UPSC 2019
MODEL HINTS
General Studies
Paper - 2

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1. Do you think that constitution of India doesn't accept principle of strict separation of powers rather it is based on the principle of checks and balances? (Answer in 150 words) (10)

2. The Central Administration Tribunal which was established for redressal of grievances and complaints by or against central government employees nowadays is exercising its powers as an independent judicial authority." Explain. (Answer in 150 words) (10)

3. What are the methods used by the Farmers organizations to influence the policy-makers in India and how effective are these methods? (Answer in 150 words) (10)

4. From the resolution of contentious issues regarding distribution of legislative powers by the courts, 'Principle of federal supremacy' and 'harmonious construction' have emerged. Explain. (Answer in 150 words) (10)

5. What can France learn from the Indian Constitution's approach towards to secularism? (Answer in 150 words) (10)

6. Despite Consistent experience of High growth, India still goes with the lowest indicators of human development. Examine the issues that make balanced and inclusive development elusive. (Answer in 150 words) (10)

7. There is a growing divergence in the relationship between poverty and hunger in India. The shrinking of social expenditure by the government is forcing the poor to spend more on Non-Food essential items squeezing their food - budget. Elucidate. (Answer in 150 words) (10)

8. Implementation of information and Communication Technology (ICT) based Projects / Programmes usually suffers in terms of certain vital factors. Identify these factors, and suggest measures for their effective implementation. (Answer in 150 words) (10)

9. 'The time has come for India and Japan to build a strong contemporary relationship, one involving global and strategic partnership that will have a great significance for Asia and the world as a whole.' Comment. (Answer in 150 words) (10)

10. 'Too little cash, too much politics, leaves UNESCO fighting for life.' Discuss the statement in the light of US' withdrawal and its accusation of the cultural body as being 'anti-Israel bias'. (Answer in 150 words) (10)

11. On what grounds a people's representative can be disqualified under the representation of people act, 1951? Also, mention the remedies available to such person against his disqualification. (Answer in 250 words) (15)

12. "Parliament's power to amend the constitution is a limited power and it cannot be enlarged into absolute power". In the light of this statement explain whether parliament under article 368 of the constitution can destroy the basic structure of the constitution by expanding its amending power? (Answer in 250 words) (15)
13. The reservation of seats for women in the institution of local self government has had a limited impact on the patriarchal character of the Indian political processes.

(Answer in 250 words) (15)


(Answer in 250 words) (15)

15. Individual Parliamentarian's role as the national lawmaker is on a decline, which in turn, has adversely impacted the quality of debates and their outcome. Discuss.

(Answer in 250 words) (15)

16. 'In the context of neo-liberal paradigm of development planning, multi-level planning is expected to make operations cost effective and remove many implementation blockages.' Discuss.

(Answer in 250 words) (15)

17. The need for cooperation among various service sector has been an inherent component of development discourse. Partnership bridges bring the gap among the sectors. It also sets in motion a culture of 'Collaboration' and 'team spirit'. In the light of statements above, examine India's Development process.

(Answer in 250 words) (15)

18. Performance of welfare schemes that are implemented for vulnerable sections is not so effective due to absence of their awareness and active involvement at all stages of policy process.

(Answer in 250 words) (15)

19. "The long-sustained image of India as a leader of the oppressed and marginalized Nations has disappeared on account of its new found role in the emerging global order" Elaborate.

(Answer in 250 words) (15)

20. What introduces friction into the ties between India and the United States is that Washington is still unable to find for India a position in its global strategy, which would satisfy India's national self-esteem and ambitions. Explain with suitable examples.

(Answer in 250 words) (15)
1. Do you think that constitution of India doesn't accept principle of strict separation of powers rather it is based on the principle of checks and balances?

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction by providing detailed information about separation of power and principle of checks and balances. (30 words)
2. Discuss in detail with the help of example about how Indian constitution doesn't accept principle of strict separation of powers. (55 words)
3. Provide examples justifying the related concept (35 words)
4. Conclusion (30 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**

It is a doctrine of constitutional law under which the three branches, the executive, legislative & judicial, are kept separate, each with separate and independent powers and responsibility so that the powers of one branch are not in conflict with the powers associated with the other branches.

On the other hand, doctrine of Checks and balances describe the powers each branch has to “check” the other branches and ensure a balance of power. With checks and balances, each of three branches can limit the powers of the others, and this way; no branch can becomes too powerful.

**How Indian constitution doesn’t accept principle of strict separation of powers?**

- Art 50 of Constitution of India is a directive principle of state policy. It gives a direction to the State to keep Judiciary independent of the Executive, particularly in judicial appointments.
- Indian Constitution adopted procedure established by law and it gives supremacy to parliamentary role (also called as political wisdom).
- Article 13 (2) and Article 32 of Indian constitution gives power to Judiciary to declare any law null and void if it infringes with Fundamental rights guaranteed by Indian Constitution. Even administrative function of Supreme Court is controlled by Supreme Court.
- Though Indian President being executive head can also make law under Article 123 (ordinance).
- If studied carefully, it is clear that doctrine of separation of powers has not been accepted in India in its strict sense. The executive is a part of the legislature. It is responsible to the legislature for its actions and also it derives its authority from legislature.
- In India, since it is a parliamentary form of government, therefore it is based upon intimate contact and close co-ordination among the legislative and executive wings. However, the executive power vests in the President but, in reality he is only a formal head and, the Real head is the Prime minister along with his Council of Ministers.
• The reading of Art. 74(1) makes it clear that the executive head has to act in accordance with the aid and advice given by the cabinet.

• It's quite evident from the constitutional provisions themselves that India, being a parliamentary democracy, does not follow an absolute separation and is, rather based upon fusion of powers, where a close co-ordination amongst the principal organs is unavoidable and the constitutional scheme itself mentions it.

• The doctrine has, thus, not been awarded a Constitutional status. Thus, every organ of the government is required to perform all the three types of functions. Also, each organ is, in some form or the other, dependent on the other organ which checks and balances it.

• This system of checks and balances undoubtedly prevents the centralization of powers and monopoly of one branch of the government and contributes to effective functioning of democratic parliamentary form of polity and makes sure that the power is balanced between the three organs of government but on the other hand it also makes the decision making more complex and time consuming.

**Examples justifying the above concept**

• For example, The legislative branch has the power to make laws, but the executive branch has the power to check the legislative branch by interdicting the laws, the judiciary on the other hand can declare the presidential orders and other laws and acts made as unconstitutional and the executive has a say in appointment of judges and the power to pardon.

• There have been many such examples, firstly the second ARC has recommended the abolition of the Member of Parliament Local Area development schemes MPLADS & MLALADS on the grounds that these schemes seriously erode the notion of separation of powers, as the legislator directly becomes the executive.

• We also have got to see how Judiciary oversteps the powers given to it and interferes with the proper functioning of legislative or executive organs of the government and results into what is being called as judicial activism or judicial overreach. For e.g.: striking the NJAC bill and the 99th constitutional amendment bill and order passed by Allahabad court for the bureaucrats to send their children to government school.

**Trends related to separation of power in India**

• Our Constitution thus places the supremacy at the hands of the Legislature as much as that is possible within the bounds of a written Constitution. **But, the balance between Parliamentary Sovereignty and Judicial Review was seriously disturbed, and a drift towards the former was made, by the Constitution (42nd Amendment) Act, 1976, by inserting some new provisions, e.g., Arts. 31D, 32A, 131A, 144A, 226A, 228A, 323A-B, 329A.**

• The Janata Government, coming to powers in 1977, restored the pre1976 position, to a substantial extent, through the 43rd and 44th Amendments, 1977-78, by repealing the following Articles which had been inserted by the 42nd Amendment— 31D, 32A, 131A, 144A, 226A, 228A, 329A; and by restoring Art. 226 to its original form (substantially).

• On the other hand, the Judiciary has gained ground by itself declaring that ‘judicial review’ is a ‘basic feature’ of our Constitution, so that so long as the Supreme Court itself does not revise its opinion in this behalf, any amendment of the Constitution to take away judicial review of legislation on the ground of contravention of any provision of the Constitution shall itself be liable to be invalidated by the Court.

• Justice Mahajan took note of this point and stated in the famous case of Re Delhi Laws Act, That: “It does not admit of serious dispute that the doctrine of separation of powers has, strictly speaking, no place in the system of government that India has, at present under our Constitution. Unlike the American and Australian Constitution the Indian Constitution does not expressly vest the...
different sets of powers in different organs of the State. Our Constitution though federal in form is modeled on the British Parliamentary system, the essential feature of which is the responsibility of the executive of the Legislature....”

Conclusion

It is evident from the above examples that the reason for the interdependence is accorded to the parliamentary form of governance followed in our country. But, this doesn’t mean that the doctrine of separation of power is not followed in India at all. Except where the constitution has vested power in a body, the principle that one organ should not perform functions which essentially belong to others is followed however, no constitution can survive without a conscious adherence to its fine check and balance. The principle of Separation of Power is a principle of restraint which has in it the precept, innate in the prudence of self-preservation, that discretion is the better part of valour.

2. The Central Administration Tribunal which was established for redressal of grievances and complaints by or against central government employees nowadays is exercising its powers as an independent judicial authority." Explain.

Hints:

Introduction:

‘Tribunal ‘is an administrative body established for the purpose of discharging quasi-judicial duties. An Administrative Tribunal is neither a Court nor an executive body. It stands somewhere midway between a Court and an administrative body.

- Article 323-A, which came by way of 42nd constitutional amendment in 1976, enabled the Centre to enact The Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 for setting-up the Tribunals for adjudication over “disputes and complaints with respect to recruitment and conditions of service of persons”. Thus Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 provides for the establishment of Central Administrative Tribunal and State Administrative Tribunals. The delay in justice administration is one of the biggest obstacles which have been tackled with the establishment of Tribunals.

Composition:

- The CAT is a multi-member body consisting of a Chairman and members.
- With the amendment in Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 in 2006, the members have been given the status of judges of High Courts
- In 2013, the sanctioned strength of the Chairman is one and sanctioned strength of the Members is 65
- They are drawn from both judicial and administrative streams and are appointed by the President.
- They hold office for a term office years or until they attain the age of 65 years, in case of Chairman and 62 years in case of members, whichever is earlier.

Specific powers of Central Administrative tribunal:

1. CAT exercises original jurisdiction in relation to recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services.
2. **Flexibility**: Administrative Tribunals created under Article 323A have been freed from technical rules of Indian Evidence Act, 1872 and procedural shackles of the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 but, at the same time, they have been vested with the powers of Civil Court in respect of some matters including the review of their own decisions and are bound by the principle of natural justice.

3. **Relief to Courts**: The system also gives the much-needed relief to ordinary courts of law, which are already overburdened with numerous suits. Initially the decision of Tribunal can be challenged only before Supreme courts by filing Special leave petition, however after Chandra Kumar case; the orders of CAT are now being challenged by way of writ petition u/a 226/227 of the Constitution before respective High courts. It lay down that appeals against the orders of the CAT shall lie before the division bench of the concerned High Court.

**Conclusion:**

The above powers of CAT show that in certain spheres like recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services and cases related to civil service rule where supreme Court refrain itself and denied accepting the cases so that purpose of CAT could not get defeated shows that they are exercising their power as an independent Judicial Authority as judgments are more circumstances based and situational. For example NATIONAL GREEN TRIBUNAL. However, in India Common Law System is followed in which a bench mark is set and final interpretation is subjected to Independent judicial system also CAT Functions on the principle of Natural Justice as they are not bound by the Rule of Procedures. Thus, after Chandra Kumar case it can be entertain by the High court & Supreme Court therefore on this basis we cannot accept that they work as a independent judiciary.

3. **What are the methods used by the Farmers organizations to influence the policy-makers in India and how effective are these methods?**

**Approach**

1. Give brief introduction by describing farmers organization in brief.(50 words)
2. Briefly discuss the issues around which farmers have been mobilized in contemporary India.(80 words)
3. Discuss their different methods to influence the process of policy-making. (70 words)
4. Conclusion. (30 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**

Farmers organizations are groups of rural producers, coming together based on the principle of membership, to pursue specific common interests of their members and developing technical and economical activities that benefit the members. Earlier Farmers movement were led by communist leadership, But later Farmers organizations such as Bhartiya Kisan Union led by Mahendra Singh Tickait in Northern India and Shetkari Sangthtan led by Sharad Joshi group in Maharashtra used to provide leadership in their respective regions.

**Changing issues with change in time:**

- Earlier Farmers movements for agrarian reforms in India have been centered on the issue of land ownership and land distribution, but with the success of Green revolution, new issues and organizations came into the limelight. Post Green Revolution, agriculture production increased but farm incomes didn’t rise due to low market prices of produce and high cost of farm inputs.
- Thus these organizations raised specific demands of their self interest like rise in MSP, free electricity, water, subsidized fertilizers and waiver of farm loans etc. Another accusation that these organizations make is that the government in its bid to keep food supply cheaper in urban areas, has deliberately lowered the prices.
**Major issues:**
1. Lack of implementation of land reforms.
2. Green revolution and the rising disparities
   - Demand for MSP, free Water and electricity
3. Non access to institutional credit
4. Drought, dependency on rain and lack of irrigation facilities
5. Lack of social security
6. Issue of land acquisition
7. Issues such as globalization, retail FDI, contract farming and GM seeds also finds pace among these groups.
8. Ignorance of demands of Labourers and poor peasants: It has been alleged that Interest of poor peasants and Labourers are grossly ignored by these organizations. Labourers demand for higher wages are often ignored and sometimes it is also met with violence.
9. Crisis like Starvation deaths and farmers suicides have also emerged in recent times. Recent protests in vidarbha region can be linked with increase in farmer’s suicide and persistent drought in the region.
10. Even lack of unity and absence of strong leadership are also major constraints in fulfilling their objectives. Most of the farmer’s organizations raise issues of local importance which restrict development of unity and consensus at national level.

**Methods:**
Apart from physical mobilization, such organizations and associations are now acting as pressure groups also. Their influence has ranged from organizing demonstration to withholding crops from the market to refusal to pay outstanding utility bills and loans. Farmers organizations are also able to keep their methods of protest largely non violent. They have also started using social media to bargain with the government.

- Mahindra Singh Tickait used methods such as dharna, Gherao and satyagrah during 1988 agitations.
- **Indian Farmers Fertilizer Cooperative Limited (IFFCO)** is one of India’s largest cooperative societies with an amalgamation of over 36,000 Indian cooperatives with diversified business interests.
- **Turmeric farmers in Sangli district, Maharashtra** were probably the first in India to use social media to enhance their bargaining power for their products in 2010-11. When prices crashed in the local market, they connected with other turmeric farmers across the country to know about the existing prices and decided to avoid the local auction. While organizing all the farmers in the district generally took months, about 25,000 farmers came together in just 10 days through Facebook. The farmers protest has helped them to get a reasonable for their turmeric product.
- **Farmers in North Karnataka region have organized themselves and have found solutions together in overcoming crop failures.** Their initiative in including medicinal herbs in their cropping systems is paying rich dividends. They tried including Ashwagandha, a medicinal crop, in their cropping system owing to its hardiness requiring less moisture and the absence of threat from deer as they are not preferred as feed. The members of the group are supported with a financial assistance from the Department of Horticulture under National Medicinal Plants Mission.

**Impact:**
Their impact can be gauged from the fact that in 2008, Government has waived the farm loan all over the country. These organizations also played a key role in the overthrow of the incumbent government.
in the 1989 elections. Even recent announcement of schemes such as KisansammanYojana, New land acquisition policy, hike in MSP of certain crops can be linked with the success of Farmers struggles. Even These organizations have also mobilized support against wider issues like retail FDI, Contract farming, and GM seeds etc and forced government to withhold decisions on these issues.

Conclusion

Thus to deal with the above issues Indian farmers needs stronger farmers organization which not only focuses upon raising farmers voice but can also assist farmers in providing technical knowledge and facilitate access to markets etc.

4. From the resolution of contentious issues regarding distribution of legislative powers by the courts, 'Principle of federal supremacy' and 'harmonious construction' have emerged. Explain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Give a brief introduction about the Indian model of federalism. (30 words)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Briefly discuss centre state legislative relations and contentious issues. (40 words)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Briefly explain the principle of federal supremacy and harmonious construction. (50 words)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Conclusion. (30 words)</td>
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Hints:

Introduction:

Federalism is constituent element of basic structure of Indian constitution though the word ‘federal’ is nowhere mentioned in the constitution. A federal government is one in which powers are divided between the national government and the regional governments by the constitution itself and both operate in their respective jurisdictions independently.

Centre state legislative relations and contentious issues:

Articles 245 to 255 of Indian constitution deal with legislative relations between the centre and the states. This mainly has 4 aspects - Territorial extent of centre and state legislation, distribution of legislative subject between centre and states, Parliamentary legislation in state field and centre’s control over state legislation. In this light, the constitution provides for a three-fold distribution of legislative subjects between the centre and the states i.e., List I the Union list, List II the state list and List III the concurrent list in schedule VII of the Indian Constitution.

Principle of federal supremacy and harmonious construction:

If any matter falls under an entry in List I and also in List II the entry in List I shall prevail, this is called the principle of Federal supremacy. The federation has predominant legislative power. The state and concurrent list are subordinate to it. The rule of Federal Supremacy is applied as a last resort, it is the duty of the court to read the entries of the two lists together to arrive at a reasonable and practical construction of the language, to reconcile entries and bring harmony. It is only when the reconciliation proves impossible then the overriding power of Parliament should prevail. This is called the rule of Harmonious construction.

Examples:

- Pointing out the fundamental aspect of Indian Federalism, B. P. Jeevan Reddy, in S. R. Bommai v. Union of India observed that “within the sphere allotted to them, the States are supreme. The Centre cannot tamper with their powers.

- The 42nd Amendment Act was perhaps one of the most controversial. Effected in 1976 during the Emergency by then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the amendment restructured the Seventh Schedule ensuring that State List subjects like education, forest, protection of wild animals and birds, administration of justice, and weights and measurements were transferred to the Concurrent List.
• In the case State of West Bengal v. Committee for the protection of democratic rights: the interpretation placed by the Supreme Court on S. 5 and S. 6 of the Delhi Special Police Establishment Act, 1946 (‘DSPE Act’ for short).

  - The CBI as a Special Police set up under the DSPE Act for the investigation of certain offences in any Union Territory. The Superintendence of the CBI vests in the Central Government, which specifies, by notification, the offences or classes of offences to be investigated by the CBI.
  
  - **Section 5** of the DSPE Act empowers the Central Government to extend the powers and jurisdiction of the Special Police Establishment to any area, in a State, not being a Union Territory for the investigation of any offences or classes of offences specified in a notification under S. 3, and on such extension of jurisdiction, a member of establishment shall discharge the functions of a police officer in that area, and shall, while discharging such functions, be deemed to be a member of a police force of that area and be vested with powers, functions and privileges and subject and liabilities of a police officer belonging to that police force.

  - **Section 6**: Consent of the State Government to exercise of powers and jurisdiction — Nothing contained in S. 5 shall be deemed to enable any member of the Delhi Special Police Establishment to exercise powers and jurisdiction in any area in a State, not being a Union Territory or railway area, without the consent of the State Government.

**Conclusion:**

But there have been contentions revolving around the distribution of legislative powers, for instance, Recommendations of Niti Aayog have suggested for shifting of police and public order from the state List to the concurrent list and reason stated is an increase in inter-state crimes.

5. What can France learn from the Indian Constitution’s approach towards secularism?

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Give brief introduction about secularism. (30 words)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Briefly discuss France’s approach towards secularism. (50 words)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Explain in detail how France can learn from the Indian constitution’s approach towards secularism (40 words)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Conclusion. (30 words)</td>
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</table>

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**

Secularism is the constitutional principle of separation of the state from religious institutions. Secularism forms the core element of the basic structure of the Indian constitution. And even France is an indivisible, secular democratic social Republic guaranteeing that all their citizens regardless of their origin, race or religion are treated as equals before the law and respecting all religious beliefs.

**France approach towards secularism**

- The French state does not favor any one religion & guarantees their peaceful coexistence in respect of laws and principles of the Republic.
- The idea of secularism envisaged in India is different from that of France
- The paradigms of republicanism, as practiced in France or multiculturalism as implemented in a number of Western democracies, such as the UK and the US, or indeed employment-based integration models of Sweden or Germany, are all in crisis.
- French secularist objects Islamic clothing, kosher or halal meals and “burkinis”.

**Hints:** UPSC Mains 2019
France was a largely homogeneous Catholic country, where the clergy had an unduly high degree of influence over the state's apparatus.

In France people are not supposed to wear any religious signs in the public institutions like Schools.

Any act which shows signs of preaching one’s religion, get ultimately banned in the France.

**How France can learn from Indian constitution**

- Secularism in France does not allow religion into public space, Indian secularism on the other hand is based on equal treatment to all religions and maintaining principle distance from all religions.
- Indian Secularism deals not only with religious freedom of individuals but also with religious freedom of minority communities.
- Only separation of state and religion isn’t sufficient for the existence of a secular state. On this line Indian model of secularism is different, the idea of inter religious equality is crucial to the Indian conception. It equally opposed oppression of Dalits and women within Hinduism, discrimination against women within Islam or Christianity.
- In India – state provides Hajj subsidy to Muslims, administrative support for Amaranth Yatra to the pilgrimages, and allows Sikhs to carry Kripans along with them
- Indian deals not only with religious freedom of individuals but also with religious freedom of minority communities. Article 29 and 30 is the constitutional tool to acquire it. Within a particular religion, an individual has the right to profess the religion of his or her choice.
- The Supreme Court of India progressively elaborated the “Essential practice of religion” doctrine to ascertain which elements are fundamental for a religious practice and which may be purged, considered as mere superstition by the intervention of state without infringing the principle of state neutrality in religious affairs.
- Article 25 provides for freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagates religion; Article 25(2) of Indian constitution creates a further exception to the right. It accords to the state a power to make legislation in the interests of social welfare and reform, throwing up Hindu religious institutions of public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.
- A good example here would be of recent Sabarimala case where the verdict allowed women of all ages in the Ayyappan temple and declared the banning of entry of women as gender discrimination, the dissent judgment of the view that it is not for courts to determine which religious practices are to be struck down except in issues of social evil like ‘sati’.

**Conclusion**

So, while concluding we can say that complex religiously diverse societies are not to be ruled by over simplistic and uniform laws. Secularism is not an opinion among others, rather the freedom to have an opinion. It’s not a belief, rather principle authorizing all beliefs.

6. Despite Consistent experience of High growth, India still goes with the lowest indicators of human development. Examine the issues that make balanced and inclusive development elusive.

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about India’s human development in comparison with its economic growth. (30 words)
2. Discuss the reasons behind low indicator of human development in India despite high growth. (60 words)
3. Discuss the steps taken by India to ensure financial inclusion and conclude with stressing on need of redistribution of resources for attaining SDGs. (40 words)

4. Conclusion (20 words)

Hints:

Introduction:

India is the fastest-growing trillion-dollar economy in the world and the sixth-largest with a nominal GDP of $2.61 trillion. India is poised to become the fifth-largest economy overtaking the United Kingdom by 2019 as per the IMF projection. Despite consistent high growth, India has failed to redistribute its earned resources uniformly among its citizens which can be reflected in its human development index in which it ranked 130\textsuperscript{th} out of 180 countries which is very dismal for the sixth largest economy of the world. Lack of financial inclusion is the main reason behind poor human development in India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IHDI value</th>
<th>Overall loss (%)</th>
<th>Human inequality coefficient (%)</th>
<th>Inequality in life expectancy at birth (%)</th>
<th>Inequality in education (%)</th>
<th>Inequality in income (%)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
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<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reasons behind low indicator of human development in India despite high growth

• Concentration of land resources in few hands due to British land revenue policies such as permanent settlement and non-implementation of land reform policies in a better way led to divergence of Indian society before and after independence.

• Policies which were adopted after independence such as those during green revolution which benefitted large farmers causing intra-regional disparities and were concentrated to few regions causing inter-regional disparity thus government fails to sustain the process.

• Government efforts to develop backward areas by setting large scale industries in backward areas too could not work due to corruption and lack of implementation of corporate social responsibility norms.

• Banks before nationalization were private owned property of few industrialists who used them as their private purse. Further, it was used a political tools to please supporters of ruling political elite.

• Despite these facts, government policies were somehow socialist in nature which too faded away after adoption of new economic policies of 1991.

• After reformation in economy, in lure of rapid development, government provided more impetus to economic growth than financial inclusion. This came in the form of concessions to industrial class openly in the name of policy. Industrialization too occurred heavily in few areas such as Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh further aggravating inter-regional disparity,

• The nexus of political class with industrialists resulted in large scale corruption which started from Harshad Mehta scam and reached its zenith at 2G, CWG and coal-gate scam.

• Further, the common man was far from four essential amenities required for financial inclusion namely banking, credit, insurance and investment. Only 53% of the population had bank accounts prior to 2014 and had no insurance and credit facilities available to them. Despite priority sector lending norms by central bank amount of loan disbursed too few corporate outnumbered vulnerable section of society by huge margin.
Steps taken by government to fill the gap

- Government through various schemes has tried to fill the persisting economic gap in the country. Pradhan Mantri Jan dhan yojana led to revolution in banking sector. It led to large scale opening of bank accounts along with an health and accidental insurance cover under Ayushman Bharat Yojana and Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojna respectively.

- Further, credit under MUDRA, Startup India and Stand up India schemes was provided to various sections of society.

- Old Age pension cover under Pradhan Mantri Vayu Vandana Yojana to elderly citizens, under Pradhan mantri Shram Yogi Mandhanyojna to unorganized working class, under Pradhan Mantri Kisan Mandhan scheme to farmers and Pradhan Mantri Laghu Vyapari Mandhan to small business men were provided.

Way Forward

- Government must ensure entitlement and develop basic necessities in form of Rights based approach.

- Government should focus in improving capabilities.

- Involvement of Corporate social responsibilities to develop rural based enterprises.

Conclusion:

Various steps taken by government under various schemes to ensure financial inclusion and social security i.e. is still to reap its benefits. Also pace of growth is steady and it is moving forward. However, corruption and crony capitalism are yet the biggest challenges in front of inclusive growth strategy. To fight it, India must redistribute its resources equally among different sections of society. It becomes essential for government India which hosts world’s 14.5 % malnourished and hungry people to implement these steps effectively in order to attain sustainable development goals by 2030.

7. There is a growing divergence in the relationship between poverty and hunger in India. The shrinking of social expenditure by the government is forcing the poor to spend more on Non- Food essential items squeezing their food - budget. Elucidate.

Approach

1. Briefly discuss the less expenditure of India on health and education in comparison with world which has led to diversion of money from food to no-food items. (30 words)

2. Discuss how has pressure on private purse of individuals have been burdened by expenditure on private health and education coupled with modern amenities such as telecom and internet services which has led to less expenditure on non-food items. (60 words)

3. Discuss the initiatives taken by government in social sector services and conclude with need to provide more subsidies along with betterment in public services. (40 words)

4. Conclusion (20 words)

Hints:

Introduction:

India is among those countries which spend least on social sector services such as health and education. The government spends only 2.3 % of GDP on health which is very far away from the world’s average of 10.02%. Where as in education sector it is 3.4% against the world’s average of 4.815%. This endangers India’s prospects which currently hold the world’s largest young population to reap its demographic dividend by human capital formation. This further has led Indian society to divert its resources from food items to non-food items.
Reasons behind divergence in relationship with poverty and Hunger

- India is currently in the third stage of demographic transition with average life expectancy of 68.5 years. Increase in life expectancy from 61 years in 2001 to 67 years in 2011 and further to 68.5 years in 2019. Further, neonatal mortality, under five mortality and maternal mortality has also decreased considerably which indicates that citizens have considerably spent on health.

- Further, India’s literacy rate has grown from 18.33 per cent in 1951 to 74.04 per cent in 2011. Apart from it, number of schools, teacher pupil’s ratio and other indicators has improved over time.

- But budget allocation in both the sectors have decreased over time since independence which indicates the dependence of people more on their private purse for these expenditure than government.

- Poor state of public health and education has led to diversion of India’s middle class towards private facilities which are sucking their money.

- Diversion of citizen’s money from food items to non-food items have led to increase in malnutrition and hunger.

- Eating behavior of the country reflects these facts as Indians are more prone to low cost carbohydrate based food than high cost protein based food as they have least to spend on food.

- Further, increased expenditure on modern day essentials such as electricity, internet services, telecom services e.t.c has increased burden on private purse of individuals.

Initiatives by government

- Although government has increased the budget allocation on health and education considerably in last couple of years but both are far from the world’s average expenditure as the proportion of GDP.

- However, schemes such as Ayushman Bharat have helped citizens to preserve their hard earned savings from being exhausted at the time of illness.

- Further, modernization of public health care and education system on the lines of developed countries as done in NCT of Delhi has brought hope to citizens.

- Social security schemes such as Pradhan Mantri Vayo Vandana yojana to provide insurance benefits to older citizens have helped Indian households to protect financial health of Indian households by decreasing dependents.

Conclusion:

India is on the verge of becoming a trillion dollar economy and is currently the 6th largest economy in terms of nominal GDP with second highest growth rate. It has huge capital to invest in social sector to reap maximum benefits from its rich demographic dividend by human capital formation. Hence, government must increase its allocation on health, education and other social sector services such as subsidies on electricity, water and internet services so that citizens can spend maximum on food items. This will decrease hunger and malnutrition considerably and help India to attain sustainable development goals such as No poverty (Goal 1), Zero Hunger (Goal 2), Good health and wellbeing (Goal 3) and Quality Education (Goal 4) by 2030.

8. Implementation of information and Communication Technology (ICT) based Projects / Programmes usually suffers in terms of certain vital factors. Identify these factors, and suggest measures for their effective implementation.

**Approach**

1. **Give a brief introduction about the importance of ICT in industrial revolution and service delivery to citizens of a country.** (30 words)

2. **Briefly discuss the factors which leads to failure of ICT based programmes and projects in India.** (50 words)
3. Discuss the measures to be taken to successfully implement ICT based programmes and projects and steps which have been taken by the government. (50 words)

4. Conclusion (20 words)

Hints:

Introduction:
Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is the backbone of third industrial revolution which has helped the world to attain fair degree of automation. When coupled with social sector development projects, service delivery to public and public infrastructure development it has proved itself time and again in effective implementation. But owing to level of digital literacy in India ICT based projects have encountered several drawbacks. Government of India and state government have provided a number of ICT based solutions to its citizens which have not been as successful as envisioned.

Factors which leads to failure of ICT based programmes and projects:
• Lack of digital literacy among targeted beneficiaries is a vital factor behind failure of these programmes.
• For example, literacy rate among farming communities in India is very low (digital illiteracy: about 90% of Indian population is digitally illiterate) due to which they are unable to use ICT based platforms such as Kisaan Knowledge Management System, National Agriculture Marketing Portal, Agmarknet Portal e.t.c.
• Complexity in some platforms such as Goods and service tax which requires filling online forms and details which caused extra economic burden on businessmen to hire employees for it is another example of unpopularity of ICT among beneficiaries.
• Lack of user education and there are limited facilities to train personnel. India needs over one million cyber security experts to check and monitor the growing menace of digital crime.
• There is a vital gap in information sharing mechanism as digitally literate persons also could not access these platforms due to lack of knowledge about them. It happens due to lack of advertisement and awareness by the government.
• Unavailability of telecommunication and internet services also hinders the accessibility of ICT based platforms in remote rural areas.
• Privacy concerns and threat of ransom ware.
• Slow roll-out of Wi-Fi hotspots and the slow speed, in comparison to other developed nation.

Measures to be taken to successfully implement ICT based programmes and projects:
• Complexity of the serving platforms must be reduced so that beneficiaries can easily access them with little knowledge.
• Training – Making rural population familiar with the use of computer and basic functions. Example – PMGDISHA
• Campaigns targeted to educate beneficiaries about accessibility of these platforms should be promoted by live demonstration and/or through teleconferencing. Example – National Optical Fiber Network: to ensure broadband connectivity.
• Educating vulnerable sections such as unorganized workers through top to bottom approach in industries in which they work will help reap to benefits of these platforms.
• Connecting Gram panchayats and remote corners of the countries will help to fulfill the ambitions as envisaged by ICT based programmes.
• Capability building measures of the people at the grassroots level.
• Nudge and motivate citizenry to make use of the information and communication technology (ICT) mechanisms. Example: incentives for digital transactions.
• Enactment of Data protection bill.

Governments move to provide accessibility to ICT based programmes:
• Government has setup Common Service Centers (CSCs) across the country to help marginalized section of community to access benefits of these platforms.
• CSCs are working in 1.8 lakh gram panchayats and very soon it will reach 2.5 lakh gram panchayats by end of the year. Close to 2 lakh CSCs are currently operational in the country.
• Apart from it, government has setup service centers for various e-services in banks, post-offices and other government offices.
• Further, improvement of internet connectivity through National Optical Fibre Network under Bharat Net will boost accessibility to these platforms.

Conclusion:
For a vast country like India, it becomes imperative to provide citizen centric solutions based on ICT to reduce congestion in government offices and provide alternative of effective service delivery to its citizens. United Nation declaring right to internet as basic right of an individual must be fulfilled by state along with imparting of education related to ICT operation. It will help India by providing social sector services and better technologies and expertise to its citizens at their doorsteps.

9. 'The time has come for India and Japan to build a strong contemporary relationship, one involving global and strategic partnership that will have a great significance for Asia and the world as a whole.' Comment.

Approach
1. Give a brief introduction about the background of India's relationship with Japan. (30 words)
2. Briefly discuss the major developments in recent past on various fronts. (50 words)
3. Discuss the existing possibilities to deepen the relationship in present global context. (50 words)
4. Conclusion (20 words)

Hints:
Historical roots:
India’s influence on East and Southeast Asia, as well as some of the Asia-Pacific region, has been extensive. Buddhism also travelled into Japan from India (or Tenjiku, as it was called in Japan) as a gift from the king of Korea in AD 552. Indo-Japanese commercial activities were initiated in the late nineteenth century, with a number of Indians immigrating to Japan as temporary servants of the trading relationship.

Post-independence engagements:
• India’s interest in Southeast Asia also largely evaporated due to challenges closer to home—the traumatic border war with China in 1962 and conflicts with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. In the aftermath of the oil shock of the 1970s, India became more concerned about its energy security and consequently West Asia became more of a priority.
• Japan, a close ally of the USA during the Cold War, also kept some distance from India beyond its budding commercial opportunities as of the 1980s.

Post-cold war fresh starts:
• Soon after P. V. NarasimhaRao became Prime Minister, he launched the ‘LookEast’ policy (LEP) in 1992. Its implementation during the 1990s focused particularly on engagement with Southeast
Asia and ASEAN (although Prime Minister Rao articulated a broader LEP implicitly in Singapore in 1994).

- Alongside its new efforts to capitalize on Southeast Asia’s economic success, India now sought politico-military engagement with the region, in part impelled by the need for new friends and partners after the loss of its superpower patron in 1991, and probably also worrying about China’s fast-growing links across Asia.

- The broad objectives of the LEP during the 1990s were to institutionalize linkages with ASEAN, with its member states, and to prevent Southeast Asia falling under the influence of any one major power.

- Although Japan was one of the top investors in India during the 1990s, ranking fourth behind the UK, USA, and Mauritius, its performance paled in comparison to that elsewhere in Asia:

- Japan’s direct investment in India in 1998 was one-thirteenth of its direct investment in China. Some of the disincentives to greater Japanese investment in India have included the infrastructure deficit in India, high tariffs, and labour problems.

- Japanese FDI in India is continuing to expand and is expected to reach US$5.5 billion by 2010. The number of Japanese business establishments operating in India has increased from 231 in August 2003 to 475 in February 2007.

Recent move towards strategic partnership:

- After 9/11 when U.S started defense strategic relation with India, it pave the way for Japan-India relation.

- Bilateral trade ties between India and Japan got a big strategic push in 2011 when they signed the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA). The CEPA envisages abolition of tariffs on over 94 per cent of items traded over a period of 10 years. The CEPA also covers services, movement of natural persons, investments, IPR, customs procedures and other trade related issues.

- The Joint Statement signed by then Prime Ministers Manmohan Singh and Shinzo Abe in 2006 factored in the new challenges, and bilateral relationship was upgraded to a Global and Strategic Partnership with the provision of annual Prime Ministerial Summits. Japanese Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko travelled to India in 2013 and visited Delhi and Chennai giving a further boost to diplomatic ties. Abe was the Chief Guest at the Republic Day parade in New Delhi in January 2014.

- The BJP-led government, under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has also been contributing in strengthening ties. During the 9th Annual Summit in Japan in August-September 2014, Abe and Modi, apart from further upgrading bilateral relations, also agreed to establish the ‘India-Japan Investment Promotion Partnership’. Abe, during his India visit in December 2015, signed 16 agreements/MoUs/ MoCs/ LoIs. India also announced “visa on arrival” scheme for all Japanese travelers, including for business purposes, from March 1, 2016. During Modi’s recent visit to Japan, both countries signed six agreements, including on a high speed rail project and naval cooperation.

Factors that leads to bring a strong relationship?

- Assertion of china in Indo-Pacific region and growing boundary disputes with Japan laid down the basis for Indo-Japan.

- Converging interests of both the countries like Maritime Security, secure Sea lines of Communication etc.

- Two Major Powers of Asia and at the same time they are facing similar challenges from the neighborhood.

- For Japan, expanding partnership with India serves as a hedge against China acting to challenge the existing post-World War II, rules-based, international and regional order.
• India is one of the few countries which have the capacity to act as a net security provider in the region.

• Rising significance of the Indo-Pacific region, in which there is an attempt from China to establish China-centric based order with geo-politics shifting towards the Asian subcontinent. Thus Indo-Japan being the two important democracies with the track record of peace building and human rights are looking forward for equitable order & multipolar order.

• Uncertainty on the role of United States of America’s commitment to peace in the region

Moving towards a contemporary relationship:

• In the recent past, there has been a remarkable transformation in the bilateral relationship and the two countries have emerged as genuine strategic partners in the Indo-Pacific. Sometimes, the concept ‘strategic partnership’ is casually deployed to define any and every relationship.

• However, a relationship in international politics becomes ‘strategic’ when it has an impact on the overall balance-of-power in a region. This balance-of-power is often impacted by the changes in the capabilities of nation-states. The India-Japan strategic partnership is playing out in conceptual, strategic and in economic realms.

• Defense: Both countries are part of QUAD grouping which was created to counter the rising aggression of China.

• The Foreign and Defense Ministerial Two-Plus-Two Dialogues reflects the growing special relationship between the two countries.

• Both countries were successful in pushing the spatial constructs such as the ‘Indo-Pacific’ into the discourses on international politics. There may be quibbles on the boundaries of the Indo-Pacific, but it appears that geographic construct is here to stay.

• Cultural Cooperation: Cultural exchanges between India and Japan began early in 6th century with the introduction of Buddhism to Japan from India.

• Tokyo and Delhi also share similar strategic objectives, which include the creation of a robust multipower Asian order and thriving open sea lanes of communication in the region. Consequently, the maritime cooperation between the two countries is gaining momentum.

• Focus is on Sustainable development through the platform of Asia – Africa Growth Corridor and both countries will work towards bringing reforms in United Nations Security Council apart from focusing on areas like Climate Change, disaster risk management etc.

• Nuclear Cooperation: Historic Indo-Japan nuclear deal was concluded in 2017. This was the first time that Japan signed such a deal with a non-signatory of Non-Proliferation Treaty

Challenges:

Certain challenges have to be addressed if the relationship has to reach its potential.

• Languishing trade should be improved. While bilateral trade between India – Japan is $15 billion, it is around $300 b between Japan and China.

• Apart from that both countries should strengthen and deepen their defense cooperation.

Conclusion:

An important challenge for India-Japan strategic partnership is less than satisfactory cooperation in defense equipment and technology segment. Japan historically followed a very restrictive defense export policy. However India and Japan, two powerful democratic forces in Asia should join hands to establish peace and order not only in Asia but in the entire world.
10. 'Too little cash, too much politics, leaves UNESCO fighting for life.' Discuss the statement in the light of US’ withdrawal and its accusation of the cultural body as being ‘anti-Israel bias’.

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about UNESCO and highlight its function. (30 words)
2. Briefly discuss the challenges faced by it (50 words)
3. Analyze the impact of United States’ withdrawal on the functionality of UNESCO (50 words)
4. Conclusion (20 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**

UNESCO is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It seeks to build peace through international cooperation in Education, the Sciences and Culture.

**Function of UNESCO**

- Its declared purpose is to contribute to peace and security by promoting international collaboration through educational, scientific, and cultural reforms in order to increase universal respect for justice, the rule of law, and human rights along with fundamental freedom proclaimed in the United Nations Charter.

- UNESCO pursues its objectives through five major programs: education, natural sciences, social/human sciences, culture and communication/information.

- UNESCO’s aim is “to contribute to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information”.

- Other priorities of the organization include attaining quality Education For All and lifelong learning, addressing emerging social and ethical challenges, fostering cultural diversity, a culture of peace and building inclusive knowledge societies through information and communication.

**Challenges faced by UNESCO:**

**Globalization** has had contrasting effects on UNESCO. On the one hand, the cultural planetary landscape in which the Organization operates, once shaped primarily by State policies, is now structured by markets and networks, entities that are not known for the transparency of their operations nor their concern for general interests.

**Shoestring budget:** United States has been withholding its contribution to punish the global body for admitting Palestine as its 195th Member State.

**One-dimensional hyper politicization:** Increasingly obvious attempt by certain States to take it hostage and divert it into the field of politics.

**Staff demoralization:** there was a time when quintessential UNESCO officials were distinguishable from their peers in the United Nations system by certain characteristics. Highly specialized expertise in their chosen fields, which was taken for granted, was allied with sound general knowledge in the international sphere as well as a strong sense of ethics, an acute awareness of the state of the world and its suffering and commitment to doing something about it.

It is sad to see that UNESCO is losing this type of official by the day. The situation is explained in large part by the surreptitious recruitment of nationals of “rich” countries for more than one decade and a failure to respect – if not systematically violate – the principle of geographical distribution, as well as favoritism and inconsistencies in the promotion policy.
The US and Israel angle:
The US has long used UNESCO as a stage for political gestures: In 1984, the Ronald Reagan withdrew the US from UNESCO, accusing it of being pro-Soviet, anti-Israel, and anti-free market. In 2002, George W Bush joined UNESCO again, and in 2011, Barack Obama cut most US funding to UNESCO due to the organization’s recognition of Palestine. The US has not paid its dues to the organization since then, raking up a bill of over $500 million in debt to the organization. In 2013, the US lost voting power due to its non-payment.

Low finance base and high political angle will impact UNESCO

The US withdrawal will weaken its finances and central policy focus. The impact of future cultural interventions by the US in other countries may also be weakened, and it will open itself to criticism that they are merely exercises in American soft power.

- Since 2011 when both Israel and the U.S. stopped paying dues after Palestine was voted in as a member state. Officials estimate that the U.S. — which accounted for around 22 percent of the total budget — has accrued $600 million in unpaid dues, which was one of the reasons for President Donald Trump’s decision to withdraw. Israel owes an estimated $10 million.

- When 37 nations created UNESCO as a human rights organization promoting education, science and cultural causes in November 1945, “it was essentially a western entity, dominated by western funding,But, as more members joined the group — about 160 members by July 1983 — U.S. policy makers grew worried their voices would be drowned out. The newest members were “largely the decolonized new independent states of Africa and Asia who tended to be less supportive of American policies, and more supportive of the Soviet bloc’s position,”

- The first real scuffle came in 1974, when UNESCO voted to exclude Israel from a regional working group because it allegedly altered “the historical features of Jerusalem” during archaeological excavations and “brainwashed” Arabs in the occupied territories. Congress promptly suspended UNESCO’s appropriations, which forced the agency to soften its sanctions. In 1976 Israel was readmitted; in 1977 U.S. funding resumed.

- In 1980, at the UNESCO general conference in Belgrade, a majority of Communist and Third World nations called for a “new world information order” to compensate for the alleged pro-Western bias of global news organizations. The goals were the licensing of journalists, an international code of press ethics and increased government control over media content. Although UNESCO backed off under pressure from the West, it still allocated $16 million for a two-year program to study “media reforms.

Conclusion:

Despite its limits, UNESCO has demonstrated throughout its history a real capacity to adapt and to bring creative responses to the challenges of its time. The example of world heritage, an acknowledged flagship activity, is a convincing illustration of this synthesis of conceptual development and application in the field. Let us also remember the importance of the Organization’s standard-setting work over the last 15 years, in particular the adoption of the Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights in 1997, the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001, then the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005, and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003.

UNESCO must also resist the temptation to have its finger in too many pies and instead concentrate on what is essential. It should stop accumulating micro-programmes to satisfy immediate needs, to the detriment of the long term. Choosing priorities means being able to intervene in key areas, which determine the evolution of the world. It means applying one’s strength where there is the best chance of obtaining a tangible result.
11. On what grounds a people’s representative can be disqualified under the representation of people act, 1951? Also, mention the remedies available to such person against his disqualification.

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about the RPA, 1951. (50 words)
2. Briefly discuss the grounds on which people’s representative can be disqualified under the representation of people act, 1951. (80 words)
3. Discuss the remedies available to such person against his disqualification. (80 words)
4. Conclusion. (40 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**
The act is pivotal in preventing criminals being elected as representatives, is always quoted by Supreme Court and High Court in various judgments. Sections 7 to 11 of the act deal with disqualification of representatives.

**A person can be disqualified on below grounds:**

- Disqualification on conviction for certain election offences and corrupt practices in the election. (Section 8)
- Disqualification on conviction for certain offences.
- Disqualification on ground of corrupt practices. (section 8A).
- Disqualification for dismissal for corruption or disloyalty. (Section 9).
- Disqualification for Government contracts, etc. (Section 9A)
- Disqualification for office under Government company (section 10)
- Disqualification for failure to lodge account of election expenses. (section 10A)

**Section 8 of Representation of Peoples Act 1951:** Section 8 deals with Disqualification of representatives on conviction for certain offences. This section states that:

- 1 A person convicted of an offence punishable under certain acts of Indian Penal Code, Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967, Prevention of Corruption Act 1988, Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002 etc. shall be disqualified, where the convicted person is sentenced to — (i) only fine, for a period of six years from the date of such conviction; (ii) imprisonment, from the date of such conviction and shall continue to be disqualified for a further period of six years since his release.
- 2 A person convicted for the contravention of — (a) any law providing for the prevention of hoarding or profiteering; or (b) any law relating to the adulteration of food or drugs; or (c) any provisions of the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961.
- 3 A person convicted of any offence and sentenced to imprisonment for not less than two years [other than any offence referred to in sub-section (1) or sub-section (2)] shall be disqualified from the date of such conviction and shall continue to be disqualified for a further period of six years since his release.
- the controversial Section 8(4) clause of the Representation of Peoples Act which was struck down by the Supreme Court calling the Act ultra-vires of the Constitution and providing for disqualification of MPs/MLAs on the day of their conviction.
In July 2013, SC upholds Patna high court judgment debarring persons in judicial and police custody from contesting elections (section 62 (5) of the representation of the people act 1951).

Convicted or not, rule applies to those in jail and police custody; not applicable to those out on bail. The Bench said: “We have heard counsel for the political parties and we do not find any infirmity in the findings of the High Court in the impugned common order that a person who has no right to vote by virtue of the provisions of Section 62 (5) of the Representation of the People Act 1951 is not an elector and is therefore not qualified to contest the election to the House of the People or the Legislative Assembly of a State.

The remedies available to such person against his disqualification:

The Representation of the People Act, 1951 specifies the qualifications and the disqualifications of Members of Parliament and state legislatures. In particular, the first three subsections of Section 8 list various offences, and state that anyone who has been convicted of these offences is disqualified.

The remedies lie in the appeal to court but it has also two issues involved:

Subsection (4) carves out an exception for sitting legislators: it states that the disqualification for sitting legislators will not take effect for three months from the date of conviction, and if the convicted person files an appeal within this period, the disqualification will not be effective until the superior court decides the appeal. In effect, if a person is not a legislator, then he is immediately disqualified from contesting elections. On the other hand, if he is a sitting legislator, his disqualification kicks in with a lag, which could be as long as the court takes to decide his appeal.

Conclusion:

There have been various objections to this differential treatment. In January 2005, while examining a different issue related to this Section, a five-judge Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court also looked into the question of whether this non-uniform treatment violated Article 14 of the Constitution, which guarantees equality before law. The Court said that the objective of including this provision was not to protect the rights of a sitting member but to protect the “very existence and continuity of a House democratically constituted”. They pointed out two undesirable consequences if a sitting member were to be disqualified immediately on conviction and sentencing. If the government had a “razor-edge thin majority”, a disqualification could “have a deleterious effect on the functioning of the government”. Also, the disqualification may lead to a bye-election, which may be a futile exercise if the convicted member is acquitted by a superior court. They said that it was legitimate for the legislature to make two classes for the purpose of disqualification, if had nexus with a public purpose that was sought to be achieved. Therefore, such classification could not be judged as impermissible under Article 14.

12. "Parliament's power to amend the constitution is a limited power and it cannot be enlarged into absolute power". In the light of this statement explain whether parliament under article 368 of the constitution can destroy the basic structure of the constitution by expanding its amending power?

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about the idea of "Constitution as a living document". (40 words)
2. Briefly discuss the article 368 of the constitution. (60 words)
3. Discuss the idea of basic structure doctrine. (60 words)
4. Highlight the limitations on parliament to amend the constitution. (60 words)
5. Conclusion. (30 words)

**Hints:**

Introduction:

The idea behind ‘Constitution as a living document’ highlights the necessity of making amendments in the constitution to make it more adaptive with time and to ensure that it doesn’t lose its relevance as
the social, economic and political conditions of the people keeps on changing. Whereas on the other side, too many changes in the constitution would lead to the loss of it’s essence. So, the pioneers of our constitution made sure to maintain the balance between a rigid and a flexible amendment process to the constitution.

Article 368 and Doctrine of Basic structure:

• Article 368 of the constitution deals with the powers of parliament to amend the constitution and its procedure. It states that the Parliament may, in exercise of its constituent power, amend by way of addition, variation or repeal any provision of the constitution in accordance with the procedure laid down for the purpose.

• However the parliament cannot amend those provisions which form the “basic structure” of the constitution. This was ruled by the Supreme Court in the KesavanandaBharti case 1973. If the Judiciary feels to review the any amendment made by the parliament, it has the power to do so and if the Judiciary thinks that the amendment is unlawful or against any provision or against public morality, it has the power to make that amendment null and void.

• In the Shankari Prasad case 1951, the Supreme Court ruled that the power of Parliament to amend the constitution under article 368 also includes the power to amend the fundamental rights. In Golaknath case 1967, the Supreme Court reversed its earlier stand and ruled that Fundamental rights are given a transcendental and immutable position and hence Parliament cannot abridge or take away any of these rights. The Parliament reacted to SC’s judgment by enacting 24th amendment act 1971 and stated the Parliament has the power to abridge any of the fundamental rights under article 368.

Limitations on Parliament to amend the constitution:

• However in KesavanandaBharti case 1973, the Supreme court overruled its judgment in GolakNath case. It upheld the validity in of 24th Amendment act and stated that the parliament is empowered to abridge any of the fundamental rights. At the same time, it laid down a new doctrine of the ‘basic structure’ of the constitution. It ruled that constituent power of the parliament under article 368 doesn’t enable it to alter the basic structure of the constitution.

• Parliament reacted to it by enacting 42nd amendment where it declared that there’s no limitation on the constituent power of Parliament and no amendment can be questioned in any court of law. However, the Supreme Court in Minerva Mills case 1980 invalidated this provision as it excluded judicial review which is a basic feature of the question.

Conclusion:

From various judgments, Unity and Integrity of the nation, judicial review, parliamentary system, free and fair elections, independence of judiciary etc have emerged as the elements or ingredients of the basic structure. These cannot be amended by using the constituent amending power of the constitution under the article 368, thus limiting Parliament’s power to amend the constitution.

13. The reservation of seats for women in the institution of local self government has had a limited impact on the patriarchal character of the Indian political processes.

Approach

1. Give a brief introduction of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act. (80 words)
2. Briefly discuss the impact of the Amendment on the patriarchal character of Indian political processes. (120 words)
3. Conclusion. (50 words)
Hints:

Introduction:
Given its far reaching consequences, the 73rd Amendment along with 74th is called a silent revolution. The most revolutionary provision is said to be the reservation of one-third of the seats for women in local bodies (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging the SC’s and ST’s). Further not less than one-third of the total number of offices of chairpersons in the panchayats at each level shall be reserved for women.

Impact of amendment on patriarchal character of Indian political processes:

• But has it really made a considerable impact towards improving the status of women is debatable issue. In spite of progressive nature of the constitution, traditional social structures that restricted women’s social participation were reinforced in which men hold primary power and predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege.

• The reservation of seats in the panchayati raj institutions has enabled women to contest and win elections but lot of structural and procedural challenges restrict their capacity to become effective leaders. Women’s increased vulnerability to poverty, lower educational status and lack of financial independence are all compounded by the perpetuation of traditional and outdated social attitudes, which give preference to male leaders. Inequality based on gender differences resulted in female literacy rates being lower at 65.46% than that of their male counterparts at 82.14%. Women are often assumed to be proxy for male family members who are not able to contest the seat due to reservation system and their capacity to make their independent decisions is completely questioned.

• The violent nature of politics also has negative impact on women’s political participation and makes it difficult for them to exercise their power and decisions in today’s politics and continues to pose big challenges for them. The women from ST SC categories have to face double burden of caste and gender discrimination due to which they mush more pushed towards the outskirts of mainstream Indian politics. The women from minorities also face the ill effects of patriarchy.

Following datashows that there is no major change in women participation in politics in India even after enactment of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act:

• According to Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and UN Women report — Women in Politics 2017, the Lok Sabha had 64 (11.8 percent of 542 MPs) and Rajya Sabha 27 (11 per cent of 245 MPs) women MPs.

• There are just 62 women among the 678 elected members of the Assemblies in the elections, as per data compiled by the Association for Democratic Reforms and the Centre for Policy Research. It was 77 in the previous election. The total number of women MLAs has come down to 9 per cent in 2018 from 11 per cent in 2013.

• In India, between 2010 and 2017 women’s share rose 1 percentage point in its Lower House (Lok Sabha)

• Representation of women at local government levels varied from state to state.”There are 13.72 lakh elected women representatives (EWRs) in PRIs (Panchayati Raj Institutions) which constitute 44.2 per cent of total elected representatives (ERs) as on December, 2017

• Women’s participation in political parties remained low in the 1990s with 10-12% membership consisting of women. From 1980-1970, 4.3% of candidates and 70% of electoral races had no women candidates at all.

Conclusion:
In order to see effective results of all the efforts of constitutional and governmental efforts towards women empowerment and their increased participation in political sphere for a more inclusive social order, there is a need to address the several structural and institutional deficiencies which result in the limited success of the schemes and programmes of the government.

Hints: UPSC Mains 2019

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about The Attorney general of India. (50 words)
2. Briefly discuss about the Attorney General as the chief legal adviser. (80 words)
3. Discuss about the Attorney General as the lawyer for the Government of India. (80 words)
4. Conclusion. (40 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**

One part of the Attorney General’s role is that of a Cabinet Minister. In this capacity the Minister is responsible for representing the interests and perspectives of the Ministry at Cabinet, while simultaneously representing the interests and perspectives of Cabinet and consequently the Government to the Ministry and the Ministry’s communities of interest.

He is appointed by the President of India under Article 76(1) of the Constitution and holds office during the pleasure of the President. It shall be the duty of the Attorney-General to give advice to the Government of India upon such legal matters, and to perform such other duties of a legal character, as may from time to time be referred or assigned to him by the President, and to discharge the functions conferred on him by or under this Constitution or any other law for the time being in force. In the performance of his duties the Attorney-General shall have right of audience in all courts.

**The Attorney General as the Law Officer of the Executive Council because:**

He gives advice to the Government of India upon such legal matters, which are referred or assigned to him by the president. He performs such other duties of a legal character that are referred or assigned to him by the president. He discharges the functions conferred on him by or under the Constitution or any other law.

The Attorney General has a special role to play in advising Cabinet to ensure the rule of law is maintained and that Cabinet actions are legally and constitutionally valid.

He shall advise the Government upon all matters of law connected with legislative enactments and upon all matters of law referred to him or her by the Government.

**Attorney General for India is primary lawyer in the Supreme Court of India because:**

- He appears on behalf of the government of India in all the cases in Supreme Court in which the Government of India is concerned.
- He appears on behalf of the government of India in any reference made by the president to the Supreme Court under Article 143 of the constitution.
- He appears on behalf of the government of India in any case in a high court in which the Government of India is concerned, if Government of India requires so.

**Below mentioned are the Limitations placed on the Attorney General:**

- He should not advise or hold a brief against the Government of India.
- He should not defend accused persons in criminal cases without the permission of the government of India.
- He should not accept appointment as a director in any company without the permission of government.
Conclusion:
It should be noted that the AG is not debarred from private legal practice. He is not a government servant as he is not paid fixed salary and his remuneration is decided by the president. The Attorney General is the chief law officer of the Executive Council. The responsibilities stemming from this role are unlike those of any other Cabinet member. The role has been referred to as “judicial-like” and as the “guardian of the public interest”.

15. **Individual Parliamentarian’s role as the national lawmaker is on a decline, which in turn, has adversely impacted the quality of debates and their outcome. Discuss.**

**Approach**

1. **Give a brief introduction about the significance of Individual Parliamentarians as a national lawmaker in Parliamentary Democracy.** (50 words)

2. **Discuss the causes behind the decline in the Individual Parliamentarian’s role as the national lawmaker, explaining about how far centralized decision making structure in party politics and the anti-defection law is responsible in affecting the quality of debates.** (80 words)

3. **Discuss the steps that can be taken to improve the quality of debate and the role of Individual Parliamentarian as the national lawmaker.** (80 words)

4. **Conclusion.** (40 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**
The Constitution provides for the legislature to make laws, the government to implement laws, and the courts to interpret and enforce these laws. While the judiciary is independent from the other two branches, the government is formed with the support of a majority of members in the legislature. Therefore, the government is collectively responsible to Parliament for its actions.

This also implies that Parliament (i.e. Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha) can hold the government accountable for its decisions, and scrutinize its functioning. This may be done using various methods including, during debates on Bills or issues on the floor of Parliament, by posing questions to ministers during Question Hour, and in parliamentary committees. Within this reference framework, role of Individual Parliamentarian as the national lawmaker assumes greater significance in the health and vitality of the Parliamentary democracy.

**Parliamentarian’s role as the national lawmaker:**
- MPs may raise issues of public importance in Parliament, and examine the government’s response to problems being faced by citizens through: (i) a debate, which entails a reply by the concerned minister, or (ii) a motion which entails a vote.
- Using these methods, MPs may discuss important matters, policies, and topical issues. The concerned minister while replying to the debate may make assurances to the House regarding steps that will be taken to address the situation.
- Alternatively, MPs may move a motion for: (i) discussing important issues (such as inflation, drought, and corruption), (ii) adjournment of business in a House in order to express displeasure over a government policy, or (iii) expressing no confidence in the government leading to its resignation.
- To improve government accountability in Parliament, the opposition in some countries such as the UK, Canada, and Australia forms a shadow cabinet. Under such a system, opposition MPs track a certain portfolio, scrutinize its performance and suggest alternate programs. This allows for detailed tracking and scrutiny of ministries, and assists MPs in making constructive suggestions. Some of these countries also provide for days when the opposition parties decide the agenda for Parliament.
However, given the dominance of parties, independence of MPs are rare. There are other causes as well which have led to the decline in the Individual Parliamentarian’s role as the national lawmaker:

1. Judicial activism by higher Judiciary (High Courts and the Supreme Court).
2. Brute Majority in the ruling government - giving little or no space for democratic dissent.
3. Instead of Lawmakers deciding on Policy matters and the formulation of law, these critical factors are inserted by the Party High Command.
4. Lack of Subject matter knowledge by the lawmakers leading to delegating the matter to the bureaucracy.
5. Avoidance of Pre - vetting process in the inner Party deliberations.
6. Penalizing MP/MLAs if they speak and vote their mind against Party lines in the Legislature under the anti defection law.

Individual members have a great role to play in furthering our representative democracy by contributing to productive debates. Steps like,

1. Equipping them with relevant information
2. Unbiased role of speaker in allotting them time.
3. Freeing them from party whip
4. Maintaining the decorum of the house must be taken for them to fulfill their role.

Some unknown facts

- Nearly half of the newly-elected Lok Sabha members have criminal charges against them, a 26% increase as compared to 2014, according to the Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR).
- Of the 539 winning candidates analysed by the ADR, as many as 233 MPs or 43% have criminal charges.
- The BJP has 116 MPs or 39% of its winning candidates with criminal cases, followed by 29 MPs (57%) from the Congress, 13 (81%) from the JDU, 10 (43%) from the DMK and nine (41%) from the TMC, the ADR said.
- In 2014, 185 Lok Sabha members (34%) had criminal charges and 112 MPs had serious criminal cases against them. In 2009, 162 (nearly 30%) out of the 543 Lok Sabha MPs had criminal charges and 14% had serious criminal charges, it said.
- In the new Lok Sabha, nearly 29% of the cases are related to rape, murder, attempt to murder or crime against women. Pragya Singh Thakur, the newly-elected BJP MP from Bhopal, faces terror charges in connection with the 2008 Malegaon blasts
- About 75 per cent of MPs in the Lok Sabha have at least a graduate degree, while 10 per cent are only matriculates, according to a report by PRS Legislative Research.
- The percentage of MPs elected in the 2014 general elections who do not have a matriculate degree is significantly higher (13 per cent) in comparison to the 15th Lok Sabha (3 per cent).

Conclusion:

India’s citizens need a more robust legislative system that offers public representatives — our MPs, Ministers and the Prime Minister — a greater sense of authority. However, one must stand wary against rank populism infecting our body politic. Parliament should be a space for policy and not for politics. According to a 2014 survey among national voters to study the perception of voters regarding MPs in their respective constituencies; an MP’s own high education may not be a guarantee for promotion of literacy and education in his constituency. In the survey, views on 21 most educated members of the 15th Lok Sabha, those with a PhD, did not reflect any better performance in promotion
of literacy. Only 10 out of these 21 MPs scored above the national average when it came to better schooling.

16. 'In the context of neo-liberal paradigm of development planning, multi-level planning is expected to make operations cost effective and remove many implementation blockages.' Discuss.

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about development planning. (50 words)
2. Briefly discuss the difficulty observed at Planning, Implementation and monitoring stage. (80 words)
3. Analyze to what extent multi-level planning is expected to make operations cost effective (70 words)
4. Conclusion (50 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**

The concept of multi-level regional planning may be defined as 'planning for a variety of regions which together form a system and subordinate systems'. In multi-level planning, the various levels of planning provide bases for higher-level planning.

Similarly, the higher-level regional plans provide the basic framework for the lower-level plans. In such plans, there is direct participation of the people in the planning process. In multi-level planning, every region/unit constitutes a system and hence, the planning process becomes more effective.

**Difficulty observed at Planning, Implementation and monitoring stage**

- Centralized planning is affected by bureaucratic functioning and growth of red tapism and, therefore, there is loss in the efficiency of management.
- This methodology reduced freedom to the regional bodies and local enterprises.
- Centralized planning may result in the centralization of powers. Moreover, individual initiative and enterprise may be adversely affected by such a system.
- In centralized planning, the formulators are often not aware of ground realities, and often standardized programmes and schemes are prepared, which may not be suitable at all places.
- Under centralized planning, there are high costs of obtaining information, loss of time, difficulties in applying concepts uniformly to all situations, problems of distortions in transmitting decisions for implementations etc., which reduce the effectiveness.

**Multi level Planning:**

- Decentralized planning is defined as that form of planning where the task of formulating, adopting, executing and supervising the plan is dispersed, rather than entrusted to a central authority. In decentralized planning, the regional and local bodies are given greater freedom to formulate, adopt and implement the plan.
- The various levels of multi-level planning in India are: (1) Centre, (2) States, (3) Districts, (4) Blocks, and (5) Villages.

**Why do we need decentralized planning?**

- Decentralized planning makes the plans and programmes more suitable to local conditions.
- The need for decentralized planning provides the justification for planning at multiple levels. The former provides the logic for the existence of the latter. Decentralization of the planning process...
makes planning more meaningful, more democratic and more responsive to the needs of those for whom planning is meant. However, planning at multiple levels has to be integrated. This is the primary objective and the main challenge of multi-level planning.

- The focus of development planning is bring in efficiency and effectiveness of the Policy matter. That being said, the extent to which multi-level planning can make operations cost effective depends upon the following factors:

- **Decentralisation provides Feasibility or Relevance to the objectives:** Depending on the feasibility or relevance of the national objective to the block, a plan may or may not correspond or give the same weightage to national plan objectives. For instance, the national plan objective of self-reliance translated at the block level would imply that outflow of goods and services from the block to the rest of the country increase to a level at which these can pay for the inflow of goods and services. Since the block is a part, even if a smaller part of the national economy, self-reliance in this sense is, therefore, not feasible.

- **Freedom to Fix Priorities:** Since the specific situation at the local level is quite different from the national scene, a block plan may even give different weightage to national priorities in its scheme of priorities.

- **Target Fixing:** A block drawing upon the available resources and its own experiences should have the freedom to fix its own targets, depending upon their feasibility. When fixing a target, the quantum of resources and relevant institutional and organizational arrangements, manpower, feasibility, etc. have to be taken into consideration.

- **Relationship among Plan Objectives:** There may be either a complementary or a competitive relationship between plan objectives. A complementary relation is ensured if a plan, which contributes positively to one objective, makes a positive contribution to the second as well, or at least, does not make a negative contribution. A competitive relationship, on the other hand, means that a positive contribution to one objective may (in some cases at least) lead to a negative contribution to the other.

**Conclusion:**

One of the prerequisites of an effective planning at the local level is a full and sustained commitment on the part of the government at all four levels. An indication of this commitment might be the presence of development planning organizations. This organization does the planning and at the same time coordinates the implementation of development projects in the area. To be operational, however, this locally based planning organization has to have a capable manpower and logistic support.

Similarly, to be effective, it has to have a clear mandate to formulate the development plan of the area and its role and responsibilities clearly delineated vis-à-vis other government agencies.

17. The need for cooperation among various service sector has been an inherent component of development discourse. Partnership bridges bring the gap among the sectors. It also sets in motion a culture of 'Collaboration' and 'team spirit'. In the light of statements above, examine India's Development process.

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about the participation of multiple stakeholders in the process of effective developmental discourse. (30 words)
2. Briefly discuss why there is a need for cooperation among various service sectors. (60 words)
3. Discuss how cooperation is achieved between various service sectors. (60 words)
4. Discuss the significance of bridging the gaps between various service sectors to set in motion the culture of "collaboration" and "team spirit" in the process of India's development. (60 words)
5. Conclusion. (40 words)
Hints:

Introduction

India is a democratic country. The participation of multiple stakeholders is the key to the effective Developmental processes. The same applies to the service sector of India which has contributed 54.17 per cent of India’s Gross Value Added at current price in 2018-19*. And Net service exports stood at US$ 60.25 billion in April-December 2018.

Why there is need for Cooperation?

• In an Integrated economy one service sector does have multiplier effect and link with the other service sector. For example Tourism is linked with the Health as well as Leisure. Therefore the cooperation among the various service sectors is needed for development. Otherwise developmental processes will become cumbersome and time taking.

How Cooperation is achieved through Partnership?

• Partnership is formed when two or more than two entities come together, voluntary or involuntary, at a common platform to solve a particular problem or to provide a public good or service.

• The partnership is of many types legal, economic, political, social, environmental, administrative, and ethical. For example CSR bridges the gap between IT sector and Education sector. The profits of CSR can be used for the better education of children in a specific area.

Why Gap needs to be bridged:

• The gap develops when an activity is carried out in singular without taking in cognizance of plurality of dimensions affected by that activity.

• The Gap between various sectors might affect the development and render activities void without significant effect on the lives of the people. This gap is the formal or informal one which affects the outcomes of developmental processes. Thus through the various types partnership bridges the gap among the sectors. This gap bridging is necessary for the Developmental processes in an integrated economy because this leads to:
  - Participatory developmental processes
  - Community participation in the developmental processes
  - Effective and Efficient Governance
  - Effective delivery of public services
  - To ensure Public interest and national interest
  - To gain Public trust
  - For credibility and legitimacy of the processes

Culture is a way of performing various tasks in an organization, community or society. When partnership takes place, a culture of collaboration and team spirit is fostered. The different sectors arrive at common platform and together by achieving a consensus are able to solve problem or deliver service. Also this togetherness results in the development of team spirit.

Conclusion

Thus partnership among various service sector leads to “SabkaSath and SabkaVikas“. This model adopts collaborative and participatory approach for the development of the country. This way the country can achieve sustainable growth and inclusive development factoring into the various challenges which are in front of the Indian society and economy, such as inequalities, discrimination, marginalization, deprivation, security, environmental and ethical.
18. Performance of welfare schemes that are implemented for vulnerable sections is not so effective due to absence of their awareness and active involvement at all stages of policy process - Discuss.

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about the welfare schemes implemented for vulnerable sections. (50 words)
2. Briefly discuss the why performance of welfare schemes is not effective. (80 words)
3. Discuss the various stages of policy process and the impact of participation during those processes. (70 words)
4. Conclusion. (50 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction:**
The government schemes are carried out for the welfare of the vulnerable sections. The vulnerable sections include SC, ST, OBCs, backward classes, women, senior citizens, children, Divyang, third gender, minorities. The welfare includes the overall human, social, political, economic development of these sections with a view to achieve dignity and liberty of individuals by enhancing choices and offering avenues of Growth.

**Absence of their awareness and active involvement at all stages of policy process**

There are mainly 5 stages of policy process, where non involvement and lack of awareness leads to Inefficient and Ineffective performance:

- **Identification of the problem** - At the time of identification the people for whom the scheme is carried out do not know about the scheme. The people needed to be involved in the policy making process so that their valuable inputs can enhance the process.

- **Formation** – While policy formulation takes place, it is really important to involve people. If the people are not aware then that might affect the better targeting of the policy. The policy may lose sight of the target population and hence become ineffective.

- **Grievance redressal mechanism:** No administration can claim to be accountable, responsive and user-friendly unless it has established an efficient and effective grievance redress mechanism.

- **Solution adopting** – While adopting solution the people’s wisdom can contribute to the enhance of democratic and participatory process and Bottom-Top approach of solving problems by taking view of people’s views and recommendations. If lacking then policy might not achieve its objectives.

- **Implementation** - At the level of implementation if people are not aware then implementing is merely in letter and not in spirit. Thus people’s participation is also necessary for the transparent processes and procedures. The people will themselves act as check on inefficiencies.

- **Evaluation and Monitoring** – The people’s involvement can pave for the better accountability. Thereby the processes, outcomes of the schemes can be monitored and evaluated effectively.

- **Planning and Coordination:** Though schemes provide broader guidelines, yet at gross root level planning is required for implementing of scheme taking various parameters of development into account.

- Structural discrimination directly impedes equal access to health services by way of exclusion.

**For example** a scheme aimed at skill development of minorities in Jammu and Kashmir will not give results without the social awareness of the people and the active involvement of the people at grassroots level. The technology, media, existing democratic structures at local, state levels, civil society, NGOs, private players can be used to raise awareness and involve people.
Conclusion

Hence, Participatory and collaborative approach enhances the efficiency and effectiveness of the welfare schemes and can lead to better targeting and outcomes. After all the people’s participation is very much necessary to carry out Good Governance. This good governance is reflected in the performance of various welfare schemes aimed at the welfare and development of the vulnerable sections of the society.

19. "The long-sustained image of India as a leader of the oppressed and marginalized Nations has disappeared on account of its new found role in the emerging global order" Elaborate.

Approach

1. Give a brief introduction about the background in which India adopted the leadership role of marginalized nations of the world post-independence. (50 words)
2. Briefly discuss the reasons of change in this approach of India post-cold war. (140 words)
3. Conclude by underlining still existing necessities for reclaiming role of leader of third world. (60 words)

Hints:

Introduction:

The Non-Aligned Movement was created and founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the other regions of the world and at the height of the cold war. During the early days of the movement, its actions were a key factor in the decolonization process, which led later to the attainment of freedom and independence by many Countries and to the founding of many new sovereign states.

India, the place of origin of ideologies like “Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam”, “Sarve Jan Sukhino Bhavantu”, has been a champion of the oppressed and marginalized nations also known as the Third World. During our struggle for independence, India stood with oppressed and marginalized nations condemned the actions of British in South East Asia; Thus India had sustained its image as a leader of the oppressed and marginalized nations.

But there is a shift in India’s approach towards its Strategic foreign policy perspective:

• 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship-granted Nepalese, the same economic and educational opportunities as citizens in India.
• 1949 Bhutan and India Treaty: Bhutan agreed to let India “guide” its foreign policy and both nations would consult each other closely on foreign and defense affairs. Also India has been consistently supporting Bhutan’s Five Year Plans financially.
• India has been an ardent supported for the cause of Palestine before and after Independence
• Economic prosperity is now seen as the key to India’s attainment of great power status and it is the driving argument behind its current world view.
• India played a major role in the liberation of Bangladesh from Pakistan thereby safeguarding the people from atrocities committed by the erstwhile West Pakistan.
• This trend was observed in NAM summit Havana 2006, where India focused on anti-terrorism, inclusive globalization, nuclear disarmament, energy security, investing in Africa and such issues which are vital to India’s global agenda but not necessarily top priorities for developing countries.
• India’s security challenges are mostly structural in nature: managing the China threat, the US partnership. The fact that India straddles the Indian Ocean imposes on us the responsibility to ensure the security of the sea-lanes of communication from Persian Gulf to the Malacca Straits.
• India aiming to secure greater market access for services and pushing for easing restrictions in the sector. For example, focus on overcoming deadlock in Broad-based Trade and Investment Agreement (BTIA) with European countries.

• India emerging as a new global leader has significantly contributed to the infrastructural developments in Afghanistan like Salma Dam, Zaranj Delaram Highway, reconstruction of Parliament, Cricket stadium etc.

• Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme, a bilateral assistance programme run by the Government of India to ensure the development of under developing and Least Developed Countries through infrastructure development and capacity building.

**Conclusion:**

Blocs and alliances are less relevant today and the world is moving towards a loosely arranged order. India’s muscle flexing approach towards its neighbors and regional organizations like SAARC is an example of it. And it’s involvement in organizations like QUAD, it’s focus on Indo Pacific regional growth with US, and to counter the threat of China has been on its strategic palate.

Modern India prefers to articulate and prioritize its national interests over the collective interests of developing countries.

20. **What introduces friction into the ties between India and the United States is that Washington is still unable to find for India a position in its global strategy, which would satisfy India’s national self-esteem and ambitions**. Explain with suitable examples.

**Approach**

1. Give a brief introduction about the Indo-US relations prior to end of Cold War. (50 words)
2. Discuss deepening of strategic partnership between India and the US in last couple of decades. (80 words)
3. Discuss global strategy of the US and locate India’s position in it, keeping in mind India’s ambitions and self-esteem. (70 words)
4. Conclusion. (50 words)

**Hints:**

**Introduction**

The major shift in India’s relationship with the US came after India tested its nuclear weapons in Pokharan in 1998. This event was preceded by 2 other major changes in India’s domestic and foreign policy. Post-cold-war, the relevance of NAM stood challenged. In the absence of two blocs, the question of sidelining or remaining non-aligned didn’t make much sense.

Secondly, in the wake of simmering BoP crisis over a decade, India had to see off its strategy of autarky. It exchanged loans from IMF in return of SAPs which made opening up of economy imperative. These two landmark structural changes in the way India was going to engage with the outer world provided a basis of building relations with the US on firm foundations. Closed economy and NAM had restricted cooperation in key areas like defense, people to people contact, trade ties, technology transfer etc. So, coming back to nuclear test, the US was left with two options: one was sanctioning India and other was to engage constructively with India accepting it as a nuclear weapon state. The US experimented with the first and settled with the later.

**Strategic partnership between India and the US**

- It cannot be said that the US engaged with India out of its intent only but one must accept the role played by international situation that was there in first decade of new millennium. The 9/11 opened up new arenas of engagement for the US.
• It came close to South Asia in its quest to deal with terrorism. Side by side, China was also rising. It was asserting itself in South China Sea. It was putting bizarre claims on islands, drawing arbitrary lines in waters to keep other countries out, flirting with territorial waters of other littoral countries, building military bases, creating ports etc.

• Meanwhile, volume of trade through Indo-Pacific was competing with that through Atlantic waters. Developing countries were rising in South and South-East Asia. Rogue states like North Korea were also threatening global order.

• This was the overall situation in which the US saw its interests as a global hegemony threatened and understood that it needs to shift its focus from Atlantic and Middle East to Asia-Pacific. It needed to be present there. This was the substance that fuelled the global strategy of the US in past two decades.

Global strategy of the US and India’s position in it

• In this backdrop, India appeared to be a natural ally to the US. Since old inhibitions like NAM, closed economy etc. were gone and emerging necessities drove the relationship based on realist calculations. Keeping in mind aspirations of India as a rising power and having common stakes in peaceful rise of China and maintenance of a rule based order in Asia-Pacific, Indo-US rapprochement became logical.

• **Pakistan**: USA slashed the aid that was disbursed to Pakistan to fight terrorism pushing FATF ban on Pakistan. The listing of Jaish-e-Mohammed leader Masood Azhar as an international terrorist by the UN is an example of uncritical American support to India.

• In this direction, the US entered into civil nuclear agreement with India. It roped in India along with two other democracies of the region i.e. Australia and Japan to form a quadrilateral initiative. India was declared a Major Defense Partner of the US in 2016.

• Certain agreements were signed like COMCASA, LEMOA etc. that provided defense and technological inputs equivalent to those available only to allies of America. It received a support to enter high tables like NSG, UNSC etc. Our position on international terrorism was almost similar.

• India was till recently availing the benefits of GSP that made our exports more competitive in the US markets. All these steps bring the US and India closer physically and emotionally. There is great decline of cold war skepticism towards the US.

• **But everything is not as rosy as it appears.** There are areas of contention between the US and India in almost all domains of strategic partnership.

• In its dealings with Iran, India is hindered by the US sanctions on the former. Our economic policies in areas of agriculture, e-commerce, IPR regime, protection of domestic interests doesn’t go well with neo-liberal philosophy of America.

• Recent withdrawal of USA from JCPOA, also called the Iran Nuclear deal and the imposition of sanctions on Iran, who is major exporter of oil to India and also a strategic partner of India (Chabahar Port) with whom we enjoy civilization ties has adversely affected our relations with Iran.

• We are not on same page in dealing with climate change. Trump’s America First Policy is keen to deprive us of benefits of GSP. Our Kashmir policy is not getting full support of America.

• What one needs to appreciate is that these irritants in Indo-US relations are byproduct of misfit between global strategy of the US and interests of India. CAATSA humiliates India by questioning its strategic autonomy.

• Pakistan is important for the US to deal with Afghanistan issue. Iran-US animosity if age old. By denying climate change, the US doesn’t want to lose its preeminent positions as an economic
superpower. Protectionism of America is fuelled by a sense of transactional relationship spurred under Trump. Our public good approach towards agricultural products doesn’t find resonance with neo-liberal approach of the US.

Conclusion:
Hence, what we conclude is that relations between the US and India are driven by areas where our interests converge. The US is ultimately protecting its national interests and so does India. Wherever they disagree, it’s the power of America that finds way. US policy has always been this realist. What India needs to realize is that foreign policies are driven by interests and not ideal.

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