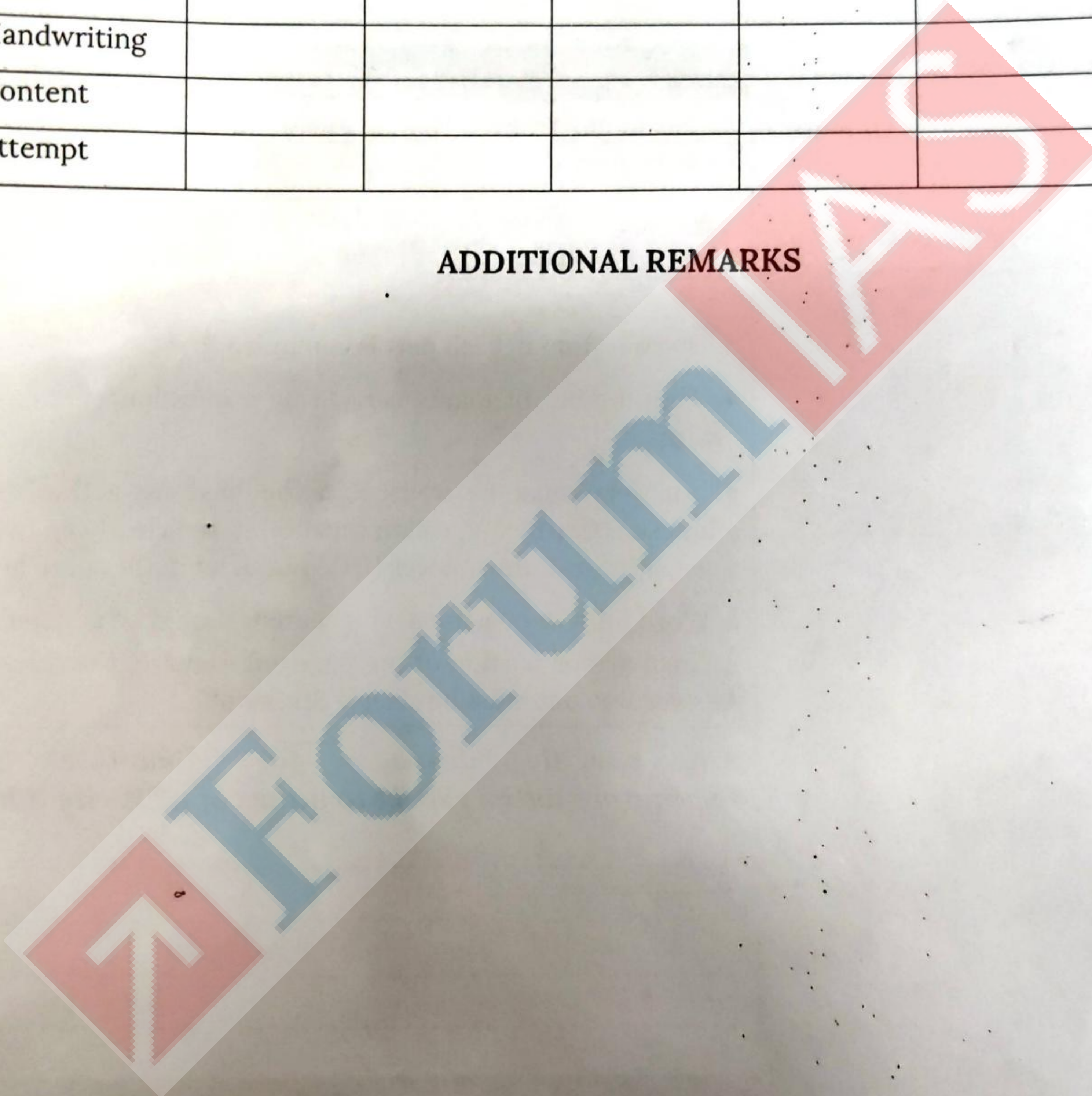


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Parameters	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Average	Poor	Very Poor
Language						
Structure						
Presentation						
Handwriting						
Content						
Attempt						

ADDITIONAL REMARKS



SECTION - A

1. India requires a decentralised public health system that socialises the cost of healthcare.

भारत को एक विकेंद्रीकृत सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य प्रणाली की आवश्यकता है जो स्वास्थ्य देखभाल की लागत का सामाजीकरण करे।

2. Solution to India's poverty puzzle – alleviation or eradication.

भारत की गरीबी के दुष्चक्र का समाधान – उपशमन या उन्मूलन।

3. Climate change negotiation eludes climate justice

जलवायु परिवर्तन समझौता जलवायु न्याय को दरकिनार कर देता है

4. No more multilateralism but 'selective multilateralism'.

अब बहुपक्षवाद नहीं बल्कि 'चुनिंदा बहुपक्षवाद' है।

3. CLIMATE CHANGE NEGOTIATION ELUDES CLIMATE JUSTICE

The spectre of impending global warming and the corresponding apathy of the globalised world to its impacts is best seen in the image of the President of Turlu standing knee deep in ocean water at the recently concluded Glasgow Summit or the anguished cry for help of the President of Palau when he helplessly and alarmingly proclaimed, 'You may as well bomb us!'

While day after day and year after year, catchy phrasewords and slogans

protecting the environment proliferate, the number of summits and conferences of 'saving the lungs of the earth' and protecting 'Mother Nature' abound, the Hindukush Himalayas see 0.2°C temperature rise each year, sea level rise as per IPCC reaches a rate higher than previous two millennia and the problem of 'Climate refugees' reaches monumental proportions.

The very idea of climate 'negotiations' pre-assumes an absence of 'climate justice'. A just sphere of affairs - keeping nature and its people at the centre of its worldview - has no need for climate negotiations.

The Indus Valley Civilisation centred around the river - marked by nature worship as evidenced from the 'Pashupati' seal - did not need conferences debating the need to balance development with environmental concerns. The

very idea of climate negotiations this is a modern phenomenon - beginning with the Club of Rome report in the 1970s - leading up to the Stockholm Conference to the famed Earth Summit and Rio Declaration of 1992.

The purported aim of these negotiations was to be climate justice. However, how this was to be defined would be a matter of continuing debate and discord in the coming future.

Climate justice, even if we take a restricted understanding of John Rawl's idea of justice or base it on the Declaration of Human rights - would mean an extension of the rights of equity, dignity and equal opportunity of life on earth to be extended not just to 'nature' as a whole and its constituents, but also all areas, people and communities of the world.

Climate change negotiations from the Earth Summit to the Kyoto Protocol to the Kigali Amendment to the Paris and Glasgow Summits have constantly harped on the lofty goals of climate justice as their aims - but their targets and policies as well outcomes in this end have been highly inadequate.

This inadequacy was recently highlighted by the 6th Report of the IPCC which claims that even if all the Intended Nationally Determined Contributions of countries are met, world temperatures would still cross 2.1°C, a far cry from the 1.5°C as the aim of the Paris Agreement. The UNEP Emissions Gap Report claims that an annual reduction of 7.6% emissions would be needed to reach the target - highlighting the farce of these conferences with respect to goals of climate justice.

Not only are the goals and policies inadequate in fulfilling climate change aims, the very idea of climate justice is defined to benefit the 'haves' over the 'have nots'. The Global North over the Global South by providing lip service to the idea of 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities' and not committing the 'seven historical polluters' to compulsory cuts in emissions.

The country of Ethiopia produces 109 times less emissions per capita than a person in USA, while USA and European Union together are responsible for over 45% of the cumulative carbon budget compared to a paltry 4.5% by India. Yet Donald Trump as President of USA casually walked out of the Paris Agreement with no sense of accountability. The entire ecosystem of 'Climate Justice' failed to

hold it accountable. Till today, India is the only country among the G-20 nations - whose INDCs are commensurate with the Paris Agreement targets due to absence of any punitive measures or Global stocktaking at a regular level as discussed in the Katowice summit.

At the worst end of this injustice of rewarding the perpetrators and punishing the vulnerable are the island nation states of Mauritius, Tuvalu, Palau, Madagascar among many others whose very existence is at stake. The absence of any legal backing to the 'compensation clause' or 'historical fine' to these countries is indicative of the principle of 'Might is right' as against 'Rule of law' which prevails in climate change negotiations, heavily tilted towards rich western nations.

Besides countries as a whole, a whole new generation of people at the receiving end of climate change have been visibility in 'talking conferences' around climate justice — the spectre of 'Climate Refugees'. From the water crisis in Sudan to coastal communities in Asia and Latin America at the receiving end of untimely cyclonic floods — as per Global Report on Internal displacement — 61% of all internally displaced people move due to climatic disasters. Yet they fail to be legally classified as 'refugees' as per the International Convention on Migration.

Closely linked, or in fact inextricably tied to all other issues of inequity ~~that~~ lies the issue of climate finance. Aesons have passed since the target of 100 billion dollars was declared to be mobilised by developed countries to

fund the technological change associated with mitigation in developing countries. Not even half that amount has been mobilised. The saying goes, 'You must put your money where your mouth is'. The complete irreverence with which the primary issue of climate finance is dealt with - reflects the commitment of the Western world to climate change - sometimes further accentuated by lobbying of coal and oil based energy giants - subverting the framework of an independent policy making.

Climate negotiations, while largely restricted to the annual conference of Parties - expand beyond that to often include plurilateral or bilateral agreements as well ~~as~~ as ancillary matters of green technology, plastics, afforestation etc which have a direct or indirect impact on climate. These too remain guided by personal

interests of countries and the relevant technologies and its impacts do not 'trickle down' to the very bottom. The Basel convention on Plastics till very recently could not control the massive dumping of plastic waste in developing countries like Malaysia and India (in Great Nicobar specifically).

The negotiation framework, access to funding, terms of reference and outcome monitoring as well as accountability mechanisms thus remain heavily tilted towards the developed world and 'human' in general. Yet there are inklings of change.

Firstly, developing countries with relatively higher debt are making a charge and pressing for better terms - while maintaining commitment to sustainable development. India in the recent Glasgow Summit not only made increased commitments under its 'Panchamita' pledges but

also extended a hand to the small island states through its 'IRIS' project under Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure. Moreover it also pressed the developed countries for greater financial commitments by making its 'net zero' targets to be conditional upon additional finance.

Not just through individual developing countries, the media - both traditional as well as print and social media are playing an enhanced role in establishing accountability frameworks.

The impact of public discourse is surely making its presence felt on national leaders as they step on the podium - climate change and associated problems of refugees and energy crisis have become domestic problems as well - subject to electoral vote.

And it is the platform of the media which is utilized by multifarious

environmental interest groups including development of 'Coalitions of Indigenous People' and Non governmental organisations like Green Peace fighting for environmental justice through lobbying, petitioning and protesting. The new and unheard impacts and rights of plants and animals and impact of climate change on biodiversity and growth of invasive species - have been highlighted by these groups.

Perhaps the most visible example of the changed contours of climate change negotiations is represented by Greta Thunberg and her 'Fridays for Future' campaign where sixty year old policy makers listened enraptured to an adolescent girl redefining the notion of climate justice from the perspective of the coming generations.

As the winds of change are evident, there is still a long way to go - as the reigns of power and resources remain concentrated in the hands of the powerful. However, as Margaret Meade has said, 'Never doubt the capability of a dedicated group of people to change the world. Indeed, they are the only ones who can.'

Placing nature and not humans at the centre of our worldview, and adopting Kasturirangan's Committee's recommendation of shifting from 'Developing recklessly, consuming thoughtlessly' to 'Developing sustainably and consuming thoughtfully' as important areas of climate justice - needs a Copernican shift in our climate change negotiations. If not, it is not far when we shall join the Turvalu President in the midst of ocean waters.

3. Climate change nego eludes climate justice.

[Turvalu → knee deep in water.]

→ Negotiation - modern phenomenon.
↳ Climate an imp aspect of development before.
Indus v. civilisation

Stockholm
Club of Rome
Report
Earth Summit
Rio
Paris.
Earth

↳ Climate justice → equity, equal weightage to nature
↳ all common
↳ equality, liberty, etc.

→ ① Aim: Climate justice - Target

② Inadequate - IPCC report.
↳ Lip service. Emissions Gap

③ Inequity - North vs South - CDR

④ Island countries.

⑤ Vulnerable common - Refugees

⑥ Role of USA - withdrew.

⑦ Plastic dumping

⑧ Biodiversity
↳ massive species.
(human centric)

⑨ Climate change

- Talanoa Dial.
- Stock taking
- compensation

Kashmir
rangan
committee

↳ Develop →
↳ reliably

Planetary Ethics

Attempts

↳ Injustice - India conditional pledge.

↳ Interest groups
media

Feedback

Feedback to be provided in terms of (1) Introduction (2) Sentence Constructions (3) Paragraph Formation (4) Legibility (5) Deviation from Topic (6) Coverage of dimensions (7) Simplicity / ease of reading

SECTION - B

1. Morality is the herd instinct in the individual.

नैतिकता व्यक्ति में समूहगत वृत्ति है।

2. Excellence is not a skill, it is an attitude.

उत्कृष्टता कौशल न होकर एक अभिवृत्ति है।

3. What people believe prevails over the truth.

लोग जिसपर विश्वास करते हैं वह सत्य पर प्रबल होता है।

4. Our deeds determine us as much as we determine our deeds.

हमारे कर्म हमें उतना ही निर्धारित करते हैं जितना हम अपने कर्मों को निर्धारित करते हैं।

3. WHAT PEOPLE BELIEVE PREVAILS OVER THE TRUTH

The reality of the inherent equality of an individual having two feet, arms and a head may seem commensical to most. Yet for generations the popular belief in the Purusha sukta hymn of Book 10 of the Rig Veda, believed by some to the 'oldest knowledge' system of the world - has led to belief in the hierarchical nature of the 'varna' categories - the 'Brahmana' emerging from the head of the primal man 'Purusha', the 'kshatriya' from his arms, the 'vaishya' from his thighs and 'shudra' from his feet.

Just as decades of anatomical study and development of sciences has failed to convince individuals of the 'untrue' nature of caste system, in India, similar nations exist on the other side of the globe regarding racial superiority.

Why then are societies claiming to find the 'truth' of the ~~the~~ universe — the relentless pursuit of 'truth' by individuals and nations seems to be belied by a superiority of belief in determining human behaviour and the order of the world.

In order to more deeply understand their interconnections and relationships, it is important to understand what they essentially stand for. 'Belief' is more simplistic in this sense — standing for an idea in which an individual has investment — what his 'idea of truth' is.

This 'idea of truth' however may be different from 'truth' in the absolute sense. It is here that the definitional challenge starts to pose many problems. Philosophers have attempted to spend their entire lives trying to define 'truth' - and different formulations give different explanations.

Immanuel Kant while providing his 'categorical imperative' points to the universality of duty, law, ethics and consequently, of truth. Yet another formulation of truth under Jain philosophy highlights the relativity of all knowledge - in the doctrine of 'anekantavada' and 'syadvada' - where every observation about reality is prefixed with 'syat eva' - 'maybe'.

In this context, I will explore the idea of belief (someone's 'idea of truth') trumping 'absolute truth' in light of

Kant's exposition - for some part of the essay, while later coming back to the idea of 'relative truth'.

It is often said of individuals, 'what one thinks, one becomes' - the power of belief is such that a seed-having very resources of its own, counters the reality of its minute existence with the power of belief to transform into a massive tree over the years. Similarly the 'weaver bird' by belief in her feral product - creates an elaborate architectural edifice out of bits of twigs and branches.

▣ The story of Dashrath Manjhi is the human embodiment of the weaver bird. Through sheer determination and belief in his dedication, he fought the truth of 'impossibility' of carving a huge rock to turn it to falsehood.

This positive conception of belief can have a negative companion as well.

The recent widely popular cases of mental depression faced by extremely successful actors Deepika Padukone and Sushant Singh Rajput - led them to disregard the 'reality of their success' with the 'belief that there was nothing worthwhile to be happy about.

Going beyond individuals, entire societies through their collective belief system have led to subjugation of entire communities. The real lived experiences of women during child birth, laborious menial farm labour and handling the 'double burden' of home and office work have failed to bust the myth of the 'abala' (without strength) 'nari' - which continues to determine separation of

the public and private sphere for women.

Central to this conceptualisation of women as different is perhaps the role of religion. Karl Marx once called religion as the 'opium of the masses' - highlighting after the suspension of 'rationality' or 'truth' at the altar of 'faith' or 'belief'. Communities often see other communities as 'alien', - even practice ills like 'child sacrifice' in the name of injunctions from a distant God.

But such ill-based beliefs are not just the domain of archaic religion but also the sphere of so called 'rational economics'. The

Tulip trade in 19th century Britain was probably today's version of the stock system - where people heavily invested their entire life savings.

in purchasing various types of tulips seen as markers of wealth. It was this collective belief in its utility which created this bubble - somewhat similar to the stock market of today's age - though a bad sophisticated as the stocks themselves do not have value.

The 2008 financial crisis emerged in the context of a heavily leveraged economy - as the credit rating agencies contributed to a collective belief in the A+ status of major mortgage loans - which however was far from the truth.

It is this post truth world into which we are gradually entering - where what the truth is no longer known or even relevant. Political leaders have latched onto this idea with more enthusiasm than others.

The role of political propaganda through carefully devised speeches, and forwards on social media - has now been seen as instrumental in electoral victory throughout the world. The presence of online 'echo chambers' and social media algorithms which amplify such news have accelerated these trends.

Fake news, in fact is known to spread more rapidly - especially those fomenting hatred. The role of QAnon, an American conspiracy theory group - was seen as instrumental in winning the election of Donald Trump.

More importantly, the power of belief increases to such an extent - that the people no longer want to know 'what the truth is'. Technologies like deep fakes may take this phenomenon of a 'post truth world' to newer heights.

The contours of truth in today's day and age are thus heavily wobbly - and absolute truths of objectivity, truth based on actual and material evidence seem to be losing relevance. Yet to say that truth is always subordinate to belief systems would be a gross exaggeration.

The idea of 'satya' as ultimate truth is seen to emerge in one way or another - as the foundations of only those belief systems which are based on truth have known to last - right from the abolition of slavery in post Civil War America to the lies of Harshad Mehta in the Satyam scam.

People who hold onto 'truth' # can thus even charge the belief systems of others. Raja Rammohan Roy is

his campaign for sati and B. R. Ambedkar in his exposition of caste affirmative policies, were successful in convincing even their staunchest critics - ultimately leading the truth to prevail.

Yet, ~~what~~ is questions of what truth is itself changes from one place to another, one generation to the next and person to person - highlighting the idea of 'cultural relativism' inherent in the anekantavada philosophy discussed in the beginning. One must thus not hold on to one's truth so rigidly that there is no space for change.

In this context thus, our belief systems thus together constitute the truth of society and the frameworks for defining truth. In the milieu of the Ramayana, the idea of

'Samrajya' or a Wise monarch was the best form of rule - which now has been shifted to the idea of 'democracy'

~~The~~ Vedantic philosophy highlights this multiplicity of belief systems because the nature of reality is simply interpreted by different people in different ways. 'Ekan sat, Vipra Bahudah vadanti' - There is one Truth - the learned know it by different names.

Thus our belief system as our 'idea of truth' should consistently strive to achieve the best possible formulation of 'truth'. The Vanar Sena of Rama - wrote his name on every stone to construct the bridge to Lanka - their belief

gave credence to their aim - making their belief a reality - the rocks began floating on water - ultimately resulting in victory of good over evil.

Moving away from regressive belief systems like the Purusha Sukt hymn, ~~one~~ we should strive to shape our beliefs to create our best version of truth - The idea of 'Sarva Dharma sambhava' - encapsulated in the very same Vedic literature can be an effective starting point.

What people believe prevails over truth.

Vedas → beginning of knowledge. Caste system

Belief → Truth → 'satya' universality, anekavada, syadvade.

What one thinks one becomes

Dashrath Manjhi, depression

Tulips 2008 economic crisis, stocks market, China → Heavenly Kingdom, Religion

~~satya~~

~~Jati~~

Post truth world, China, does not prevail

→ [Post truth world, relativity of all knowledge, Politics]

Categorical imperative - Truth remains constant

Rem seth -

~~Dashrath Manjhi~~

- day

[Hold onto truth, can change beliefs, others]

Belief - change truth, - don't want to hear truth