on its accord as seen by some experts. However, this is incorrect as any judge of ICJ represents the global community and not his country.

Thus, we can say that though India's victory at ICJ a mark of success for India's multidimensional realpolitik, it needs to bear in mind some of the associated setbacks and move forward pragmatically.

Q(b) Indian diaspora is 24 million strong spread across the globe.

It has helped India to further its foreign policy goals in the following manner—

- ① acts as mediator, lobby, facilitator to secure India's national interest. For instance, US diaspora pushed their government to support India in Kargil war, civil nuclear deal.
- ② they are a source of soft power as they promote Indian culture as ambassador for yoga, bollywood.
- ③ They remit foreign exchanged currency. India remits \$62 bn which is the highest in the world.
- ④ they are consumers for Indian goods abroad, thus, assisting India's exports.

But there have been times when the diaspora has been a liability for India:

- ① they have supported sub-nationalist programs such as Kashmir, Khalistan.
- ② they have been stranded in war torn nations like Yemen, South Sudan. This resulted in India conducting Operation Rahat etc.
- ③ They have been accused of supporting religious fundamentalists resulting in communal violence.
- ④ H1B, H4 visas of US impacts the Indian economy.
- ⑤ Even Kafla law, Nitagat drive has caused trouble to India in balancing its relation with India.

Despite the above issues, the Indian diaspora has been a vital link post '91 economic reforms in pushing India's interest across the global. To recognise this, India launched Pravasi Bhartiya Divas in 2015.

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(c) Indo-Pacific as a term was first used by Gurpreet Khurana but was put into diplomatic usage by Japanese PM Abe in 2007 during speech, "Confluence of two seas" at the Indian Parliament.

It has come into prominence because of -

- (1) Geopolitical connectedness between Western Pacific and India both economically and security-wise.
- (2) The economic centre of gravity is gradually moving towards the Indian Ocean.
- (3) Emergence of India which was recognised by US's National Security Strategy (NSS) that defined Indo-Pacific as stretch from West coast of US to West coast of India.
- (4) Rise of assertive China which has flexed its military might in the Indo-Pacific.

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As a geopolitical construct, it has relevance for the following nations-

① US

Indo-Pacific serves US's foreign policy goal of maintaining its hegemony in both Indian and Pacific Ocean by balancing a rising China with India.

② Japan

Japan's almost $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of trade and gas supplies passes via the Indian Ocean. Thus, it needs to secure the stability of the region as envisaged by its Free and Open Indo Pacific.

③ Australia

It was the 1st nation to draft a white paper to discuss the relevance of Indo-Pacific.

④ Indonesia

Being the largest maritime power of South East Asia and facing both Indian and Pacific Ocean, it is in its interest to secure Indo-Pacific.

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⑤ India

K M Panikar in 1945 had said if India wants to remain free, it should dominate the Indian Ocean. India's 90% trade by volume, 70% by trade along ^{with} 80% of energy resources passes through the region.

⑥ China

China wants to establish its String of Pearls and Belt-Road initiative to challenge the present global order.

In this context, India - US - Japan - Australia have reconstituted the Quad grouping to maintain a free, prosperous, open, peaceful and inclusive Indo-Pacific based on rules based order.

8. Attempt all questions:

(a) New Delhi must join hands with Washington and Kabul against terror. Examine.
 (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(b) India's relations with EU have failed to achieve their potential and both are sides are to be blamed. Do you agree?
 (200 Words) (15 Marks)

(c) Provide a detailed analysis of the evolution and present status of the illegal immigration problem at Bangladesh border. Explore the viability of work permits as a solution.
 (250 Words) (20 Marks)

(a) As per a BBC report, 40% of the Afghanistan is under Taliban control while it is active in 70% of the region. This has led to multiple terror attacks in and around Kabul where close to 30,000 Afghan soldiers were killed in 2017.

This will result in a number of negative repercussions —

- ① Re-emergence of Taliban
- ② Strengthening of Pakistan in the region.
- ③ threatens India's geopolitical and geo-economic interests.
- ④ Involvement of Russia and China in peace talks with Taliban which is against US' interest.

In this context, in 2017, US in its South Asia policy asked India to increase

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its presence in Afghanistan. The US also admonished Pakistan for its support to terrorists.

This move was welcomed by Afghan President Ghani. However, India re-iterated its policy of "No boots on the ground". India will carry out training programs for Afghan Police along with Afghan security forces (ANSF).

US and India are further pushing towards making it difficult for Pakistan to access credit by placing it under grey list of FATF.

US, India and Pakistan Afghanistan should further strengthen the military infrastructure of Afghanistan.

They should also tackle the ever drug trade of golden crescent which is a major source of funding for terrorists.

As G Parthasarthy suggests that it is in New Delhi's interest to join hands

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Washington and Kabul against terror.

(b) Jean & Claude Juncker defines India and EU as natural partners.

However, despite ^{EU} being India's largest trading partner, EU and India's relations have been that of a loveless arranged marriage as described Gauri Khandekar.

They have a relation based on weak ideals such as -

- (1) non-nuclear proliferation and climate change.
- (2) shared values of peace, democracy.
- (3) counter terrorism.

However, they have a number of irritants on the other hand -

- (1) EU wants greater market access for its wine, spirit and automobile in India.
- (2) India on the contrary demands greater access for its service professional under Mode 4, data secure status and reduced sanitary and phytosanitary measures for its agricultural products.

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- (3) EU is also at a conflict with Russia with whom India share good relations.
- (4) Likewise, growing EU-China trade relations and acceptance of BRI has further dented India - EU relation.
- (5) Last but not the least, India's model Bilateral investment treaty permits -
- Ⓐ retrospective taxation
 - Ⓑ investor dispute settlement only after exhausting local courts.

All these issues have led to a deadlock in India - EU FTA.

Despite the above contradictions, in the 13th India - EU summit, both committed towards a FTA by 2018. India in 2017 set Investor facilitation mechanism to ease investment into India from EU.

Thus, there is a room to improve relations as both of them view each other positively amidst BREXIT and US protectionism.

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② Bangladesh has been described by experts as India's Mexico Problem.

India shares a 4096 km boundary with Bangladesh. Being porous, it has been a gateway for illegal migrants of Bangladesh nationals since partition which has continued

unabated till date. There are 30 million immigrants in India from Bangladesh. With limited economic resources and opportunities, this has resulted into instability in the north east region especially in Assam and Bangladesh Tripura.

With the fear of being turned into a minority and losing their culture, the native have been involved in conflict with the migrants. This resulted in emergence of insurgent terror groups such as ULFA, etc, thus, threatening the national security of India.

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These migrants enter India due to certain push and pull factors.

" Natural disasters like flood, poverty and religious persecution push these migrants towards India.

On the Indian side, poor border management due to hilly terrain, corruption among border officials and issuance of electoral roll with the migrant's names via political parties further compounds the issue.

India raised this matter with Bangladesh but it was denied by them.

In this context, few experts have suggested work permit as a solution to immigration problem. They opine that most of these immigrants are economic immigrants who come to India for job, thus, work permit would put a check on this.

They also suggest that since India

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requires them for a certain skill set, it is viable for both sides. Also, these migrants have never been accused of violence even when they have been attacked.

However, the critics argue that India itself has 12 million youth entering the workforce so it is not possible to provide jobs to the migrants.

Secondly, most of these workers are in the unorganised sector, thus, making it impossible for the government to keep a track.

Thus, as a solution we should strengthen our border management both technologically (electric fence) and manually by involving the local groups). Also, India should continue to raise the matter with ^{step} Bangladesh diplomatically. NRC is a ^{right} in the right direction.

Remarks