

# **UPSC MAINS 2016**

# GS PAPER - 2

Time Allowed: 3 hr. Max. Marks: 250

- 1. Discuss the essentials of the 69th Constitutional Amendment Act and anomalies, if any that have led to recent reported conflicts between the elected representatives and the institution of the Lieutenant Governor in the administration of Delhi. Do you think that this will give rise to a new trend in the functioning of the Indian federal politics?
- 2. To what extent is Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, bearing marginal note "Temporary provision with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir", temporary? Discuss the future prospects of this provision in the context of Indian polity.
- 3. The Indian party system is passing through a phase of transition which looks to be full of contradictions and paradoxes." Discuss.
- 4. Exercise of CAG's powers in relation to the accounts of the Union and the States is derived from Article 149 of the Indian Constitution. Discuss whether audit of the Government's Policy implementation could amount to overstepping its own (CAG) jurisdiction.
- 5. Discuss each adjective attached to the word 'Republic' in the preamble. Are they defendable in the present circumstances stances?
- 6. What was held in the Coelho case? In this context, can you say that judicial review is of key importance amongst the basic features of the Constitution?
- 7. Did the Government of India Act, 1935 lay down a federal constitution? Discuss.
- 8. What is a quasi-judicial body? Explain with the help of concrete examples.
- 9. Professor Amartya Sen has advocated important reforms in the realms of primary education and primary health care. What are your suggestions to improve their status and performance?
- 10. "In the Indian governance system, the role of non-state actors has been only marginal." Critically examine this statement.
- 11. "Effectiveness of the government system at various levels and people's participation in the governance system are inter-dependent." Discuss their relationship with each other in context of India.
- 12. In the integrity index of Transparency International, India stands very low. Discuss briefly the legal, political, economic, social and cultural factors that have caused the decline of public morality in India.
- 13. Has the Indian governmental system responded adequately to the demands of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization started in 1991? What can the government do to be responsive to this important change?

- 14. "Traditional bureaucratic structure and culture have hampered the process of socio-economic development in India." Comment.
- 15. Examine the main provisions of the National Child Policy and throw light on the status of its implementation.
- 16. "Demographic Dividend in India will remain only theoretical unless our manpower becomes more educated, aware, skilled and creative." What measures have been taken by the government to enhance the capacity of our population to be more productive and employable?
- 17. "The broader aims and objectives of WTO are to manage and promote international trade in the era of globalization. But the Doha round of negotiations seem doomed due to differences between the developed and the developing countries." Discuss in the Indian perspective.
- 18. Evaluate the economic and strategic dimensions of India's Look East Policy in the context of the post-Cold War international scenario.
- 19. "Increasing cross-border terrorist attacks in India and growing interference in the internal affairs of several member-states by Pakistan are not conducive for the future of SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation)." Explain with suitable>
- 20. What are the aims and objectives of the McBride Commission of the UNESCO? What is India's position on these?





# **UPSC GS MAINS PAPER - 2**

# **HINTS**

1. Discuss the essentials of the 69th Constitutional Amendment Act and anomalies, if any that have led to recent reported conflicts between the elected representatives and the institution of the Lieutenant Governor in the administration of Delhi. Do you think that this will give rise to a new trend in the functioning of the Indian federal politics?

# Hints:

The Government of NCT of Delhi Act, included as the 69th amendment to the constitution in 1991, before coming to Article 239 AA of the constitution, we should consider the matter from historical perspective.

The principle of democracy and parliamentary sovereignty has been firmly established in England and elsewhere. Now it is not the king, but the people who are supreme, and they exercise their 'general will' and thus, the role of appointed officers have declined compared to that of elected.

In case of India, apex court held the President and Governor in India are like British king. They have to act on the advice of the council of ministers, and not on their discretion.

The British king still has 3 rights-(1) right to be consulted, (2) the right to encourage, and (3) the right to warn. But apart from these limited rights, he has to act in accordance with the advice of the Council of Ministers.

This was the legal position even before the 42<sup>nd</sup> constitutional amendment which amended Article 74 by adding the words "who shall act on the advice of the Council of Ministers."

However, the expression 'aid and advise' is only a term of article, and it does not mean that the President or Governor has any discretion in the matter. It is true Delhi is not a fully fledged state, and certain power e.g., related to police and land is with the central Government. But Delhi is not a Union Territory, the 69th Amendment which introduced Article-239AA, provides a Legislature and a Council of Ministers.

"There shall be a Council of Minister with Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Lt. Governor in the exercise of his function in reference to matter with respect to which the Lt Governor has power to make laws, except insofar as he is, by or under law required to act his discretion." Here, term 'aid and advise' has not a literally meaning but a term of article, otherwise democracy will be subverted.

The unique status of Delhi and multiplicity of authorities have always been a cause of trouble in administrative affairs. The recent various tussles between Delhi CM and Lt Governor is rooted in the clause of NCT Act, because both have interpreted differently to defend their stand points. Undoubtedly, there is some ambiguity-that is the reason in recent the Home ministry's notification, while hearing Delhi's Government petition, termed it "suspected" and ruled that Delhi Government has no authority to probe central Government officials.

Further, the observation by Apex court added that Delhi HC ruling is tentative and would not be binding. The observation by Apex Court has complicated the legal conflict further.

Since Delhi is a special case, which doesn't get replicated in case of other states or UTs; along with the factor, that the several legislations by the Delhi Government have clearly exceeded the constitutional powers of the Government, such as the authority to Delhi lokayukt to be able to inspect central ministers and officials, have brought matters to standstill. However, the fear of happening the same in other states doesn't have solid foundation.

2. To what extent is Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, bearing marginal note "Temporary provision with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir", temporary? Discuss the future prospects of this provision in the context of Indian polity.

#### Hints:

In 1947, the princely state 'J&K' became a part of India by 'the Instrument of Accession'. At that time, Ayyangar, (Constitutional Assembly Member) argued that for a variety of reasons Kashmir, unlikely other princely states, was yet not ripe for complete integration. Moreover he argued, "Will of the people through the instrument of the (J&K) Constituent Assembly will determine the Constitution of the State as well as the sphere of the Union jurisdiction over state".

Belief was that it would one day integrate like other states of union. Assuming this could happen only when there was real peace and only when people of the state acquiesced to such an arrangement. Hence, the use of term "temporary provision" is used in the title of the article and Article-370 was incorporated.

Article-370 was and is about providing space, in matter of governance, to the people of state who felt deeply vulnerable about their identity and insecure about the future.

Article-1 of Indian Constitution states India is not a confederation but a 'Union of State'. Hence no state has a right to secede from it, and union is indissoluble. Supporting this statement J&K Constitution itself claim that J&K state is and shall continue to be the integral part of India.

Article-370, in its true nature not intact- A series of Presidential Order has eroded it substantially and made most Union laws applicable to the state. In this context, half a century back in 1963, Nehru remarked, "The process of erosion of Article 370 has began, many things have been done in last few years which made the relationship closer between Union and J&K."

In fact today the autonomy enjoyed by the state is a shadow of its former self, and virtually there is no institution of the Republic of India that does not include J&K within its scope of jurisdiction.

The only substantial differences from other states—(1) related to permanent residents and their rights. (2) The non-applicability of emergency provision on the ground of "internal disturbance" without the concurrence of the state.

Article-370 cannot be revoked unilaterally, revoked only if a new Constituent Assembly of J&K is convened and willingly to recommend its revocation.

Parliament has the power to amend the Constitution to change 370's provision, but this could be subject to judicial review.

# Future Prospects-

- 1. It has been a tendency whatever party in Delhi and Kashmir parties are running away from debate. It should not be treated as suit and scoot policy.
- 2. It should be debated and discussed on more serious note eventually consensus and trust matters in political democracy.
- 3. Its time to review from both the Sides (union and j&k)—in last 66 years what has been net balance sheet of the gains and losses to the J&K and the Union of India.
- 4. The People who was or are in the Power only there vested interested have been served by this provision.
- 3. The Indian party system is passing through a phase of transition which looks to be full of contradictions and paradoxes." Discuss.

#### Hints:

There are several factors which have undergone a seachange in recent years and most important of them are, leadership selection or change, ideological stand-point, etc.

The party system in India has taken a strong change in recent years, this was particularly evident, when in most political parties, with the exception of BJP, the second or third generation of the founder is still ruling



the party. In other words, political power has become like wealth, which passes on to the successor, which apart from exception belongs to the family of ideological founder of the party.

There were large number of smaller regional and national parties that came to prominence in years since and they were against the dynasty politics initially, however, now in most of them second generation leadership has come up with a reckoning that dynasty politics is perhaps going to last much more.

Ideological standpoints have strongly diluted, for example, a party which was initially meant to be representative of backward classes, gave more tickets to upper castes in past elections. Similarly in most cases, the ideology has diluted so much that support or opposition to issues has become a matter of political gain, rather than ideological preference.

Another big change is decisive verdicts in elections, which has affected the fortunes of many smaller players and independent candidates. Regional Parties, whose, major plank of contesting Lok Sabha elections with huge resources was not, because they could form government, but because they could gain from political horse-trading later on, in case of fractured mandate. Now with decisive mandates in recent elections, they have lost their power significantly.

Another change is Communication strategy and Social media such as, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and political blogs have changed every aspect of communication in modern Indian politics. This also has connected Indian youth to the politics.

4. Exercise of CAG's powers in relation to the accounts of the Union and the States is derived from Article 149 of the Indian Constitution. Discuss whether audit of the Government's Policy implementation could amount to overstepping its own (CAG) jurisdiction.

#### Hints:

The CAG is the constitutional institute through which the accountability of the Government and other public authorities— all those who spend public money—to Parliament and State legislatures and through them to the people is ensured.

The executive is answerable to Parliament and to the people for all its decisions, but the answerability is enforced through the CAG where it involves finance and account.

- 1. If the CAG were merely an auditor, why should DR. B.R. Ambedkar, during debate in Constituent Assembly, describe The CAG as the most important functionary in the constitution, more important than even Judiciary?
- 2. The point is-CAG is bound by his oath of the office to uphold the constitution; can he refrain from commenting on something that prima facie seems unconstitutional? If the Government is to formulating a policy that selectively confers benefits from public fund on an individual or group to the exclusion of others on no status grounds/ on grounds which seems questionable, Is it not the duty to point out?
- 3. As India emerging as a major hub of economic activities, Government policies are taking wider place for fulfilling the aspiration of development goals. Therefore, it is quite natural that while implementing policies there may be some losses occur so commenting on it by CAG, shall not be considered as overstepping its own jurisdiction, but it's a check and balance, which should be taken as rational economic thinking on cost-benefit analysis.
- 4. If the above understanding is correct, then various activities that the CAG has been undertaking such as propriety, performance evaluations, and so on, are clearly well within its ambit.
- 5. It is necessary that audit reports be more widely known and discussed. The people have a right to know their concerns. For example The CWG, 2G and PPP model controversies reports are now better known than before; this is a good development.

Parliament votes funds to the Executive and those funds have to be accounted for. However, answerability is more than that: it also means exercising prudence, avoiding waste, not incurring infructuous expenditure, showing results for moneys spent, and achieving those results at least cost. If the CAG is our prime accountability-ensuring institution, that institution must go into all these matters.

5. Discuss each adjective attached to the word 'Republic' in the preamble. Are they defendable in the present circumstances stances?

#### Hints:

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA, PREAMBLE- Starts with,

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having

Solemnly resolved to constitute India into a

#### SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR

# **DEMOCRATIC** REPUBLIC

**SOVEREIGN**—India is neither a dependency nor a dominion of any other nation, It is an Independent state. In the present times, the term 'sovereignty' may be losing rigid connotations of "supreme and absolute power acknowledging no superior" -no modern state can be considered sovereign in that sense. However, through the words of the Preamble, what is sought to be established is the oneness of the people of India (not the people of different states but of one nation), that the sovereignty vests in the collectivity, and the that the people of India are not subordinate to any external authority. With the enactment of the Constitution India was no longer a 'dominion' it was a 'republic'.

**SOCIALIST**—The founding father did not want the constitution to be wedded to any particular political ideology or ism or to be limited by any economic doctrine. it was the constitution (42nd amendment,1976) that introduction this word socialist to qualify our Republic. Socialism to mean "free forms of exploitation-social, economic and political." In limited sense It is difficult to define. As the supreme court says,' Democratic socialism aims to end poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunity. Indian socialism is a blend of Marxism and Gandhism, leaning heavily towards gandhian socialism'.

**SECULAR**—This term 'secular' too was added by the 42nd amendments of 1976. A secular state deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion, is not connected to particular religion nor does it sees to promote or interfere with religion. Secular state must have nothing to do with religious affairs except when their management involves crime, fraud or becomes a threat to unity and integrity of the state.

**DEMOCRATIC**—The Constitution provides for representative parliamentary democracy under which the executive is responsible to the legislature for all its policies and action. universal adult franchise, periodic election, rule of law, independent of judiciary, and absence of discrimination on certain ground. in broader sense it includes not only political democracy but social and economic too.

DR. Ambedkar remarked, "Parliamentary democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of its social democracy. What does social democracy means? It means a way of life which recognize liberty, equality and fraternity."

Present status on defendability-

The Indian constitution the right to equality to all person and says that no citizen can be discriminated on the ground of race, race caste, gender and place of birth. Usually the record of India, when it comes to political rights is very good among the emerging nations.

The judiciary plays an important role in overseeing the implementation of constitutional guarantees.

The developments in India, particularly give me confidence that in the new millennium, we will not face the World empty-handed whether in terms of civilization attainments or economic strength.

We need to feel proud, not in narrow nationalistic sense, which in itself is significant but in wider sense of values that the constitution provided to their citizen, fraternity, tolerance for other point of view, spiritual quest and respect for cultural diversity.

6. What was held in the Coelho case? In this context, can you say that judicial review is of key importance amongst the basic features of the Constitution?

#### Hints:

• In the case, a 9 member bench of SC argued that all amendments to the constitution made on or after 1973 by with the 9th schedule has been amended by inclusion of various laws therein shall have to be

tested on the touchstone of the basic structure of the constitution. Further, after is placed in the 9th schedule, its validity has to be tasted on the touchstone of the basic structure doctrine.

- The bench held that judicial review of laws to judge its constitutionality and fundamental rights are the part of the basic structure of the constitution. Since no law should violate the basic structure as per the Keshavananda Bharati case, any law/ act put under the ninth schedule are thus, not immune from judicial review.
- It says that the objective behind Article 31-B is to remove difficulties and not to wipe out judicial review. Therefore every amendment to the constitution whether it is in the form of amendment of any article or amendment by insertion of an article in 9th schedule, has to be tasted by reference to the basic structure.
- Laws included in 9th schedule do not become part the constitution, because they derived their validity on account of the exercise undertaken by parliament to include them in 9th schedule and that has to be tasted every time.
- It questions that can parliament increase the amending power by amending Article-386 but to what extent. Is it not possible that the ultimate power of amendment, destroy damage the fundamentals of constitution.
- Article 368, does not vest such a power in parliament. it cannot lift all restriction placed on amending power, It is not unlimited. The power of amendment has to be compatible with the limits on the power of amendment. (Kesvananda Bharti case)
- Parliament has power to amend the provision of PART 3 to abridge or take away fundamental rights but subject to limitation of the basic structure doctrine.
- The golden triangle of article. 14, 19, and 21 as it stand for equality and rule of law, along with article. 15, 20, and 32, etc clearly from part of the basic Structure and cannot be abrogated.
- Of course, judicial review is the cornerstone phenomenon which protects itself first to protect the essence of constitution as a basic structure doctrine. Thus, full judicial review is an integral part of the constitutional scheme and no law can dilute its powers.
- 7. Did the Government of India Act, 1935 lay down a federal constitution? Discuss.

# Hints:

Government of India Act, 1935 mark a point of no return in the history of constitutional development in India. The Constitution of India with or without some modification adopted some important provisions from this 1935 Act,

- As it provides the establishment of All India federation including all provinces at that time under the paramountcy of the British Crown, Our Constitution of India provides the same mechanism under the President of India.
- The Act derived the powers between the Centre and units in terms of 3 lists—federal, provincial, and the Concurrent List as we adopted the same manner as Union, State and Concurrent List.
- This act introduced Responsible Government, which is same in our Constitution also. The Concept of Dyarchy, the type of Government, which was established in the provinces by the Act of 1935, it remains same in the constitution of India, Provinces were made autonomous in their respective subject. Out states are autonomous too now by the authority under constitution.
- It provides a Federal Court at Delhi. Now the Supreme Court of India is established under Constitution which has the same power and functions as of Federal Court.
- The establishment of RBI under this Act, it remains same in Independent India to control regarding monetary policy and currency creation.
- It introduced bicameralism which yet to be continued in many of the state.
- The Concept of Union Public Service Commission and State service commission also derived from this law.

Thus, while the 1935 act had some federal features, federalism in true spirit was established later-on, only with the passing of constitution.

8. What is a quasi-judicial body? Explain with the help of concrete examples.

#### Hints:

- A quasi-judicial body is an entity which has powers and procedures resembling those of a court of law or judge, and which is obliged to objectively determine facts and draw conclusions from them so as to provide the basis of an official action. Such actions are able to remedy a situation or impose legal penalties, and may affect the legal rights, duties or privileges of specific parties.
- These organizations generally have authorities of settlement in matters like breach of discipline, conduct rules, and trust in the matters of money or otherwise. Their powers are usually limited to a particular area of expertise, such as financial markets, employment laws, public standards, immigration, or regulation.
- Some of the quasi judicial bodies in India are National Human Rights Commission; State Human Rights Commission; Central Information Commission; National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission, etc.
- 9. Professor Amartya Sen has advocated important reforms in the realms of primary education and primary health care. What are your suggestions to improve their status and performance?

# Hints:

According to the United Nations, education is a right to which all human beings are entitled. Since 2000, the UN has been promoting the Millennium Development Goal to achieve free universal primary education for all, regardless of gender, by 2015.

India is the only country in the world which is trying to become a global economic power with an uneducated and unhealthy labour force.

Prof. Sen regretted that primary education had insufficient coverage; there were a huge number of out-of-school children and the quality of education was low. "India needs to widen its education base radically.

He has made a strong case for the need for a radical reform in primary school curriculum. This would reduce the curriculum overload in primary education in the country, making "home tasks redundant and private tuition unnecessary".

Interpreting Article 21 of the constitution, Supreme Court has brought 'Right to health' and 'right to primary education' (21A) under fundamental rights. So there's no reason to believe that health care is lesser important that these things. There should be minimum standard preventive, curative, diagnostic and emergency care for everyone.

The health status of the people in the country is an important flag-post to evaluate the success of the state policy. Health of the individual impacts the growth of the nation in a very material sense. It has been estimated that the differences in the growth performance of many countries can be attributed to the health status of the people.

The point is that, need to improve school education is vital, first because the need to have a properly school educated workforce is urgent and second because school education is the base for higher education and must be put into proper shape before we go about increasing enrolment in higher education.

It is a matter of common knowledge that primary education acts as a resource for secondary education, which in turn acts as a resource for higher education. Thus, all the three sectors create the final demand for and output of education for the country as a whole.

- 1. Following the Constitutional commitment to education, the Government aids schools financially. Only 80 percent of the schools in the country take this aid. By their own choice the remaining 20 percent remain unaided Government aided schools, serving the low and middle income population.
- 2. The Centre bears only one fourth of the total government spending on education, whereas the rest three-fourth of the spending comes from the State Governments. Hence, the Government needs to take a larger responsibility towards provisioning of financial resources for education.

- 3. The problems of utilization of the funds arising from procedural and institutional bottlenecks, deficiencies in decentralized planning and systemic weaknesses -as the main obstacles. So there is need to proper utilization of funds.
- 4. Drawing inspiration from the Yashpal Committee Report, it seeks to make learning more meaningful and enjoyable by relating formal education to the lived world of the children.
- 5. Poverty is the major factor for a very high drop-out of girls at primary and secondary levels.
- 6. Need to assess the appropriate role of the private and public sectors in the context of increased government financial contributions to the health sector
- 7. The organization of primary care and hospital care needs improvement.
- 8. Expanding the reach of health services to rural and remote areas is hindered by the limited availability of providers there
- 9. Primary health care (PHC) is on essential part of health care and its main principles are equity, health promotion and disease prevention, community participation, appropriate health technology and multi sectoral approach. Organizational and management key elements of PHC are strategic management, decentralization, coordination and development of strategic systems.

The empowered, educated, skilled and highly productive workforce of 700 million Indians including 200 university graduates, in 2020 and industries worldwide competing to hire them-this is what India dreams to be at 75- post-independence.

The development of millions of youth in such a short span of time is astounding in its scale Indian Government is taking proactive steps to fill skill gaps in order to leverage its position as a supplier of skilled workforce to the aging world. Effective implementation of existing policies for skill development, fundamental education reforms across elementary, secondary and higher education, strong interface between educators and employers, public private partnership and international collaborations can lead nation to become superpower.

10. "In the Indian governance system, the role of non-state actors has been only marginal." Critically examine this statement.

#### Hints:

The concept of 'non-state actors' refers to "a wide range of non-governmental development actors like civil society in all its diversity, economic and social partners, including trade union organizations and the private sector".

Today, non-state actors are actively engaged in community mobilization, economic development and societal transformation. They work at international, national and local levels and play different roles like capacity building, asset creation, representation, lobbying, advocacy, service delivery etc. These organizations and institutions have taken many forms based on their goals and purpose of involvement in the developmental process as described in the definition above. Essentially, they are instruments of people's action and the means of protecting and promoting vital rights of citizens.

The role of governance in India has remained confined to "steel frame" which carried colonial legacy. In policy formation, execution, awareness generation the role of non-state actors is important due to its understanding of ground realities but we see many instances where the role of non-state actors has remained marginal such as:

- 1. In policy formulation the wide opinion of stacks holder is necessary but government follows top-down approach.
- 2. In execution of government schemes, programs participation of local people, NGOs is important but they have given very limited role.
- 3. Non-state actors are fundamental agents in helping to achieve both national and international development goals, such as those around climate change. This contribute significantly towards filling the greenhouse gas emissions gap left by non-ambitious or poorly executed national climate policies.

Non-State Actors (NSA's) continue to play a crucial role in the democratic process of any country. Civil society movements can significantly influences the government policies as well as social attitude. It must perform some roles to maintain and strengthen the democracy. They are:

- Non-state actors empower the citizens about their rights and duties and the necessity of them. It also encourages the traditionally excluded groups such as women, dalits and minorities to utilize their rights and the access to power.
- Civil society checks the political abuses and violations of law. An empowered non-state actor will be able to hold the state accountable in case of abuse of political power.
- Conflicts are not very uncommon in the democratic institutions constituting wide range of interests. A well established civil society mitigates the main differences and will help state in ensuring that the best interests are addressed.
- Non-state actors promote the democratic attributes amongst its citizens such as tolerance, willingness to compromise and respect for the conflicting views.
- It allows political parties and other organizations to represent their interests. This improves the quality of democracy.
- Without the support of public and the legislature, political and economic reforms cannot succeed. Civil society performs this role and paves way for reforms.
- If the state fails to represent the society's best interests and if its interests are narrow and stagnant, non-state actors help in identifying and training the new political leaders to revitalize their government.
- Mechanism like social auditing should be promoted which will improve the participation of people in government.
- In many states, non-partisan volunteer organizations monitored elections to check the legitimacy of the process and the result. This enhances public trust in the government.
- NGOs like Akshay Patra, SEWA has played important role in marginalized society. Thus, government should regulate properly and accredited such NGOs which will benefit society.

By doing its duties, civil society can represent citizen interests while forming policies and can make their society more democratic. However, state should give fundamental liberties to its citizens, because civil society can function well in the democratic institutions. A non-state actor that is civil society plays an important role in building and maintaining the democracy.

11. "Effectiveness of the government system at various levels and people's participation in the governance system are inter-dependent." Discuss their relationship with each other in context of India.

# Hints:

The basic objective of government is to evolve a system of democratic decentralization and devolution with a view to ensuring rapid socio-economic progress and speedier and inexpensive justice.

Effective Governance is defined to include pro-people agenda's, People's participation, women empowerment, transparency, equal opportunity to youth. It includes economically and socially weaker section of society in decision making. It emphasizes in providing support to small businesses to strengthen the economy.

The essence of effective governance is making an impact of the lives of the people through effective utilization of government services, policies and regulation of the private sector trough transparent procedures for optimum impact.

Effective governance is comprehensive governance mechanism encompassing in itself inclusive growth and development of disparaged sections, citizen participation in decision making, women empowerment and equitable opportunity to all.

India's middle class and neo-middle class is unique in terms of size and purchasing power. Policy making needs to focus on this economically vibrant section, which included almost all the subgroups of sections that completes the idea of Effective Governance.

India is a Participatory democratic country. The Indian Constitution believes in the doctrine of separation of power as basic structure of Constitution. The Constitution ensures that people's participation at various levels is a fundamental for good governance.



According to father of nation, M. Gandhi, self Government is better than even good Governance. Unless self-government is ensured by clear devolution of power from the centre to the periphery, people are prevented from participation in Governance.

By the 73<sup>rd</sup> & 74<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendment act our Constitution assured the people's participation at various levels in governance. Being a participatory democracy it regards people's political participation is basic principle for effective governance.

A strong sense of public duty comes from empowerment. People's attitude changes from one of obedience to authority to active participation in governance. A citizen as a political and social unit could alone take responsibility for transformation of the state of the society.

It encourages an active sense of public duty, replacing emphasis from authority and obedience to active participation. The system can deliver the goods through devolution, decentralization and democratization, thereby narrowing the gap between the base of the polity and its super-structure.

Government effectiveness captures perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies which is interpreted as a design of social inclusion confined by people's participation.

Thus, the goal of inclusive growth, as envisaged by the government cannot be achieved without the active participation and effectiveness of government should be considered as integral to the governance of the country.

12. In the integrity index of Transparency International, India stands very low. Discuss briefly the legal, political, economic, social and cultural factors that have caused the decline of public morality in India.

#### Hints:

Corruption is widespread in India. India was placed at 76th position out of 168 countries with a score of 38 out of a possible 100 in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index 2015. Corruption has taken the role of a pervasive aspect of Indian Politics and Bureaucracy.

Corruption is a global phenomenon and it is omnipotent. It has progressively increased and is now rampant in our society. Corruption in India has wings, not wheels. As the nation grows, the corrupt also grow to invent new methods of cheating the government and public. The causes of corruption are many and complex. The following are some other causes of corruption:

# Socio-Cultural:

- 1. The long history of corrupt practices from ancient time which was strengthened during Mughal and British time in form of Baksheesh and gifts etc.
- 2. Tolerance of people's towards corruption, complete lack of intense public outcry against corruption and the absence of a strong public forum to oppose corruption allow corruption to rein our people.
- 3. Most Indians will immediately recognize facilitative corruption from their regular interaction with the state machinery.

Ex. officials demanding bribes to perform or expedite the basic functions of their job, like issuing passports or ration cards

# Political:

- 1. Emergence of political elite which believes in interest oriented rather than nation oriented programs and policies.
- 2. Inadequate regulation of political finance
- 3. Corruption is caused as well as increased because of the change in the value system and ethical qualities of men who administer

- 4. Election time is a time when corruption is at its peak. Big industrialists fund politicians to meet high cost of election and ultimately to seek personal favor. Bribery to politicians buys influences and bribery by politicians buys votes. In order to get elected, politicians bribe poor, illiterate people.
- 5. Amoral politics, self-aggrandizement, disregard of the constitutional norms in the pursuit of power, political survival at any cost is other main cause of corruption.

# • Legal:

- 1. The lack of enforcement capacity and regulatory complexity are deep causes, or foundational characteristics of India's institutions.
- 2. Complex laws and procedures deter common people from seeking help from the Government.
- 3. Cumbersome and dilatory administrative procedures and practices are other major causes of corruption in India.
- 4. Many laws and rules have become obsolete and breeds corruption, long delay in judicial proceedings and less severity of punishment, multiple investigative agencies with overlapping jurisdiction such as Lokpal, CVC, CAG etc
- 5. Those in hierarchy vested with disciplinary powers shirk their duties and so unwillingness to use their powers against corrupt practices.
- 6. Collusive corruption involves bribes paid to circumvent regulations, kickbacks from government procurement, and bribes paid to illegitimately obtain government contracts or licenses.

#### Economical:

- 1. Artificial scarcity created by people with malevolent intention wrecks the fabrics of the economy.
- 2. Shortcomings in public sector recruitment and postings are more proximate offshoots of India's institutional infirmities.
- 3. Vast size of population coupled with widespread illiteracy and the poor economic infrastructure lead to endemic corruption in public life.
- 4. Extractive corruption comprises diverse crimes, from embezzlement and harassment bribery to shirking and simply not showing up to work.
- 5. In a highly inflationary economy, low salaries of government officials compel them to resort to corruption. Graduates from Indian institutes of management with no experience draw a far handsome salary than what government secretaries draw.

Endemic and deep rooted corruption is a major factor for most social and political ills. It is a serious threat not just too sustainable economic growth, but also to the sociopolitical fabric of the country.

Jose Ugaz, the chairman of Berlin-based Transparency International argued that "the Corruption can be beaten if we work together. To stamp out the abuse of power, bribery and shed light on secret deals, citizens must together tell their governments they have had enough."

13. Has the Indian governmental system responded adequately to the demands of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization started in 1991? What can the government do to be responsive to this important change?

# Hints:

The 1991 economic crisis, essentially a balance of payments problem, is generally seen as the overriding factor that led to the dismantling of the license/quota raj, but that is only partly true. The lacunae of the industrial and trade policies were well documented both within and outside the government. Contrary to the perception of reforms being foisted on the government by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), these reforms were entirely "made in India". Following are the some areas where government responded adequately:

1. Private sector has excelled & created world class facility but government services remain poor.

- 2. The government focused more on financial reforms but no reforms in administration like police, education, judicial, labour, etc. they remain substandard
- 3. New controls & regulations have come up which further lead to resources-Raj, still government have a control in allocating resources, pricing for gases, etc.
- 4. There are thousands of project which are stuck in red tapism, the lack of clarity over the reservation of industries from deregulation
- 5. Infrastructural development is still below expectation, Indian industries are still suffering from lack of competitiveness
- 6. Political resistance to reform was strong and that was reflected in the official recommendations, if not the analysis
- 7. The growth is not inclusive there are many inequalities & unbalanced regional growth and it remained confined to pockets of few.
- 8. Subsidies are not well targeted and profit to usurped by non deserving people
- 9. Disturbed the social fabric of society by transformed it into a profit based existence from trust based one. More work pressures and other aspects like urban migrations divided families and reduced social responsibilities.
- 10. International level organizations like WTO, IMFs rules & regulations of policies are in favor of developed world. This showed that India's diplomatic failure in achieving required status.

In our zeal and enthusiasm of reaping benefits from these economic reforms, we need to keep in mind that still there is a part of population which is living under abject poverty in the country. We need to bring them in sync and further integrate them with these reforms. For tackling this government can focus on following areas:

- Creation of opportunities for skill development/formation of the unemployed and putting more focus on unorganized sector of the economy. For this government initiated programs like skill India, Make in India.
- Focus needs to be shifted towards social sector like irrigation, rural electrification, better communication facilities in villages, education. Government tackling this issue with Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan, Mid-day meal Scheme and health NRHM, National Sanitation Campaign.
- Employment opportunities for the masses providing livelihood, means of income, increasing purchasing power to reduce absolute poverty levels. This problem can be curbed with schemes like MNREGA, UDAAN, etc.
- Increase agro-based industries in the country. For this government started initiatives like Make in India, Start up India, Stand up India, etc.
- Labour reforms and increase in their wages as the labour laws were framed much before independence and today's scenario has changed drastically.

The reform process is still continuous. For success of reforms need wider popular acceptance which will ensure all stake holders pulled together in the same direction for ensuring India's emergence as the leader of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world & fastest growing economy.

14. "Traditional bureaucratic structure and culture have hampered the process of socio-economic development in India." Comment.

#### Hints:

Sardar Patel famously called the Indian Administrative Service the "steel frame" of India's government machinery. He, and many others, viewed the IAS as the solid foundation upon which the rest of the bureaucracy rested, a bastion of the nation's best and brightest providing unfailing support to others in government.

To this day, even with vastly increased opportunities in the private sector, the IAS continues to attract India's best and brightest. Yet, despite the exceptional talent within the IAS, the institution no longer serves the greater interest of the country. Instead, there are reasons to believe that it might be hampering the country's development.

- 1. Bureaucracy refers to a hierarchical organization in which functions and powers are divided as per formal rules and regulations. There is a hierarchy system and the lower ones are working under the upper management.
- 2. Officials remain unattached and are only concerned with their job without becoming personally involved. The British, of course, designed ICS and the rest of the government machinery around it with the explicit goal of allowing a very small number of men to control a very large population. To this end, they concentrated all power and authority in the hands of these very few men with the rest of government acting as a support structure.
- 3. Being a permanent executive not directly responsible to the popular demands and ensuring the system to work in a proper manner, irrespective of the elections results is seen as a prime work. Success of the schemes /initiatives depends upon the proper implementation on the ground level, and the implementation part rests with the bureaucrats.
- 4. The local political interference and the cold-war btw the local political representatives and the coveted administrator are not new, and it also gives wrong signal to the public in general when such things come in open.
- 5. Bureaucracy encourages the evil work of government into a number of isolated and self dependent sections each pursuing its own needs without any adequate correlation with the rest
- 6. The discretionary power which rests in the hand of the bureaucrats makes him look like the sole authority in the eyes of common masses. Such powers have been used by the ranks very fruitfully also as well as selfishly. So, it was referred as steel frame means whatever the mortar comes off, the structure and working of system will not get changed for the disadvantages of the people.
- 7. In recent times the red-tapism and policy paralysis has been pointed out by the Government. As well as Civil society as a cause of non- decisiveness and lack of works visible on the ground. Officials are bound by rules and these rules regulate the office conduct. Rules become more important at times than the goal of the organization leading to red tapism.
- 8. The Planning Commission has highlighted how the short tenures of civil servants have led to a far less effective management system for civil servants in India than in China. Very often, it leads to the elevation of ineffective civil servants in key administrative positions. This happens because pliant bureaucrats are much more acceptable to the political executive even if the effects of such postings are positively harmful for governance.

It is a mix of both being a steel frame and caged, former because it steel enjoys the immunity and discretionary power. It has been provided the constitutional immunity as well and it works joining the shoulder with shoulder of the other wings of the "state". It is caged because everything where it is rule of law is bounded by that cage, even in the case where other cages are not there.

Bureaucracy loves tradition and stands for conservatism which develops a negative psychology that breeds non-transparency and stoppage to information.

Arvind Panagariya, economic advisor of PM, Professor of economics and an expert on the Indian civil service has two sensible suggestions for improvement of bureaucracy:

- More top positions in government should be opened up to competition from candidates outside the IAS. At a minimum, all top secretary level positions should be opened up to competition from at least the state services, if not to outside candidates. In any democracy, ministers should be allowed to choose their top deputies. Going further and opening up all positions at the joint secretary level is also worth considering.
- Specialization should be encouraged because today Indian bureaucrats must oversee the administration of a vastly complicated government apparatus and regulate an equally complicated private sector. In this context, specialized skills are an absolute necessity for an effective civil service.



Lloyd George called it "the steel frame on which the whole structure of our government and of our administration in India rests", and the IAS has kept the steel frame pretty much intact.

15. Examine the main provisions of the National Child Policy and throw light on the status of its implementation.

#### Hints:

India is a young nation; children constitute 39 per cent of the country's population (Census 2011). Recognized by policy-makers as a supreme national asset, children deserve the best in national investment, for their survival, good heath, development opportunity, security and dignity.

The Constitution of India provides that the State shall direct its policy towards ensuring "that childhood is protected from exploitation and moral and material abandonment."

This directive clearly positions children as deserving of the highest priority in national realization of the Fundamental Rights and the special provisions for those most vulnerable to discrimination and exclusion.

The adoption of the National Policy for Children (NPC) in 1974 was the first such major comprehensive initiative taken by the government.

The National Policy for Children, 2013 aims to protect and encourage the rights of the children to survival, health & nutrition; education & development; protection & participation for focused attention. It adheres to the Constitutional mandate and guiding principles of UN CRC and reflects a paradigm shift from a "need-based" to a "rights-based" approach. The Policy recognizes every person below the age of eighteen years as a child and covers all children within the territory and jurisdiction of the country.

It emphasizes that the State is committed to take affirmative measures to promote equal opportunities for all children, and to enable all children in its jurisdiction to exercise all the constitutional rights.

The salient features of the children's policy include the following:

- 1. Ensure equitable access to comprehensive and essential preventive, promotive, curative and rehabilitative health care of the highest standard, for all children before, during and after birth, and throughout the period of their growth and development.
- 2. Secure the right of every child to learning, knowledge, education, and development opportunity, with due regard for special needs, through access, provision and promotion of required environment, information, infrastructure, services and supports, for the development of the child's fullest potential.
- 3. Create a caring, protective and safe environment for all children, to reduce their vulnerability in all situations and to keep them safe at all places, especially public spaces.
- 4. Enable children to be actively involved in their own development and in all matters concerning and affecting them.
- 5. It is the first policy document in India that specifically highlights "disability" as a ground for discrimination that must be countered.

Though some suggestions of the civil society did not make it to the final draft, still, these provisions are a good reflection of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which emphasizes the rights of children with disabilities to express their views freely on all matters affecting them, on an equal basis with other children. Though it is yet to be seen how this translates into real practice, still it gives the hope that children in our country can look forward to a future without discrimination.

16. "Demographic Dividend in India will remain only theoretical unless our manpower becomes more educated, aware, skilled and creative." What measures have been taken by the government to enhance the capacity of our population to be more productive and employable?

# Hints:

With one of the youngest populations in the world and a large pool of young English-speaking people, population demographics favor India. By 2022, the average Indian's age would be 29, compared to 37 for China and the US, and 45 for Western Europe.

When the proportion of working people in the total population is high which indicates that more people have the potential to be productive and contribute to growth of the economy, called demographic dividend. India has the potential not only to meet its own manpower needs but it can also cater to the manpower demand of other nations.

Despite a vast majority of population in the productive age group, India has not been able to realize its demographic dividend since a good amount of working population are not employable and most industries are currently struggling with scarcity of skilled workforce.

Economic growth in India has, in the last few years, picked up considerable momentum with services and, recently, the manufacturing sector showing a great deal of buoyancy. While the jury is out on whether the country can sustain a GDP growth of 9% per annum, it is generally agreed that much greater attention would have to be paid to the area of skill development.

According to survey of Labour Bureau, "trend of employment generation in India has been declining. In 2015, employment generated in core industries was only 1.3 lakh jobs & it is the lowest jobs generation in last 6 years."

There has been a lot of talk, not all of it well informed, about India's becoming a Knowledge Power but, given our comparatively young population, we have a long way to go before we realize our full potential.

Countries with high skill capital tend to be prosperous from the perspectives of both GDP and per capita income. Higher national prosperity also manifests in better quality of life for citizens. As Indian economy evolves from being commodity-centric to knowledge-centric, growth becomes increasingly dependent on the availability of skills.

However, skills have to be marketable and relevant, resulting in economic value, otherwise there may be abundance of skilled people with sub-optimal employment, resulting in the 'skilled unemployed' conundrum. Thus, government takes following steps to enhance the capacity of peoples to become employable:

- 1. The government has been emphasizing on providing vocational education and training to the workforce. It formulated the National Policy on Skill Development and has set a target for providing skills to 500 million people by 2022. Providing a mechanism to acquire skills, empowering the disadvantaged sections of the society with skilling opportunities, and creating a skill growth program for continuous improvement is the surest way of achieving inclusive and sustainable growth.
- 2. The government has also professed skill development as a national priority over the next 10 years. The 11th Five-Year Plan had a detailed road-map for skill development and favored the formation of Skill Development Missions, both at the state and national levels. In addition, the government aims to set up 1,500 new ITIs and 5,000 skill development centers across the country as well a National Vocational Qualification Framework (NVQF) for affiliations and accreditation in vocational, educational and training systems.
- 3. The National Skill Development Mission aims to impart employment-oriented vocational training to 8 crore people over the next five years by working with State governments/State Skill Missions and incorporating the private sector through PPPs and for profit vocational training and NGOs. Basic education is also an important input for enhancing human capital.
- 4. PMKVY is a unique initiative of Ministry of Skill Development & Entrepreneurship where it focuses on industry relevant training & certifications for Indian youth so that they can have better career opportunities.
- 5. DDUGKY is a special placement linked scheme for poor rural youth. Implemented through accredited training providers, the scheme focuses on the placement of at least 75% of the youth. It focuses on poverty alleviation of rural youth through its market-led placement initiative.
- 6. Udaan is a initiative for addressing the economic issues in J&K that is based on developing the human capital of the region and helping the youth getting gainfully employed
- 7. The Indian government has embarked on the right path with initiatives like Skill India, Ease of Doing Business, Smart Cities and Industrial Corridors to facilitate demographic dividends to flow through."



In order to reap the benefits of demographic dividend there is need to increase productivity of work force. Hence, the workforce needs to be educated, equipped with required skills and healthy. The dreams of huge income flow and resultant economic growth due to demographic dividend could be realized only when we inculcate the required skills in the work force to make it as competent as its counterparts in the developed world.

If India's working-age population, its so-called demographic dividend, is productively employed, India's economic growth prospects will brighten.

17. "The broader aims and objectives of WTO are to manage and promote international trade in the era of globalization. But the Doha round of negotiations seem doomed due to differences between the developed and the developing countries." Discuss in the Indian perspective.

#### Hints:

- WTO is a multilateral platform that allows smaller and developing countries to make concerted efforts at integrating trade and development by allowing these countries to negotiate international trade issues in blocks and together withstand the relentless demand of developed countries to open their markets without reciprocal benefits.
- The goal of any trade talks is to make it easier for goods and services to be bought and sold across national borders.
- The basic objectives of the Doha round was to lower trade barriers around the world, and thus facilitate increased global trade.
- However the progress in negotiations stalled due to issue between developed and developing nations over agriculture, industrial tariffs and non-tariff barriers, services, and trade remedies.

The reality was while Doha was a development agenda, domestic agriculture and industry interests in the U.S. (and in other developed countries) showed no appetite for making necessary concessions. Instead, the game moved towards ensuring that when emerging economies were showing signs of rapid growth, developed countries did not lose the lead.

It was time to demand a more enduring value for technology and IPR. Also Enforcement of higher environment and labour standards was sought to be made a norm even on a trade platform. More assured access for trade and investment was demanded with firm commitments about reform.

Developed countries should work on FTA's such that it doesn't weaken the relevance of other multilateral organisations or grouping of developing and also least developed countries.

- Doha ministerial Conference of WTO was one such instance where developed nation wanted to further their domestic interest and thus introduced subsidies under Green Box, Blue Box and Amber Box. To highlight the discrepancy, US and Europe's subsidy to their farmers lies in Green Box to the extent of 90% whereas for India the ratio is 42%. Though under WTO Green Box does not come under monitoring, developing nations subsidies are monitored as they fall under other categories.
- This when contested developing nation of Special Product and Special Safeguard Measures. Though SP was adopted in HK Conference 2005, SSM (which deals with raising import duties in case of excessive hike in import volumes and resultant dip in prices) has not seen the light of the day.
- India negotiated and secured a re-affirmative Ministerial Decision on Public Stockholding for Food Security Purposes honouring both the Bali Ministerial and General Council Decisions. The decision commits Members to engage constructively in finding a permanent solution to this issue.
- India negotiated a Ministerial Decision on another very important issue which recognizes that developing countries will have the right to have recourse to an agricultural Special Safeguard Mechanism (SSM) as envisaged in the Doha mandate. Members will continue to negotiate the mechanism in dedicated sessions of the Committee on Agriculture in Special Session. The WTO General Council has been mandated to regularly review the progress of these negotiations.
- Members also agreed to the elimination of agricultural export subsidies subject to the preservation of special and differential treatment for developing countries such as a longer phase-out period for transportation and marketing subsidies for exporting agricultural products.

- The Ministerial Decision also contains disciplines to ensure that other export policies are not used as a disguised form of subsidies. These disciplines include terms to limit the benefits of financing support to agriculture exporters, rules on state enterprises engaging in agriculture trade, and disciplines to ensure that food aid does not negatively affect domestic production. Developing countries have been given a longer time to implement these rules.
- Ministerial decision extends the relevant provision to prevent 'evergreening' of patents in the pharmaceuticals sector. This decision would help in maintaining affordable as well as accessible supply of generic medicines.
- India supported outcomes on issues of interest to LDCs including enhanced preferential rules of origin for LDCs and preferential treatment for LDC services providers. India already provides substantial preferences in these areas to LDCs.
- Rule of fishery subsidy Like India, several other countries had strong reservations on this issue due to the lack of clarity. This was in tune with India's position. There was no outcome in this area of the negotiations. A group of 53 WTO members, including both developed and developing countries, also agreed on a timetable for implementing a deal to eliminate tariffs on 201 Information Technology products. Duty-free market access to the markets of the members eliminating tariffs on these products will be available to all WTO members. Though not a party to the Agreement, its benefits will also be available to India.
- Given the continuation of Development round agenda would only hurt Developed nations interest as they would loose market for their agriculture products they are insisting on dropping the agenda all together itself. Moreover, subsidies given to the farmers in developed world (300-400%) are also trade distortionary by its very nature. However they are unwilling to concede to this demand as well as it would hurt their interest. Permanent solution to food stockholding by government is another loose end which developed nation are reluctant to tie even when the major beneficiaries are poor.
- Having nothing to gain and only to concede in Doha development round, they are pushing hard to move to bring in a 'new' agenda which involves Labour norms, environmental standards, E-commerce, global value chain among others. Though these issues have their own International fora like ILO and UNFCCC, the insistence to include them in WTO is primarily to harmonize (lower) them worldwide to suit their interest and thus being aggressively pursued.
- However, G33 group including India and China are pushing to not concede and stick to the already unresolved issues of Doha round as the lives of millions of farmers are at stake.
- India and China provide that 'makeshift bat' to developing nations and are thus, viewed as 'obstructionist' by Developed world and thus there are attempts to isolate them.
- In this perceptive of geopolitics aimed at furthering economic interests it is important that all the nations unite against the bullying ones and don't give up on their legitimate right to play.
- India offer proposals of our own that further our interests as, offering little in exchange while asking a lot of others is a sure way of becoming a marginal player with negligible influence on the outcome of negotiations. Since unilaterally opening our markets to international competition is in our own interest regardless of whether our access to markets of others is enhanced, getting such enhanced access in return in negotiations is a bonus. India's defensive posture is longstanding.
- Besides articulating a coherent position, India needs to remove the domestic constraints on our international competitiveness and attractiveness to foreign capital, and improve our domestic investment climate.
- The need to bring down India's fiscal deficits to manageable levels, address festering problems in our energy, transport and telecommunications infrastructures, and remove legal obstacles to exit from unprofitable activities and to smoothly functioning labour markets.
- India steps towards a firm future date for making the rupee convertible on capital account and immediately undertake the needed reforms in our financial sector to bring it about. In short, we have to speed up, extend, deepen and complete the reform process expeditiously if we are to attain our legitimate position.

18. Evaluate the economic and strategic dimensions of India's Look East Policy in the context of the post-Cold War international scenario.

#### Hints:

- India's Look East Policy was initiated during the period of Narasimha Rao in 1992 for better engagement with East Asian and southeast Asian nations. Such a policy for the first time prioritized our relationship with countries located to the east of India. Its strategic and economic dimensions can be seen as the growth and development of the entire region.
- 1. India-ASEAN FTA raised annual trade from \$30 billion to \$79 billion in 2012 and FTA in Services and Investments is expected to raise it to \$100 billion by 2015. For example Singapore helping in building capital of Andhra Pradesh state.
- 2. Trilateral Highway between INDIA-MYANMAR-THAILAND helps in connecting Indian Highway system to ASEAN Highways.
- 3. This policy is driven by cooperation on counter-terrorism, humanitarian relief (Tsunami diplomacy 2004), maritime and energy security, securing the Sea Lines of Communication (Malacca straits), piracy, narcotics trade, poaching and balancing of influence of other powers, importantly China. Most of the ASEAN nations have maritime disputes with China and they want India to counter the influence of China, which India is reluctant to do so. While staying away from their bilateral disputes, India must engage with them forcefully in situations where her vital interests are involved such as in Vietnam's offshore oil blocks very important for her energy security.
- 4. India's attempt to promote trade with Bangladesh and Myanmar through Preferential Trade Areas has failed due to undue consideration of the law and order situation of the Northeast and the military and security establishment having a say in India's foreign policy with these two countries.
- 5. There was Systematic institutionalization of economic and trade interactions with East Asian countries.
- 6. With increase in trade and investment security problems can be tackled simultaneously. It is said that where goods flow there is no need of guns.
- 7. India extended \$500 million Line of Credit to Vietnam for facilitating deeper defense cooperation. This defense cooperation will counter China's influence in the region.
- 8. Coordination- of policies on economy and defense- safe haven for industry to grow with common concerns of terrorism, black money, trade restrictions etc address on unified platform.

India being a big nation has the capital, labour, and experience potential to lead the way for other nations and help create a united Southern Asia that serves best interests for all participant countries. Thus the region would rightly fulfill the economic, strategic and global interests and India stands keen on achieving them.

Also, for India, it is not a matter of choice, with China aggressively increasing its footprint into India's neighborhood; it also needs to extend its sphere of influence up to South China Sea and East China Sea and this is only possible if, India has deep strategic ties in East Asia, including ASEAN and Japan and Korea.

19. "Increasing cross-border terrorist attacks in India and growing interference in the internal affairs of several member-states by Pakistan are not conducive for the future of SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation)." Explain with suitable>

# Hints:

• India's engagement with SAARC has been developmental and focused on increasing people to people contact to reduce the social tensions in South Asia. This is evident from the following examples.

#### 1. South Asian satellite:

South Asia being a tropical country has been affected by unforeseen torrential rains, drought, cyclone etc. SAARC satellite which India promised in 2014 at Kathmandu will help in this context.

# 2. South Asian University:

Located in DELHI, the degree of this university is recognized by all 8 SAARC countries. Again this is an attempt to bring students and thereby countries together.

- 3. India has always supported SAFTA.
- 4. SAARC Disaster Management Centre (SDMC) and SAARC Tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS Centre (STAC) are some of the initiatives of SAARC which India is a part of and is actively contributing.

But Pakistan has been a sticking point in SAARC, even here India has tried to manage differences and work for the better of SAARC as a whole. India's historic relations with Pakistan have been of a stress and strain from both sides. This casts shadow over the regional cooperation and economic integration. Increasingly SAARC is being seen as SAARC minus Pakistan. This coupled with geopolitical tensions in the region is a grave danger for India. Some of the issues are:

- 1. The issue of Kashmir is the foremost one which doesn't allow the nations to work jointly. Pakistan's militant action in Kashmir raises internal issues in India
- 2. The offer of SAARC satellite by India has been stalled by Pakistan.
- 3. Pakistan obstructs the way on any move at Trans border Commercial Corporation with India.
- 4. South Asian Motor Vehicle Agreement which is not signed as Pakistan's reluctance.
- 5. Therefore Pakistan should not be indulged in SAARC. 'SAARC minus Pakistan' can be a beneficial concept.

Isolating a member who has a different vision will not affect the development process; infact may help in accelerating growth in the region by ratifying agreements early. Motor vehicle movement agreement, railway linkages, SAARC satellite program, etc are signed up by all SAARC members except Pakistan. Countries can engage bilaterally and over other regional forums such as BIMSTEC, SASEC, etc for heading towards South Asian development. It will impact Pakistan as its trade and treaties with SAARC nations will be affected. Terrorism supported by Pakistan too is a challenge for South Asia. Such a move will send a strong message that not just India but other countries too are victims of and strictly against terrorism which Pakistan supports.

Although, cooperation of Pakistan could have speeded up the growth in the South Asian region, but the prevailing environment of deep mistrust and tension with Pak renders it imperative to keep it out of SAARC. The sustained hostilities are detrimental for both the nations. In the short run the impact would be marginal but if this thing continues and escalate, there would be lot of concerns in rest of the world and international organizations that the situation does not go out of hand and is contained.

20. What are the aims and objectives of the McBride Commission of the UNESCO? What is India's position on these?

# Hints:

- In 1970's and 1980's there were concerns from many people about how the then broadcast media was dominated by the very few developed countries.
- It stated that developing nations saw mostly foreign channels and were influenced by it. Their culture was not reflected in the media thus there were culture shocks, disparities and trends in developing countries started aping the 'west'.
- The UNESCO acknowledged these concerns and set up a commission under Sean MacBride. This was known as MacBride Commission.
- It supported the democratisation of communication characterized by equal opportunities of access, dialogue and participation for all including strengthening of national media to avoid dependence on external sources.
- It stated that equal opportunities in communication were part of the basic human rights in the same way as freedom of expression.



- Today, even in India, modern media technologies, particularly the Internet and satellite communication, have become the infrastructure that has made possible a new global market system and a new context for the spread of political, economic and cultural ideas.
- The globalization of information has played both positive and negative role.
- It has increase awareness among the people about the internal and external activities, informed them about their rights.
- But alongwith the many positive changes these new means of communication violate the dignity and humanity of others through public deception, economic exploitation, political surveillance and repression, and other abuses of power.

