



## EVALUATION INDICATORS

1. Alignment Competence
2. Context Competence
3. Content Competence
4. Language Competence
5. Introduction Competence
6. Structure - Presentation Competence
7. Conclusion Competence

Overall Macro Comments / feedback / suggestions on Answer Booklet:

1.

2.

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4.

5.

6.

All the Best

## SECTION - A

3. The refugee crisis shows the world's moral failure

The image of a child drowned while trying to cross the Mediterranean sea to escape the ravages of 'home' sent pangs of distress and sorrow through the hearts of millions of people across the world. And yet, the very next day, most of us forgot, intentionally or unintentionally, the plight of these refugees and their precarious quest for survival.

This attitude of momentary involvement and long term indifference is characteristic of the moral failure of the world in dealing with the refugee crisis.

According to data from the United Nations Commission on Refugees, the current crisis is the largest refugee crisis since

The second World War and its magnitude is hidden only by the fact that those affected are not from developed countries.

In fact, the current crisis is not the product of a single apocalyptic event but has been created through a series of actions by countries across the world over the last century leading to large scale exodus of people from Afghanistan, Myanmar, Syria, Sudan etc towards the European and North American nations.

The significance of this movement is revealed from the fact that one in three children today lives outside his or her home country. This significantly diminishes their chances of acquiring food, education and citizenship rights.

The movement of people or  
even refugees is not a new  
phenomenon. The Jewish community,  
dispersed in the first century B.C.  
and onwards due to the religious  
persecution first by Romans and  
subsequently by Christian nations  
is considered one of the first refugee  
populations in the world.

In the Indian context, our  
biggest challenge till date came  
from the movement of lakhs of  
Hindus from newly created  
Pakistan during partition. Despite  
prolonged and large scale  
communal violence, India was,  
in the long run, successful in  
rehabilitating and integrating  
these refugees. Subsequently we have  
sheltered many refugees from Tibet,  
Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, etc.

What separates the current refugee crisis is the magnitude, the direction as well as the moral failure of the world in responding constructively to it. In fact the creation of the crisis itself is a product of immorality and callousness of the global order.

The underlying root of all problems facing the third world today is the effect of colonialism. The depletion of vital resources, the arbitrary division of land into countries, fostering ethnic conflicts and lack of socio economic development are all manifestations of the selfishness of colonial powers.

Even as colonialism has ended in its most blatant form, international politics today is seeing Cold War like intrigues and proxy wars, where the powerful nations are investing money and

weapons in rebel groups to overthrow country rulers of hostile countries.

This is evident in the case of US support to Taliban to destabilize Russian supporters in the 1980s and 90s as well as arming the anti-regime rebel groups in Syria against Assad, both of which have directly precipitated the current refugee crisis.

Ironically, many of these destabilizing activities by NATO countries were taken up in the name of promoting democracy and peace, against nuclear proliferation as seen in Iraq. The Gulf Wars were ultimately proven to be a facade for the western countries to acquire control over precious energy resources in the middle East. The dishonesty of world leaders in these cases is only matched by their callousness in disregard the great loss of lives caused by their actions.

The role of international politicising colonialism is aggravated by neo- great powers which are enhausting the resources of third world countries and 'soaking up' all the wealth leading to poverty, destitution and hunger. In fact, direct conflict rarely acts alone in pushing people out of their homes. The underlying cause is often lack of jobs, famines, droughts, poverty etc. In particular the economic dependency in Africa has led to conflicts generated by mining companies to protect access to cheap minerals.

In this process of 'pseudo development', there is also destruction of the environment through deforestation, global warming, water depletion etc. In fact one theory holds that most of the refugees are environmental refugees. A situation of moral hazard has evolved where the beneficiaries of unsustainable development are



developed countries while those paying the consequences are underdeveloped.

Another great moral failure of Western democracies is the push towards religious conflicts particularly Shia - Sunni conflicts in West Asia to protect their own interests even while espousing secular ideals in domestic politics. The problem of Islamophobia is also trigger for conflict and is a manifestation of the inability to deal with true multiculturalism.

The hypocrisy of Western nations becomes even more evident in the response to the refugee crisis. Rather than setting the right the problems they have created and providing relief to the refugees, the world leaders are busy promoting populist pop. policies and protecting their political turf. The US government

has imposed a ban on travellers from 7 Islamic countries citing security concerns. European countries are ready to close their border and even pay Greece and Turkey in exchange for keeping refugees out. Fences are being electrified and overloaded ships are being sent back to regions where survival is a day-to-day question.

Even those who are lucky enough to make it across are housed in crowded tents outside city limits, deprived of human rights and livelihood opportunities, victimized by xenophobic mobs and become prey to human trafficking and prostitution rings. Some countries have a policy of returning refugees to countries where there is no active conflict, including Afghanistan, going against the principle of non-refoulement.

The solution to this crisis seems out of grasp, particularly as the world is not showing adequate

moral will. Even then some countries such as Canada have managed to create a successful intake and integration programme where each refugee family is adopted and guided by a Canadian family or sponsor.

The role of the UN in this context has become subject to intense praise as well as criticism.

On the one hand the UNHCR is actively documenting, registering and providing relief to lacks of refugees.

On the other hand, the UN has proved inadequate in preventing the crisis in the first place. In the absence of democracy and equitable ~~dece~~ representation, decision making is guided by superpower concerns without considering the consequences for the rest of the world.

As such, the nongovernmental organisations have come to play a greater role. The international NGOs

are directly providing relief in conflict ridden areas such as Yemen. They are also lobbying with governments to avoid populist measures and act conscientiously. However, even this sector cannot be considered a paragon of morality as several of them have precipitated the current conflict by acting as conduits for Western propaganda and some are even accused of misuse of donations.

In this scenario of utter moral breakdown across the world, India will have to play a critical role in balancing its own developmental and security concerns with its moral obligations to provide relief to the most deprived and persecuted.

Here, India is already at an advantage as it has had minimal role in actually causing the crisis. In fact it has acted with great moral integrity, respecting peace and stability of sovereign nations over

a nebulous idea of democracy as pushed by Western countries. While supporting peoples' movements, it has continuously campaigned against arming of rebel groups and even foresaw the proliferation of terrorist groups such as Islamic State. It has also refused to give military support to superpowers agendas even while contributing peacekeeping forces in affected countries. It has also pushed for participative, 3<sup>rd</sup> world-led development and protected their interests at regional fora such as WTO and Paris Climate Conference.

Now, India is faced with its own refugee crisis in the form of Rohingya influx from Myanmar minority. The government, considering them a security threat, has sought to push them back. This militates against established principles as well as previous supreme court orders, particularly

in light of the fact that we are not asking Myanmar to stop violence against minority Muslims. Furthermore, the recent attempt to amend the Citizenship Act to give citizenship to non-Muslim persecuted minorities from neighbouring countries while denying the same to Muslim refugees goes against our secular ethos.

The concerns of the destination countries may be valid to the extent that refugees will put inordinate pressure on resources, infrastructure, social fabric, demographic composition as well as create zones of radicalization.

However, this approach offers no solution to the world. Therefore, to tackle the refugee crisis, all nations must pledge to act morally, in keeping with the 1951 Refugee Convention as well as the recent New York Declaration on Migrants, to overcome the moral failure of the world.

## SECTION - B

3. Capitalism privatizes profits and socializes costs.

The wealth of the 50 richest people in the world is enough to end abject poverty globally. This wealth has been accumulated over the last decades through the frantic workings of the capitalist machinery leading to enormous growth as well as enormous inequality.

Capitalism refers to a system of production in which the resources such as land, machinery, factories as well as products are owned privately and are produced by entrepreneurs for sale in the competitive markets to maximize profit.

Hence, capitalism is based on the fundamental principle of the right to private ownership of property. In fact, it is not only an economic

system but a moral attitude which legitimizes and incentivizes the accumulation of wealth.

The working of the capitalist machinery is based on the idea that the entrepreneur or the investor takes certain risks by putting capital into an enterprise. He makes the effort of bringing together all the factors of production and hires the requisite labour by paying them wages. This risk taking ability is ultimately rewarded by gaining profit.

This approach has led to expansion of capitalism enabling the rich who own capital to rapidly accumulate profits.

The class of people who benefit from capitalism has varied over time. For example, at the beginning



of the mercantilist phase, it was traders in companies which had monopoly over foreign trade, such as East India Company who benefited the most.

With the industrial revolution, it was the owners of land who could turn the land into factories, which capitalized on their resources. In recent decades, the creators of new technology, the owners of intellectual property such as tech giants Google and Facebook, are the new beneficiaries of capitalism.

However, regardless of the actual groups of people which benefits, it is invariably true that the profit is disproportionately accumulated by a select few, a minority of the working population of the world.

Therefore, even as the number of poor is decreasing across the world, the disparity in lifestyles of the rich and the poor is increasing. Onjam has annually released reports on growing inequality and has even alerted to a possible collapse of the capitalist order as the disprivileged 99% lose faith in 1% who are accumulating profits.

This inequality is reflected in the difference of pay between the average workers and the upper management which also consists of major shareholders. This ratio is as high as 1:10000 in developed countries and reveals the extent to which profits are privatized, depriving the workers of their fair share.

The inequality is also manifested

between nations as multinational companies are increasingly producing in third world countries at low wages with cheap resources and appropriating the profits back to developed countries.

This privatization of profits is aggravated by tax evasion by the rich thereby depriving the government and the people of their fair share.

The Indian situation is not considered as dire as in other countries. This is due to the fact that till recently, the dominance of Public Sector Enterprises prevented extraordinary private profiteering along with controls by state on monopolies. However, over the last decade, India too has seen rising inequality.

The privatization of profit would in itself not be a problem if it was not accompanied by the

socialization of costs. This socialization manifests in many ways.

Firstly, the resources that are purportedly being invested by the entrepreneurs are often common resources owned and used by all previously. An important example is the case of cold drinks company in Tamil Nadu which used up all the groundwater in its manufacturing plants, thereby depriving the people of drinking water and irrigation. Here, the cost is borne by the common people who are not benefitting in any way from the profits made and have not consented to invest their common resources.

Secondly, a significant portion of the infrastructure and facilities used by the companies are provided by the government through tax resources. By engaging in tax

evasion, the capitalist entities are ensuring that the burden of investment including subsidies, tax rebates as well as providing law and order and policy stability, lies on the shoulders of the government even as they appropriate the results through profit shifting.

Further, the government also has to bear the burden of providing education, health services and skill training. This enables the development of human resources which is an important factor of production. The private sector seldom takes responsibility of developing these resources and the reluctance to provide health insurance even in developed countries is a manifestation of this. Ultimately, the government and, through it, the people, pay the cost.

A critique of the capitalist system by feminists holds that women are forced by patriarchy to contribute labour through reproduction and socialization of children. Hence, even patriarchy can be considered a capitalist mechanism which socializes the cost of labour.

The most easily visible socialization of the cost of capitalism is in the form of environmental degradation. Rapid exploitation of natural resources, release of polluting material into the environment and the indiscriminate use of non-biodegradable materials have created a situation where the environmental resources can no longer be used. Hence, for the benefit of a handful of rich people, the lifebreath of billions is being destroyed.

Environmental destruction socializes the cost of production to the future generations as well as to non-human living communities.

The destruction of the Amazon forests in Brazil, for example, ~~it~~ will deprive the planet of an important carbon sink as well as use of medicinal resources.

Environmental destruction also disproportionately affects the poor who do not have easy access to alternatives. Women are forced to travel miles barefoot to get drinking water.

The use of child labour from developing countries by MNCs also shows how capitalism benefits the private owners to the detriment of the society which ultimately loses out from the deprivation of access to education to its future human resources.

This perspective of capitalism is criticized by its proponents who argue that the system is the only system which is based on true freedom. By giving everyone equal opportunity to gain profit, capitalism promotes liberal values as well as the full expression of human capacity.

Further, they hold that, it is the capitalist system which has allowed global economy to grow at a rapid pace over the last century. It has made the benefits of technology available to all and has also improved the average lifestyle.

With the increase in listing of companies on the stock markets and equity investments by the middle class, there is deconcentration of ownerships and wealth.



These arguments notwithstanding, there is an urgent need to address the malaise in capitalism. The socialist states advocates of communism or the state ownership of property, have however failed to produce an acceptable solution. Barring China, no communist state has successfully prevented ~~an~~ increased poverty and inequality and the China model will be unpalatable to democratic countries based on the ideals of liberty.

The socialist models of Sweden, Norway etc are proving to be more successful in protecting the rights of the people, minimising the cost of capitalism and ensuring that the companies work for the betterment of society.

Another interesting approach is Gandhi's vision of trusteeship where the capitalists are said to hold the company in trust for the workers

and the larger society and must work selflessly to ensure that the profits are not privatized but are used for the benefit of the people. This approach, however, relies ~~on~~ extensively on moral suasion and may not be practical to apply.

Therefore, India has rightly adopted a unique approach which allows the companies to prosper but at the same time ensures that profits and costs are equitably distributed. For example, the obligation towards Corporate Social Responsibility through the Companies Act ensures that the companies share in the social burden or cost. Similarly, the limit on wage ratio has also prevented discontentment of the workers along with the obligation to provide health insurance, pension etc.

Ultimately, it is the capitalists

who must realise that sharing in the social cost and sharing profits will add in the long term protect them from discontentment. This is seen in the case of Tata Companies which have generated enormous goodwill through their philanthropic efforts in India even as the protests against the privileged 1% are shaking the wall street.